A woman with a backpack is looking at a map in front of a large cathedral. The scene is set in a city with green trees in the foreground and a clear sky. The cathedral has multiple towers and a large dome. The woman is wearing a grey shirt and a red scarf. The backpack is purple and black. The map she is holding is open and she is pointing at it with her right hand. The cathedral in the background is made of light-colored stone and has several towers with arched windows. The sky is blue with some light clouds. The trees in the foreground are green and leafy. The overall scene is bright and sunny.

Elias J. Torres Feijó
M.^a Felisa Rodríguez Prado
Emilio Carral Vilariño (eds.)

The Way of Saint James, Tourism, and Local Community

eman ta zabal zazu



Universidad
del País Vasco

Euskal Herriko
Unibertsitatea

CIP. Biblioteca Universitaria

The **Way** of Saint James, tourism, and local community [Recurso electrónico] / Elias J. Torres Feijó, M. Felisa Rodríguez Prado, Emilio Carral Vilariño (eds.). – Datos. – Leioa : Universidad del País Vasco / Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea, Argitalpen Zerbitzua = Servicio Editorial, [2022]. – 1 recurso en línea: PDF (221 p.) – (Ikertuz)

Modo de acceso: World Wide Web.

ISBN. 978-84-1319-460-8.

1. Camino de Santiago. 2. Santiago de Compostela (La Coruña). 3. Turismo cultural. I. Torres Feijó, Elías J., ed. II. Rodríguez Prado, María Felisa, ed. III. Carral Vilariño, Emilio, ed.

(0.034)910.4(460.111)

(0.034)338.48(460.111)

A presente edição contou com umha ajuda do Grupo Galabra, GI-1811, da Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, procedente das ajudas da Xunta de Galicia para Grupos de Potencial Crescimento, Ref. ED431B 2020/40. Contou com a colaboración para a tradución do Centro de Estudos Humanísticos da Universidade do Minho (CEHUM), do Grupo de Estudos Territoriais da Universidade da Coruña (GET-UDC, código G-000361) e do Grupo Galabra (GI-1811) da Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.

Esta edición contou con la ayuda del Grupo Galabra, GI-1811, de la Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, procedente de la Xunta de Galicia para Grupos de Potencial Crescimento, Ref. ED431B 2020/40. Contó con la colaboración para la tradución del Centro de Estudos Humanísticos de la Universidade do Minho (CEHUM), el Grupo de Estudos Territoriais de la Universidade da Coruña (GET-UDC, código G-000361) y el Grupo Galabra (GI-1811) de la Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.

Obra financiada por la Xunta de Galicia.

© Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad del País Vasco
Euskal Herriko Unibertsitateko Argitalpen Zerbitzua

ISBN: 978-84-1319-460-8

Summary

Presentation. Starting from the local community, <i>Elias J. Feijó Torres, M. Felisa Rodríguez Prado, Emilio Carral Vilariño</i>	5
1. Dominant Contemporary Macro-narratives about Santiago and the Way: the Invisibility of Culture as Hypothesis <i>Elias J. Torres Feijó</i>	9
2. Impacts of the Ways in the Local Community of Santiago de Compostela: Results of Ongoing Research <i>Roberto Samartim and Carlos Pazos-Justo</i>	42
3. Reinventio and Unanimity. Impact of Cultural and Tourism Policies in the Local Community of Santiago de Compostela <i>Carlos Pazos-Justo, M. Luisa del Río Araújo and Roberto Samartim</i>	60
4. Transformations in Santiago de Compostela as a Function of the Way of Saint James <i>Elias J. Torres Feijó</i>	82
5. Identity Sustainability, Identity Affectivity, and the Ithaca Traveler: Conceptual Tools for Measuring and Modeling Tourism as an Opportunity <i>Elias J. Torres Feijó</i>	123
6. Tourism and Gastronomy in Santiago de Compostela (Galiza): A Case Study Under Polysystem Perspective in Relationship with Other System Analysis <i>Emilio V. Carral Vilariño</i>	143
7. Gastronomy and Tourism: Socioeconomic and Territorial Implications in Santiago de Compostela-Galiza (NW Spain) <i>Emilio Carral Vilariño, M. Luisa del Río Araújo and Zósimo López Pena</i>	153

8. The Existence of a Luso-Galician Community as an Emotional Element in the Visits to Santiago de Compostela from Portugal. First Results through Quantitative-Qualitative Surveys	
<i>Raquel Bello Vázquez</i>	187
9. Polysystem Theory and Research Applications: Planning and Social Research Commitment in an Analysis of the Expositive and Dissemination Project The City, the Way and Us as a Case Study	
<i>Elias J. Torres Feijó</i>	201

Presentation. Starting from the local community

Elias J. Feijó Torres, M. Felisa Rodríguez Prado, Emilio Carral Vilariño

The organizers

The Way of Saint James, Tourism, and Local Community

Tourism, as an organization or organizational sphere, determines social organization and institutions, particularly political and social ones, and is itself determined by them: gradation and intensity are different things, according to the innumerable cases that can be analyzed.

Tourism clearly conditions people's daily lives in a double sense: certainly, because of the inputs it constitutes, via human (and other) resources it mobilizes, and the goods and expenses it generates; but also, in many communities, because of the social, spatial, temporal and/or cultural reorganization that its operation implies in the community social space. In many cases, this impact does not occur in mere peripheral or marginal spaces, but rather in places that are central - physical spaces that are fundamentally relevant to the community in which it develops. Tourism is not, therefore, a cookie manufacturing company located in an business park; it is not an array of vegetable gardens or meadows surrounding a certain city.

Although the work we present here focuses on the case of the The Way of Saint James and the city of Santiago de Compostela, we believe that it has even greater potential. Santiago is one of the communities most impacted by the phenomenon of the Way which is, in turn, one of the most relevant phenomena of tourism today and which increasingly affects many other realities, including the Basque Country. The very activity of pedestrian or bicycle tourism, in general, serves as a paradigmatic and exemplary case in the Ways of St. James, both as an example of its reality and its effects. The example

of Compostela can thus serve as a privileged comparison and contrast with other social realities that are beginning to experience or are already significantly feeling the impact of this phenomenon at the cultural, social, economic, and environmental dimension.

The tourism phenomenon has many angles of analysis. But it lacks analytical attempts that are more comprehensive in their approach, that try to proceed with a conciliating perspective of the object in question and seek to respond to questions that allow a global understanding of its impacts. The main thrust of the research we have developed and presented here is to know to what extent the visitor is a threat or an ally to the local community, as seen through a variety of lenses.

This was the reason why we assembled a truly transdisciplinary team - with researchers from the fields of ecology, economics, literary studies, discourse analysis and audiovisual studies, computational linguistics, sociology, and anthropology - around two research projects, carried out by a team within the Galabra Network: "Discourses, images, and cultural practices about Santiago de Compostela as a goal of the Ways," financed by the Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness of the Spanish government, between 2012 and 2015 (reference: FFI2012-35521) and "Narratives, uses and consumptions of visitors as allies or threats for the well-being of the local community: the case of Santiago de Compostela," funded by the Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities, through the State Agency for Investigation (AIE), between 2018 and 2021 (reference: FFI2017-88196-R). These projects establish a universe of people - visitors from Galicia, Portugal, Brazil and the Spanish state: the first is the local and national community that shares social and cultural space with Santiago de Compostela. Most visitors to Santiago de Compostela and travelers on the Way come from the Spanish state. Portugal, at the beginning of our work on the subject, in the year 2012, was the European state sending the most visitors to Compostela and the Way, just as Brazilian pilgrims was the most important extra-European group in number partaking of the Way and visiting the city. All of the above were sustained by theoretical frameworks and methodological approaches, deriving in a robust and productive fieldwork.

This phenomenon has often been seen from a perspective that analyzes the effects on the local community. This is also the central axis of this volume, which concentrates a selection of texts produced between 2011 and 2022. Our primary concern is that tourism is framed, especially by public administrations, in the perspective of the local community. And we attempt, from the outset, to draw the reader's attention to an aspect that is sometimes overlooked in this type of work, namely, the discourse surrounding the destination, to quote in tourist jargon "about what is said and what is not said" about the visited place: "Dominant Contemporary Macro-narratives about Santiago and the Way: the Invisibility of Culture as Hypothesis" was the starting point of the subsequent analytical construction and finds much of its investigative development in a specific book, to be released in Portugal, parallel to this one: *Contar o Caminho de Santiago: literatura, discurso(s) e efeitos sociais na comunidade local* (Torres Feijó, Rodríguez Prado, and Iriarte Sanromán, eds. Lisboa, Colibri, 2022).

In the same vein, in this volume one can find "Impacts of the Ways in the Local Community of Santiago de Compostela," —from Galician-Portuguese version in

Madrygal. Revista de Estudios Gallegos, 23, 2020, pp. 307-322— an analytical synthesis of the various modes of impact on the local community derived from these discourses and elaborated from various contributions of the team, which allows us to establish, as will be seen, that it is neither the economic nor the legitimate cultural capital that determines the behavior and spending of visiting people, at least in the case of Santiago de Compostela. It is the prior image —often one previously constructed by these discourses, directly or indirectly— that is the greatest determining factor on the type of visit.

From this overview we move on to palpable effects on the city, with two complementary strands: the first —initially published in Galician-Portuguese in *Sémata*, 20, 2018, pp. 233-256—, “*Reinventio and Unanimity. Impact of Cultural and Tourism Policies in the Local Community of Santiago de Compostela*,” starts from the idea of a reinvented city and its community, resemanticized, with remarkable impacts on collective identities themselves, presenting a thorough and graphic analysis of part of the massive fieldwork conducted; the second, “*Transformations in Santiago de Compostela as a Function of the Way of Saint James*,” focuses attention mainly on the evolution of the population and the use of public spaces and its identity affectation in the city.

These overviews give way to two texts that combine the theoretical framework used in the concrete analysis of results and focuses on two specific perspectives. The first, “*Identity Sustainability, Identity Affectivity, and the Ithaca Traveler: Conceptual Tools for Measuring and Modeling Tourism as an Opportunity*,” seeks to offer some of the analytical tools developed by the team for examining the community from its emblematic and affective spaces and, postulating the tourist phenomenon as a potential community ally, and which focuses on a visitor profile linked to characteristic ways of traveling, in life itself, as expressed in the poem “*Ithaca*” by C. Cavafis. Already “*Tourism and Gastronomy in Santiago de Compostela (Galiza): A Case Study Under Polysystem Perspective in Relationship with Other System Analysis*” —previously in *Circuits in motion. Polysystem theory and the analysis of culture*. Ed. David Souto, Aiora Sampedro and Jon Kortazar. Bilbao: UPV/EHU, pp. 182-191— compares the relationship of tourist practices with gastronomy and local production, one of our priorities coming from the field of biology intermixed with polysystems theory, and one of the strong points in the team’s cultural research.

Gastronomy occupies a necessarily noteworthy dimension in this volume. To eat is a daily and necessary practice for people; offering, or not offering the products of the place visited is a way of understanding the community and the visitor; to consume them or not is a strong indicator of the visitor’s understanding and connection to the local community, its identities, ways of life, and culture. Hence the relationship of this activity with local economic dynamics and with the use of the territory occupies central a role, and makes gastronomy, undoubtedly, one of the best tools for gauging the local well-being and the visitor’s interpretation. This is what the work “*Gastronomy and Tourism: Socioeconomic and Territorial Implications in Santiago de Compostela-Galiza (NW Spain)*” is geared towards.

In keeping with ways of understanding and being understood, we also wanted to open up a space for the manner in which the visitor interprets him or herself in relation

to the identity profiles of the local community. Here, the universe of the four origins analyzed is particularly useful, because they all present, to varying degrees and with different compositions, political, social, cultural, and linguistic linkages to the community of destination. In this specific case, we offer results of a particular and relevant subject, the Luso-Galician relationship, through “The Existence of a Luso-Galician Community as an Emotional Element in the Visits to Santiago de Compostela from Portugal: First Results through Quantitative-Qualitative Surveys” - from Galician-Portuguese version in *Estudos da AIL em Teoria e Metodologia. Relacionamento nas Lusofonias II*. Ed. Elias Torres, Raquel Bello, Roberto Samartim e Manuel Brito-Semedo. Coimbra: AIL, 87-96. At play here is the perspective of the bordering subject, those who live next door, those who—even though they have been politically separated for centuries— perhaps maintain fundamental links of relationship. In general, understanding the networks of identification and affection (or not) that visitors and locals are able to perceive regarding themselves and their relationships is thus a basic tool to understand what is expected from these visits and how to guide this dynamic throughout its myriad dimensions.

Our insistence on “thinking from the local” motivated us to begin work with the Municipality of Santiago de Compostela in order to organize an exhibition to divulge a portion of the project’s results, aimed at the citizens of Santiago de Compostela and visiting people alike. Fortunately, an agreement was signed between the University of Santiago de Compostela and the Municipality of Santiago and this exhibition took place in 2019, accompanied by several events and round tables with various groups, political representatives, associations, merchants, residents, institutions... whose full results can be seen here: *The City, the Way and Us* (https://redegalabra.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/2020_ACidadeOCaminhoENos_DEF_Andavira.pdf) and *Visit, Trade, Inhabit the City* (https://redegalabra.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/2020_VisitarComerciarHabitarACidade_DEF_Andavira.pdf).

Analyzing this entire process falls to the last of the works that we present here and with which we close this volume: “Polysystem Theory and Research Applications: Planning and Social Research Commitment in an Analysis of the Expositive and Dissemination Project *The City, the Way and Us* as a Case Study” —previously in *Circuits in motion. Polysystem theory and the analysis of culture*. Ed. David Souto, Aiora Samp Pedro and Jon Kortazar. Bilbao: UPV/EHU, pp. 162-181,— not before thanking Argitalpen Zerbitzua of the University of the Basque Country/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea, with its director Elisabete Alberdi Celaya at its head, as well as the esteemed colleague Jon Kortazar for their generosity in steering this book towards the port we wanted to see it in. Mila esker, bihotz-bihotzez.

Dominant Contemporary Macro-narratives about Santiago and the Way: the Invisibility of Culture as Hypothesis

Elias J. Torres Feijó

Galabra - Universidade de Santiago de Compostela

I will dedicate this work to mark the main fault lines of contemporary discourses on the Way of Saint James and Santiago de Compostela (SC). I will formulate hypotheses of reception and practices of cultural use or non-use of these two entities, itinerary and city, surrounding the uses of the Way and SC and their relation to ideas fabricated about them, some of which will be contrasted in other chapters of this book - this in order to formulate and analyze the ways in which these uses are processed regarding the destination identities and cultures and how these and their lives are affected or not.

My objective is therefore to expose the most important repertory elements elaborated in contemporary times about the Way of Saint James: those promoted by the Catholic Church [abbreviated, CC] and those established by international organizations, especially UNESCO and the Council of Europe. My corpus consists of the speeches of Pope John Paul II and the declarations of the institutions mentioned in relation to the SC and the city of Santiago de Compostela. The impact and sales volume of Paulo Coelho's *O Diário de um Mago* (1987) —later on also DM—, subsequently boosted by articles, interviews, etc. by him and a growing number of his supporters and followers, make it appropriate to introduce it as a third discourse of international scope, alongside the other two.¹ I call

¹ In previous research conducted on actual Brazilian visitors to Santiago, or those planning to go, we distinguished the following profiles: religious, spiritual, mystical, academic, and those coming for cultural tourism, root "tourism" and business tourism. In an initial sample linked to this project

them Grand narratives or macro-narratives because they are texts or formulations of a global reach and high impact, which present an attempt at a generic or even holistic understanding about the Way and/or the city and its meanings.

Certainly, there are many other examples, some of them with considerable effect, like the one promulgated by the Xunta de Galicia, but, in terms of discourse and scope, it is subsidiary to these, and its elaboration began in the 90s. Lastly, I will attempt to show the lines of divergence or convergence between the various discourses, progressively noting their extremely striking similarities, whether intentional or not, and I will draw a quick comparison of these established lines with a few products of high impact in certain cultural spaces in order to form contrastive hypotheses and for eventual future verification. Tour operators, hoteliers, and local tourism promotions can be thought of as generators of narratives; but, in many cases, they are channelers, not themselves developers of narratives. The narratives they create, while perhaps new in some respects, fall within the framework of the existing Macro-models mentioned above. Sometimes, even, the emergence of new narratives, usually sub-narratives, is done within the structure of previously created Macro-models, which allow these relative innovations to flow, given the conservative character of these agents. A very ambitious investigation would be needed, but I think I am not mistaken to think that this is quite common. The successful revitalization of old narratives or the creation of new narratives can be used to generate new attractions and new uses by their potential users, directly or especially indirectly. This will outline a framework of understanding, a generic repertoire in which small pieces will fit or not according to local and visiting interests, some more easily than others, and may find themselves masked or destroyed depending on the macro-narrative.

The production of texts —as well as musical and audiovisual productions— with the Way as the framework for the development of their diegesis has increased significantly in recent years since the beginning of the 21st century, although throughout time this has always been a reality. To the growing number of literary compilations on the subject, such as the one by Javier Gómez Montero (2009), or generic bibliographical collections in progress —almost 5,000 volumes on the Way owned by the Jacobean Library as of 2006—, for example, the 11th issue of the journal *Bibliografía Jacobea* (2006), published by the Asociación de Amigos del Camino de Santiago of Palencia (www.bibliotecajacobea.org), brings together exhaustive bibliographical compilations, such as

Cortizas (2011) highlighted Paulo Coelho as the main idea-maker and marketing element as well as the main distribution channel worldwide of the product “The Way of Saint James”. According to Cortizas:

As categorias referentes ao espaço e paisagem e a de hábitos, costumes e alimentação entrariam em jogo quando no caso brasileiro consideramos todo o fenómeno social vinculado ao fenómeno bola de neve e às redes sociais que se conformam ao redor das Associações de Amigos do Caminho de Santiago no Brasil tanto em espaços virtuais quanto físicos, e que interagem também através da coleção de livros de relatos e diários de viagem (mais de 200 compilados até momento [2008]) a modo de guias de iniciação ao caminho de Santiago e até de manuais (que ver, que fazer, etc. quando se faz o Caminho) que se criaram seguindo o modelo Paulo Coelho, assim como todo tipo de relatos e experiências de vida que encontramos na rede em forma de blogs ou outras plataformas de intercâmbios culturais e de relacionamentos sociais (tipo as comunidades do orkut, os grupos do facebook, ou os blogs e web pessoais, temáticas, etc...).

the one coordinated by Fermín de los Reyes Gómez (2000), that already show the vitality of the phenomenon, in the two volumes and 944 pages it contains, with 8,614 commented references he coordinates. Of these references, compiled until approximately 1999, 1,936 were already “foreign” and of the remaining, from the “Libro Antiguo” —s. xv to 1,800— 367 citations appear; 749 up to the 19th century and the rest, up to 6,678, to the 20th century. This is evidently a multidimensional phenomenon, as shown by tourist agencies and specialized book catalogs —“Camino de Santiago”, www.guiarte.com/caminosantiago; “Casa del Libro”, www.casadellibro.com/libros-el-camino-de-santiago-en-la-literatura/855.

1993, the first Holy Year since 1982, and the first strongly promoted for tourism, particularly by the Xunta de Galicia, which created the S. A. de Xestión do Plan Xacobeo for this purpose, “aimed at promoting tourism and culture and the provision of services of the Ways of Saint James” (“S.A: de Gestión”, n.d.). 1993 was a milestone year for this process, and in the intensity and production of literature as well (López Alsina, 1993), in which, from studies focused primarily on historical, artistic, cultural or literary aspects of the Medieval period, attention began to be paid to the growing cultural production —especially literary— generated by the SC —for example, for literature: Chao Mata, 2000 or Gutiérrez, 2001; Puerto, 2004; and Martín, 2004; for exhibitions, García Iglesias, 2004. This also signified an important change of meanings and resemanticization acting on the Way in literature, which has only been augmented by certain public and religious powers (Herrero, 2003).

In 1982, Pope John Paul II visited Santiago de Compostela, historically, an important pilgrimage site, together with Rome and Jerusalem, although at the time there was not much international attention paid to the sanctuary². It was the Compostelan Holy Year —a holiday that takes place every 5, 6 or 11 years, when the day of Saint James, July 25, falls on a Sunday—, an opportunity that was unintentional, since the trip had been postponed for a year, after the attempt on his life made by Mehmet Ali Ağca on May 13, 1981, and it was the first time that a Pope had made such a trip in the history of the IC. This was already significant because of the audience and repercussion that the actions of the leader could have, taking into account his community of adherents —in this period, people considered Catholics by the Vatican were between 700 million upwards of one billion in number (“Anuario”, 2006; “The Church”, 1995); of which it is difficult to know how many were active or practicing or following the Pope’s doctrine. His potential audience was growing in the European and world context, presided over by the so-called Cold War and by the character that Karol Wojtila was giving to his pontificate. Wojtila often traveled on “pastoral visits”, assiduously using the mass media for his messages, in a world, moreover, being progressively globalized, with some messages of a marked political and interventionist nature, coming from the first non-Italian Pope since 1522 and, even more importantly, from a Polish Pope, someone who fought against the communist regime in his country, in a divided Europe.

² Both analysts and the CC coincide in presenting figures of visitors/pilgrimss or tourists in which the most qualitatively relevant growth took place in 1993. Cf., for example, for the first case, Santos (2006), and for the second, Aciprensa (2004).

John Paul II [hereinafter also JP II] arrived in Madrid on October 31, 1982, on an 11-day visit to the Spanish State; the next day, the King of Spain received in the same city “a quien con mayor afecto y respetuosa cercanía le llamamos el Padre Santo”, with affirmations of the historically Catholic character of the Spanish monarchy, and allusions to the extension of Catholicism³ to the Spanish Kingdom, particularly in Latin America. The King’s speech —of little more than 500 words⁴ and, like his speech in Santiago, in discursive and ideological harmony with those of JP II— situating the Kingdom represented in the logic of the papal speech and visit- also alluded to the Pope as a defender of peoples’ freedom, and to JPII’s capacity for political influence. Thus, the interventionist character of Wojtila’s political stance in relation to the “Guerra fría” was made explicit —cf. on the stance of C. Wojtila in relation to the Cold War, Bozo *et alii*, 2008; Gaddis, 2005; Pons and Romero, 2004.

JP II’s answer (1982a) —1,172 words— stresses the Catholic nature and the faithfulness of the Spanish people to the CC and the Pope, the long history of Christianity in the Peninsula and summarizes his trip to the Spanish State, in a land [“que está bajo el patrocinio de Santiago el Mayor, cuyo recuerdo perdura en el Pilar de Zaragoza y en Santiago de Compostela (...); que fue la gran meta de peregrinaciones europeas a Santiago; que vivió la empresa de la reconquista; que descubrió y evangelizó América (...)”]. And he explains “three aspects that marked the great goals of my trip to to Spain”: “confirmar en la fe”, “confortar la esperanza” —“witness of hope” was the usual form in which JP II presented his pontificate— and “alentar las energías de la Iglesia y las obras de los cristianos” to “combatan⁵ batallas de paz y amor, estén comprometidos en la solidaridad con los hombres y sean en el momento actual generosos y perseverantes en obras de servicio, para el bien de todos los españoles y de la Iglesia universal”. JP II concludes by entrusting the trip to “al Apóstol Santiago, Patrón de España” and with the invocation of the protection of the “Virgen Santísima del Pilar, Patrona de la Hispanidad”.

In the Acts developed in Santiago, the beginning of the construction of the new discourse of the CC about the Holy Cross and the city, three systematically interrelated elements synthesize the papal program:

- the characterization of Santiago and, above all, of the Way and the pilgrimage as the historical backbone of Europe.
- the identification of Christianity as the root of European identity and cohesion.

³ We should keep in mind that the Kingdom of Spain had ceased to be an official Catholic state only four years before; and that the CC —particularly its hierarchy— played an important role in the consolidation of the dictatorial regime (Soto, 2005; Encarnación, 2008).

⁴ None of the focused speeches exceeded 2,500 words; the figure is given to relatively compare the length of the quotes that are transcribed and the lines of force that are synthesized from the different speeches.

⁵ Warlike language (in oxymoron, as in this case), and, in general, a certain tendency to demonstrate power, to convoke and mobilize, were present in these papal speeches.

—the identification of Saint James, the Apostle and the Way as the goal and process of Catholic conversion and elevation.

In his speech the “Misa del Peregrino” (the pilgrim mass, 1982b) Santiago appears as “uno de los lugares sagrados más célebres en la historia, famoso en el mundo entero”, “durante siglos la meta de un camino, trazado sobre la tierra de Europa por las pisadas de los peregrinos que, para no extraviarse, miraban los signos estelares del firmamento”⁶ and Galicia as the “lugar que los antiguos llamaban ‘Finis terrae’ y que ahora es una ventana abierta hacia las nuevas tierras, también cristianas, que están más allá del Atlántico”.⁷ Compostela is, in his judgment, “un testimonio de fe que, a lo largo de los siglos, enteras generaciones de peregrinos han querido como ‘tocar’ con sus propias manos o ‘besar’ con sus labios [traditional gestures of pilgrims before the basilar statue in the Portico of Glory that they judge to be the image of Santiago⁸], viniendo para ello hasta la catedral de Santiago desde los países europeos y desde Oriente” and which constitutes the “la identidad del pueblo español”. The idea of movement towards a goal is reiterated as an example of progress and transformation. JP II identifies himself with the pilgrims and with the Apostle(s) as the evangelizer; the CC is “Pueblo de Dios” that walks.

The second speech of King Juan Carlos I (1982b) to JP II takes place in the so-called “Acto Europeo”,⁹ convened by the CC, which brings together, among others, representatives of international European organizations in the Cathedral, in the territory of the CC itself. It is a speech in which the monarch situates the Act in the context of the European pilgrimage to “este Santiago de la tradición” of “hombres y mujeres de Europa entera, católicos los más”, stressing the Europeanism of Spain and in his opinion the “adverse” moments of that time, always in tune with Catholic doctrine, among which he included “las divisiones de una Europa que en un tiempo estuvo unida por las mismas raíces culturales y religiosas”, and “sobre todo, esa plaga del terrorismo”,¹⁰

⁶ It is worth keeping this allusion in mind: the position and movement of the stars as a secular mode of orientation; stars that can also guide, magically, (which is also internalized in Christian culture, especially the Catholic one, in the case of the so-called Magi who visit the newborn child named Jesus; Catholic Bible, Mt 2, 10); and even with different cultural traditions that converge on astrology as a way of understanding the world, human destiny, etc., on occasions an esoteric element of importance (Stuckrad, 2005; Hanegraaff, 2004; see also García Tato, 2006). The Milky Way is also known as the Road or the Way of Saint James that pilgrims would use from ancient times to orient themselves towards Santiago.

⁷ Latin America was already the main geocultural area of Catholic presence: JP II often linked Spain and Latin America as a whole, the Catholicism of the latter being a result of the former.

⁸ Here is another important element: the appropriation (its legitimacy is not in question) of traditional gestures and formulas.

⁹ Officially, the Vatican called it the “Acto Europeo”; the Spanish Royal House and the same Santiago Diocesan Archives will call it “Europeista” (Juan Carlos I, 1982b). The Spanish Episcopal Conference also: (“Primer Viaje”, n.d.), and it also appears in the computer archives of the Vatican (John Paul II, 1982d).

¹⁰ Days earlier, the Spanish army general Victor Lago Román had been murdered by ETA, and the Pope received his family in private, condemning the attack (“El Papa recibió”, 1982)

“Parece que existe un estrecho lazo entre la fe y la generosidad. De la fe surgieron en Europa una multitud de instituciones en el campo de la educación, de la beneficencia y de la asistencia social”. Santiago, which was, for the king, “meta de la historia”, “puede ser ahora principio de una Europa nueva, que debe nacer insertando el espíritu de Cristo en la misma entraña del mundo”, ending with gratitude to the Pope for “la trascendente doctrina” that he had left with his visit.

The symbolic dispute over the definition of Europe, the attempts to impose as legitimate the Vatican’s characterizing criteria and the reiterated affirmation of the Catholic faith as a vital and convivial model lie at the center the speech “La renovación espiritual y humana de Europa” (John Paul II, 1982d) of the “Acto Europeo” celebrated in the cathedral, “lugar, tan querido para los gallegos y españoles todos” by name and above all by the very fact of its existence. Santiago, symbolic element of the contribution of Christendom to the Continent, is described as being “en el pasado un punto de atracción y de convergencia para Europa y para toda la cristiandad. Por eso he querido (the “Act” exists, dependent upon his will¹¹) encontrar aquí a distinguidos representantes de Organismos europeos, de los obispos y Organizaciones del continente”.

The pilgrimage to Santiago appears as the backbone of Europe’s history, an “inmensa red de vías de comunicación que unen entre sí a las ciudades y naciones que lo componen”, referred to by European icons such as Goethe, who “insinuará que la conciencia de Europa ha nacido peregrinando”. It is a Europe that he, affirming his Slavic condition, considers defined by the limits to which Christendom has reached, from the West of the Soviet Union at its height, to the *Finis terrae* in which the Way, Europeanism and Christian faith are inseparable. In that European Economic Community, to which the governments of the Spanish and Portuguese States intended to adhere, with K. Wojtila (“Europa: Sé tú misma”, n.d.), adorned with symbols of the Pilgrimage to Santiago and as an appropriation of the meaning of the Act, that these statements garnered increasing political, social, cultural and economic importance for the debate on the scope of Europe. Particularly since the pretensions of certain Turkish governments, but before that, with the entry of the countries of the East —a fragmenting notion that is never used by JP II. In this sense, the Pope affirms that what he calls civil and religious division —especially “por la defeción de bautizados y creyentes de las razones profundas de su fe y del vigor doctrinal y moral de esa visión cristiana de la vida, que garantiza equilibrio a las personas y comunidades”—, in Europe, is parallel in its causes and, consequently, in its solutions¹².

¹¹ The Pope prolongs the emphasis on the uniqueness of his position and the primacy of his discourse, making his monologue appear as dialogue and joint labor (“a todos dirijo mi deferente y cordial saludo, y con vosotros quiero reflexionar esta tarde sobre Europa”) and hyperbolizing his contemplative and superior attitude: “**Mi mirada se extiende** en estos instantes **sobre** el continente europeo (...)” begins the paragraph immediately afterwards - our emphasis.

¹² The allusion to a better past/Catholic religion to return to is also present in the Message that JP II will send to convene the IV World Youth Day in Santiago, 1989 (“nostalgia de lo sagrado”). For the question of the narrative of nostalgia and its ideological character see Stewart, 1993; for the concrete case of Santiago, see Sime, 2011.

It is in this context that the Pope, through the anaphora, pronounces a paragraph that offers a synthesis of his political and spiritual proposal for Europe: he functionally associates his conditions of Pole, Slav, European, Pope, bishop, priest, and links them to those of being a member of Europe, and hence European, as well as head of the CC and member of it, both a part and leader fused in his person:

Por esto, yo, Juan Pablo, hijo de la nación polaca que se ha considerado siempre europea, por sus orígenes, tradiciones, cultura y relaciones vitales; eslava entre los latinos y latina entre los eslavos; Yo, Sucesor de Pedro en la Sede de Roma, una Sede que Cristo quiso colocar en Europa y que ama por su esfuerzo en la difusión del cristianismo en todo el mundo. Yo, Obispo de Roma y Pastor de la Iglesia universal, desde Santiago, te lanzo, vieja Europa, un grito lleno de amor: Vuelve a encontrarte. Sé tú misma.¹³ Descubre tus orígenes. Aviva tus raíces. Revive aquellos valores auténticos que hicieron gloriosa tu historia y benéfica tu presencia en los demás continentes. Reconstruye tu unidad espiritual, en un clima de pleno respeto a las otras religiones y a las genuinas libertades.¹⁴

Supporting his ideas he cites names from the Christian tradition, among them Maximilian Kolbe —“mártir de la caridad en el campo de concentración de Auschwitz al que recientemente he proclamado santo”— and “Benito de Nursia y Cirilo y Metodio, Patronos de Europa”,¹⁵ promoters of “aquella presencia del cristianismo entre los pueblos eslavos, que permanece todavía hoy insuprimible, a pesar de las actuales vicisitudes contingentes”.

JP II also claims to renounce “ciertas posiciones que [the CC] ocupó en el pasado y que la época actual ve como totalmente superadas” which implies *aggiornamento*,

¹³ The underlined text was engraved years later on a tombstone placed inside the cathedral.

¹⁴ The passage concludes by setting Santiago as an example of what Europe should do: “Los demás continentes te miran y esperan también de ti la misma respuesta que Santiago dio a Cristo: «lo puedo»” The correspondent of the Catholic newspaper ABC and expert on the Vatican at that time and who would be, from 1984 until 2006, Director of the Holy See Press Office, Joaquín Navarro Valls, indicated in his chronicle of November 10 (Navarro, 1982): “En la forma, en la sintaxis y en el estilo era el párrafo más solemne del medio centenar de discursos y homilias pronunciados estos días por Juan Pablo II”.

The tenor of the political line for the CC to follow in Europe in this speech and, in particular, this paragraph, was still referenced by the same Pope in Madrid, more than twenty years later, 2003, in what he judged “momentos transcendentales para la consolidación de una Europa Unida” —“the Treaty of Nice had just entered into force and the EU was preparing the integration of ten states, eight of which were formerly communist, including Poland; and the consequences of the Balkan political and belic conflict, among other elements, still remained” (Ortiz, 2003). These words will be reused by him in texts of importance to the CC such as the document “Ecclesia in Europa” already referred to as the “Europeanist Act”. The success of the phrase will identify Europe-Santiago/Peregrination, the Catholic Church-John Paul II.

¹⁵ In the appropriation of the idea of Europe in the papal discourse, times and spaces of European memory converge, from the most remote —the cathedral itself, the Middle Ages— to the most recent —the War and the Holocaust, political division. These are always formulated by Catholic solutions or offers: sacrifice, cohesion, faith, etc., and by its sanctioning power —here the saints, for example, one of them made by him, or the definition of patron saints.

correction—in a double sense—and goodness—by self-criticism— of its discourse. He sets the CC “al servicio, como Santa Sede y como Comunidad católica, para contribuir a la consecución de aquellos fines, que procuren un auténtico bienestar material, cultural y espiritual a las naciones”, justifying its participation in international diplomatic forums, “en momentos no fáciles para Europa”. His speech invokes the strength of the institution he leads, reaffirming Catholic values and supplicating the Virgin Mary “para que el bien continúe siendo una gozosa realidad en Europa y Cristo tenga siempre unido nuestro continente a Dios”.¹⁶

It is not easy to quantify the scope of the Pope’s speech. He addressed “hermanos y hermanas, venidos de todas las diócesis de Galicia y de tantas partes de España” and expressed his joy at knowing that “durante todo el Año Santo Compostelano, diversos millones de peregrinos—más que en los precedentes Años— han venido a Santiago en busca de perdón y de encuentro con Dios”, a figure that is manifestly exaggerated, according to data from successive years of greater impact¹⁷ (Santos, 2006). Galiza and Spain are the immediate targets, especially the written press and television, which retransmitted many events. The newspapers that accompanied the visit collected sources ranging from 200,000 to 500,000 people; in any case, as *La Voz de Galicia* wrote on its front page of November 10, 1982: “the largest human concentration in the history of Galicia received the Pope in Santiago”.¹⁸ In countries such as Italy, France and Poland coverage of the visit was important, particularly in its political aspect—on October 28th, the PSOE would reach the absolute majority in the legislative elections.

At the end of 1988, the “Mensaje de Juan Pablo II para la IV Jornada Mundial de la Juventud”, dated in the Vatican, on November 27th and signed by Joannes Paulus PP. II, 1988, and convened for the days of August 19 and 20, 1989 in the “famoso santuario de Santiago de Compostela, en España”, merging in it history, tradition, hard labor and conversion to religion. The missive continually evoked aspects of his speech in the European Act of 1982. Alluding to the CC as “Pueblo de Dios en camino”, he appeals to the “entusiasmo juvenil” so that the Way may have “en este año, un nuevo y rico desarrollo”. The message was introduced by the phrase “I am the Way, the Truth and the Life” (Catholic Bible, John 14:6), a phrase that the Pope will reiterate as a cohesive

¹⁶ In “Encuentro del Papa Juan Pablo II con las gentes del mar en Santiago de Compostela” there are no allusions to Santiago or the Way, except for “la espléndida Plaza del Obradoiro y la basílica compostelana” where the act was celebrated and to the “dear Apostle of Spain, Santiago” as a fisherman as well, showing concern for the economic, social and spiritual conditions of the sailors and their families and concluding his speech in Galician—the only occasion he will speak it—, identifying Galiza as a privileged custodian people of Santiago (1982c).

¹⁷ The Archbishopric had not yet firmly established the criteria for the pilgrim as one who traveled at least 100 kilometers on foot or 300 kilometers by bicycle. The contemporary phenomenon had not yet taken its firm and multitudinous steps.

¹⁸ The headline recounted an event from 5 years earlier (December 4, 1977), the demonstrations in A Coruña and Vigo in defense of Autonomy for Galiza. The headline to the front page of the *La Voz de Galicia* read (“Galicia clamó”. 6/12/1977): “Galicia clamó por su autonomía. Gigantesca movilización popular: 100.000 manifestantes en A Coruña y 300.000 en Vigo. Es la mayor que ha habido en la historia gallega”.

element in his discourse and sense of the Way; in the “Mensaje”, the Pope presents himself as an interlocutor, a prescriber and solver of the eventual concerns of the “queridísimos jóvenes” and “queridísimas jóvenes” to whom he addresses, he considers that the “mundo actual es una gran tierra de misión, incluso en los países de antigua tradición cristiana. En todas partes, hoy, el neopaganismo y el proceso de secularización constituyen un gran desafío al mensaje evangélico” and points out some solutions where the CC can penetrate —“se presentan (también en nuestros días) nuevas ocasiones para anunciar el Evangelio: se nota, por ejemplo, una creciente nostalgia de lo sagrado, de los valores auténticos, de la oración”—, in which young people “de manera especial” must “dar testimonio de la fe, hoy, y comprometeros a llevar a los demás el Evangelio de Cristo —camino, verdad y vida— en el tercer milenio cristiano; como también construir una nueva civilización que sea la civilización del amor, de la justicia y de la paz”.

The 1989 papal speeches in Santiago prolong the content of the convocation and the line defined years ago, offering only the uniqueness of the audience sought —the youth—, and greater emphasis on the civic and mobilizing character of the CC. In the “Ceremonia de Bienvenida” (John Paul II, 1989a), on August 19, JP II reinforces the place and the itinerary as one of the essential initiatives and factors for the European identity, from its “juventud” —being young is to return to the European and Catholic youth past— to the present time and its future. The Pope pronounces these words in an ecumenical staging —it brings together young people “desde los más lejanos lugares, de todos los continentes”, thus making them representative of the world’s youth—, in which he alludes to physical sacrifice¹⁹ which he relates to penance and prayer, with which one reaches the symbolic city of the permanence of the Catholic faith and, therefore, because the solidity and capacity to “iluminar”, of Santiago and the IC. The latter claims to be preparing “a una nueva cristianización” supported by the millenarian chronological-cultural framework —eleven years from the year 2000 AD—, a reference more intensely used now.

During “el rito del peregrino” (1989b), Wojtila systematically reinforces the primacy of the CC over political power and claims ownership of the pilgrimage, endorsed by him and by the young people who carry the Jacobean emblems they enter the basilica with, greeting first all the authorities and members of the CC, then “a los seminaristas y a los jóvenes que, en representación de todos los demás y con la capa de peregrino sobre sus hombros, me han acompañado hasta la catedral”, and then to the political authorities of the State, beginning with “Sus Majestades los Reyes de España, que han querido participar en esta liturgia. Por medio de ellos me permito reiterar mi caluroso saludo al querido pueblo español”. In a brief passage, the Pope uses the Galician language, allowing him to allude to its similarly named origin —“Galizia oriental”— “Galicia occidental”, from the “Finisterre hispánico”—, thus introducing his repeated status as a Pole and a European, framed in the proselytizing character of his activity. And he tendered an offer of prestigious values, especially among young people and their presumed transforming idealism —peace, solidarity, etc.—, linked to religious practices

¹⁹ It is, unless I am mistaken, the first papal allusion to the physical effort of the Way, which would be particularly attractive and challenging to and for young people, given their vitality.

—prayer, penance— that would find their exclusive authenticity in the Christian faith and in the CC, whose manifestation and proselytization would be effective to “construir una civilización más justa, una sociedad humana más habitable”²⁰.

It was during the “Vigilia con los jóvenes en el Monte del Gozo”, where JP II gave the longest speech he had ever given —and would ever give— in Santiago: 4,808 words (1989e), which followed a performance by youth on the meaning of the Journey and the Pilgrimage, and was composed as an answer to an initial question: “Peregrinos, ¿Qué buscáis?” which, in his usual monologic staging, he himself answers: the way, the search, the advance towards truth, the CC and faith, using systematic appeals, direct and exhortative, addressed to his audience. Addressing himself to the Galicians, and particularly to those of the archdiocese of Santiago —another mark of primacy, that of ecclesiastical delimitation, of Catholic referentiality, as opposed to the more common cities or regions—, Santiago and Galiza are defined by him as “tierra privilegiada por albergar una meta de un camino que lleva a la alegría, al gozo, a Jesucristo”. And he greets “en algunas lenguas representadas aquí por jóvenes peregrinos”, in an eloquent ecumenical sequence of references to linguistic communities, preferably European ones, including some of the putative Eastern countries.

Again, “símbolos característicos y tradicionales de la «ruta jacobea»: el sombrero, el bastón, la concha y la calabaza” used in the performance, are promoted as elements of the meaning of his discourse. And the Way as spiritual salvation in the CC and its meanings constitute the object of the collective reflection that proposes, as “búsqueda”, not of “el dinero, el éxito, el egoísmo, el bienestar”. To it he adds Truth —“es el sentido más profundo del camino de Santiago: buscar la verdad y proclamarla”— and Life. He refers to supposed concerns of young people and a growing part of their values, such as the rejection of environmental contamination (“La Juventud”, n.d.) —“y tenéis razón”, he notes—, to reuse them metaphorically and emphatically, at the service of his message: “Pero, queridos jóvenes, también hay una contaminación de las ideas y de las costumbres que puede conducir a la destrucción del hombre. Esta contaminación es el pecado, de donde nace la mentira”.

Another part of the discourse is oriented to the role that is expected of them —witness and evangelization—, giving guidelines for behavior and attitude towards marriage and abortion, a set of values for social action, speaking out against poverty and violence, and alluding to armed conflicts that were taking place in the world, particularly in Lebanon —in a renewed civil war— and the Middle East.²¹

²⁰ In “Oración de su Santidad Juan Pablo II ante la tumba del Apóstol Santiago” (1989d), in a more individual and intimate practice, more concentratedly religious and monologue addressed to the Apostle, JP II reiterates the basic ideas of the Pilgrim H.I., its historical permanence, its character of congregating young people from all over the world “hasta este ‘finisterrae’ de tus andanzas apostólicas”, “donde tú eres peregrino y hospedero, apóstol y patrón”. In the last verses, the Pope makes reference to the Hymn to Santiago (cf. “Información”, n.d.).

²¹ The political importance of the visit and of the international context can be understood in the interview between the President of the Spanish Government Felipe González and the Pope on “the situation of Lebanon and the problems of Central Europe” (Álvarez, 1989).

In the August 20 Homilia on August 20 in the Mass celebrated on the Monte do Gozo (1989c), the Pope insists on the ecumenical character and strength of the convocation in his opening greeting to those present “llegados aquí no sólo de Galicia, de España entera, de todo Europa, desde el Atlántico hasta los Urales [note the broad definition of Europe una], sino también de América del Norte y de América Latina, del Oriente Medio, de África, de Asia y de Oceanía”. “El Monte del Gozo, donde se juntaban los peregrinos, nos hace recordar una de las características más hermosas de Santiago y de su Camino: la universalidad” will be one of the concluding phrases. It calls young people to Catholic service, symbolized in the Apostle, and a sense of transformation and renewal, symbolized in the Cathedral.

The lines drawn in 1982 were consolidated in “la mayor peregrinación de la historia jacobea”. *La Voz de Galicia* gave “unos 550.000 jóvenes”, according to the organization, while other sources put this figure as low as 300,000 (p. 20; or 400,000, p. 21; cf. “La mayor”, 1989). The Xunta, which in the meantime had become more prominent, stated (p. 14) that “las dos concentraciones llevadas a cabo en el Monte do Gozo han sido las mayores de toda la historia de Galicia, sin querer entrar en cuantificaciones”.

Until 1984, Santiago and the Way would not receive important international recognition, which reinforces the symbolic capital of the appropriation of the CC as a modern pioneer and even as the driving force behind that recognition. That year it receives the “Europe Prize” (July 12, “Council of Europe award to a city for its European commitment”) and the old city of Santiago de Compostela is declared “World Heritage Site” by UNESCO —the declaration was signed on December 4th 1984— and was inscribed in 1985 on the basis of criteria I, II and VI of the organization (“The criteria”, n.d.), whose Declaration states (UNESCO, 1984):

This famous pilgrimage site in north-west Spain became a symbol in the Spanish Christians’ struggle against Islam. Destroyed by the Muslims at the end of the 10th century, it was completely rebuilt in the following century. With its Romanesque, Gothic and Baroque buildings, the Old Town of Santiago is one of the world’s most beautiful urban areas. The oldest monuments are grouped around the tomb of St. James and the cathedral, which contains the remarkable Pórtico de la Gloria (*sic*).

On October 23, 1987, the Camino received the designation of “First European Cultural Itinerary” from the Council of Europe (CE) and, in 2004, the mention of “Great European Cultural Itinerary”²² on the proposal of the representatives of the following states: Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, Portugal, Spain and Switzerland; and receives the “Flag of Honor of the Council of Europe”, in addition to other distinctions (Reigosa, 1993). In the Declaration, the Itinerary is presented as an

²² This definition of “Great Itinerary” can be confused with that of “Great Route”, (“GR footpath”, n.d.), routes of a fundamental sporting character (sporting federations are those that design and maintain them) and also ecological and cultural, increasingly frequented. In fact, the French Camino de Santiago is the GR-65 (“Camino de Santiago” —GR-65—, n.d.).

exceptional cultural experience²³ for those who journey it, and a contact with a “vast” material and immaterial heritage, with explicit valuations of the journey itself; in it is claimed the impulse given by the EC to constitute an “itinéraire-symbole, témoignant de plus de mille ans d’histoire européenne et d’un modèle de coopération culturelle pour la Grande Europe” (Conseil, n.d.):

The EC document affirms the foundational religious character of the route, and argues for endowing the institution with a European dimension of meeting (Conseil, n.d.):

Ce qui était, pendant des siècles, un phénomène religieux fondé sur l’expression du christianisme, a pris, grâce à la Déclaration du Conseil de l’Europe en 1987 et à la mise en place d’une signalétique européenne commune³¹, une dimension supplémentaire. Donnant la possibilité à des personnes d’horizons multiples, croyantes ou non, chrétiennes ou pas, de se rencontrer et de cheminer ensemble, les chemins vers Compostelle constituent un itinéraire-symbole, témoignant de plus de mille ans d’histoire européenne et d’un modèle de coopération culturelle pour la Grande Europe.

The discourse of the CE is thus eminently European and of cultural projection, and subsidiary to the foundations that the Pope had already laid in 1982; the SC now gains a more pluralistic accent—for believers and non-believers alike—but within a framework already designed by the CC and thus assumed.

This line of distinction to the Way and/or to Santiago by international institutions also culminates—but does not end—in 1993, when it was declared World Heritage of Humanity (UNESCO, 1993), in a set of justifications that focused on motivations similar to those expressed in 1984 in the Declaration concerning the city. Among its criteria, UNESCO applied criteria I, IV and VI, thus applied, by proposal of the ICOMOS Evaluation (UNESCO, 1993; Martorell Care, 2006). In the UNESCO Declaration, one can read (UNESCO, 1993):

The late 8th century saw the consolidation of the Christian kingdom of Galicia and Asturias in northern Spain, with the support of Charlemagne. It was to provide the base for the reconquest of the peninsula from Muslim domination, a process that was not to be completed until 1492. The apostle had been adopted as its patron saint by the Christian kingdom against the menace of Islam.

In a declarative series equally subsidiary to the Catholic perspective of its use and conception:

Santiago de Compostela was proclaimed the first European Cultural itinerary by the Council of Europe in 1987. This route from the French-Spanish border was—and

²³ The first consideration of the Regulation of this type of Declarations states (Conseil, 2007): “que les objectifs principaux de la coopération culturelle européenne consistent à promouvoir l’identité européenne dans son unité et sa diversité ; à préserver la diversité des cultures européennes; à encourager le dialogue interculturel et à faciliter la prévention des conflits and reconciliation”.

still is— taken by pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela. Some 1,800 buildings along the route, both religious and secular, are of great historic interest. The route played a fundamental role in encouraging cultural exchanges between the Iberian peninsula and the rest of Europe during the Middle Ages. It remains a testimony to the power of the Christian faith among people of all social classes and from all over Europe.

Let's remember that in 2004 the French Way receives the mention of Great European Cultural Itinerary. In 2007, the candidacy of the North or Primitive Way (UNESCO, 2007) was submitted to UNESCO in order to obtain the Declaration of World Heritage, and the candidacy was approved. The Declaration in which the distinction was granted is based on criteria II, IV and VI of the organization and alludes, as in other cases, to the "miraculous discovery of the tomb of the Apostle" and to its anti-Muslim character.²⁴

There does not seem to have been a strong European institutional action to promote the Way of Saint James.²⁵ However, the phenomenon reached a mark of prestige that will be repeated almost systematically in the advertising of the entities interested in its promotion.

At the end of the 1980s, Paulo Coelho's novel *O Diário de um Mago* (1987) begins to have a growing success, first in Brazil, by itself and by the success of another of his novels, *O Alquimista* (1988) whose protagonist is named Santiago. In the first editions of both novels, a notice on the cover alludes to Paulo Coelho as the author of the other text.

The book is divided into 26 chapters, in addition to opening with the prologue by astrologer Claudia Castello Branco, followed by a preface by the author and ending with an epilogue dedicated to Santiago de Compostela. The book is built upon a constant appeal to ordinary people as a relational strategy with the reader.

I do not have reliable data on the volume of readers and sales of a book that has been accessible on the net since 2001 (Coelho, 2001b); it seems clear that these could number in the millions, especially in the Brazilian market, but also in other European markets, such as Spain or France. 40,000 copies of the book were sold by June 1988 (Morais, 2008: 476). In 1989, *DM* and *O Alquimista* reached the top of the best sellers list in Brazil (Claudino and Alzer, 2004: 121). In 1995 it surpassed one hundred editions. In 1998, Coelho was "one of the 15 most read authors in the world, he is on the best sellers list in 18 countries. His books are translated in 74 countries and 39 languages" (Moraes, 1999). That year,

²⁴ "All of this activity tied in with the first signs of resistance in this part of the north of Spain to the Muslim presence in the Iberian Peninsula" (UNESCO, 2007).

²⁵ In fact, institutionally, and after several attempts and embryonic stages, it was only in early 2010 that the first meeting of the European Parliament's Intergroup for the Ways of Saint James took place, one of the twenty-seven existing groups in the European Parliament -According to Art. 32 of the Rules of Procedure of the European Parliament, "Members may form intergroups, or other unofficial groupings of Members", but may not "engage in activities which may create confusion with the official activities of Parliament or its bodies" (Parliament, n.d.), which aims to spread the Way as an element of European cultural and identity vertebration" (Millán, 2010).

in April, *Veja* magazine (Camacho, 1998) informed that he was on the verge of reaching one million copies of all his works sold in England and Japan; a million that was largely surpassed in the United States and Italy, and exceeded four million in France. All this without counting the eight million copies that in 2008 his biographer claims were circulating illegally around the world (Morais, 2008: 53).

Coelho's symbolic capital has been growing; by the year 2000, according to one of his official pages ("Paulo Coelho", 2007) it had reached:

Prix Lectrices d'Elle (France '95); Knight of Arts and Letters (France '96); Flaiano International Award (Italy '96); Super Grinzane Cavour Book Award (Italy '96); Golden Book (Yugoslavia '95, '96, '97, '98); Finalist for the International IMPAC Literary Award (Ireland, '97); Commendatory de Order do Rio Branco (Brazil '98); Crystal Award World Economic Forum ('99); Medal de Our de Galicia (Spain, '99); Chevalier de L'Order national de la Legion neuronal (France 2000); Crystal Mirror Award (Poland 2000).

My purpose here, given the stated objectives, is none other than to summarize the fundamental modes of presentation/reception of *DM* but without going into an analysis of the work, which, on the one hand, is sufficiently widespread, as we shall see, in its general features.

As for the question Way of Saint James / city of Santiago de Compostela, Antia Cortizas Leira (2008) has made a systematization of the repertoire of *DM* in relation to identity and culture based on seven parameters designed by our project team, useful for the purposes I am concerned with here: "Linguistic issue or language treatment", "Memory, genealogy and origins", "History", "Tradition, legends and beliefs", "Space and landscape", "Habits, customs, and food" and "Travel motivations and expectations". The result, in summary, is the following: no valuations or re-reflections on languages and communities of the Way appear. The lack of attention to language(s) even extends to other cultural spheres: the author refers to the crosses scattered all along the way as "rollos" (Coelho, 1991: 129²⁶). As far as memory, genealogy, or origins are concerned, which Galiza could represent for the Brazilian author, they are non-existent. History receives greater attention, through his vision of the Jacobean route, its origins and meaning, as well as some notes on the History of the Spanish State. The origin and meaning of the Way is reviewed (Coelho, 1991: 22-23), alluding to elements that helped create its my(s)tification: the Milky Way, Aymeric Picaud, Charlemagne, *Codex Calixtinus*, *Liber Santi Jacobi*, Les Amis de Saint-Jacques, etc. —fundamentally medieval, not always linked to the Way— such as the person of El Cid, (Coelho, 1991: 52, 61, 62). It alludes to episodes linked to the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and its aftermath (1991: 101, 165; some of its veracity is controversial, Coelho, 1991: 84), "utilizados para conduzir a história e dotá-la desse caráter mais antigo, mítico e «primitivo», caracterizado pelas pegadas que o tempo e a História foi deixando ao seu passo", states Cortizas (2008).

²⁶ This 1991 edition is the one used by Cortizas Leira, which here we have chosen to preserve.

Cortizas Leira highlights the Middle Ages as one of the book's constants, where the tradition of "ritos, lendas e exercícios que ele irá aprendendo e realizando ao longo do seu caminho, e ainda por ser quando tem o seu esplendor a Ordem dos Templários, elemento mitificante e mitificado em todo o relacionado com o Caminho, os mosteiros e os ritos de consagração espiritual" originates.

From this point of view, Cortizas indicates that tradition, legends and beliefs are one of "das principais linhas temáticas e fio argumental da história, pois a própria congregação a que o autor diz pertencer logo no início do livro e seguir os seus postulados recebe o nome de «Tradição»" —title, by the way, of one of the chapters (Coelho, 1991: 203), reinforcing the link between Tradition and esotericism. He himself defines this congregation as "a grande fraternidade que congregava as ordens esotéricas em todo o mundo" (Coelho, 1991: 1) which once again refers us to the universality and the condition that the story that is told here is for the whole world (Coelho, 1991: 15). The association between history, belief and myth is repeated in the explanations of the name Compostela (Coelho, 1991: 22) or in the account of the miracle that is said to have taken place in Zebreiro (Coelho, 1991: 241). Traditional objects of the pilgrims are present already from the beginning (Coelho, 1991: 26-27), also symbolically used as mechanisms of self-identification among them. The landscape appears as varied and contrasted throughout the Way on certain occasions (Coelho, 1991: 242-243), its function being to reflect states of mind and spirit and to serve as an appeal, dialogue or clue for the traveler, endowing the text once again with "um carácter mágico e universalista". The placing of toponymy is not done carefully —there are mistakes in several toponyms—, and are used only as reference for passing through certain places and justifying the tradition and antiquity of the Way. For this, he also frequently uses a ruralist and simple tone when alluding to them, reinforcing the ancient sense of the phenomenon of the Way and the simple as an element of depth in the book's message —the text systematically links simple people, the practices of RAM— "As práticas de RAM são tão simples que as pessoas como você, acostumadas(...)" (Coelho, 1991: 35) —and the initiation to reach "true Knowledge".

Reference to the habits, customs, and food of the communities through which he passes are rare and general, except for the narrative of a wedding —the title of a chapter— or the justification of the "siesta" (Coelho, 1991: 23, 57, 79). The link between food, gastronomy, and communities is not not common, and when it appears, it is in conjunction and not highlighted positively (Coelho, 1991: 99). There are common elements —"pão com azeite", "café preto" ou "café com leite" and "vinho", although the Rioja wine is often portrayed in a positive light— are not stressed as important, and meals are described without details or links to place (Coelho, 1991: 39, 44, 70, 204). There is description of poor service (Coelho, 1991: 77) and only on two occasions does gastronomy appear as such, positively highlighted: in Estella —Navarre—, linking it to Aymeric Picaud's comments in the *Liber Sancti Iacobi* (Coelho, 1991: 80) and in Astorga —Leon—, to "biscoitos amanteigados" (Coelho, 1991: 161).

As for the motivations and expectations of the trip, Cortizas also mentions an occasional "complacência ou mais bem resignação, ou até de um implícito sentimento de culpa" whose expiation will allow us to reach the true power of "Knowledge", an expression used in the book.

Finally, I transcribe the “Epílogo: Santiago de Compostela” with which the book closes and where the only allusions to the city appear:

EPÍLOGO: SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

Da janela do meu hotel posso ver a Catedral de Santiago, e alguns turistas estão em sua porta principal. Estudantes de roupas medievais negras passeiam entre as pessoas, e os vendedores de souvenirs começam a montar suas barracas. É de manhã bem cedo, e, fora as anotações, estas linhas são as primeiras que estou escrevendo sobre o Caminho de Santiago. Cheguei ontem na cidade, depois de pegar um ônibus que fazia linha regular entre Pedrafita —perto do Cebreiro— e Compostela. Em quatro horas percorremos os 150 quilômetros que separavam as duas cidades, e lembrei-me da caminhada com Petrus – às vezes precisávamos de duas semanas para percorrer esta mesma distância. Daqui a pouco vou sair e deixar no túmulo de Santiago a imagem de N. Senhora da Aparecida montada nas vieiras. Depois, assim que for possível, pego um avião de volta para o Brasil, pois tenho muito o que fazer. Lembro-me de Petrus haver dito que tinha condensado toda sua experiência em um quadro, e passa pela minha cabeça a ideia de escrever um livro sobre o que passei. Mas isto ainda é umha ideia remota, e tenho muito o que fazer agora que recuperei minha espada. O segredo da minha espada é meu e jamais irei revelá-lo. Ele foi escrito e deixado debaixo de uma pedra, mas com a chuva que caiu, o papel já deve ter sido destruído. É melhor assim. Petrus não precisava saber. Perguntei ao Mestre como ele sabia a data em que eu iria chegar, ou se já estava ali há bastante tempo. Ele riu, disse que havia chegado na manhã anterior e iria partir no dia seguinte, mesmo que eu não chegasse. Perguntei como isto era possível, e ele não respondeu nada. Mas na hora de nos despedirmos, quando ele já estava dentro do carro alugado que o levaria de volta à Madrid, ele me deu umha pequena comenda da Ordem de Santiago da Espada, e falou que eu já tivera umha grande Revelação, quando olhei no fundo dos olhos do cordeiro. Entretanto, se eu me esforçasse como havia me esforçado, talvez conseguisse um dia entender que as pessoas sempre chegam na hora exata nos lugares onde estão sendo esperadas.

Judging by how the novel is presented, some coordinates appear to arise as constants in the reading: the individual search/transformation, the religious-mystical conception of life, and the search for happiness. The first editions, and consequently the companies dedicated to selling books, use this formula in the various languages according to the translations (We Read, n.d.)²⁷:

Durante 3 meses, Paulo Coelho cruzou a pé os quase 700Km que separam o sul da França da cidade de Santiago de Compostela, na Galícia. Esta é a história de um homem em busca dos mistérios sagrados da Magia, seu surpreendente encontro com um guia italiano, as experiências místicas conhecidas como As Práticas de RAM, e a peregrinação através de um dos três caminhos sagrados da Antiguidade - O Estranho Caminho de Santiago...

²⁷ In the first Brazilian editions, the cover has a black background and a white Cross of Santiago occupying more than two thirds of the cover, between the author's name and the title (“656”, 2010). Later, in different editions and countries, other Jacobean motifs —such as the scallop— or landscapes, paths in the forest, or pastoral motifs were chosen.

In the various translations into more than twenty languages, allusions to pilgrimage have also been adopted in the title itself, thus increasing the referentiality of the Way and its initiatory identification. Mass media, such as Wikipedia, summarize it this way (“Diário”, n.d.):

A obra relata a saga de Paulo Coelho que busca pelos mistérios sagrados da magia, seu encontro com um mago italiano, Petrus, que é seu guia, as experiências místicas conhecidas como As Práticas de Ram (Regnus Agnus Mundi) e a passagem por um dos três caminhos sagrados da antiguidade: O Caminho de Santiago de Compostela. Nessa obra, Paulo Coelho retrata com muita perfeição todas suas experiências pelo caminho.

The English version, (“El Peregrino”, n.d.), presents this plot summary in which similar characteristics are underlined:

The book starts as he fails his initiation into the order Regnus Agnus Mundi (RAM) and is then told he must complete the pilgrimage to gain the right of admission. He begins his journey with a guide, also a member of RAM, who goes by the alias Petrus. During the journey Petrus shows him meditation exercises and introduces him to some of the more down-to-earth elements of Western mystical thought and philosophy.

He concludes by pointing out the eleven “RAM exercises/rituals” described in the book: “The Seed Exercise, The Speed Exercise, The Cruelty Exercise, The Messenger Ritual, The Arousal of Intuition (The Water Exercise), The Blue Sphere Exercise, The Buried Alive Exercise, The RAM Breathing Exercise, The Shadows Exercise, The Listening Exercise, The Dance Exercise”.

“Paulo Coelho”, the news continues, “mentions that all these exercises can be carried out except ‘The Messenger Ritual,’ which should not be carried out under any circumstances as its description is incomplete and it will not bring positive results”.

The Spanish version dedicated to *El Peregrino* —extended version in Latin America (“El Peregrino”, n.d.)— accentuates the reiterated mysterious sense of the Way —several times in the book it is called the “El extraño Camino de Santiago”²⁸, “como se le conoce a

²⁸ The film *La voie lactée* by Luis Buñuel (1969) may be at the root of this use, in terms of both content and structure. In Brazil it was also known as “O Estranho Caminho de Santiago” providing a reading eventually referenced in this film, antithetical to Catholic ethics and belief. This is the synopsis that can be found of it in Brazil (e.g. Filmow, n.d.):

Dois peregrinos [Pierre e Jean] vagabundos viajam em direção ao Caminho de São Tiago de Compostela, na Espanha, um lugar místico e de influente religiosidade. Em meio à sua jornada, acabam se deparando com diversos personagens bíblicos e históricos, confrontando alguns mistérios do cristianismo e suas heresias. Em *A Via Láctea*, Buñuel faz aquela que talvez seja sua maior e mais irônica crítica à IC, utilizando-se de histórias verídicas registradas nos escritos cristãos.

In Wikipedia it looks like this (“La voie”, n.d.):

O filme, considerado herético, trata da peregrinação de dois homens a Santiago de Compostela. Um estranho confia-lhes a missão de engravidar umha prostituta. A fantasia religiosa prossegue com um padre louco, orgias místicas, um duelo teológico entre um jesuíta em um jansenista, e a repetição de muitos milagres bíblicos em meio à compreensão dos seis dogmas ou mistérios do catolicismo: a eucaristia, a natureza de Cristo, a Santíssima Trindade, a origem do mal, a Imaculada Conceição e o livre arbítrio.

una antigua ruta medieval termina en Santiago de Compostela, en Galicia, donde se cree que están ocultos (*sic*) los restos del apóstol Santiago”. And he considers the book “una parábola sobre la necesidad de encontrar nuestro camino en la vida, darle un verdadero sentido a la misma, mejorar como personas y alcanzar un mayor crecimiento espiritual”. With summaries similar to those of other translations the summary of *El Peregrino* or *El Peregrino a Compostela* stresses initiation and learning, and notes the use of biblical elements.

The unanimity on the mystical and initiatory and self-help conditions of the novel extends practically to its definition as esoteric. Paulo Coelho himself publicized *DM* linking it to effective magic and esotericism and wanted it to function as such (Morais, 2008: 472, 476, 479). The book is classified this way by publishing houses and bookstores (“656”, n.d.). In Brazil, Livrarias Saraiva—whose address is linked from Coelho’s official site for online purchase—classifies the book as “esoteric”, and “occult” (“O Diário de um Mago. 2nd Ed. 2010”, n. d.). In the catalog of the international publisher Círculo de Leitores, the self-transformation and esoteric character of the text is highlighted (“Paulo Coelho. O Diário de um Mago”, n.d.):

Considerado hoje um dos mais vendidos autores em todo o mundo, com milhões de leitores nos quatro cantos da terra, iniciou com este título o primeiro de muitos sucessos —tal— vez porque ser esta a obra que resulta do seu próprio percurso de auto-descoberta. Fazendo o Caminho de Santiago de Compostela algo aconteceu, não de súbito, não num instante, mas no caminho, no caminho sentiu-se transformado. «O Diário de um Mago» conta isso mesmo, uma viagem de transformação. Um mestre, um aprendiz, um caminho a fazer. Quem pela primeira vez faz o Caminho de Santiago de Compostela espera encontrar a qualquer momento a revelação... Mas aos poucos, tomados pelo cansaço, e também pela dúvida, percebe-se que a transformação, a descoberta de si mesmo não vai acontecer no milagre de um segundo. A transformação acontece no próprio caminho —fazendo esse caminho.

Embora Paulo Coelho tivesse já editada alguma obra em torno do esotérico, foi com a edição de «O Diário de um Mago» que marcou um outro rumo literário. Baseado no seu percurso em Santiago de Compostela, a fluidez e claridade da sua escrita revelam umha viragem como escritor e homem. O facto é que passados mais de vinte anos sobre a sua viagem a Santiago de Compostela a sua leitura continua plena dumha mágica sabedoria,

In turn, the Library of Congress gives him the call number BF1999, corresponding to Occult Sciences; consequently, he is classified as such in the libraries of the USA - cf. Brown university, for example: “Occultists; Brazil; Biography”.²⁹

²⁹ The first edition in the USA of *The Diary of a Magus* (1992) is presented as “A Spiritual Journey Toward Self-Discovery”; the book “recounts the spectacular trials of Paulo Coelho and his mentor, Petrus, as they make their pilgrimage across Spain **to recover the ceremonial sword** that will seal Coelho’s initiation into the secret society called the Tradition. Part adventure story, part guide to self-mastery, this compelling narrative reveals **the precise exercises in self-control and self-discovery that Coelho learned throughout his journey**. A fascinating mix of chivalry and mysticism. *O Diário de um Mago* delivers a powerful brew of magic and insight. And it explains that the version was made “in consultation with Paulo Coelho”. Later editions take some of the esoteric and mystical charge out of

The French publisher J'ai Lu describes the book "de voyage initiatique, dont il relate ici les étapes, l'homme est sorti transformé, convaincu que « l'extraordinaire se trouve sur le chemin des gens ordinaires ». Il restitue, dans un style simple et fluide, son aventure comme expérience universelle". The editor Anne Carrière expresses similar

the text, tending to 'fictionalize it more.' - cf. in bold, my emphasis, with Coelho (1995): *The Pilgrimage* recounts the spectacular trials of Paulo Coelho as he journeys across Spain to discover personal power, wisdom, and a miraculous sword that seals his initiation into the secret society of the Tradition. With his enigmatic mentor, Petrus, he follows a legendary road traveled by pilgrims of San Tiago since the Middle Ages, encountering a Chaucerian variety of mysterious guides and devilish opponents. Coelho's experiences and his mentor's teachings impart the spiritual wisdom that reveals itself as the true purpose of their exciting journey. Part adventure story, part guide to self-mastery, this compelling tale delivers a powerful brew of magic and insight.

In other editions, the prologue will appear alongside the quotation from Luke "And they said, Lord, behold here are two swords. And he said unto them, it is enough", Luke 22:38, and the introductory text/dedication to Petrus, in which Coelho explicitly wants to refute the esoteric or occult reading of his book, disassociating intention from result, prior occultism and self-knowledge and renewed energy as achievement, prior bi(bli)ography and meaning of the work; I transcribe it now from the French edition:

Il y a 10 ans, j'entrai dans une petite maison à Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port, convaincu que je perdais mon temps. À cette époque, ma quête spirituelle était liée à l'idée qu'il existait des secrets, des chemins mystérieux, des gens capables de comprendre et de contrôler des choses défendues à la majorité des mortels. Ainsi, parcourir "le chemin des gens ordinaires" me semblait un projet sans intérêt.

Une partie de ma génération —moi y compris— s'était laissé fasciner par les sectes, les sociétés secrètes et l'opinion selon laquelle ce qui est difficile et compliqué nous mène toujours à la compréhension du mystère de la vie. En 1974, j'ai dû le payer très cher. Tout de même, la peur passée, la fascination de l'occulte s'est installée dans ma vie. C'est pourquoi, lorsque mon maître m'a parlé du chemin de Saint-Jacques, j'ai trouvé l'idée de ce pèlerinage fatigante et inutile. J'en suis même venu à envisager d'abandonner RAM, une petite confrérie sans importance, fondée sur la transmission orale du langage symbolique. Lorsque enfin, les circonstances m'ont poussé à réaliser ce que mon maître me demandait, j'ai décidé que ce serait à ma manière. [...]

J'ai compris ce que cette expérience m'avait apporté. Aujourd'hui, cette compréhension est ce que je possède de plus précieux : l'extraordinaire se trouve sur le chemin des gens ordinaires. Elle me permet de courir des risques pour aller au bout de ce en quoi je crois. C'est elle qui m'a donné le courage d'écrire mon premier livre, *Le Pèlerin de Compostelle*. Elle m'a donnée la force de lutter pour lui, même si l'on me disait qu'il était impossible pour un Brésilien de vivre de littérature. Elle m'a aidé à trouver la dignité et la persévérance dans le Bon Combat qu'il me faut engager chaque jour avec moi-même, si je veux continuer à parcourir "le chemin des gens ordinaires". [...]

As for the bi(bli)ography referred to, in relation to the materiality of the presentation of the text and the author, there are also differences. For example, in the 12th edition (1987), next to the name "Editora Eco", we find this text: "O espiritualismo em forma de livro" On p. 4, there are the "Author's works". There were, then, four of them: *O teatro na educação* (1974), *O manifesto de Krig-ha* (1974), *Arquivos do inferno* (1982), *Manual prático do vampirismo* (1986), a book that is not in the 72nd edition (1991), for example, but that reappears in the 97th edition (1994) with the specification "(obra recolhida por determinação do autor)". *O Manual prático do vampirismo* was the first title that Coelho published by ECO and, in the 12th edition (1987), it was indicated as a composed work (c/Nelson Liano)". Morais (2008: 444) will transfer Coelho's later version in his biography that, in reality, only Nelson Liano wrote the work. Hence, Coelho would usurp a colleague's work, but would not write a published book on vampirism.

terms on the cover of the translation she published in 2004 (“Le pèlerin de Compostelle FNAC”, n.d.).³⁰

Pages dedicated to the Way in other fields also interpreted it in a similar fashion; “voyage initiatique à consonance humaniste, empruntant au syncrétisme et à l’ésotérisme” (“Le pèlerin”, n.d.). Specialized spaces for bibliography on the Way, speak of “la más conocida novela de tema jacobeo” in which is present “sobre todo vulgarización y falseamiento del Camino” (Chao, 2006:9); Chao classifies it one of the four types of esoteric novels, the “historical” type —“de ambientación contemporánea” and “con la ciudad de Compostela como marco principal”.

And in generic fields, the same tendency can be observed. A search in search engines on the web like Google —April 2010— showed the success of *O Diário de um Mago* —6,460,000 results for “Paulo Coelho” “O Diário de um Mago”—, with 794,000 results for “Paulo Coelho” “esoterismo” —it is believed that many of the results correspond either to personal blogs, in which the author is lauded, or to general information periodicals. There are 27,100 results for “O Diário de um Mago” “esoterismo” and 22,900 for “O Diário de um Mago” “esoterismo” “Paulo Coelho”, with 30,900 for the variant “Paulo Coelho” “O Diário de um Mago” “esotérico”. In other languages, such as English, “esotericism” “The pilgrimage” “Paulo Coelho” gave 2,830 results.

Several authors have interpreted elements of Coelho’s success in this vein (Janilto Andrade, 2004; Mário Maestri, 1999). Mário Maestri considers among the reasons for the success of Coelho’s *DM* his “happy end consolador” (Maestri, 1999: 42) and the fact that the esotericism of the work finds “um largo caldo de cultivo no Brasil”, and considers the whole book as to be a “consultor espiritual” (59) and “manual de auto-ajuda” (59 ff.). For Maestri, the context of capitalist crisis is a good framework for the development of the novel and the author (82):

compreendeu igualmente que sua produção literária só pôde sair do gueto subcultural em que se encontrava quando as esperanças da Humanidade na razão pareciam sufocar, definitivamente, sob as ruínas do Muro de Berlim. Então, nesse mundo de esperanças e vidas estraçalhadas, sua ficção pôde sair da toca, alçar um grito de vitória, conquistar incessantemente um público, primeiro nacional, a seguir internacional, ideologicamente preparado para ela.

Janilto Andrade comments on *O Alquimista* using parameters that, in their generality, could be applied to *DM*. He points out (Andrade, 2004: index), as Maestri does in *Diário*,

³⁰ Mystery, initiation, Catholic-like religiosity, and occultism that are maintained up until the “Epílogo Santiago de Compostela”. As seen, the protagonist goes to “deixar no túmulo de Santiago a imagem de N. Senhora da Aparecida montada nas vieiras”. He retrieves his sword, object of the pilgrimage, whose “segredo” “é meu e jamais irei revelá-lo. Ele foi escrito e deixado debaixo de uma pedra, mas com a chuva que caiu, o papel já deve ter sido destruído. É melhor assim”. Petrus gives him “uma pequena comenda da Ordem de Santiago da Espada, e falou que eu tivera uma grande Revelação, quando olhei no fundo dos olhos do cordeiro”. The work concludes: “Entretanto, se eu me esforçasse como havia me esforçado, talvez conseguisse um dia entender que as pessoas sempre chegam na hora exata nos lugares onde estão sendo esperadas”.

“contradições e inverossimilhanças”, “impropriedade discursiva”, poetic poverty and kitsch formulas, emptiness regarding the “debate político-ideológico”, qualifying it as “ópio literário” and considering it as a “refração da realidade”, to quote the title of some of the chapters of his book. He considers the work of Coelho to be a trivial and multiculturalist literature (51), of “arrivismo burguês” (68) and “vileza alienante místico pequeno-burguesa” (69).

To a good extent, Stephen M. Hart (2004) presents a more benevolent view than the one formulated by his Brazilian colleagues —Wasserman (2014: 89) perceives Hart’s article as a defense of *O Alquimista*—, considering that the adaptation of the methods of the so-called “magical realism” are at the basis of the success of *O Alquimista*. Renata R.M. Wasserman herself puts forward a very interesting hypothesis about the internationalization of Coelho’s work, which can be extended to the debate or the study of forms, ideas, and contents, of repertoires, of so-called “world literature” as a starting point, by understanding that Coelho’s work, “avoids the tension by planting itself in a kind of universal language of feeling that it easily captured and smoothes out, or even avoids, the tension of the encounter with the specifically foreign by offering a generic foreignness sanctioned into a universality of feeling”. (Wasserman, 2014: 97).

But the contrast between the criticism of Coelho and his work is evident in the recognition he has received, not only from the publishers that edit the text and the number of people that purchase it. From an institutional point of view as well, Coelho has attained a relevant position, as we shall see.

This sort of reading, criticism and recognition would be strongly reinforced by the publication, one year later, of *O Alquimista* (1988). A recent English language edition (2014) introduces the book in the following way:

The Alchemist has inspired a devoted following around the world. This story, dazzling in its powerful simplicity and inspiring wisdom, is about an Andalusian shepherd boy named Santiago who travels from his homeland in Spain to the Egyptian desert in search of a treasure buried in the Pyramids.

No one knows what the treasure is, or if Santiago will be able to surmount the obstacles along the way. But what starts out as a journey to find worldly goods turns into a discovery of the treasure found within.

Lush, evocative, and deeply humane, his story is an eternal testament to the transforming power of our dreams and the importance of listening to our hearts.

The Alchemist has as its protagonist an Andalusian shepherd named Santiago—who goes on pilgrimage to the Pyramids in Egypt—, easily referable to the apostle Santiago, to the city and, above all, to the Way of Saint James. In *O Alquimista* there are two references to the apostle Santiago, since we know that the book deals with a journey and that the previous novel *O Diário de um Mago* has the Way of Saint James as primary spatial reference. In *O Alquimista* there are two references to the apostle Santiago, both linked to “Santiago Matamouros”, an image and iconography less frequent today—although this is a subjective assessment, we can infer that it is an image whose use is

not very attractive to political and religious authorities in their promotion of the Way of Santiago and Santiago de Compostela.³¹ It is precisely evoked by the protagonist on two occasions in the mentioned work, seen with a critical eye: in the first one he feels “mal e terrivelmente só” observing Arab people in a bar that remind him of the ones he saw in the image of the saint in the church of his village under the horse’s legs. In the second he sees as an inversion of Santiago the Arab knight that runs into him and has under his feet with a curved, raised sword, the alchemist (“O Alquimista”, n. d.).

Progressively, Paulo Coelho has tried to remove the possibilities of reception in the categories of occultism and esotericism, and to bring them closer to a reading in line with the orthodoxy of the CC with some of the lines drawn by Pope John Paul II.³² Certain attitudes of the author represent and embody this closeness. He met with the Pope, after his Italian publisher, Bompiani, had to submit his books to Vatican specialists “que os analisaram durante dois meses” (Camacho, 1998). *Veja* magazine collected his statements: “Como católico, admiro o papa por ter devolvido o sentido do sagrado à IC. O mundo está passando por uma conscientização da sua espiritualidade”. He highlights this encounter in his online biography (“Paulo”, 2007), alongside the various personalities who have praised his work. There appears to be palpable attempts to increase his symbolic capital with admiring references to his work by famous, diverse,

³¹ Also the “Himno a Santiago Apóstol” that is sung at solemn moments of religious celebrations in the cathedral of Santiago is not very widespread, perhaps for similar reasons: (“Himno”):

Santo Adalid, Patrón de las Españas,
Amigo del Señor:
Defiende a tus discípulos queridos,
Protege a tu nación.
Las armas victoriosas del cristiano
Venimos a templar
En el sagrado y encendido fuego
De tu devoto altar.

Firma y segura
Como aquella Columna
Que te entregó la Madre de Jesús,
Será en España
La Santa Fe cristiana,
Bien celestial que nos legaste Tú.

¡Gloria a Santiago,
patrón insigne!
Gratos, tus hijos,
Hoy te bendicen.

A tus plantas postrados te ofrecemos
La prenda más cordial de nuestro amor.
¡Defiende a tus discípulos queridos
¡Protege a tu nación!
¡Protege a tu nación!

³² Maestri points out that “na literatura coelhista sempre houve uma clara tentativa de fundir as crenças esotéricas com o cristianismo conservador” (Maestri, 1999: 86); for him it is characteristic of his esotericism to “estreita adesão ao catolicismo romano oficial, despido do seu fundo ameaçador e moralizador” (*idem*, 69).

and legitimizing people such as Cesária Évora (Morais, 2008: 28), and Nagib Mahfouz (Morais, 2008: 54).

His official biography, by Morais, intends to trace Coelho's satanist and occultist path (chapters such as "Como prova de boa-fé Paulo promete ao Demônio não pronunciar nomes de santos nem rezar por seis meses" Morais, 2008: 284 ff.), or "Paulo sai das catacumbas jurando vencer o medo com a fé e derrotar o ódio com o amor" (Morais, 2008: 335 ff.), are revealing. We also find pages nourished with moments of faith healing, repentance, and Coelho's final embrace of Catholicism (Morais, 2008: 296, 322-323; 441) just before the *DM* (1987), which would make this his "first book" and would condition a Catholicist reading of it. There is even an episode that can be interpreted as a particular "road to Damascus" ("Um facho de luz brilha no campo de concentração de Dachau: Paulo vive a sua primeira epifania" (Morais, 2008: 415 ff., especially 420-421), in which Jean and RAM from his novel appear as existing elements connecting the work and testimonies biographically.

In 2001, Coelho will write an introductory text —he will come back on it twenty years later, Paulo Coelho (n.d.b) on the occasion of the commemoration of July 25th, "o día de Santiago de Compostela", indicating that he and his wife once again made the pilgrimage by car, a text that will be incorporated into subsequent editions of the book. In it he evokes "uma tarde de julho ou agosto de 1986" in one of the places on the Camino, Castrojeriz, where he stresses his doubts about the meaning of the Way he is doing "cumprindo um ritual de RAM, uma pequena ordem dentro da Igreja Católica" he emphasizes, "sem segredos ou mistérios além da tentativa de compreender a linguagem simbólica do mundo", to later discover, from the hand of his Master Petrus, that "não existem eleitos. Todos são escolhidos, se ao invés de se perguntarem 'o que estou fazendo aqui', resolverem fazer qualquer coisa que desperte o entusiasmo no coração. É no trabalho com entusiasmo que está a porta do paraíso, o amor que transforma, a escolha que nos leva até Deus". The fundamental meaning of the text is to reinforce a theological-catholic reading of his book, rather than an initiatory or esoteric one:

É esse entusiasmo que nos conecta com O Espírito Santo, e não as centenas, milhares de leituras dos textos clássicos. É a vontade de acreditar que a vida é um milagre que permite que os milagres aconteçam, e não os chamados 'rituais secretos' ou 'ordens iniciáticas'. E o caráter de descoberta espiritual e de refazer a vida, que o impulsiona a ser escritor.

Eu queria conhecer os mistérios? Acho que sim, mas o caminho está me ensinando que não existem mistérios, que —como dizia Jesus Cristo— não há nada oculto que não tenha sido revelado. Enfim, tudo está acontecendo exatamente ao contrário do que eu esperava.

The text shows the directions of the criticism that *DM* was being subjected to: that of insincerity and farce, of esotericism and occultism. "Durante todos estes anos, tenho escutado todo tipo de comentário a respeito de minha peregrinação; desde que a fiz inteiramente de táxi (imagine o preço³³) até que tive a ajuda secreta de algumas

³³ Specifically, in the official biography he is concerned with trying to prove that he did indeed walk the Way, particularly trying to denounce the attitude of a taxi driver who commented that he had taken Paulo Coelho in his car on the Way and, in general, of what he considers to be lies and insidiousness told about him in relation to this (Morais, 2008: 458).

sociedades iniciáticas (imagine a confusão!))” And he contests this by giving proof that neither the former —he speaks of his “Compostelana”, certification that, since the 90’s, is only given to those who walk more than 100 kilometers on foot or riding an animal, or 200 kilometers on a bicycle— nor the latter is true, indirectly clarifying the reading of the epilogue, again implicitly stating his contribution to the Camino and showing regret for having used some “metáforas” that caused confusion:

É melhor deixar assim: como Petrus não precisava saber o que faria com minha espada, os leitores não precisam ter certeza se fiz ou não a peregrinação: desta maneira, buscarão a experiência pessoal, e não aquilo que eu vivi (ou não?). Fiz a peregrinação apenas umha vez e mesmo assim, não a fiz por completo; terminei no Cebreiro, e peguei um ônibus até Santiago de Compostela. Muitas vezes penso nesta ironia; o texto mais conhecido sobre o Caminho, neste final de milênio, foi escrito por alguém que nunca o fizo até o final. Vi pelo menos umha profecia ser cumprida; recentemente estive em Foncebardon, e a cidade está revivendo, com várias construções. Utilizei algumas metáforas em O Diário de um Mago, que terminaram sendo confundidas como realidade pelos leitores. Me arrependo de ter colocado parte do ritual do mensageiro, mas jamais mudei um livro depois de publicado, e este não seria a exceção. Paulo Coelho Jardim Massey, Tarbes, França, dia 1 de junho de 2001.

This repentance is central: to begin with, it is a proof of fidelity to the CC, because in a Catholic context, repentance is a form of salvation. It outlines, let us remember, in the context of this introduction, that one should make a religious reading in religious terms, only within the framework of Christianity and, more precisely, of the CC. Others are possible, but always involuntarily and even against his will —it was the malice of some and the misreading of others that led to this. Finally, that removing parts of the book —which he does not do for reasons of coherence— could appear as an acknowledgement that the accusations had some justification, and of course keeping them helps to guarantee multidimensional readings, including the occultist one he had been accused of, and which is perhaps one of the main sources of access to his work. The latest editions remove any evidence of this. In Planeta’s 2010 edition we can read:

Um apaixonante relato da peregrinação de Paulo Coelho pelo sagrado Caminho de Santiago. O Diário de um Mago é uma fascinante parábola sobre a necessidade de se encontrar um caminho na vida e, finalmente, descobrir que o extraordinário está no caminho das pessoas comuns.

In fact, this reading is maintained in the editions themselves, in the series of brief commentaries on the work that accompany those editions. For example, the 126th one by Rocco, 2001, includes in its first pages statements such as this one, sounding ambiguously esoteric, whether by the authors or by its contents: “Longe da idéia do guru misterioso e enigmático, este mago de hoje... nos mostra como deve ser a iniciação nos nossos dias”. (Pedro Palao Pons, Karma 7, Spain); “In this spiritual odyssey, Paulo Coelho leads us gently, keeps us attentive with his episodes, and —when we are trapped by the poetic mysticism of the book— Coelho reaches us in depth through his spiritual training processes” (Katherine Diehl, Body, Mind & Spirit Magazine, USA).

Even before that time in 2010, Coelho was massively using excerpts from the Bible or prayers like this one: “Oh! Maria concebida sem pecado, rogai por nós que recorremos

a Vós. Amém” (Coelho, n.d.a); which he also inserts in later editions of *DM*, e.g., Coelho (2010: 6). On the death of Pope JP II, he interpreted the feelings of the people gathered in St. Peter’s Square as representing those who wanted to thank the deceased (Coelho, n.d.b.). We note the consonance with the process of initiation aimed at communion with Catholicism and the leading role, as guide, JP II —and not other guides—, for “ter nos aberto os olhos para o dom da fé”, a component that, given the impacts of his work, continues and is converted into a potent disseminator —apostle— of this faith: “Obrigado porque, em um momento em que todos se sentiam fracos, o seu exemplo nos devolveu a força”, to which values from the New Age sphere Coelho seems to promote, are added: “Obrigado por nos lembrar o respeito ao planeta. ‘Eu beijo a terra como eu beijo as mãos dumha mãe,’ foi o que disseste”, as well as the Pope’s actions, attitudes and speeches, which are directly linked to Paulo Coelho’s actions, attitudes and texts, with which the brief writing concludes:

Obrigado por ser peregrino, por ir ao encontro do seu rebanho, que tanto precisava vê-lo e escutá-lo dizer “Eu fui até vocês, vocês vieram a mim”.

Obrigado, portanto, por continuar em cada um de nós através de tudo o que nos ensinaste. “Não tenham medo de partir para o desconhecido, caminhem com coragem, fé e confiança, sabendo que eu estou com vocês”.

Estas são tuas palavras. Nós acreditamos nelas agora mais que nunca e seguiremos adiante porque nos deste teu próprio exemplo.

The convergence with the discourse and interests of the most relevant international institutions is equally evident and unique. It is enough to indicate that in 1999 Paulo Coelho received the high distinction of the *Medalla de Ouro*, granted by the government of Galiza; he belongs to the Board of the Shimon Peres Institute for Peace, and is Special Advisor to UNESCO, with whom he collaborates (UNESCO, n.d.b and n.d.c) for “Intercultural Dialogues and Spiritual Convergences”. In September 2007, the UN named him “Messenger of Peace”, with an announcement made during the commemoration ceremony of the International Day of Peace at the UN headquarters in New York chaired by the Secretary-General of the entity, Ban Ki-moon (“UN appoints”, 2007). Through the Paulo Coelho Institute, funded exclusively by his copyrights, he helps the elderly and children in need.

He is also “Ambassador of the European Union for Intercultural Dialogue for the year 2008” (“The story”, n.d.). In Morais, 2008: 547 ff. and 611-614, one can see the writer’s international recognition, awards and sales until that year. In Fernando Morais’s bibliographical reconstruction of him, he recalls that, due to his action as promoter of the Pilgrimage to Santiago, the “governo de Galícia [in fact, Santiago’s Town Hall] batizou de ‘Rua Paulo Coelho’ uma das artérias de Santiago de Compostela, ponto final da peregrinação” (Morais, 2008: 21; also 453-454), receiving the homage of the City Hall (Cuiña, 2008).

Paulo Coelho is the best-selling Brazilian author of all time, and the only one alive. Copies of his books are bought by the thousands in various parts of the world, and his is one of the best-selling books in the world today, if we compare best-seller figures. *O Alquimista* would be number 11th (List of the best-selling books) or 13th, counting the

Bible and the Koran (Gabrianowski, "The 21 Best-selling Books") in terms of the best-selling books of all time, according to one source.

Some consequences of this phenomenon are that nowadays, and probably also in the near future, Paulo Coelho's work is relatively and comparatively more relevant than other Brazilian authors, and that the circumstances of his life generate a certain attraction among fans, media, or institutions benefitting from it. At 10:30 a.m., Portuguese time, on April 1st, 2015, there were 25,314,954 "likes", which rose to 44,460,000 at the same time on October 3rd, 2019. And, at the same hour and day of 2015, the Twiter @paulocoelho had 9,960,556 followers, which increased to 15,468,359 by the same hour and day of 2019.

Coelho has had an active blog for years (Fall 2019); and created the "Fundação Paulo Coelho" together with his wife, Christina Oiticica, in whose "Apresentação" we can appreciate the will of presence and permanence of his work and trajectory ("Fundação Paulo Coelho"):

Creio que, se meu trabalho resistir ao tempo, sempre haverá curiosidade em saber como vivi os dias que me foram dados caminhar na face da terra. Meus manuscritos. Meus diários. Os recortes de imprensa. As cartas dos leitores. E por aí vai. Portanto, eu e minha ulher, a pintora Christina Oiticica, resolvemos criar uma Fundação onde todo este material poderá ser acessado.

Condizente com nosso tempo, entendemos que um local físico não basta - a pesquisa seria limitada àqueles que podem vir até Genebra, onde estamos instalando a Fundação Paulo Coelho (abertura em 2014). Assim, decidimos colocar todo o material na nuvem.

On this page, on April 1, 2015, there were 44,427 comments. In contrast, in the "Thesis and Works" section, 17 and 6 respectively, none of them a doctoral thesis. Only three can be considered to be types of pre-theses: an eloquent asymmetry.

These three macro-narratives, regardless of the political, military or other objectives that the Way of Saint James had at its origins and others that it progressively garnered, offer the itinerary as a route to reach a sanctuary where the remains of the Apostle St. James would be found. With the passage of time, the religious nature of the goal was joined by the actual accomplishment of the goal itself as important, which, linked to the religious process, gives the journey a value in itself, of initiation or progress towards spiritual well-being. The increase in certain societies of sporting practices such as walking or cycling, which has grown significantly in the last decades, means that, in modern times, it has also taken on the character of a long-distance trek. The contact it encourages with people and phenomena of diverse nature also imbibes it with a cultural meaning, in the broadest sense,³⁴ and/or an interest in the landscape and territory. The increase in the number of people doing this practice also causes an increase in the possibilities of socializing with other practitioners. Hence the social relationship side, the sociability

³⁴ A critical interpretation of the cultural and, more generally, political uses of the "Jacobean phenomenon" by Galician governments can be seen in Bermejo Barrera (2009: 53-65).

space —far from and antithetical to— though sometimes also complementary - solitary, spiritual or other types of searches), perhaps the most hidden or least explicit in texts and reports, should not be overlooked, at least as a hypothesis, among the potential contents that strongly motivate doing the Way for those who want to do it or actually walk it. The patrimonial character of the Way is likewise one of the reasons people embark on the route.

A look at the web pages linked to the Way, at the reports of pilgrims and the productions about it shows these aspects of the Camino. This is confirmed by the existing compilatory bibliographies (De los Reyes Gómez, 2000) and by disciplines such as the analysis of cultural tourism, from guidebooks to novels, from diaries to documentaries. The type of advertising and relevant speeches by institutions and religious entities stress four main discourses of different length and internal particularities or degrees of intermixture with the others: cultural/territorial; spiritual; sport —exercise / physical effort— and convivial. This also seems to indicate fieldwork and observations on the subject (cf. Granero, Ruiz and García, 2007) as well as reflective perspectives (Marías, 1999). In a work dealing with the notion of cultural tourism, Precedo, Revilla and Míguez (2007: 214) wonder “¿Cuál es hoy el sentido del Camino?” In their opinion, “cabén, al menos seis respuestas”: “Un Camino penitencial de peregrinación”; “Una ruta cultural entre el mito, la leyenda y la historia”, “Una ruta de senderismo de largo recorrido”, “Un Camino esotérico, iniciático”, “Un Camino alternativo en una sociedad materialista y uniformizada” and “Una moda”. In reality, the latter seems to be different in nature to the others, as it excludes the possible contents applicable to the Way that the others do indicate; and the sixth item indicates a generic motivation that may have a place among the others. In any case, it is my understanding that the practices alluded to are the same: sportive, cultural and spiritual, leaving the one I call convivial subsumed in them or insinuated —even in “fashion” as a mode of attraction.

Converting these conclusions into hypotheses of effective use about the Way and the city, and uniting them with those drawn from the analyzed speeches, a whole research program opens up, which, in part, we wish to go through here, summarized in the following:

- a) How do these discourses and these ideological fabrications condition the elaborate cultural products that take the Way or the city as their basis or framework?
- b) To what extent do they have to do with effective uses/non-uses of the Way and the city, cultural, artistic, spiritual, sporting, religious, etc.?
- c) How are the Way and, above all, the city (and most especially, the surroundings of the cathedral) and Galiza (in its territory and its communities) affected in their external image, in their customs and practices, and in their ways of life and territorial/spatial configuration vis-à-vis their intermingling with these discourses and derivative practices?

Bibliographical References

- 656 livros encontrados para: Autor ou titulo: +paulo (200.652) +coelho (30.466)+diario (25.807) +de +um +mago (2010) *Estante Virtual*. Available online: www.estantevirtual.com.br/q/paulo-coelho-diario-de-um-mago/. Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- ACIPrensa (n.d.) Camino de Santiago. Available online: www.aciprensa.com/reportajes/santiago.htm Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- Álvarez, F. (1989) Gratitude y esperanza en el adiós del Papa a España. *ABC*. Oviedo, 22/08/1989. Available online: hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1989/08/22/042.html. Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- Andrade, J. (2004) *Por que não ler Paulo Coelho*. Rio de Janeiro: Ed. Caliban
- Bermejo Barrera, J. C. (2009) "ET IN GALLAECIA EGO: ideoloxía, identidade e turismo. *Foro do instituto de estudos das identidades*, Santiago de Compostela: Museo do Pobo Galego, 53-65.
- Bozo, F., Rey, M.-P., Piers Ludlow, N. e Nuti, L. (2008) *Europe and the end of the Cold War*, London: Routledge.
- Buñuel, L. (1969) *La Voie Lactée*. France/Italy/Germany: Greenwich Film Productions.
- Camacho, M. (1998) O planeta Paulo Coelho. *Veja*. Especial 15/04/1998. http://veja.abril.com.br/150498/p_094.html. Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- Camino de Santiago - GR-65 (n.d.) *Wikipedia*. es.wikipedia.org/wiki/GR-65. Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- Chao Mata, C. (2006) El Camino de Santiago en la novela, *Bibliografía Jacobea*, 9, primeiro semestre de 2006, 2-4. Available online: www.bibliotecajacobea.org/revistas/RevistaBibliogra_N9.pdf
- Claudino, M. and Alzer, L. A. (2004) *Almanaque anos 80*. Rio de Janeiro: Ediouro Publicações.
- Coelho, P. (1988) *O Alquimista*, São Paulo: Planeta do Brasil.
- Coelho, P. (1991) *Diário de um mago*, Rio de Janeiro: Rocco.
- Coelho, P. (1995) *The Diary of a Magus*. San Francisco: HarperOne Publishers.
- Coelho, P. (2001) *O Diário de um Mago*. Available online: clubedasbruxas.webcindario.com/O_Diario_de_um_Mago.pdf. Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- Coelho, P. (n.d.a) *O Alquimista*. Available online: <http://www.sjt.com.br/tecnico/gestao/arquivosportal/o-alquimista-paulo-coelho.pdf>
- Coelho, P. (n.d.b). João Paulo II. Available online: noticias.terra.com.br/mundo/mortedopapa/interna/0,,OI504005-EI4692,00.html. Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- Conseil de l'Europe-Comité des Ministres (2007) Résolution CM/Res 12 sur les itinéraires culturels du Conseil de l'Europe Conseil de l'Europe. *Council of Europe*. Available online: https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectID=09000016805d526b Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- Cortizas Leira, A. (2008) *Da Literatura à Cultura. Textos Literários, Guias turísticos e visitas reais na conformação de ideias na sociedade brasileira. Hipóteses e primeiros resultados*. Unpublished TIT. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.
- Cortizas Leira, A. (2011) Principais perfis de visitantes brasileiros à Galiza e a imagem que dela têm/conformam: primeiros resultados, in Rebelo, H. (coord.) *Actas do IX Congresso da Associação Internacional de Lusitanistas*, Vol. II. Funchal: Universidade da Madeira, 323-334.

- Cuiña, S. (2008) Santiago me cambió la vida, *El Correo Gallego*, 23/06/2008. <https://www.elcorreogallego.es/hemeroteca/santiago-cambio-vida-DGCG316041>. Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- Diário de um Mago (n.d.) *Wikipedia* pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/O_Diario_de_um_Mago. Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- El Papa recibió a la familia del general Lago Román. *ABC*, 11/11/1982. Available online: hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1982/11/11/029.html. Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- El Peregrino (novela 1987) (n.d.) *Wikipedia*. es.wikipedia.org/wiki/El_Peregrino_%28novela_1987%29. Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- Encarnación, O. G. (2008) *Spanish politics: democracy alter dictatorship*. Cambridge, UK: Malden.
- Filmow: *A Via Láctea* (n.d.). Available online: filmow.com/filme/9972/a-via-lactea/ Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- Fundação Paulo Coelho. <http://paulocoelho.com/foundation/index-paulo-coelho.php>. Accessed on 1 April 2015.
- Gabrianowski, E. (n.d.) The 21 Best-selling Books of All Time. *HowStuffWorks.com*. <http://entertainment.howstuffworks.com/arts/literature/21-best-sellers.htm>. Accessed on 24 October 2014.
- Gaddis, J. L. (2005) *The Cold War: a new history*. Penguin Press, HC.
- García Iglesias, J. M. (dir.) (2004) *Santiago Apóstol desde la memoria. Catálogo de la exposición*. Santiago de Compostela: Consellería de Cultura, Comunicación Social & Turismo S.A. de Xestión do Plan Xacobeo.
- García Tato, I. (2006) Campus stellae, caminos estelares y otros mitos medievales, *Estudios mindonienses*, 22, 779-800.
- Gómez Montero, J. (2009). *Allá en el noroeste... Una cartografía literaria del camino en León*. León: Lobo Sapiens.
- GR footpath (n.d.) *Wikipedia* en.wikipedia.org/wiki/GR_footpath. Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- Granero, A., Ruiz, F. & García, M. E. (2007) Estudio sobre las motivaciones para recorrer el Camino de Santiago, *Apunts*, 88-96.
- Gutiérrez Perrino, M. (2001) Literatura del Camino de Santiago en la última década del siglo xx, in Pombo Rodríguez, A. (coord.) *Actas del V Congreso Internacional de Asociaciones Jacobeas*. A Coruña: Deputación Provincial da Coruña, 681-698.
- Hanegraaff, W. J. (2004) The Study of Western Esotericism: New Approaches to Christian and Secular Culture, in Antes, P.; Geertz, A. W. and Warne, R. *New Approaches to the Study of Religion, vol. I: Regional, Critical, and Historical Approaches*, Berlin / New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Hart, S. M. (2004) Cultural Hybridity, Magical Realism, and the Language of Magic in Paulo Coelho's *The Alchemist*, *Romance Quarterly*, 51.4, 304-312.
- Herrero Pérez, N. Resemantizaciones del patrimonio, reconstrucciones de la identidad: dos casos para la relexión, *Etnografica. Revista do centro de estudos de antropologia social*, Vol. VII (2), 2003, 351-368.

- Himno, <http://www.diocesisdelugo.org/caminodesantiago/claves/himno>. Accessed on 1 April 2015.
- Información. *Archicofradía Universal del Apostol Santiago*. www.archicompostela.org/archicofradia/Informacion.htm Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- John Paul II (1982a) Viaje apostólico a España. Ceremonia de bienvenida. Discurso del Papa Juan Pablo II. Aeropuerto internacional del Madrid- Barajas. Domingo 31 de Octubre de 1982. www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/speeches/1982/october/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19821031_arrivo-spagna_sp.html Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- John Paul II (1982b) Homilía de Juan Pablo II. Viaje apostólico a España, Misa del Peregrino. Santiago de Compostela, 9 de noviembre de 1982. www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/homilies/1982/documents/hf_jp-ii_hom_19821109_santiago-compostela_sp.html Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- John Paul II (1982c) Encuentro del Papa Juan Pablo II con las gentes del mar en Santiago de Compostela. Santiago de Compostela, 9 de noviembre de 1982. www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/speeches/1982/november/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19821109_gentemare_sp.html Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- John Paul II (1982d) Acto Europeo. www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/speeches/1982/november/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19821109_atto-europeistico_sp.html Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- John Paul II (1989a) Ceremonia de bienvenida. Discurso del Santo Padre Juan Pablo II. *Viaje Pastoral a Santiago de Compostela y Asturias con motivo de la IV Jornada Mundial de la Juventud*. Aeropuerto de Labacolla de Santiago de Compostela, 19 de agosto de 1989. www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/speeches/1989/august/documents/hf_jp_spe_19890819_welcome-santiago_sp.html Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- John Paul II (1989b) Discurso del Santo Padre Juan Pablo II durante el rito del Peregrino. *Viaje Pastoral a Santiago de Compostela y Asturias con motivo de la IV Jornada Mundial de la Juventud*. Aeropuerto de Labacolla de Santiago de Compostela, 19 de agosto de 1989. www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/speeches/1989/august/documents/hf_jp_spe_19890819_santiago-pilgrim-rite_sp.html Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- John Paul II (1989c) Homilía del Santo Padre Juan Pablo II. *Viaje Pastoral a Santiago de Compostela y Asturias con motivo de la IV Jornada Mundial de la Juventud*. Santa Misa en el Monte del Gozo. Santiago de Compostela, 20 de agosto de 1989. www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/homilies/1989/documents/hf_jp-ii_hom_19890820_gmg_sp.html Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- John Paul II (1989d) Oración de su Santidad Juan Pablo II ante la tumba del Apóstol Santiago. *Viaje Pastoral a Santiago de Compostela y Asturias con motivo de la IV Jornada Mundial de la Juventud*. Aeropuerto de Labacolla de Santiago de Compostela, 19 de agosto de 1989. www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/speeches/1989/august/documents/hf_jp_spe_19890819_prayer-santiago_sp.html Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- John Paul II (1989e) Vigilia con los jóvenes en el Monte del Gozo. *Viaje Pastoral a Santiago de Compostela y Asturias con motivo de la IV Jornada Mundial de la Juventud*. Aeropuerto de Labacolla de Santiago de Compostela, 19 de agosto de 1989. www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/speeches/1989/august/documents/hf_jp_spe_19890819_santiago-vespri_sp.html Accessed on 21 September 2010.

- Juan Carlos I (1982a). "Palabras de Su Majestad el Rey al Papa Juan Pablo II". Madrid, 1 de noviembre de 1982. www.casareal.es/noticias/news/2516-ides-idweb.html. Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- Juan Carlos I (1982b) Palabras de su Majestad el Rey a los asistentes al Acto Europeísta. Santiago de Compostela, 10 de noviembre de 1982. www.casareal.es/noticias/news/2507-ides-idweb.html Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- La juventud y las Naciones Unidas. www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/spanish/wpay-environment.htm. Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- La mayor concentración humana de la historia de Galicia recibió al Papa en Santiago (1982), *La Voz de Galicia*, 10/11/1982, 1.
- Le pèlerin de Compostelle. FNAC. livre. fnac.com/a1534200/Paulo-Coelho-Le-pelerin-de-Compostelle. Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- List of best-selling books, 2013 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_best-selling_books Accessed on 19 October 2019.
- López Alsina, F. (1993) El Camino de Santiago. Realidad histórica y tema historiográfico, in *Actas de la IV semana de estudios medievales de Nájera*, 1993. www.vallenajerilla.com/berceo/lopezalsina/realidadhistoricaytemahistoriografico.htm. Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- Maestri Filho, M. J. (1999) *Por que Paulo Coelho teve sucesso?* Porto Alegre: AGE Editora.
- Marías, J. (1999) El Camino de Santiago: aventura con sentido. *Cuenta y Razón*, 112, 7-8. Available online: www.cuentayrazon.org/revista/pdf/112/Num112_001.pdf
- Martín Rogero, N. (2004). La huella medieval del Camino de Santiago en la narrativa juvenil española, *Anuario de investigación en literatura infantil y juvenil*, 2, 113-126.
- Martorell Carreño, A. (2006) Complexity of the Route of Santiago as a World Heritage Site. http://www.philipmarshall.net/pdf/martorell_santiago_060422.doc. Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- Millán Mon, F. J. (2010) El intergrupo Caminos de Santiago del Parlamento Europeo. *Eixoatlântico*. Available online: www.eixoatlantico.com/_eixo_2009/contenido.php?idpag=7002&mostrar=firma_invitada&idcon=fir20100504115628. Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- Moraes, D. (1999) Palavras parabólicas: o mercado editorial na era da mundialização. *Revista Brasil de Literatura*. Available online: <http://members.tripod.com/~lfilipe/denis.htm>. Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- Morais, F. (2008) *O Mago*, São Paulo: Planeta.
- Navarro-Valls, J. (1982) El Papa pidió una nueva Europa. *ABC*. Santiago de Compostela, 10/11/1982. Available online: hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1982/11/10/022.html. Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- O Diário de um Mago. 2a Ed. 2010 (n.d.) *Livrarias Saraiva*. Available online: www.livrariasaraiva.com.br/produto/3098907/o-diario-de-um-mago-2-ed-2010/?ID=8094BE0B7DB011615151A0322&PAC_ID=25371. Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- Ortiz López, J. (2003) *La Iglesia que desea Juan Pablo II*. Madrid: RIALP.
- Parliament (n.d.) Regimento do Parlamento Europeu. Título I: Deputados, órgãos do Parlamento e grupos políticos. *Parlamento Europeu*, Novembro de 2010. www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/

- [getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+RULES-EP+20101110+RULE-032+DOC+XML+V0//PT&navigationBar=YES](#). Accessed on 2 November 2010.
- Paulo Coelho. Guerreiro da Luz Online. www.warriorofthelight.com/port/autor.html. 2007. Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- Paulo Coelho. *O Diário de um Mago* (n.d.) Círculo de Leitores. Available online: www.circuleleitores.pt/catalogo/1031139/o-diario-de-um-mago. Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- Pons, S. and Romero, F. (2004) *Reinterpreting the End of the Cold War: issues, interpretations, periodizations*. London: Frank Cass.
- Precedo Ledo, A., Revilla Bonín, A e Miguez Iglesias, A. (2007) El turismo cultural como factor estratégico de desarrollo: el camino de Santiago. *Estudios Geográficos*, LXVIII (262), 205-234.
- Primer Viaje Apostólico a España (n.d.) *Conferencia episcopal española*. Available online: www.conferenciaepiscopal.es/vaticano/spain/primer.htm. Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- Puerto, J. L. (2004). *El Camino de Santiago en la literatura*. León: Edileisa.
- Reigosa, C. (1993) El Camino de Santiago: ¿hacia una nueva identidad?, in Blanco Vila, L. (coord.) *El Camino de Santiago. Curso de Verano del Escorial 93-94*, Madrid: Editorial Complutense.
- Reyes Gómez, F. (ed.) (2000) *Bibliografía del Camino de Santiago*. 2 vols. Madrid: Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte.
- S. A. de Gestión del Plan Xacobeo (n.d.) institucional.xacobeo.es/. Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- Santos Solla, X. El camino de Santiago: turistas y peregrinos hacia Compostela. *Cuadernos de turismo*, 18, 2006, 135-150.
- Sime, J. (2011) Moving toward Santiago: Reverie on the Road and on the Rails. Available online: https://www.academia.edu/13028485/Moving_Toward_Santiago_Reverie_on_the_Road_and_on_the_Rails. Accessed on 19 October 2019.
- Soto Carmona, Á. (2005). *Transición y cambio en España, 1975-1996*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.
- Stewart, S. (1993) *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Stuckrad, K. v. (2005) *Western Esotericism: A Brief History of Secret Knowledge*, London / Oakville: Equinox.
- UNESCO (1984) Santiago de Compostela (old town). *World Heritage Convention*. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/347>. Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- UNESCO (1993) Route of Santiago de Compostela. *World Heritage Convention*. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/669>. Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- UNESCO (2007) The Northern or Primitive Route (extension of the Route of Santiago de Compostela). *World Heritage Convention*. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5133>. Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- UNESCO (n.d.a) The criteria for selection. *World Heritage Convention*. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/> Accessed on 21 September 2010.
- UNESCO (n.d.b) Dialogue among civilizations. *Unesco portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=37084&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html*. Accessed on 21 September 2010.

UNESCO (n.d.c) Key publications. *Unesco*, www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/education-building-blocks/literacy/resources/key-publications/ Accessed on 21 September 2010.

Wasserman, R. M. (2014) Brasil in translation or who reads a brazilian book? *Brasil/Brazil*, n. 50, 81-104.

We Read (n.d.) O Diario de um Mago (Portuguese edition). wread.com/book/9727110800/O+Diario+De+Um+Mago+%28Portuguese+Edition%29/FBK-9727110800_-1. Accessed on 21 September 2010.

Impacts of the Ways in the Local Community of Santiago de Compostela: Results of Ongoing Research

Roberto Samartim

GET and Galabra Network – Universidade da Coruña and Galabra Network

Carlos Pazos-Justo

Galabra – Universidade do Minho

1. Introduction

This contribution seeks to summarize and discuss the main findings present in the results of the research project *Discourses, Images and Cultural Practices about Santiago de Compostela as a goal of the Caminos de Santiago* financed by the Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness of the government of Spain between 2012 and 2015. Work on the project was carried out between 2011 and 2017 by an international team referenced in the Galabra Network and during the course of the work numbered upwards of fourteen researchers and investigators, from seven different areas of expertise —studies in literature and culture, linguistics, communication, anthropology, sociology, economics and ecology— and seven universities located in Galiza, Spain, Portugal, Brazil and the USA.

The combined results of this project number 48 references —accessible at <https://redegalabra.org/impactos-caminho-comunidade-local-santiago-compostela/>— from academic papers —three master’s papers and a doctoral thesis—, to communications at international conferences —28— and publications —16 references—, among journal articles and book chapters. From this vast array of materials, for this textual analysis we’ve chosen a set consisting of —almost half of these products— the 20 contributions

that were actually published as articles or book chapters and the doctoral thesis defended within the project and accessible in the USC repository. From these materials, chosen by virtue of having been published and being publicly accessible in analogical or digital format, we extracted and culled the focused objectives, the examined corpus, the theoretical, methodological and procedural tools used, and the conclusions or hypotheses raised in each of them. Finally, we discuss the information thus garnered and synthesize the knowledge generated in the aforementioned research project until the end of 2017, the year in which a second phase in the research on the same object of study begins in the framework of a new project partially funded between 2018 and 2021 by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness: *Narrativas, usos e consumos de visitantes como aliados ou ameças para o bem-estar da comunidade local: o caso de Santiago de Compostela* (Narratives, uses and consumption of visitors as allies or threats for the well-being of the local community: the case of Santiago de Compostela - FFI2017-88196-R).¹

2. The research project *Discourses, Images, and Cultural Practices about Santiago de Compostela as a Goal of the Ways*

The project *Discourses, Images and Cultural Practices* has as its object of study the impact of the Ways of Saint James on the local community of Compostela and has two general objectives. On the one hand, the team wants to know the ideas of people who visit Santiago de Compostela in relation to the products they know and consume, their experiences in the city and the images of the local Compostelan community they had before, during, and after their stay. For this, it was necessary to analyze the consumption and cultural practices actually carried out by these people and contrast them with the imaginary brought by these visitors and with the subsequent memory of the experience in the city. On the other hand, the project also focuses on another class of objectives aimed both at cultural planning and at specific methodological developments. In the case of the former, the aim is to improve the quality of life, the sustainability of practices and processes related to the influx of visitors and their interaction with the city. In the latter case, the intention is to advance the development of specific methodologies, techniques and tools for analyzing the impacts of this influx of visitors on the local host communities; There is a great deal of literature on both subjects (Conde, 2009; Ateljevic, Pritchard & Morgan, 2007; Colombo, 2011 and 2012; Squire, 1994; Light, 2007; Frost, 2006; Xie, Osumar & Ibrahim, 2007; Andereck & Nyaupane, 2011; Ruiz & Hernández, 2007; Church & Hanks, 1990; Garcia & Gamallo, 2015; Guinovart & Simões, 2009; Lage, Losada & Gómez, 2012, among others).

In other words, the objectives of the project are to answer the following questions: What cultural products do people who visit Santiago de Compostela consume? What discourses and practices are present regarding the Way, and about Compostela and

¹ One of the first actions taken by the team in this second phase of the project was the synthesis and partial dissemination of the results of the initial project through the exhibition "The city, the Way and Us", physically located in the central promenade of the Alameda in Santiago de Compostela from early May to late June 2019 and whose digitized panels are accessible at <https://redegalabra.org/exposicion-a-cidade-o-camino-e-nos/> [consulted: 24/06/2019].

Galiza? Who issues these discourses? How do they (re)produce and socialize the images formed around the Way or about the city? To what extent do these discourses, images, and practices impact on tourism and the local population? What instruments of analysis have to be used to approach our object of study? And, lastly, what is the usefulness for the community —both scientific and local— of an investigation of these characteristics?

For the purposes of the research begun in 2011, we have identified the period between the concluding Jacobean years 2010 and 2021 as being of strategic importance, which is why we have chronologically set our research in the first phase of the period 2008-2015. We have also framed the research to four specific geocultural areas —Galiza, Spain, Portugal and Brazil— because these are the origins of the largest number of visitors to Compostela in 2008 according to the Center for Tourist Research and Study at the Universidade de Santiago de Compostela [CETUR-USC], which places the Portuguese and the Brazilian as the most numerous European and extra-European visitors that year —this fact matches the strengths of the team, coming mostly from Lusophone studies.

To achieve its object of study, the project selected a corpus of two types: 1) a documentary corpus inventoried and catalogued in a database —*Catalogador*— built for this purpose (Samartim 2015) which contained, by the end of the period under analysis, 2017, 559 books —fiction, travel guides and diaries—, 211 websites and 90 audiovisual products produced since 2008; and a living corpus made up of 2,081 surveys of visitors from Galiza, other parts of the Spanish state, Portugal and Brazil, 922 surveys of inhabitants of the city and another 410 surveys of merchants and people who carry out various types of economic activities in Santiago de Compostela.

These questionnaires were designed by the team and generally consisted of the following thematic divisions: visitors were asked about the process of deciding to take the trip, the sources of information used during the visit and their trip's management and planning. On the other hand, the local population and the shopkeepers were asked to identify the most significant places for the community, the level of identity affectivity felt in relation to the municipality, the effects of tourism, and the presence of the Way of Saint James in Compostela. In addition to recording the corresponding socio-demographic characteristics of each group, the surveys of visitors, merchants, and locals also included questions related to their perception of the city, the image of Compostela and Galiza, as well as about the uses made and the spaces frequented in the city.

The 2,081 surveys made to visitors from March 2013 to March 2014 are distributed among people coming from Galiza (398), Spain (878), Portugal (408) and Brazil (396). The 929 surveys of people living in Santiago de Compostela were carried out from the second half of 2014 to May 2015, differentiating here between people who were surveyed in Compostela (684) and those who spend most of their day in the city, but actually live in the neighboring municipalities of Teo (104) and Ames (101). The 410 questionnaires on economic and commercial activity in the city were given in April and May 2015 to people who own or manage commercial establishments open to the public in the municipal area of Santiago and who sell products or provide various types of services to both the local population and visitors —accommodation, food, clothing, personal care and grooming, culture, leisure, etc.

TECHNICAL DATA

<p>Type of survey conducted: Personal with structured questionnaire</p> <p>Confidence level: 95%; $p = q = 0.5$</p> <p>Sampling Process: Convenience</p> <p>Geographic Ambit: Santiago de Compostela</p> <p>Catalogued: 559 books 211 webs 90 audiovisuals</p> <p>Universe: Visitors from Galiza, the rest of the state, Portugal and Brazil (highest volume of visitors from the EU and outside the EU in 2008 [Source: CETUR]. Population: Infinite (100.000) Sample error: $\pm 2,15\%$ Date: March 2013 to March 2014 Residents in Santiago de Compostela or in neighboring concellos (Teo and Ames): Infinite Population (>100,000) Sampling error: $\pm 3.2 \%$ Dates: Second half of 2014 to May 2015 Economic and commercial activity in Santiago de Compostela Population (Sample frame): 4,096 Sample error: $\pm 4.6 \%$ Dates: April and May 2015</p>	<p>Sample size: Visitor surveys 2,081 valid surveys Galiza: 398 Rest of the State: 878 Portugal: 408 Brazil: 396 Local surveys 929 valid studies Santiago: 684 Teo: 104 Ames:101 Economic and commercial activity surveys 410 valid surveys</p> <p>Interviews: Visitor interviews: 271 Galiza: 56 Rest of State: 100 Portugal: 56 Brazil: 59 Pilgrim interviews: 34 from Porto Alegre (Brazil) 6 conversation groups with local people Control surveys to check trends (2018) 155 visitors 50 inhabitants 50 stores 6 conversation groups with local population Control surveys to check trends (2018) 155 visitors 50 inhabitants 50 shops</p>
--	---

FIGURE 1

Project fact sheet

Source: Exhibition "The City, the Way and Us"
(<https://redegalabra.org/exposicion-a-cidade-o-camino-e-nos/>
[Last consulted: 24/06/2019]).

Some of the people who filled out these questionnaires were selected to be interviewed in person or by telephone, in conversations with an average length of 45 minutes. A total of 271 interviews were conducted and recorded with people from

Galiza (56), Spain (100), Portugal (56) and Brazil (59). In addition, the project also included a complementary corpus of 34 interviews conducted in Porto Alegre with people from Rio Grande do Sul who had done or planned to do the Way of Saint James; with six conversation groups with local people and with a series of control surveys conducted in 2018 with visitors from the four geographical areas mentioned above (155) and with inhabitants of Compostela and merchants —50 for each category; see the summary of the information about the corpus in Figure 1.

This corpus was explored by the team through a varied array of methodologies and procedural tools, from the multidimensional analysis of texts, consisting largely of a close reading of the bibliography that allowed the extraction and abstraction of ideas and categories. The performance of descriptive statistical and factor analyses —using the computer program SPSS—, the use of Natural Language Processing (NLP) techniques via various computer programs —among which Iramuteq stands out for its productivity: <http://iramuteq.org/>—, and empirical observation in the field.

As for the project's output, the team presented surveys at numerous international conferences on the corpus of the aforementioned research project. As can be seen from Chart 1, the results of these surveys constitute more than half of the total research output (59%), and several of them were then developed for publication in reviews or book chapters, thus feeding publications related to the project, which in turn account for one-third of the project's total output.

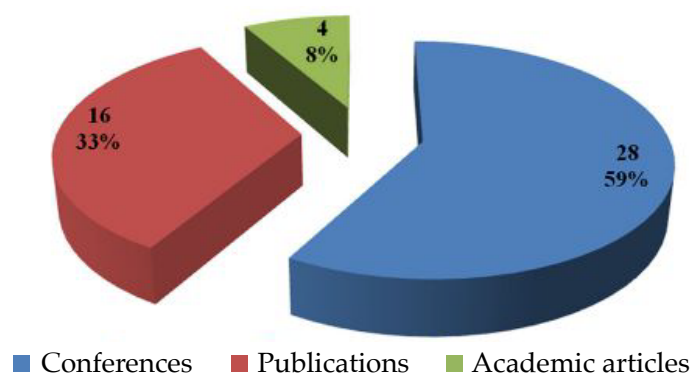


FIGURE 2

Overall production of the project "Discourses, images and practices..."

Source: Our elaboration.

This strategy of presenting partial results of the project in international scientific meetings, to be subsequently developed in publications —whether or not sponsored to the specific events—, also explains the annual rate of publication, concentrated mainly in 2014 and notably 2015, as shown below in Figure 3. In fact, the previous years were devoted to planning, writing, and preparation of the project to apply for the call

for public funding under competitive bidding launched by the Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness of the Government of Spain in 2011, the conceptualization and construction of the database for the collection of the documentary corpus, the design of questionnaires for visitor surveys (2012), and the completion of these surveys on the city streets —done daily, between March 2013 and March 2014— and those of the local population and shopkeepers, in an information gathering procedure that only closed in May 2015. Both the information collected in the project Cataloger and the information collected at various stages through the surveys conducted during this period could be partially processed for the participation of several team members in these international scientific conferences.

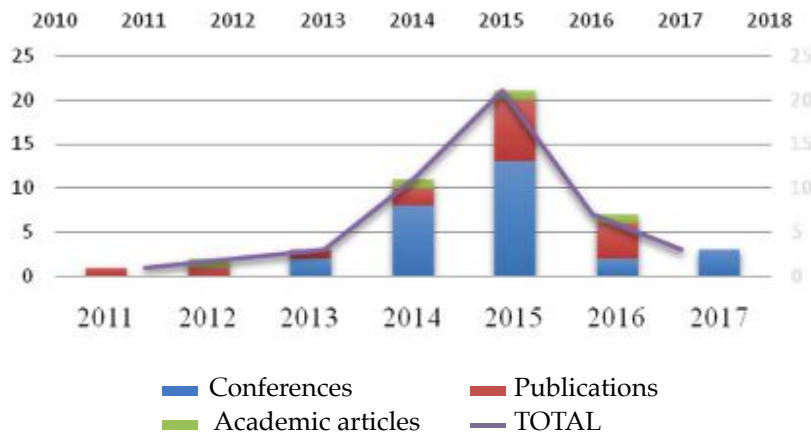


FIGURE 3
Annual project output between 2011 and 2017

Source: Our elaboration.

As for the individual distribution of the production of the project under focus (Figure 3), the irregularities are to a large extent due to the different moments in which the team members were incorporated into the project. In this sense, Carreira, Carral, López Pena and del Río have only been part of the team since 2016, by which time both the bulk of the project corpus survey and the funding period from the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competivity had already concluded, and by then several people had already presented surveys on said corpus in some of the 21 scientific meetings in which the results were disseminated. Among them we can highlight the XI Congress of the International Association of Lusitanistas held in Cape Verde in July 2014, because it is in this event where the largest participation of team members with academic contributions linked to the project is concentrated. Its proceedings were published as book chapters (Bello Vázquez, 2015b; Rodríguez Prado, 2015b; Villarino, 2015 and Samartim, 2015).

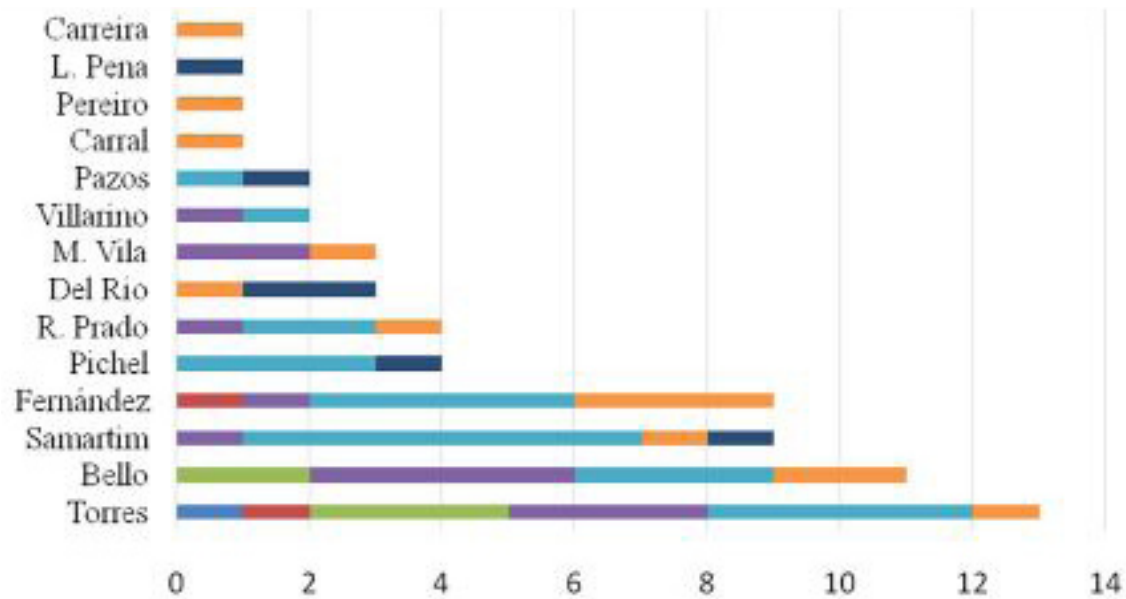


FIGURE 4

Individual project output between 2011 and 2017

Source: Our elaboration.

On the other hand, specialization in the tasks linked to the project help explain both the individual distribution of its results and the subjects focused upon therein. Thus, in the set of 48 references resulting from the project under analysis, the contributions of Pichel, Martínez Vila, and Fernández Rodríguez are linked to the moment at which they begin their line of research, its development, and their own academic obligations as students, being responsible for results stemming from their masters theses (Fernández Rodríguez, 2012; Martínez Vila, 2014, and Pichel, 2015) and the PhD thesis defended in 2016 by Fernández Rodríguez, in this case finding previous contributions both individually (Fernández Rodríguez, 2015) and in collaboration with several of his advisors, Professors Samartim and Torres Feijó (Fernández Rodríguez and Samartim, 2015a, 2015b and 2016; Torres Feijó and Fernández Rodríguez, 2014).

Likewise, despite the relatively transversal nature of the contributions of the senior research staff producing the highest production (Torres Feijó, Bello Vázquez and Samartim), the specialization mentioned earlier is also evident in the subjects addressed by several members of the team. This is the case of the approach focusing on the project's audiovisual aspects by López Pena (2017); in the studies on tourism by Professor Pereiro (2016); or in the imagological focus in which Pazos-Justo (2017) works, which also implies the earliest approaches to concepts such as *reinventio* and the impact of cultural and tourism policies on the resemantization of the city that took place after the institutionalization of the Jacobean Holy Year by the Galician autonomous government in 1993, and which will be developed in the final part of the project in partnership with other team members—for example in Pazos-Justo, del Río and Samartim (2018).

This relative specialization can also be detected in the approaches on environmental sustainability by Carral and Carreira —who signed on with Martínez Vila and Torres Feijó in 2016 to develop the masters thesis presented by the former and directed by Torres Feijó at the University of Santiago de Compostela two years earlier—, or in the research on the Brazilian undertaken by Villarino Pardo (2015) and Rodríguez Prado (2015a) as well as by Bello Vázquez (2015c and 2016), although the latter two researchers have also carried out work based on the corpus of Portuguese visitors (Bello Vázquez, 2015b; Rodríguez Prado, 2015b).

In the same way, the methodological and conceptual elaboration is explored since the beginning of the project mainly by its lead researcher, Professor Torres Feijó (2013 and 2015a), and by Bello Vázquez (2015a), the description and testing of tools aimed both at cataloguing and categorizing materials and at computerized textual analysis is, in this first phase, fundamentally based on the individual works of Samartim (2015 and 2016) and Fernández Rodríguez (2015, 2016a, 2016b), and on the joint contributions of both (Fernández Rodríguez and Samartim 2015a, 2015b and 2016). In the next phase of research this aspect will be reinforced with developments concerning the application of textometry techniques to the project corpus carried out by Iriarte, with Gamallo and Simões (2018).

As pointed out, among the 48 generated by this project, we chose to analyze those that were actually published —a set of 20 texts— as part of the corpus of the present contribution, together with the doctoral thesis of Luisa Fernández Rodríguez (2016a), the only one of the four academic works carried out within the project's scope which is currently accessible for consultation through the USC repository. It is worth recalling that these are the materials of interest to us: 1) the focused objectives, 2) the corpus used, 3) the methods and tools used, and 4) the conclusions or hypotheses drawn from each of the 21 contributions that constitute the core of this work. The four elements mentioned above were extracted from these 21 concrete references and synthesized through categories elaborated for this purpose —we present below a fragment of the table used for this purpose, as a simple example demonstrating the procedure. The information thus extracted will be analyzed and discussed below, taking into account the elements that represent an advance in knowledge about the object of study, and also reflecting on any possible deficits or absences we might find in the team's performance during the time it was in operation.

Table 1

Procedure used for gathering information about the corpus – example

Author/Year	Goals	Corpus	Methods/Tools	Conclusions/Hypotheses
1. Pazos-Justo 2017	Impact on tourism	Biblio-graphic revision 327 and 252 survey visitors	Imagology Multidimensional text analysis	1. Functioning of affinity imagery: Galician- Portuguese community. 2. Impact of the Jacobean image (public policies). 3. First references to <i>Reinventio</i> .
2. Bello Vázquez 2016	Cultural consumption Pilgrims Porto Alegre (PA)?34 in- depth interviews (Porto Alegre)	34 in-depth interviews (Porto Alegre)	Imagology Multidimensional text analysis	1. The existence of a culture and ethics of the Way. 2. “Cultural neutrality”: international experience of ready consumption. 3. Endogamy/ Concealment]: no interaction with local culture/population, only with other pilgrims. 4. [“Detachment”]: detachment/ austerity (“playing at being poor”). 5. [“Spirituality”]: spiritual journey (not tourism).
3. Fernández Rodríguez and Samartim 2016	Does Paulo Coelho impact practices / consumption connected to the Way?	Bibliographic revision	Multidimensional text analysis Participant observation	1. The impact of Paulo Coelho’s discourse is confirmed. 2. Practices/Consumptions/ Image of the city: spirituality, medievalism (e.g. Templar souvenirs). 3. Concealment of the local culture/population.

Source: Our elaboration.

3. Discussion

Among the results effectively published, a first line of analysis concerns the design, construction and testing of tools, namely the Database invented and built for the collection, cataloging, categorization and exploration of the textual corpus, task undertaken by Samartim (2015). This tool, built in the course of Galabra’s technological growth —discussed in Samartim (2016)—, allows for the compiling and cataloguing of large quantities, varieties and origins of corpora; it enables the application of multiple and varied approaches and analyses of several types —quantitative, qualitative,

relational,...— and, in turn, it can also incorporate the use of other auxiliary tools —Social Network Analysis, textometry, PLN, etc.² In fact, both automatic categorization and geo-localization of contents and materials are part of the objectives set out in the design of this tool, subjects that were scheduled for later phases of the research according to the available resources.

As for the other tools developed or used in the project, following the thesis of Fernández Rodríguez (2016a), attempts were made using methods and procedures with computer support aimed at testing techniques as well as tools suitable for working with large volumes of textual corpus, through unsupervised analysis of materials. These contributions have been presented at conferences and have not yet been published (Fernández Rodríguez, 2015; Fernández Rodríguez and Samartim, 2015a and 2015b), but they resulted in the team preferred use of the aforementioned Iramuteq computer program in later work. On the other hand, the presentation of the surveys and interviews designed within the scope of the research has yet to be developed by members of the team.

A second area of analysis has to do with the methodological and conceptual elaborations developed in the project. In this sense, the contributions made by Torres Feijó (2013, 2015a and 2015c) around the concepts of Sustainability and Affective Identity are worth highlighting:

Identity sustainability is what guarantees the continuity of a community and consensus on the community's identity, understanding sustainability in a twofold way: as the action of the community to keep the same items, and as the action of the community to preserve its identity and its limits. (Torres Feijó, 2015c: 148)

Alongside these conceptual contributions aimed at understanding the object of study and its derivatives, some contributions were dedicated to reflecting upon the responsibilities and impacts —personal, social, environmental— of the team's own research activity. In this sense, the concept of Socially Responsible Researcher [SRR], also elaborated by Professor Torres Feijó, stands out:

By Socially Responsible Research we mean (SRR) the commitment to share results and the explanations of the research processes that lead to them with the human subjects involved in it and/or the social sectors potentially interested in or affected by those results. A generic definition of SRR might describe it as the commitment acquired by a research entity with the communities that are potentially interested in or affected by its research. We talk about result analysis and explanation in order to refer to those actions that lead to the understanding of research questions and their objectives, the processes used to arrive to the results and the information derived from them. (Torres Feijó, 2015b)

² Part of this knowledge about the application of digital technologies to the study of literature was shared with the Reading and Literary Collection Group of the University of Passo Fundo (UPF). From this collaboration arose the design of a database adapted to the needs of the collection of the gaucho writer Josué Guimarães, presented in Samartim and Rettenmaier (2015).

Also meeting this same objective are the concepts of “Academic Resilience” and “Investigator Sustainability” proposed by Samartim:

Integral to this process of change, transition and self-reflection, the Galabra group understands research as a public service aimed at the common good, develops research practices geared towards the (scientific/empirical) explanation of social phenomena related to culture, and places *academic resilience* at the center of its interests, that is, the ability to adapt the nature of its discourse and practice to stimuli outside of the academic field, in order to contribute to *research sustainability*, continuity, and the well-being of the community(ies) in which it is inserted and operates. (Samartim, 2016: 272; italics ours)³

On the other hand, the first results connected to the project, written by Torres Feijó, explore a documental (Torres Feijó, 2011) and fictional (Torres Feijó, 2012) corpus and are aimed at raising hypotheses that were central to further developments and upon which, to a large extent, the general conceptualization of the research is based. Thus, in the first case, the hypotheses raised about the three macro-discourses on which current perceptions of the city and the Way rests —responsibility of the Catholic Church, international organizations such as UNESCO, and the writer Paulo Coelho and those influenced by him— appear later in several project’s results, as we will see below, and also confronted —and confirmed— in the thesis of Luisa Fernández Rodríguez (2016a).⁴ The same can be said for the proposal launched in 2012 by Torres Feijó in relation to the elaboration of a set of *cultural parameters*, by which the project’s lead researcher intends to establish both the motivations of visitors to make the journey or to visit the city —motivated for reasons of fitness, cultural, spiritual, friendship or adventure, etc.— and the ideas and images present in the cultural products about the Jacobean phenomenon or about the city of Compostela itself: heritage —material and immaterial—, landscape and organization of the territory, religion and spirituality, esotericism and mystery. This in turn combines with the lifestyle, idiosyncrasies, and differential identity of

³ The concept of Investigative Sustainability is addressed in later works by Samartim (2019), who defines it as the “property of people, organizations or communities that over time maintain the practices and processes proper to work (professional or otherwise) in so-called scientific research, without exceeding the carrying capacity of the people, teams or communities involved, making appropriate use (efficient, effective, ...) equitable and self-managed use of capital or resources (natural, social, cultural, economic, ...), time and technologies, minimizing the consumption of non-renewable goods or materials and contributing to the well-being and human and social fulfillment of both the researcher staff and the communities that host them”. In this same article (Samartim, 2019), carrying capacity is defined as the “maximum threshold of significant negative impacts generated in the environment (natural, institutional, social, ...) that can support a person or organization without altering its conditions of stability, cohesion, and continuity”.

⁴ For Torres Feijó (2014: 293): “the various enunciated discourses correspond to several strategies, which can be synthesized, according to the organizations [...] involved, in the support of a proselytizing impulse of the Catholic Church, especially directed towards young people and in the grounding of this Church as the basis and foundation of Europe and in the will of European articulation and consolidation by the EU; and, equally, in the protection and valorization of the material and immaterial heritage that UNESCO pursues. Paulo Coelho’s speech [...] would be attracted and impelled by the speeches of the mentioned organizations. In fact, it does not deviate from them, at least explicitly: it is a spiritual itinerary along the Road to Santiago”.

the community(s), in conjunction with gastronomy and the Galician language (Torres Feijó, 2012).

In fact, connected to the discourses, images and ideas about the city and the Way, multiple works by members of the team explored —sometimes in a contrastive way and with the application of NLP techniques— both the documental corpus, namely the literary one, and the results of the surveys given to visitors —either to people coming from Portugal (as in Rodríguez Prado, 2015b) or to visitors arriving from Brazil (as in Villarino Pardo, 2015 or Bello Vázquez, 2014), in order to check the existence of the cultural parameters outlined above. The same happens in the case of macronarratives, while several contributions (Bello Vázquez, 2016; Fernández Rodríguez and Samartim, 2016; Fernández Rodríguez, del Río, and Rodríguez Prado, 2016) explore the impacts of Paulo Coelho's discourses on the practices, consumption, and discourses of —mostly— Brazilian visitors.

In addition to deriving from the same results a greater presence of the Way and the pilgrimage in literature and institutional discourses than in the information provided by the visitors, we can see the elaboration of a certain image of both Compostela —and Galiza— and the Way —for example in Torres Feijó (2014). This image rests on the identification of the city with a Christian sanctuary —with the Cathedral at its center—, marking the goal of the various Ways that lead to it. The city is fundamentally reduced to the monumental area of Compostela and projected as a medievalizing patrimonial setting, appropriated for the experience and the realization of espiritual and esoteric practices. Both in the city itself and in the populations that the Way passes through, local communities and cultures are present. To a large extent this is because the Ways to Santiago build their own culture and relationships, the former characterized by an ethic of austerity and detachment, and the latter simply by interaction with other pilgrims, involved in the same initiatory and spiritual journey, as opposed to the tourist one. The lack of correlation between production, consumption and practices of locals and visitors —tourists— pointed out in Carral *et al.* (2016) equally attests to this idea of the Way's self-referentiality —endogamy— and dearth of intersectional spaces and practices between locals and visitors.

Although this is the general characterization that is derived from the analyzed corpus, it is also possible to nuance this construction of Compostela as an image of destination according to the national origin of the visitor interview corpus. Thus, Fernández Rodríguez, del Río and Rodríguez Prado (2016) verify that alongside the centrality of the Cathedral and other elements linked to pilgrimage and the Camino —the latter of lesser importance in the information from Portugal— present in the three nationalities of informants focused upon —Spanish, Portuguese and Brazilian—, landscape and idiosyncrasy is one of the elements highlighted mainly by Spanish and Portuguese visitors, while gastronomy is one of the most valued cultural parameters in the case of people from Spain and Brazil, although the latter to a lesser extent, since they mention religion and the historical and architectural heritage of the city more often. Only the Portuguese surveyed point to a cross-community identification with people from Galiza, something that is not present either in surveys of visitors from the rest of Spain or in the Brazilian group, which highlights the Galician language as a distinctive element of identity for the local community.

Finally, there are also several studies that point to the perception of a Galician-Portuguese community in statements of visitors from Portugal. This Galician-Portuguese identity *continuum* (Bello Vázquez, 2015b), or transnational Euroregional identity (Pereiro, 2016), would be supported by the identification of several shared elements: geography, landscape, idiosyncrasy, customs and traditions, history and, to a lesser extent, language (also in Rodríguez Prado, 2015b and Fernández Rodríguez, del Río and Rodríguez Prado, 2016).

4. Concluding synthesis

It seems appropriate to note the following issues, which run transversally throughout the results of the project:

1. With regard to the tools constructed and/or used in the first phase of the project presented over the course of these pages, we have verified the usefulness of questionnaire and interview work for the survey and subsequent analysis of information about the discourses and practices expressed by the analyzed groups. In addition to meeting the team's needs in this regard, the design and development of the database for the compiling, cataloging and classification of documentary materials also allowed us to transfer this technology and share this experience with other teams internationally. In this sense, we have also noted the productivity of the use of techniques and methods referenced in the PLN, as well as of computer programs of various types designed for the handling and mining of voluminous and varied corpora such as those used in the project in question.
2. In relation to the project team, we have verified a drive towards a meaningful transdisciplinarity, verifiable both in the processes leading up to the elaboration of the aforementioned tools —database, surveys and interviews—, and in the joint participation in scientific events from different areas —sociology, anthropology, literature, tourism, gastronomy, etc.— by team members coming from different academic cultures and research areas —economics, ecology, linguistics, literature, etc. In the same way, while this is not yet normal practice in the academic field, it seems important to us to note the attention paid by the research staff to reflection and (self)reflexivity about their own relationship with the object of study, about the position of the team itself and about the —internal and external— impacts of the research it conducted.
3. We verified the relevance of the information gathered and the knowledge generated in this first phase of the project, both for the transfer and for the planning of the communities involved, namely in terms of local sustainability of practices and consumption, of analysis of impacts produced by activities like tourism, and of crafting public policies. In this last instance, since knowledge is essential for a really informed and participative governance.
4. With regard to the project's research results, confirmation of the starting hypotheses may be underscored, both regarding the cultural parameters and, above all, regarding the following elements which present in the three narratives that explain the image and current discourse about Compostela —which often functions as metonymy for Galicia— and its Ways: 1) the identification of the

Way with a certain idea —religious, Christian— of Europe, where Compostela is the goal of the journey and the place where the process of Catholic conversion and overcoming takes place -idea constructed by the Catholic Church; 2) the patrimonial and medievalizing vision —tied somewhat to religion as well— present in the foci of international organizations such as UNESCO; and 3) the strong impact of the discourse —permeated by spirituality, self-knowledge and new age aesthetics— of Paulo Coelho in the practices, the consumption, and the discourse of —mostly— Brazilian visitors, where the accomplishment of the Way ends up being a proof of search, transformation, and individual happiness, based on a religious, mystical, and spiritual conception of life.

5. Furthermore, the resemantization of city *spaces* and the invisibilization of local communities and cultures is palpable. The research points to the construction of an image of Compostela as a sanctuary with the Cathedral at its center and of the old city as a setting for spiritual or esoteric practices and consumption typical of tourist spaces where lacking interaction from the local community.
6. It seems appropriate to mention in this summary of results that the information extracted from the Portuguese visitors also shows the existence of a Galician-Portuguese identity *continuum*, a Galician-Portuguese community sustained mainly by its common geography and landscape, the similar idiosyncrasies of its people, the shared history and, although to a lesser extent, the familiarity of the language of Minho and beyond.
7. Finally, among the aspects still under development and which will be addressed in the work of the project phase which began in 2018, we highlight the need to implement phases 2 and 3 of the Cataloger, aimed at automatic cataloging and geolocalization of documentary materials, respectively, in addition to our interest in documenting research processes themselves and their transparency and replicability. In this sense, the establishment of the survey preparation process and its publication, as well as the public and free availability of the databases generated by the project —the corpus of supporting documents and surveys—, to mention only a few of the elements we consider most relevant, may be addressed in the near future depending on the resources available.

Bibliographical References

- Andereck, K. L. and Nyaupane, G. P. (2011) Exploring the Nature of Tourism and Quality of Life Perceptions among Residents, *Journal of Travel Research*. 50/3, 248-260.
- Ateljevic, I., Pritchard, A. and Morgan, N. (eds.) (2007) *The Critical Turn in Tourism Studies. Innovative Research Methodologies*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Bello Vázquez, R. (2014) Discursos Religiosos, Recriação Histórica e 'Cultura do Caminho' nos Caminhos de Santiago, *Mosaico. Revista de História*, 7/1, 35-44.
- Bello Vázquez, R. (2015a) Measuring Identity: Indicators for Comparison of Real and Fictional Discourses on a Cultural Heritage City, in Ricci G. R. (ed.) *Travel, Tourism, and Identity*. New York: Routledge, 127-142.
- Bello Vázquez, R. (2015b) A existência de uma comunidade luso-galega como elemento afetivo nas visitas a Santiago de Compostela procedentes de Portugal. Primeiros resultados através

- de inquéritos quantitativo-qualitativos, in Torres Feijó, E. J., Bello Vázquez, R.; Samartim, R. and Brito-Semedo, M. (eds.) *Estudos da AIL em Teoria e Metodologia. Relacionamento nas Lusofonias II*. Santiago de Compostela / Coimbra: Associação Internacional de Lusitanistas / AIL Editora, 87-96.
- Bello Vázquez, R. (2015c) Homologias entre discursos literários, práticas sociais e consumos culturais. Um estudo de caso com peregrinos brasileiros a Compostela. Unpublished paper. *Colóquio O Brasil perante os desafios do século XXI: literatura, cultura, sociedade* (Budapeste, 12-13 of October 2015). Budapeste: University of Budapest - Associação Internacional de Lusitanistas.
- Bello Vázquez, R. (2016) Consumos Literários, Práticas Culturais e Habitus: O Paradoxo de Paulo Coelho e o Caminho de Santiago, *iS Working papers*, 36, <https://isociologia.up.pt/bibcite/reference/923> Accessed on 26 June 2019.
- Carral, E.; Carreira, X.C.; Martínez Vila, B. and Torres Feijó, E.J. (2016) A inter-relação entre gastronomia, cultura, turismo e comércio local em Santiago de Compostela. Primeiros resultados, in Tibério, M.L. et al. (orgs.) *Livro de Atas do III Seminário 'Alimentos e manifestações culturais' e II Simpósio Internacional 'Alimentação e Cultura: Tradição e Inovação na Produção e Consumo de Alimentos'*. Vila Real: Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro, 263-280.
- Church, K. W. and Hanks, P. (1990) Word association norms, mutual information, and lexicography, *Computational Linguistics*, 16/1, 22-29.
- Colombo, J. (2011) Community and Community Development: Conceptual Clarifications, *Innovation/Innovación/Inovação*. RICEC, 3/1.
- Colombo, J. (2012) *Two essays about community engagement*. Master Dissertation. Montreal: HEC.
- Conde, F. (2009) *Análisis sociológico del sistema de discursos*. Cuadernos Metodológicos. Vol. 43. Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas.
- Fernández Rodríguez, M. L. (2012) *A Cripta do Apóstolo e Santiago de Compostela contada aos nenos: Imaxinarios contemporáneos do Camiño de Santiago e Compostela en dous discursos literarios infanto-xuvenís galegos*. Unpublished Master's Dissertation. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.
- Fernández Rodríguez, M. L. (2015) Peregrinación metodológico-textual por los caminos de Santiago y la Compostela literarias: las etapas de catalogación, digitalización y text mining y el corpus como meta. Unpublished paper. *International Conference of Digital Literary Studies* (14-15 Mai 2015). Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra.
- Fernández Rodríguez, M. L. (2016a) *Discursos sobre Santiago de Compostela y el/los Camino(s) de Santiago en la novela española actual (2010) a través de técnicas analíticas digitales: Posibilidades y valor del conocimiento generado*. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.
- Fernández Rodríguez, M. L. (2016b) Análisis cultural de discursos ficcionales sobre Santiago de Compostela y el Camino de Santiago: exploración de métodos estadístico-computacionales para la categorización empírica del contenido léxico-semántico de corpus voluminosos, in Macedo, A.G. and Sousa, C.M. *Outros mapas: linguagem, migração, diáspora*. Braga: Universidade do Minho-Centro de Estudos Humanísticos, 277-298.
- Fernández Rodríguez, M. L.; Del Río Araújo, M. and Rodríguez Prado, F. (2016) Dous produtos e um destino: *The way* (2010), *O diário de um mago* (1987) e a imagem da Galiza como destino turístico, *iS Working papers*, 32, <https://isociologia.up.pt/bibcite/reference/919> Accessed on 26 June 2019.

- Fernández Rodríguez, M. L. and Samartim, R. (2015a) Métodos não-supervisionados de clustering para a análise de textos literários: a seleção de materiais sobre grandes volumes de corpus. Unpublished paper. *Congresso de Humanidades Digitais em Portugal (8-9 de outubro de 2015)*. Lisboa: Universidade Nova de Lisboa.
- Fernández Rodríguez, M. L. and Samartim, R. (2015b) Análise estatística do discurso para a exploração e classificação de textos literários: extração de conteúdos do romance jacobeu em espanhol de 2010. Unpublished paper. *II Simposium Internacional EDISo 2015 (18-20 de junio de 2015)*. Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra.
- Fernández Rodríguez, M. L. and Samartim, R. (2016) Impacto dos discursos literários nas práticas e consumos culturais ligados aos Caminhos de Santiago: De Paulo Coelho aos souvenirs de cavaleiros templários. *iS Working papers*, 37, <https://isociologia.up.pt/bibcite/reference/916> . Accessed on 26 June 2019.
- Frost, W. (2006) Braveheart ed Ned Kelly: historic films, heritage tourism and destination image, *Tourism Management*, 27/2, 247-254, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2004.09.006>
- Garcia, M. and Gamallo, P. (2015) Yet Another Suite of Multilingual NLP Tools, in Sierra-Rodríguez, J.-L.; Leal, J.P and Simões, A. (eds.) *Languages, Applications and Technologies. Communications in Computer and Information Science*. Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 65-75. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-27653-3>
- Guinovart, X.G. and Simões, A. (2009) Parallel corpus-based bilingual terminology extraction, in L'Homme, M.-C. and Szulman, S. (eds.) *TIA-2009. Conference on Terminology and Artificial Intelligence. CEUR. Working Proceedings*, vol. 578. Available online: <http://ceur-ws.org/Vol-578/> Accessed on 26 June 2019.
- Iriarte, Á.; Gamallo, P. and Simões, A. (2018) Estratégias Lexicométricas para Detetar Especificidades Textuais, *Linguamática*, 10/1, 19-26, <https://doi.org/10.21814/lm.10.1.263>
- Lage, X.; Losada, A. and Gómez, M. (2012) La política cultural en la comunidad autónoma gallega: de la dependencia a la autonomía, *RIPS. Revista de investigaciones políticas y sociológicas* 11/3, 115-148.
- Light, D. (2007) Dracula tourism in Romania Cultural identity and the state, *Annals of Tourism Research*, 34/3, 746-765.
- López Pena, Z. (2017) Indicadores culturais relacionados co constructo identitario do Camiño de Santiago comunicados a través de contidos audiovisuais. Unpublished paper. *I Colóquio Internacional Galabra. Tecendo Rede. Sentidos, aplicações e cooperação na investigação em ciências humanas e sociais (9 e 10 de janeiro de 2017)*. Braga: Universidade do Minho-Rede Galabra.
- Martínez Vila, B. A. (2014) *Discursos, imagens e práticas culturais: análise e repercussão dos consumos gastronômicos em Santiago de Compostela de brasileiros, portugueses e espanhóis*. Unpublished Master's Dissertation. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.
- Pazos-Justo, C. (2017) Turismo, imagem e comunidade. Reflexões a partir do caso de Santiago de Compostela, in Groba, F. e Dono, P. (orgs.) *Galegos no Minho. 20 anos do Centro de Estudos Galegos*. Braga: Universidade do Minho-Centros de Estudos Galegos, 79-92, <http://hdl.handle.net/1822/49490>
- Pazos-Justo, C.; Del Río, M. and Samartim, R. (2018) *Reinventio* e unanimidade. Impacto das políticas culturais e turísticas na Comunidade local de Santiago de Compostela, *SÉMATA-Ciencias Sociais e Humanidades*, 30, 233-256.

- Pereiro Pérez, X. (2016) Turistas portugueses na Galiza: Imagens e relatos pós-experienciais, in Trillo Santamaría, J. M. and Pires, I. (coords.) *Las fronteras en la investigación peninsular: temáticas y enfoques contemporáneos*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 161-181.
- Pichel Iglesias, I. (2015) *Best-sellers, Galicia y la imposibilidad de la identidad: un enfoque cuantitativo. La narrativa histórica actual como miscelánea didáctica*. Unpublished Master's Dissertation. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.
- Rodríguez Prado, F. (2015a) Santiago de Compostela em produtos literários brasileiros: lugar (d) escrito ou apenas meta dos Caminhos? Unpublished paper. *Vème Colloque luso-hispano-français. Géographie, Langue et Textes Littéraires (23-24 de abril de 2015)*. Porto: Universidade do Porto.
- Rodríguez Prado, F. (2015b) Textos ficcionais e práticas culturais de portugueses com relação a Santiago de Compostela: contrastes e homologias, in Torres Feijó, E. J., Bello Vázquez, R., Samartim, R. and Brito-Semedo, M. (eds.) *Estudos da AIL em Teoria e metodologia. Relacionamento nas Lusofonias I*. Santiago de Compostela / Coimbra: AIL Editora, 143-158.
- Ruiz Ballesteros, E. and Hernández Ramírez, M. (2007) Identity and community Reflections on the development of mining heritage tourism in Southern Spain, *Tourism Management*, 28, 677-687.
- Samartim, R. (2015) Bases de dados para o estudo da cultura: apresentação do catalogador e possibilidades de abordagem sobre o corpus documental do Projeto Caminho de Santiago, in Torres Feijó, E. J., Bello Vázquez, R., Samartim, R. and Brito-Semedo, M. (eds.) *Estudos da AIL em Teoria e metodologia. Relacionamento nas Lusofonias II*. Santiago de Compostela / Coimbra: AIL Editora, 115-126.
- Samartim, R. (2016) Tecnologia para os estudos na cultura: Caminhos e ferramentas para a catalogação, a análise léxico-semântica e o mapeamento de materiais, in Macedo, A.G. and Sousa, C.M. *Outros mapas: linguagem, migração, diáspora*. Braga: Universidade do Minho, Centro de Estudos Humanísticos, 261-275.
- Samartim, R. (2019) Sustentabilidade investigadora e resiliência académica. Esboço para uma autoanálise. Unpublished paper. *III Encontro Internacional da Rede Galabra, Responsabilidade e Investigação em Ciências da Cultura (24-25 de janeiro de 2019)*. Corunha / Santiago de Compostela: Universidade da Corunha / Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.
- Samartim, R. and Rettenmaier, M. (2015) Desenho de ferramentas digitais para a catalogação e a exploração de informação e de documentação: os casos do Projeto Caminho de Santiago e do Acervo Literário de Josué Guimarães. Unpublished paper. *International Conference of Digital Literary Studies (14-15 de maio de 2015)*. Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra.
- Squire, S. J. (1994) The cultural values of literary tourism, *Annals of Tourism Research*, 21/1, 103-120.
- Torres Feijó, E. J. (2011) Discursos contemporâneos e práticas culturais dominantes sobre Santiago e o Camiño: a invisibilidade da cultura como hipótese, in Lourenço, A. A. and Silvestre, O. M. (coords.) *Literatura, espaços, cartografia*. Coimbra: Centro de Literatura Portuguesa, 391-449.
- Torres Feijó, E. J. (2012) Interesses culturais e âmbitos receptivos em dous romances sobre o Caminho de Santiago: Frechas de Ouro e O Enigma de Compostela, *Romance Notes*, 52/2, 135-149.
- Torres Feijó, E. J. (2013) Sustainable identity. Tourism, as opportunity or menace. Proposal of some indicators. *International Critical Tourism Studies Conference*, Available online: https://www.academia.edu/4178554/Sustainable_identity_Tourism_as_opportunity_or_menace_Proposal_of_some_indicator. Accessed on 26 June 2019.

- Torres Feijó, E. J. (2014) Autor, texto e espaço geo-cultural mediatizado: processos de ressemantização, banalização e misturação de géneros em produtos sobre o Caminho de Santiago, in Quinteiro, S. and Baleiro, R. (eds.). *Lit&Tour: Essays on Literature and Tourism*. Lisboa: Húmus, 291-310.
- Torres Feijó, E. J. (2015a) Comunidades, coesão, sustentabilidade e fator visitante: ferramentas conceituais e parâmetros para a análise: o caso de Santiago de Compostela, in Marques, C. A. (org.) *Planeamento Cultural Urbano em Áreas Metropolitanas-Revitalização do Espaço Pós-Suburbano*. Lisboa: CAPP – ISCSP - ULisboa & CIAUD-FA-U, 121-123.
- Torres Feijó, E. J. (2015b) Tourism and local community: unperceived and imperceptible risks and socially responsible research (SRR). First stages to work SRR with merchants. Unpublished paper. *VI International Critical Tourism Studies Conference. Faculty of Tourism and Hospitality Management* (26-30 July 2015) Opatija, Croácia, Available online: https://www.academia.edu/13124788/Tourism_and_local_community_unperceived_and_imperceptible_risks_and_socially_responsible_research_SRR._First_stages_to_work_SRR_with_traders. Accessed on 26 June 2019.
- Torres Feijó, E. J. (2015c) Identity Sustainability, Identity Affectivity, and the Ithaca Traveler: Conceptual Tools for Measuring and Modeling Tourism as an Opportunity, in Ricci, G. R. (ed.) *Travel, Tourism and Identity - Culture & Civilization*, 7. London, U.K.: Routledge, 143-162.
- Torres Feijó, E. J. and Fernández Rodríguez, M. L. (2014) Literary discourse and local repercussions: Paulo Coelho and the cultural practice in Santiago de Compostela, capital of Galiza. Unpublished paper. *14th conference of the International Society for the Empirical Study of Literature and Media (21-25 de julho de 2014)*. Torino: Università degli Studi di Torino.
- Villarino Pardo, C. (2015) Produtos literarios e práticas culturais sobre Santiago de Compostela: proposta de análise contrastiva dos corpus (romances e inquéritos), in Torres Feijó, E.J., Bello Vázquez, R., Samartim, R. and Brito-Semedo, M. (eds.) *Estudos da AIL em Teoria e metodologia. Relacionamento nas Lusofonias I*. Santiago de Compostela-Coimbra: AIL Editora, 89-104.
- Xie, P. F.; Osumare, H. and Ibrahim, A. (2007) Gazing the hood: Hip Hop as tourism attraction, *Tourism Management*, 28/2, 452-460.

Reinventio and Unanimity. Impact of Cultural and Tourism Policies in the Local Community of Santiago de Compostela

Carlos Pazos-Justo

Galabra - Universidade do Minho

Marisa del Río Araújo

Universidade de Santiago de Compostela

Roberto Samartim

GET - Galabra Network - Universidade da Coruña and Galabra Network

1. Introduction

Cultural policies, understood as a “program of interventions carried out by the State, civil institutions, private entities or community groups with the aim of meeting the cultural needs of the population and promoting the development of their symbolic representations” (Teixeira Coelho, 1997), have not been alien to the processes of globalization and commodification of culture (Rubim, 2009). In this framework, progressively, culture has been considered to be a relevant factor for the development of communities (UNESCO, 1998; Lopes, 2010; Rodriguez Morató, 2010; Paül i Agusti, 2013). Thus, globalization, mercantilization, and development —concepts linked as a rule to the social and geographical expansion of consumption and economic growth, based on strong values in the culture generated by the capitalist mode of production— can be seen as central elements of the forces conditioning cultural policies in recent decades, as challenges but also as objectives of the agents involved in the planning and

implementation of these policies. At the same time, from the 80's of the 20th century, due to the continuous emptying of the State's role in the cultural field, we have witnessed the emergence of cities as the protagonists of cultural life, becoming the privileged object and subject of cultural policies (Rodríguez Morató, 2005; Bouzada, 2007 and 2008; Barbieri, 2014).

These cultural policies are conditioned by tourism as result of both globalization dynamics (Delgado, 2007; Pereiro & Fernandes, 2018) and as a central economic, social, and cultural phenomenon in Western societies. Regarding the local community, in turn, there is already important literature —see below— analyzing the relationship between it and cultural and/or tourism policies.

Focusing on the “demand side”, Social Exchange Theory (Blau, 1968) proposes that there is a relationship between the perceptions and attitudes of local people and the nature of their involvement with tourism. Taking this perspective, the work focuses on two fundamental objectives: firstly, an analytical survey of the specific bibliography on public policies for culture and tourism implemented in Santiago de Compostela, focusing on the Ways of Saint James. Secondly, using a corpus built from surveys of inhabitants and merchants in Santiago de Compostela, we analyze the perception of the impact of these policies on the local community. In the subsequent discussion, we will test the hypothesis that these local public policies regarding culture and tourism —which we call *reinventio* for the reasons explained above— are accepted with a high degree of unanimity by the local population, highlighting a higher level of acceptance in those sectors of the community with greater economic dependence on the tourism sector. Finally, we will present and discuss the results obtained, their implications, and some proposals for future research.

2. Review of the Literature

As already mentioned, cultural policies are conditioned by tourism as an outcome (Delgado, 2007; Pereiro & Fernandes, 2018) and as a central economic, social and cultural phenomenon in Western societies.¹ The municipalization of cultural policies and the expansion of tourism as a relevant economic sector have contributed to the emergence of an alliance between culture and tourism (Costa, 2005; Richards, 2014; Rodríguez Morató, 2010) with impacts in several dimensions, often in terms of cultural tourism² or urban tourism (López Palomeque, 2015).

¹ According to the perspectives of the World Tourism Organization [WTO, 2017], this phenomenon is on its way to becoming the leading world economic activity (Pereiro, 2009). Thus, in 2016 the total number of tourists worldwide was 1,235 million, 4% higher than the results of 2015, continually increasing over seven consecutive years. This was also the case in the for pilgrimages, considered here to be a specific form of tourism although there is no clear consensus in this sense (Remoaldo & Ribeiro, 2017; Pereiro & Fernandes, 2018). Also according to the OMT (2014), in 2014 between 300 and 330 million tourists visited religious destinations.

² “Cultural tourism is a type of tourist activity in which the visitor's essential motivation is to learn, discover, experience and consume the tangible and intangible cultural attractions/products in a tourism destination. These attractions/products relate to a set of distinctive material, intellectual,

Examples in this direction in the peninsular realm suppose Bilbao (OMT, 2018: 81), Barcelona (López Palomeque, 2015) or, in Portugal, the “intercity competence” in the cultural-tourism milieu represented by Porto or Guimarães (Remoaldo & Ribeiro, 2017: 23). Here, cultural events such as the European capitals of culture of 2001 and 2012, respectively, are placed as “precious opportunity[s] to reinforce the city’s image, nationally and internationally, as a cultural destination” (Remoaldo & Ribeiro, 2017: 39), as well as to overcome, in the vimeirense case, the decadence that some traditional economic sectors —textile, shoe or cutlery industry, for example— had faced during the last decades of the 20th century. We find other evidence that “Creative industries and [cultural] tourism have become strategic assets for local economies” in the study commissioned in 2015 by the International Confederation of Societies of Authors and Composers of Portugal (EY, 2015: 20) or in the Strategic Plan for the Development of Braga 2014-2026 (INVESTBRAGA, 2014), a city that is preparing its candidacy to become the European Capital of Culture in 2027, and in which the alliance between tourism and culture —and religion— is one of the key vectors. In the case of Braga, the promotion of cultural and religious tourism in line with the planning strategy of the regional entity responsible (Turismo do Porto e Norte de Portugal, 2015) stands out, with Santiago de Compostela as a model of tourism development for some authors (Pereira & Peres, 2010).

In Galiza, for its part, “over the period between 1990 and 2005 we found a cultural policy very closely linked to the tourism policy” (Lage, Losada & Gómez, 2012: 123), only loosened from 2005 to 2009 during the coalition government between PsdeG-BNG, federalist progressives and left-wing Galician nationalists.³ In the emerging triad of city-culture-tourism, the organization of (mega)events —European, macro-concerts, etc.— or the endowment of large cultural facilities such as the *Auditorio de Galicia* in Santiago de Compostela or the *Casa da Música* in Oporto. These are considered tried and true strategies (López Pena, 2016a and 2016b).

There are numerous works conceptualizing and studying the impacts of cultural policies on the local community and, above all, of tourism policies, understood here as “a set of attitudes and strategies that an organized group adopts towards tourism (e.g. promotion, restriction, or extinction), deriving from general policies and translating into rules and regulations” (Pereiro & Fernandes, 2018: 387). In the former, it is important to understand the local population as another agent involved in cultural policies (Martinell & López, 2007), besides the traditional public sector, non-profit and private organizations. In tourism, studies usually focus on the “demand side” and less on the “supply side” (Costa, 2005: 283).

spiritual and emotional features of a society that encompasses arts and architecture, historical and cultural heritage, culinary heritage, literature, music, creative industries and the living cultures with their life styles, value systems, beliefs and traditions” (OMT, 2018).

³ Observe that “during the four legislatures of the government of the Partido Popular —PPdeG, right-center regionalists—, the budget of CRTVG —the Radio and Television Company of Galicia, on the air since July 24, 1985—, Tourism and other activities not purely related to culture, such as the promotion of the Way of Saint James, had a very important budgetary weight, absorbing 50% of the resources allocated to the Council on Culture, Social Communication and Tourism” (Lage, Losada & Gómez, 2012: 125).

Once consolidated, with the decisive support of the WTO in 1999 (Pereiro & Fernandes 2018), the discourses surrounding tourism as a sustainable phenomenon—Remoaldo & Ribeiro (2017) or Gascón (2016), the latter for a critical view on the possibilities of safeguarding the environment and, at the same time, ensuring the economic growth of the activity—, studies of the impacts on local communities have experienced a considerable increase in various geographical spaces (Scalabrini, Remoaldo & Lourenço, 2014), and they can be of a positive or negative nature in their dimensions, whether economic, sociocultural, environmental (Remoaldo & Ribeiro, 2017; Pereiro, 2009) and even symbolic—these *symbolic impacts* according to Bourdieu (2001) or, more specifically, with Torres Feijó's (2015)⁴ concept of *identity sustainability*. Thus, residents are understood as actors, often called *stakeholders*, interested or intervening parties to be considered in the analysis of the tourism phenomenon.

According to the literature, there are several factors that may condition the local community's perception of tourism. In summary of Félix *et al.* (2017: 40-41):

Residents' support for tourism development is strongly linked to the perception of the social, cultural, economic, and environmental impacts stimulated by this phenomenon, as it is also affected by the relations of power and trust between the community, government actors, and private initiative [...], the image, whether affective and/or cognitive, and the attachment of residents to the locality [...], among others. It is noteworthy that the last two dimensions cited, that is, attachment and image, are recent in the field of study of the factors that influence resident support and have contributed to a better understanding of the subject.

In this sense, the Social Exchange Theory (Blau, 1968) advocates the existence of a relationship—negotiation— between local people's perceptions and attitudes and the nature of their involvement with the tourism industry and tourists (Andereck *et al.*, 2005), which may be conditioned by economic dependence on tourism or, even, by the relative distance to places with greater tourist demands. Despite the emergence of studies highlighting the negative effects of tourist massification on certain spaces (Delgado, 2007; Milano, 2017; Pereiro & Fernandes, 2018) or even questioning, from academia, the idea of sustainable tourism—the aforementioned Gascón (2016)—, the analyses of the impacts of the tourist phenomenon tend, in line with the postulates of the WTO, to study the perception of local communities according to the industry logic; i.e., the goal, in general, is to know the impacts on a given community in order to improve and increase tourism flows and not, for example, by addressing the impacts of tourism on the quality of life of local people (Andereck & Nyaupane, 2010), or even—reversing the focus—to contribute to the understanding and strengthening of community identity and the well-being of the local population. In this sense, it is worth pointing out the lack of studies in the case of Compostela for understanding the perception of the local community and focusing on it.

⁴ "Identity sustainability is what guarantees the continuity of a community and the consensus about the community's identity, understanding sustainability in a two fold way: as the action of the community to keep the same items, and as the action of the community to preserve its identity and its limits" (Torres Feijó, 2015: 148).

3. Metodology

In this work, as we have already indicated, two complementary methodologies are used: firstly, an analytical survey of the specific bibliography on the public policies for culture and tourism implemented in Santiago de Compostela is carried out, focusing on the Ways of St. James. Secondly, using a corpus built from surveys conducted to inhabitants and merchants of Santiago de Compostela, the perception of the impact of these policies on the local community is analyzed. In order to empirically understand the perception of the local community regarding these public policies, we have used two databases built within the Galabra Network of which this paper finds itself in: one composed of 929 surveys conducted in June, August and September, and between October and December 2014, and lastly in April 2015 to people living in Santiago de Compostela and its region (Local DB); and another database with information drawn from 410 surveys conducted to shopkeepers in the city between March and April 2015 (Merchants DB). Between these two foundations the study variables were compared. The data sheet used can be found in Table 1 below.

Table 1

Datasheet of the databases used

Technical Data	Local Database	Merchant Database
Type of survey conducted	Staff with structured questionnaire	
	Residents of Santiago de Compostela (or neighbouring municipalities, (Teo and Ames)	Merchants who work in Santiago de Compostela
Geographical scope	Santiago de Compostela	
Population	Infinite (>100,000)	4,096 (sampling frame)
Sample size	929 valid surveys	410 valid surveys
Sampling error	± 3.2%.	± 4.6%
Confidence level	95%; p = q = 0.5	
Sampling procedure	Of convenience	
Dates	2014-2015	2015

Source: Our elaboration.

The samples are mostly composed of women —54% of the sample of locals and 56% of the sample of merchants—, and the age of the people surveyed ranges from 16 to 91 years, with an average age of 45 in the local sample and 42 in the merchant sample. In terms of education, most of the respondents have higher education degrees, either higher professional training —8.2% of the locals and 16.5% of the merchants— or university degrees —34.3% of the locals and 34.1 of the merchants— and higher education, including master's degrees and doctorates —13.8% of the locals and 4.4% of the merchants. As for the professional activity, 14.3% of the locals and 27% of the merchants

depend economically on tourism, totally or partially. The sample of merchants is made up of establishments distributed throughout the city⁵: 25.2% located in the old part, 24.7% in Ensanche, 12.1% in the business parks to the north of the city, and 21.4% at the entrances of the roads to Santiago —10.1% of the Portuguese, 7.3% of the French and 4.5% of the Finisterran Ways, respectively—; the rest of the city, including the rural area —1.5%—, hosts the other merchant sites. The profile of the samples can be seen in Table 2 below:

Table 2
Profiles of the analyzed population

Profiles		Places	Mercants
Gender	Women	54%	56%
	Men	46%	44%
Age		Average 46 years (standard deviation: 17,7)	Average 42 years (standard deviation: 11.4)
Level of Studies	Higher University	13.8%	4.4%
	Middle University	34.3%	34.1%
	Higher technical training	8.2%	16.5%
Professional Activity	Dependence on tourism	14.3%	27.0%
Geographical Distribution of Commercial Activity	Old Part	—	25.2%
	Ensanche	—	24.7%
	Business Parks	—	12.1%
	Way of St. James	—	21.4%
	Rest of the City	—	16.6%

Source: Our elaboration.

⁵ The city of Santiago is made up of: the Old Part; the New Zone -which started in the 1950s and grew in the 60s and 70s with the construction of the so-called “Ensanche”; the peripheral neighborhoods; the industrial and commercial parks; and the traditional zones, some of them originally independent nuclei that have been absorbed by the urban dynamic. According to the defined objectives and the intensity of pilgrim traffic, we consider the entrances of the French and Portuguese Way separately, coinciding with the traditional entrances to the city from the east and south, respectively; and the exit to the increasingly popular Fisterra Way from the west.

Five questions present in both questionnaires, taken from the surveys collected in the two databases described above, were selected to analyze the local community's perception of the issues in focus (see Table 3 below).

Table 3
Questions asked to locals and merchants in Compostela

Selected Questions (present in the Local and Merchants Databases)	
Question	Typology
Rate your degree of agreement with the institutional image of Santiago de Compostela	Likert scale of 8 points
To what extent do you think the Camino de Santiago represents Santiago de Compostela?	
To what extent do you think that the Way of Saint James represents Galiza?	
Do you think that there are important elements in Compostela that people don't know about?	Dichotomous nominal: yes/no
Do you think that part of Santiago's area should be reserved for tourism?	

Source: Our elaboration.

Of the five questions, identical in both surveys, three correspond to 8-point Likert-type scales and two to nominal and dichotomous —yes/no— answers. The answers to these questions were processed with the statistical program IBM SPSS *vs.* 24. As for the technical typology of our analyses, univariate discritical statistics were performed for the study variables. Depending on the impact of the economic interests of individuals linked to the tourism phenomenon, t-tests for the difference in the means of the scales between merchants and non-merchants were performed. The same analyses were performed to compare the means of the scales between informants who stated that they were dependent on tourism and those who stated that they had no economic dependence on it. Intergroup differences of the nominal variables were analyzed using contingency tables, and their significance was addressed using Pearson's Chi2 tests.

4. Presentation of results

We first present the results drawn from the treatment of a voluminous bibliographical corpus concerning cultural and tourist policies regarding the Galician city of Santiago de Compostela. In a Next, we will show the results of the analyzed empirical information with regard to the degree of (dis)agreement of the local community in terms of: 1. The institutional image of Santiago de Compostela —question 1; 2. Representativeness of the Way in relation to Santiago —question 2— and Galiza —question 3—; 3. Perception of the institutional communication policies of the city abroad; and 4. Acceptance/impact of tourism —question 5.

4.1. Cultural and Tourism Policies in Santiago de Compostela

As the goal of the Way of Saint James, the city of Santiago de Compostela has garnered strong international visibility over the course of the last decades of the 20th century, something unprecedented in the contemporary era (Novello *et al.*, 2013). To a certain extent, it recovered an old penchant for attraction, medieval in origin, which, despite overcoming different phases, had declined in the contemporary era (Lois & López, 2012). At the same time, the city experienced a strong repositioning in international tourism markets. Although we posit the centrality of the period from 1980 to early 2000 for understanding the new position of the city, from the perspective of cultural and tourist policies, it is worth keeping in mind two earlier periods that condition the actions of the timeframe in question: (i) the second *inventio*, at the end of the 19th century and (ii) the national-Catholic sublimation during the Franco dictatorship.

The second *inventio*,⁶ after the period of strong instability due to liberalism, is characterized by the intervention of a restricted number of agents linked to the Catholic Church, namely the archbishops and cardinals Payá y Rico (1875-1886) and Martín de Herrera (1888-1922). In the interpretation of Ramón Villares (2017) this new *invention* appears determined by the support of the Pope of Rome and the use of the incipient forensic science, giving as a result the authentication in 1884 by Pope Leo XIII —with the bull *Deus Omnipotens*— of some human remains found in the Cathedral of Santiago as being those of the Apostle Santiago the Younger. On the other hand, due to the interest of the Catholic Church in revitalizing the pilgrimages —Lourdes from 1858, Montserrat, Covadonga, Fatima in the second decade of the 20th century, etc.— systematic local and regional pilgrimages to Santiago are promoted (Santos Solla, 2006).

After this first impulse, led almost exclusively by the Catholic Church, during the Franco dictatorship —from 1936 to 1975 in Galiza—, a close collaboration between the Catholic Church and the State began (Santos & Trillo-Santamaría, 2017). We understood there to be a certain consensus at the time, in the interests of the regime, to push the way in its religious dimension in order to legitimize and reinforce its own ideology (Santos, 2006; Somoza & González, 2017; Villares, 2017). As seen in Figure 1, this long period is punctuated by several actions which, promoted almost exclusively by the State, endow the Way of Saint James and the city of Santiago de Compostela itself with several

⁶ The second *inventio* is a terminological continuation of what was called, for the emergence of the Jacobean phenomenon, *inventio*:

the Way of Saint James has its origins in the ninth century when what were considered the remains of the body of the apostle James the Elder were discovered and recognized by the monarchy and the church. The spread of this news gave rise in the following centuries to an intense process of pilgrimage from all corners of Europe. The vast literature on the subject has developed numerous arguments to justify the importance of this phenomenon. These range from power struggles within Christianity to the more well-known ones related to the frontier against the expansionism of Islam. In any case, what is important is the emergence of a route that goes far beyond simply religious motivations and that, to a certain extent, recovers the Europeanist spirit of Charlemagne, a figure that has been repeatedly linked to the Jacobean phenomenon. (Santos Solla, 2006: 136)

advantages —whether symbolic or in terms of equipment, with the aim of relaunching the Jacobean route within the ideological coordinates of Francoism.



FIGURE 1

Actions to relaunch the Way of Saint James prior to *reinventio*

Source: Our elaboration.

From the 1980s until the beginning of the 21st century, a series of tourist and cultural initiatives take place, in most cases, promoted by a set of poly economic actors, focusing on Santiago de Compostela as the goal of the Ways of St. James, which shape what we call *reinventio* or, following the terminological logic in use, a third *inventio*; see Figure 2.

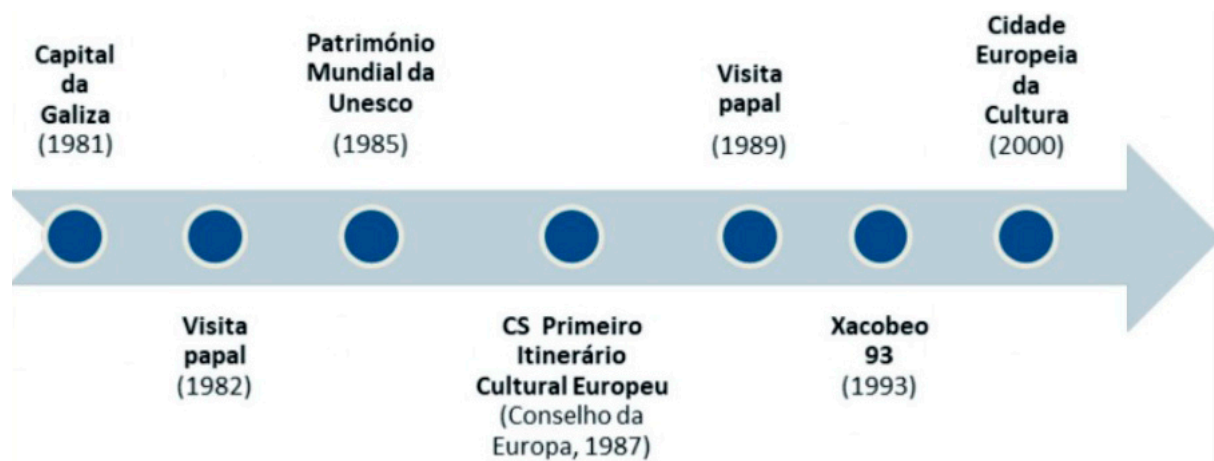


FIGURE 2

(Political-)cultural events of the *reinventio*

Source: Our elaboration.

We will not elaborate here on the very relevant role of certain cultural productions—for example the production of Paulo Coelho, which create narratives vital for understanding

the discourses and practices —around the city and the Ways— that have conditioned the studied phenomenon in multiple ways, particularly the novel *The Diary of a Magus* of 1987 (Torres Feijó, 2012; Rodríguez Prado, 2015; Fernández Rodríguez, del Río & Rodríguez Prado, 2016; Fernández Rodríguez, 2016; Fernández Rodríguez & Samartim, 2016; Bello Vázquez, 2016; Somoza Medina & Lois González, 2017). Several interrelated factors will condition the discourses, ideas, and, ultimately, the nature of *reinventio*. One of these factors is linked to the revival of European construction —of the European Union— in the 1980s and the —long-standing— interest of the Spanish state to join the European project, which is verified with the accession to the European Economic Community, together with Portugal, on June 12, 1985. In this direction, there are several speeches that support the idea of the Way and the city as an expression of a European identity, useful to the interests of the Spanish government (Santos & Trillo-Santamaría, 2017), which at the time was the subject of intense debate regarding its religious overtones. In that same year, the old part of Santiago de Compostela was declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site (1985) and, in 1987, the first European Cultural Itinerary by the Council of Europe.

Parallel to this, since its beginnings, the *reinventio* was also marked by the position taken by the Catholic Church. In fact, according to Torres Feijó (2014: 293):

the various discourses enunciated (about the city and the Ways) correspond to diverse strategies, which can be synthesized, in the case of the organizations [...] involved, in the support of a proselytizing impulse of the Catholic Church, especially aimed at young people and in the anchoring of this Church as the basis and foundation of Europe and in the will for European articulation and consolidation by the EU; and, equally, in the protection and valuation of the material and immaterial heritage that UNESCO pursues.

Before the celebration of the first International Congress of Jacobean Associations, in the city of Jaca, 1987, the Catholic Church had established in 1971 that 100 km. was to be the minimum distance to have the right to the Compostela stamp, i.e., to be considered a pilgrim in its eyes (Somoza & Lois, 2017; Pereiro, 2019). Furthermore, the Catholic Church highlights the explicit intervention of Pope John Paul II, embodied in two visits to the city, 1982 and 1989, both in the final phase of the so-called Cold War (1945-1991). According to Elias Torres (2011: 396), the first of these visits constitutes the presentation of the Catholic Church's "new discourse" on the Way of Saint James and the city itself, based on: (i) the "characterization of Santiago and, above all, the Way and the pilgrimage as a historic cohesive element for Europe"; (ii) "the identification of Christianity as the root of European identity and cohesion"; (iii) "the identification of Santiago, the Apostle and the Way as the goal and process of Catholic conversion and overcoming". This first visit to the city would also be marked by a "Europeanist act" (Santos, 2006: 138), inside the Cathedral of Santiago and with the participation of the King of Spain at the time, Juan Carlos I of Bourbon. It is interesting to note how, from this moment on, the Catholic Church, and its discourses and ideas, constitutes itself as a main agent of cultural and tourism policies in the city as a goal of the Ways of St. James.

Another of the determining factors that will condition the cultural and tourist policies of the city is related to the construction of the so-called State of Autonomies after

the approval of the Spanish Constitution of 1978. In this framework, the Autonomous Community of Galiza, with its official capital in Santiago de Compostela, starts its journey in 1981, also implementing its own cultural policies (Bouzada, 2008). The new autonomic administration, the main cultural actor, invested in the 1980s in the “consolidation of cultural policies [...] for their symbolic use as a constructing element of the political and social legitimacy of autonomy” (Lage, Losada & Gómez, 2012: 122), essentially becoming the dominant agent of cultural life in Galiza (Lorenzo, 2017).

The local government has also promoted an ambitious development plan centered on culture, in close collaboration with the autonomous government. In fact, in the autonomic sphere Santiago is a capital of recent creation in need of legitimacy, whose status is contested by the city administration of A Coruña. Historically, it had been “postponed by the State Administration from being the head of the province. Compostela lacked a tradition of national leadership and administrative infrastructure” (Lage, Losada & Gómez, 2012: 116). Santiago’s incipient status anxiety was addressed, according to Rodríguez González (2015: 379), with “the confluence of a city council determined to play the trump card of urban and architectural heritage, and an autonomous administration that devised an ambitious program of cultural and economic promotion—in 1993, based on tourism— around the discourse of the Way of Saint James: the *Xacobeo*”.

The *Xacobeo* largely explains the peak flows of pilgrims each Holy Year since its first edition in 1993 (see Figure 3), becoming the catalytic element of the various actors and discourses that take root and continue up to this day in Santiago de Compostela and regarding the Ways. The *Xacobeo*, promoted by the autonomous administration presided over by Manuel Fraga Iribarne —PPdeG, 1989-2005—,⁷ counted on a strong public investment, to the point that the expenses in culture grew, between 1986 and 2005, by 1,200%. From that moment on, the budgets dedicated to culture by the autonomous administration

will depend [...] on the proximity or distance to each of the *Xacobeos* [...] This celebration served as a pretext to pay special attention to the promotion of the Way of Saint James and to the *Xacobeo* as a milestone event in Galicia. A strategy that was implemented in order to improve the external promotion and image of Galicia and to put it at the service of the tourist development of the country (Bouzada, 2008: 46-47).

⁷ “The Xacobeo Plan was unanimously approved by the Galician Parliament in 1991 with the mission of harmonizing political, civil and ecclesiastical efforts to ensure the physical, cultural and economic recovery of the Way of Saint James. And all this with a triple objective: 1) To reaffirm the identity of Galicia through an essential element of its history and personality, 2) To link Galicia and the Way of Saint James with the idea of Europe, and 3) To promote Galicia globally during each Compostela Holy Year” (http://www.fundacioncontemporanea.com/pdf/Publica11._Xacobeo2010._Ignacio_Santos.pdf).

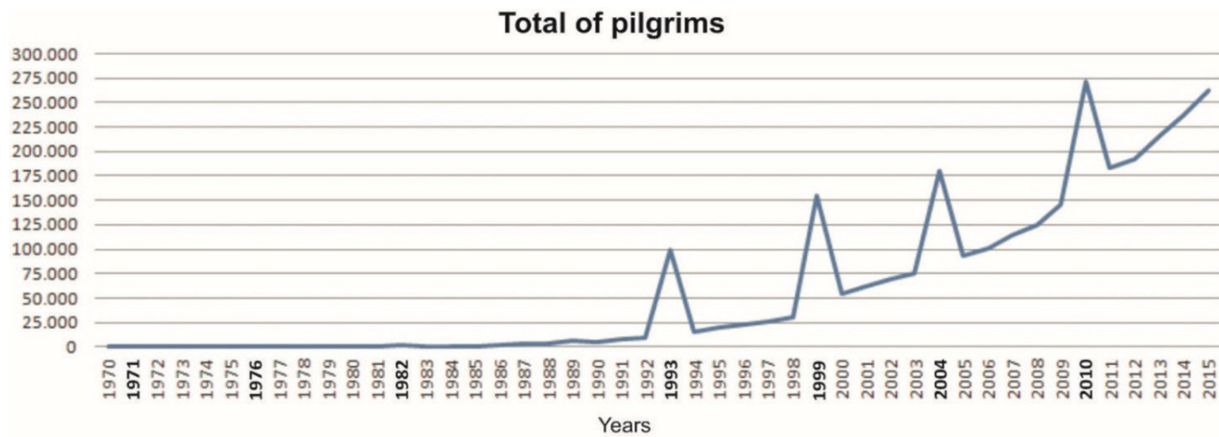


FIGURE 3

Flow of pilgrims to Compostela

Source: Somoza Medina & Lois González (2017: 50).

Thus, *Xacobeo's* role is “the vehicle and maximum expression of the development of tourism in Galicia” (Santos Solla, 1999: 116), and directly, or indirectly, we see the participation of a series of agents whose speeches are characterized by virtual unanimity as to ideas and purposes. A number of organizations are emerging around the initiative, such as the Anonymous Society for the Management of the *Xacobeo* (1991) or the *Consortio* of the City of Santiago (1992), “an executive body of the Royal Patronage of [the City of] Santiago [de Compostela —created in 1991 and made up of members of the State, the Galician government, the council, the university and the archbishopric], in which institutional cooperation between the Government of Spain, the Xunta of Galicia, and the City Council of Santiago takes place” (<http://www.consortio-santiago.org/>). The Consortium contributes decisively to endow the city with a series of tourist-cultural venues such as the Palace of Congress, the Multiusos do Sar, the Galicia Pavilion at the Universal Exposition of Seville 92 or the Monte do Gozo Complex (Celeiro, 2013).

Another of the agents mentioned, the University of Santiago de Compostela (USC), signed in 1993 the constitution of the Compostela Group and, more recently, in 2016, created a Chair of the Way and Pilgrimages which is financially supported by the Galician autonomous government and the result of a protocol between the university, the *Axencia de Turismo de Galicia* —Turgalicia, created in 2012— and the Cathedral of Santiago.

In fact, the first celebration of the *Xacobeo* in 1993 is when the institutional recognitions of various kinds to the city and to the Way begin: the declaration of the Camino de Santiago as a World Heritage Site (1993), the Europa Nostra award (1994, 1996 and 2001), named European Capital of Culture in 2000 —elected in 1995—, the Medal of Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (1997) or the Prince of Asturias to Concordia Award (2004).

From the point of view of tourism and the perspective of attracting visitors —pilgrims explicitly; see Figure 3 earlier—, the case of Santiago de Compostela is valued

by the Galician administration as a success story, as indicated by the current autonomous president, Alberto Núñez Feijóo (2013: 4):

There is a double success in this task that the Catholic Church and the Xunta de Galicia, presided then by Don Manuel Fraga and with Víctor Manuel Vázquez Portomeñe as Culture Councilor, jointly undertook in the 90s. They succeeded first of all in converting the Way into a beacon that brings together European religiosity and spirituality, and then, afterwards, they renew it so that this beacon will never go out [...] Compostela is the spiritual heart of Europe, and the Way its main artery.

What is certain is that the bibliography analyzed reveals the existence of a wide range of discussion about this alleged success, namely about the city model under construction —“a place designed for tourists and the associated service industry, but not very attractive to live in”, (García Vázquez, 2009: 8); the practices of visitors and, namely, of locals; the real economic impact; the erasure of other dimensions of the city; etc. (Santos Solla, 1999 and 2006; Monterroso, 2011; Torres Feijó, 2014; Bello, 2015; Carral, Carreira, Vila & Torres Feijó, 2016; Somoza & Lois, 2017; Martin-Duque, 2017).

4.2. The perception of the local community

The perceptions of the “demand side” were derived from the responses provided by the two samples of respondents regarding the issues in focus —five questions present in both surveys. The univariate descriptive statistics for the set of questions asked are presented in Table 4 and are commented separately below.

Table 4

Univariate descriptive statistics of the sample set

Question	Places		Merchants	
	Average	Standard Deviation	Average	Standard Deviation
Rate your degree of agreement with the institutional image of Santiago de Compostela.	5,66	1,906	4,70	2,335
To what extent do you think that the Camino de Santiago represents Santiago de Compostela?	6,81	1,748	7,22	1,484
To what extent do you think that the Way of Santiago represents Galiza?	7,26	1,479	7,56	1,156
Do you think that there are important elements in Compostela that people don't know about?	Frequency of yes			
	65.5%		53%	
Do you think that part of Santiago's spaces should be reserved for tourism.?	Frequency of yes			
	6.8%		6.2%	

Source: Our elaboration.

a) **Institutional image of Santiago de Compostela** - "Rate your degree according to the institutional image of Santiago de Compostela":

Yolanda García Vázquez (2009: 7) affirms in 2009 that

from the careful observation of the existing documents to disseminate the external image of the city, from the bibliography to the tourist brochures, there is a repeated emphasis on the monumentality of the historic center of Santiago, its cultural and educational infrastructures, etc., and on the international excellence awards received for its heritage and urban planning policy. The image promoted is that of a cultural, cosmopolitan, open, university, modern and contemporary city, where work and innovation coexist.

For this researcher there was among the local population, in fact, a high degree of conformity with this image projected from the institutions: "resident citizens and communication media accept and participate in a powerful media discourse that benefits the political *status quo*". (García Vázquez, 2009: 8; italics in the original)

However, our data indicate that the degree of agreement with the institutional image of Santiago does not reach the "approved" range, if we take into account that in the scale used the midpoint is between 5 and 6, and that in the average of the answers to this question —5.35— does not reach half of the scale. This average, if we consider the value of the standard deviation, does not represent the opinion of all the people consulted.

b) **Perception of the institutional communication policies of the city abroad** - "I consider that in Compostela there are important elements that people don't know about":

The answers to this question are consistent with the previous result: a large majority of respondents feel that some of the important elements of Santiago are actually unknown. The lack of consensus regarding an agreement with the institutional communication policies may be due to the fact that the image transmitted is perceived as incomplete.

c) **Representativeness of the Way in relation to Santiago and Galiza** - "To what extent do you think the Way of Saint James represents Santiago de Compostela/Galiza?":

The idea that the Way of Saint James represents the city is the one that reaches a higher average valuation and a lower standard deviation; that is, most of the people surveyed almost totally agree with this proposition. Something similar happens with the question about the extent to which the Way represents Galiza. The average is slightly lower and the deviation a little higher than for the previous question, but the data allow us to make the same reading: the respondents mostly agree in valuing this proposal very positively. Taken together, the answers reveal a perception that the Camino is as an essential element in the configuration of the local image.

d) **Acceptance/impact of tourism** - “Do you think that part of Santiago’s spaces should be reserved for tourism?”:

The relative importance of tourism for the city in the way locals perceive it was measured in an extreme way by proposing the possibility of reserving exclusive spaces for use by tourists: more than 90% of those questioned reject this suggestion and do not agree with delimiting the city’s spaces according to the nature of the individuals —local vs. visitor.

In a joint analysis of the three most productive questions for the study groups —agreement with the institutional image and representativeness of the route to Compostela and Galiza—, we verify that the t-tests of mean difference do not show significant discrepancy between the means of the scale of groups dependent and not dependent on tourism. Unanimity is evident between groups. In view of this, the division of the sample between merchant and non-merchant sites does result in significantly ($p < 0.001$) different means for the three scales (Table 5).

Table 5
Significance of the t-test for difference of means

		F	Sig	t	gl	Sig
Agreement with the institutional image	Equal variations are assumed	35,465	.000	7,626	1239	.000
	The same variations are not assumed			7,060	616,326	.000
The Way is part of the Galician identity	Equal variations are assumed	17,606	.000	-4,164	1299	.000
	No equal variations are assumed			-4,429	901,417	.000
The Way is part of Santiago’s identity	Equal variations are assumed	27,109	.000	-3,592	1291	.000
	Equal variations are not assumed			-3,935	976,062	.000

Source: Our elaboration.

As seen in Table 6, agreement with the institutional image is medium-high among locals not professionally engaged in commerce —5.66 over 8 points. Merchants show a lower degree of agreement —4.70 out of 8 points. Thus we observe a certain degree of unanimity among these population groups, with a greater disagreement in the merchants’ group. On the other hand, the idea that the Way is part of the identity of Compostela and Galiza is unanimously accepted, despite the fact that in the merchants’ group the identification is greater —7.22 versus 6.80, the first, and 7.56 versus 7.26, the second.

Table 6

Scale averages with significant differences between groups

Agreement with the institutional image	Non-merchants	5.66
	Merchants	4.70
The Way is part of the Galician identity	Non-merchants	6.81
	Merchants	7.22
The Way is part of Santiago's identity	Non-merchants	7.26
	Merchants	7.56

Source: Our elaboration.

When the sample was divided between residents dependent and not dependent on tourism, there were no significantly different results between groups in any of the variables ($p < 0.05$). The division of the sample according to the professional dedication to commerce of the respondents did show significant results ($p < 0.01$) for the detection of unknown elements for visitors (Table 7).

Table 7

Significance of Chi2

	Value	Asymptotic significance (bilateral)
Pearson's Chi-square	16 .050a	.000

Source: Our elaboration.

In the contingency table (Table 8) it can be seen how the existence of element within Santiago's own elements which visitors don't know about is relatively widespread among local non-merchants —65.5% of them consider it to be so—, whereas among the merchants this percentage is a little more than half of them —53%.

Table 8

Table of contingency of unknown elements * merchants

		Unknown elements		Total
		Yes	No	
Non merchant	Recount	531	280	811
	% within non merchant	65.5%	34.5%	100.0%
Merchant	Recount	185	164	349
	% within merchant	53.0%	47.0%	100.0%

Source: Our elaboration.

5. Discussion of the results and conclusive synthesis

The cultural and tourist policies in the period between 1980 and the present are understood here, under the denomination *reinventio*, as a relatively quick process of redefinition of Santiago de Compostela as, not only, but fundamentally, the goal of the Ways of Saint James. With the decisive help of the Catholic Church and other international organizations, the *reinventio* was promoted by institutional agents—the State, *Xunta de Galicia* and City Council—interested in promoting a series of ideas related to: (i) the European condition of the Ways and Santiago de Compostela/Galiza/Spain; (ii) religion/spirituality as a structuring element of territories and communities; (iii) the heritage/culture pair as one of the central axes of public policies; and (iv) the development of tourism as a central aspiration.

It is particularly interesting to note how the *reinventio* is solidly supported by an evident unanimity; i.e., the various actors involved have collaborated expressively, anchored in diverse but successfully formulated interests. However, apart from some precedent that emerged from non-institutional Galician independentism (AMI, 2012), there are signs that show some erosion of the strength of this unanimity already in the institutional political sphere, namely ever since a new party option on the left—Compostela Aberta (2015: 56)—wins the presidency of the City Council in 2015 and calls into question, for “example: [the] regulation of hotel vacancies in the historic quarter”, Note also, in this sense, the institutional proposal to levy a tax for travelers, debated in the planning phase of the Management Plan of the Historic City of Santiago de Compostela (2018), or, above all, the striking lack of unanimity regarding the last major project of the Fraga administration in matters of cultural, the City of Culture—for example Bouzada (2008) or Lage, Losada & Gómez (2012).

Similarly, the data alluding to the perception of the local community also generally show this unanimity. Thus, there are no significant differences between groups of merchants/non-merchants in the variable reservation of spaces for tourism; more than 93% of those consulted consider that there is no need to reserve spaces. The data, however, should be contrasted with the real uses of city spaces by the local community which are most impacted by the tourist phenomenon, as we could be witnessing an unconscious relinquishing, for example, of the old part of the city, once a privileged space of local sociability (Torres Feijó, 2014).

Ultimately, the fact that only 67.1% of those interviewed consider that there are important elements of the city that are not known beyond its limits—with less expression among shopkeepers—contradicts the logic of the local community’s unanimity regarding *reinventio*. At this point, we can hypothesize a disagreement with the constructed and promoted image of Santiago de Compostela that inevitably conditions the ideas and practices of visitors and locals alike.

Thus, the data indicate, as a whole and despite the nuances exposed, a local population assuming the unanimity of the identified agents. These actors being uninterested, a priori, in problematizing and rethinking the cultural/touristic planning of the city. One could think, in this line of analysis, of the strength of institutional

discourses—in their strategies and communication mechanisms— regarding the city model and tourism, particularly in this case. Thus it would seem necessary to explore what are its benefits as perceived by the people of Santiago, in parallel, the profits or real benefits they receive. The data, in this direction, point to a striking cleavage regarding perceptions in the merchant/non-merchant pair which, in line with the literature, show two groups of locals with similar feeling, but which do not coincide exactly.

In short, it seems possible to state that the *reinventio* in the period under analysis—as a process of resemantization of Santiago de Compostela, formulated according to ambitious and costly cultural policies and, simultaneously, tourism— was based on a sweeping unanimity among the agents involved and among the local population, in this case not without its exceptions, to be analyzed in more detail in future work.

Bibliographical References

- AMI [Assembleia da Mocidade Independentista] (2012) *A Terra nom se vende. O turismo é colonialismo*. Dossier available online: https://issuu.com/amigz/docs/livro-a_terra_nom_se vende Accessed on 26 June 2018.
- Andereck, K.; Valentine, K.; Knopf, R.; & Vogt, Ch. (2005) Residents' perceptions of community tourism impacts. *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 32, Issue 4, October, 1056-1076 Available online: <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0160738305000770>. Accessed on 26 June 2018.
- Andereck, K. & Nyaupane, G. (2010) Exploring the Nature of Tourism and Quality of Life Perceptions among Residents, *Journal of Travel Research*, 50, 248-260.
- Barbieri, N. (2014) Cultura, políticas públicas y bienes comunes: hacia unas políticas de lo cultural, *kult-ur. Revista interdisciplinària sobre la cultura de la ciutat*, vol. 1, n. 1, 101-119. Available online: <http://www.e-revistas.uji.es/index.php/kult-ur/article/view/1255/0>. Accessed on 15 June 2018.
- Bello Vázquez, R. (2015) A existência de uma comunidade luso-galega como elemento afetivo nas visitas a Santiago de Compostela procedentes de Portugal. Primeiros resultados através de inquéritos quantitativo-qualitativos. In Torres Feijó, E. J.; Bello Vázquez, R.; Samartim, R. & Brito-Semedo, M. (eds.), *Estudos da AIL em Teoria e Metodologia Relacionamento nas Lusofonias II*, Santiago de Compostela-Coimbra: Associação Internacional de Lusitanistas, 87-96.
- Bello Vázquez, R. (2016) Consumos Literários, Práticas Culturais e Habitus: O Paradoxo de Paulo Coelho e o Caminho de Santiago, *iS Working Papers*, 3.a Série, N. 36, Available online: <https://isociologia.up.pt/bibcite/reference/923>. Accessed on 26 June 2018.
- Blau, P. M. (1968) Interaction: social exchange, in Sills, D.L. (ed.) *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Glencoe: Free Press, vol. 7, 452-457.
- Bourdieu, P. (2001) *O Poder Simbólico*, 4th ed., Viseu: Difel [1989].
- Bouzada Fernández, X. (2007) *As políticas culturais nas sete principais cidades galegas*. Santiago de Compostela: Consello da Cultura Galega. Available online: <http://consellodacultura.gal/publicacion.php?id=111>. Accessed on 26 June 2018.

- Bouzada Fernández, X. (2008) Políticas culturais e desenvolvimento económico: algunhas anotacións sobre a situación galega”, *RIPS. Revista de Investigaciones Políticas y Sociológicas*, Vol. 7, n. 1, 31-53.
- Carral, E. V., Carreira, X. C., Vila, B. M. & Torres Feijó, E. J. (2016) A inter-relação entre gastronomia, cultura, turismo e comércio local em Santiago de Compostela. Primeiros resultados, in Tibério, L. M. *et al.* (orgs.) *III Seminário “Alimentos e Manifestações Culturais Tradicionais”/II Simpósio Internacional “Alimentação e Cultura: Tradição e Inovação na Produção e Consumo de Alimentos*, Vila Real: Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro, 263-280.
- Celeiro Álvarez, L. (2013) Xacobeo 93. El renacer del Camino, in Novello, S. *et al.* (eds.) *Xacobeo de un recurso a un evento turístico global*, Santiago de Compostela: Andavira, 47-63.
- Compostela Aberta (2015) *Gañemos un concello aberto. Programa*. Available online: <http://compostelaaberta.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/programaCompostelaAberta.pdf>. Accessed on 26 June 2018.
- Costa, C. (2005) Turismo e cultura: avaliação das teorias e práticas culturais do sector do turismo (1990-2000), *Análise Social*, n. 175, 279-295. Available online: http://www.scielo.mec.pt/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0003-25732005000300002&lng=pt&nrm=iso. Accessed on 26 June 2018.
- Delgado, M. (2007) Ciudades sin ciudad. La tematización ‘cultural’ de los centros urbanos, in Lagunas, D. (ed.), *Antropología y turismo*, Pachuco de Soto: Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Hidalgo, 91-108.
- EY (2015) *Tempos de Cultura. O primeiro mapa global das indústrias culturais e criativas*. CISAC. Available online: <https://www.cisac.org/media/3998/download> Accessed on 28 June 2018.
- Félix, J. P. S.; Chagas, M. M.; Marques, S. M. & Silva, V. H. (2017) Análise da relação entre dependência económica e percepção dos residentes sobre os impactos dos residentes sobre os impactos do desenvolvimento turístico da praia da Pipa/RN, *Applied Tourism*, 2 (3), 37-64.
- Fernández Rodríguez, M. L. (2016) *Discursos sobre Santiago de Compostela y el/los Camino(s) de Santiago en la novela española actual (2010) a través de técnicas analíticas digitales: Posibilidades y valor del conocimiento generado*. Doctoral Thesis. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.
- Fernández Rodríguez, M. L., Del Río Araújo, M. & Rodríguez Prado, F. (2016) Dous produtos e um destino: *The Way* (2010), *Diario de un Mago* (1987) e a imagem da Galiza como destino turístico, *iS Working Papers*, 3a Série, N. 32. Available online: <https://isociologia.up.pt/bibcite/reference/919>. Accessed on 24 September 2017.
- Fernández Rodríguez, M. L. & Samartim, R. (2016) Impacto dos discursos literários nas práticas e consumos culturais ligados aos Caminhos de Santiago: de Paulo Coelho aos souvenirs de cavaleiros templários, *iS Working Papers*, 3a Série, N. 37. Available online: <https://isociologia-stage.omibee.com/bibcite/reference/916>. Accessed on 24 September 2017.
- García Vázquez, Y. (2009) La ciudad como espectáculo. Marketing territorial, internet y atracción turística en Santiago de Compostela. ¿Éxito o fracaso?, *UOC Papers. Revista sobre la sociedad del conocimiento*, 8, 1-10.
- Gascón, J. (2016) ¿El turismo sostenible es un gremlin? De la autogestión local a la gentrificación. *Ecología política*, N. 52, 35-42.
- INVESTBRAGA (2014) *Plano estratégico para o desenvolvimento económico de Braga 2014-2026*. Available online: https://www.cm-braga.pt/archive/doc/planoestrategicoeconomicobraga_1.pdf. Accessed on 28 July 2018.

- Lage, X., Losada, A. & Gómez, M. (2012) La política cultural en la comunidad autónoma gallega: de la dependencia a la autonomía, *RIPS*, Vol. 11, 3, 115-148.
- Lois González, R.C. & Lopez, L. (2012) El Camino de Santiago: una aproximación a su carácter polisémico desde la geografía cultural y el turismo. *Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica*, vol. 58, N. 3, 459-479.
- Lopes, J. T. (2010) Da cultura como locomotiva da cidade-empresa a um conceito alternativo de democracia cultural, in Santos, M. de L. & Pais, J. (orgs.) *Novos Trilhos Culturais. Práticas e Políticas*. Lisboa: Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa, 51-61.
- López Palomeque, F. (2015) Barcelona, de ciudad con turismo a ciudad turística. Notas sobre un proceso complejo e inacabado. *Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica*, Vol. 61, N. 3, 483-506.
- López Pena, Z. (2016a) *La verbena (en)cubierta: las actuaciones musicales en salas con programación periódica a través de la prensa local de Vigo (noviembre 1975-agosto 1990)*. Doctoral Thesis. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.
- López Pena, Z. (2016b) *Unha introdución á programación dos espectáculos de música popular en directo en Galicia. O exemplo dos macroconcertos en Vigo (2011)*. Master Dissertation. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.
- Lorenzo, M. (2017) As políticas culturais en Galicia, *Grial*, 215, 61-73.
- Martin-Duque, C. (2017) Los impactos del turismo en el Camino de Santiago Francés: una aproximación cualitativa. *Methaodos. revista de ciencias sociales*, 5 (1), 62-73.
- Martinell, A. & López, T. (2007) *Políticas culturales y gestión cultural: Organum sobre los conceptos clave de la práctica profesional*. Girona: Documenta Universitaria.
- Milano, C. (2017) *Over tourism and Tourismphobia: Global trends and local contexts*. Barcelona: Ostelea School of Tourism & Hospitality.
- Monterroso Montero, J. M. (2011) El Centro Histórico. La creación de una conciencia cultural. El caso de Santiago de Compostela, in Rocha, M. J. M. da (coord.). *Actas do Seminário Centros Históricos: Passado e Presente*. Porto: Universidade do Porto, 39-69.
- Novello, S. et al. (eds.) (2013) *Xacobeo de un recurso a un evento turístico global*, Santiago de Compostela: Andavira.
- Núñez Feijóo, A. (2013) Prólogo, in Novello, S. et al. (eds.). *Xacobeo de un recurso a un evento turístico global*, Santiago de Compostela: Andavira.
- OMT (2014) El primer Congreso Internacional de la OMT sobre Turismo y Peregrinaciones explora el nexo entre el turismo y las rutas espirituales. Available online: <https://www.unwto.org/es/archive/press-release/2014-09-16/el-primer-congreso-internacional-de-la-omt-sobre-turismo-y-peregrinaciones>- Accessed on 26 June 2018.
- OMT (2017) *UNWTO Annual Report 2016*, Madrid: UNWTO. Available online: <https://www.e-unwto.org/doi/pdf/10.18111/9789284418725> . Accessed on 24 September 2016.
- OMT (2018) *Tourism and Culture Synergies*. Madrid: UNWTO. Available online: <https://www.e-unwto.org/doi/pdf/10.18111/9789284418978> . Accessed on 26 September 2018.
- Paül i Agustí, D. (2013) Las políticas culturales y sus repercusiones en la imagen de la ciudad. *Scripta Nova*, Vol. XVII, núm. 432, 425-462. Available online: <http://www.ub.edu/geocrit/sn/sn-432.htm>. Accessed on 31 January 2018.

- Pereira, V. da C. & Peres, A. N. (2010) Turismo Cultural e Religioso em Braga e Santiago de Compostela: Proposta de Criação de um Produto Conjunto, *Revista Turismo & Desenvolvimento*, n.13/14, 677-686.
- Pereiro Pérez, X. (2009) *Turismo cultural: Uma visão antropológica*. Tenerife: Pasos [E-book].
- Pereiro Pérez, X. (2019) Turismo y peregrinación: dos caras de la misma moneda en el camino portugués interior de santiago de compostela. *Cuadernos de Turismo*, 43, 407-434.
- Pereiro Pérez, X. & Fernandes, F. (2018) *Antropologia e Turismo: teorias, métodos e praxis*. Tenerife: PASOS-RTPC.
- Remoaldo, P. & Ribeiro, J. C. (2017) *O legado de Guimarães Capital Europeia da Cultura de 2012: A leitura dos residentes e dos visitantes*. Porto: Afrontamento.
- Richards, G. (2014) *Tourism trends: The convergence of culture and tourism* [Update of Tourism trends: Tourism, culture and cultural routes (2011)]. https://www.academia.edu/9491857/Tourism_trends_The_convergence_of_culture_and_tourism
- Rodríguez Fernández, M. M. (2013) La planificación y creación del evento Xacobeo: análisis de la identidad y la imagen, in Novello, S. et al. (eds.). *Xacobeo de un recurso a un evento turístico global*, Santiago de Compostela: Andavira, 65-87.
- Rodríguez González, M. A. (2015) Del espectáculo cultural y sus efectos: arte y políticas culturales en Santiago de Compostela. *Espacio, tiempo y forma, serie VII*, 3, 377-402.
- Rodríguez Morató, A. (2005) La reinención de la política cultural a escala local: el caso de Barcelona. *Sociedade e Estado*, vol. 20, 2, 351-377.
- Rodríguez Morató, A. (2010) A metamorfose do valor cultural na sociedade contemporânea: desafios e paradoxos, in Santos M. L. & Pais, J. (orgs.). *Novos Trilhos Culturais. Práticas e Políticas*, Lisboa: Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa, 37-50.
- Rodríguez Prado, M. F. (2015) Textos ficcionais e práticas culturais de portugueses com relação a Santiago de Compostela: contrastes e homologias. In Torres Feijó, E. J.; Bello Vázquez, R.; Samartim, R. & Brito-Semedo, M. (eds.) *Estudos da AIL em Teoria e Metodologia Relacionamento nas Lusofonias I*. Santiago de Compostela-Coimbra: Associação Internacional de Lusitanistas, 143-157.
- Rubim, A. A. C. (2009) Políticas culturais e novos desafios. *Matrizes*, v. 2, n. 2, 93-115. Available online: <https://www.periodicos.usp.br/matrizes/article/view/38226>. Accessed on 28 July 2018.
- Santos Solla, X. M. (1999) Mitos y realidades del Xacobeo, *Boletín de la AGE*, 27, 103-117.
- Santos Solla, X. M. (2006) El camino de santiago: Turistas y peregrinos hacia Compostela, *Cuadernos de Turismo*, n. 18, 135-150.
- Santos Solla, X. M. & Trillo-Santamaría, J. M. (2017) Tourism and nation in Galicia (Spain), *Tourism Management Perspectives*, 22, 98-108.
- Scalabrini, E., Remoaldo, P., & Lourenço, J. M. (2014) Percepções de residentes a respeito dos impactes da atividade turística: Uma análise das publicações brasileiras sobre o tema, *Tourism and Hospitality International Journal*, 2 (2), 12-31.
- Somoza Medina, X. & Lois González, R. C. (2017) Ordenación del Territorio y estrategias de planificación en los Caminos de Santiago Patrimonio Mundial. *Investigaciones Geográficas*, 68, 47-63. Available online: <https://doi.org/10.14198/INGEO2017.68.03>. Accessed on 28 July 2018.

- Teixeira Coelho, J. (1997) *Dicionário crítico de política cultural. Cultura e Imaginário*. São Paulo: Editora Iluminuras. Available online: http://hugoribeiro.com.br/biblioteca-digital/Coelho-Dicionario_critico_de_politica_cultural.pdf. Accessed on 28 July 2018.
- Torres Feijó, E. J. (2011) Discursos contemporâneos e práticas culturais dominantes sobre Santiago e o Caminho: a invisibilidade da cultura como hipótese. In Lourenço A. A. & Silvestre, O. M. (coords.) *Literatura, espaço, cartografias*, Coimbra: Centro de Literatura Portuguesa-Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 391-449.
- Torres Feijó, E. J. (2012) Interesses culturais e âmbitos receptivos em dois romances sobre o Caminho de Santiago: Frechas de Ouro e O Enigma de Compostela, *Romance Notes*, vol. 52, n. 2, 135-149.
- Torres Feijó, E. J. (2014) Autor, Texto e Espaço Geo-cultural Mediatizado. Processos de Ressemantização, Banalização e Misturação de Géneros em Produtos sobre o Caminho de Santiago, in Quintero, S. & Baleiro, R. (eds.) *Lit & Tour: ensaios sobre literatura e turismo*. Vila Nova de Famalicão: Húmus, 291-310.
- Torres Feijó, E. J. (2015) Identity Sustainability, Identity Affectivity, and the Ithaca Traveler: Conceptual Tools for Measuring and Modeling Tourism as an Opportunity, in Ricci, G. R. (ed.) *Travel, Tourism and Identity, Culture & Civilization*, Vol. 7, New Brunswick-New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 143-162.
- Turismo do Porto e Norte de Portugal (2015) *Estratégia de Marketing Turístico do Porto e Norte de Portugal Horizonte 2015-2020*, Available online: http://www.portoenorte.pt/fotos/gca/plano_estrategico_10327505915894b4d3a978b.pdf Accessed on 28 July 2018.
- UNESCO (s.d. [1985]) *Santiago de Compostela (Old Town)* [description]. Available online: <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/347/>. Accessed on 28 July 2018.
- UNESCO (1998) *Draft Action Plan on Cultural Policies for Development*. Available online: <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000116393>. Accessed on 28 July 2018.
- Villares, R. (2017) *Identidade e afectos patrios*. Vigo: Galaxia.

Transformations in Santiago de Compostela as a Function of the Way of Saint James

Elias J. Torres Feijó

Galabra, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela

1. Introduction: Evolution of the characterization of the city and population of Santiago de Compostela

Santiago is a city that is transforming and, in several senses, and especially in the so-called Old Town, deteriorating, with losses in population, remodeling, with a decline in local commerce, massive occupation of spaces by visitors and, correlatively, abandonment of these spaces by the local population, as I will have the opportunity to demonstrate. There are important parallels that can be gleaned from out of the scant and muddled attention given to Santiago and its local community by analyzing types of narratives and their circumstances, down to even the type and quantity of consumer habits. Some of these aspects are the object of this work.

The particularity that Santiago shows is the presence of millions of visitors per year,¹—tourists, conference participants, foreign students, and temporary emigrants staying

¹ This is what official statistics indicate since the end of the last decade of the 20th century (Santos, 1999; Various authors, 2004). Xosé Santos (2006: 145) stated that up to 1,300,000 people stayed overnight in Santiago and around 3,000,000 visitors did not stay in the city, a figure that could double during the Holy Year, which shows the relevance of the so-called “fenómeno jacobeu”. As Raquel Bello (2015) indicates:

More importantly, the ratio of tourists per inhabitant for the period 2009-2011, according to García Vázquez (2013: 10) was 635,100 tourists (excluding excursionists) for every 100 inhabitants. The global figures for Galicia and Spain (a global destination itself for international tourism) are respectively

less than a year, etc.²— in a ratio of inhabitants/visitors that is quite striking compared to other tourist phenomena. This implies a close contact between the local community and the visitors —taken as a group, not individually— giving rise to a relationship based on a series of codes —the product of either consensus or misunderstanding— around this space of social contact.

It is consensus understanding that the “parte antiga” ou “zona velha”, “cidade velha”, “centro histórico” or “casco histórico” —the old town of Santiago de Compostela— known otherwise as the “Amêndoa”, is an urban grouping delimited by the old walls, whose layout can be seen on Map I, taking the cathedral as a reference.³



MAP 1

Urban area of Santiago

Source: Our elaboration from Google Earth.

125,700 and 173,400 for every 100 locals. Considering the steady increase in figures for pilgrims during the last three decades, we could expect figures to increase in the next years. Just for comparison, the official statistics for Barcelona for 2013 registered 7,551,766 tourists for a city with 1,611,822 inhabitants.

² Note that the concept I use here of “visitor” is slightly different from the one commonly used in tourism studies, and specifically in the analyses on Santiago de Compostela —CETUR, 2009, for example—, which does not consider, for instance, people who travel to perform paid activities and establishes categories between overnight and non-overnight stays in the city.

³ The name *Amêndoa* —almond— derives its origins from the shape of the geographical extension, which resembles an almond.

As indicated, the profile of Santiago de Compostela —this is a common characterization in the definitions of those dedicated to research on the subject; see Santos Solla, 2006; Precedo Ledo, 2007; García Vázquez, 2013— can be delineated as a university, religious and cultural city, the political capital of Galiza, the head of the region and the goal of the Ways of Saint James. As we have seen, the trends mentioned above have deepened this profile, which can be established on three levels:

- a) the historically constituted Archbishop's See, linked to the cathedral and sanctuary of the Apostle Santiago, the third place of pilgrimage for Catholicism —after Rome and Jerusalem—, as well as the centennial character of its university, which dates back to the end of the 15th century – 1495.
- b) the political and administrative capital of Galiza, seat of the Parliament and of the Autonomous Government since 1981.
- c) a destination city of massive pilgrimage, since the early 90s of the 20th century.

From our point of view thus far, these items are consensus in their existence and meaning in relation to Santiago de Compostela.

The content of a) as a primary identity and the elements in b) and c) as a secondary one - the latter supported by a historically secondary primary identity. The profile indicated in b) is made up of a new item that was added to the set indicated in a) without substantively changing the identity of the city. But the impulse given to the phenomenon indicated in paragraph c) has become unbalanced since the nineties of the twentieth century. Formerly Santiago had been seen as a university city, with a broad material cultural heritage, including that of the Catholic Church, with the cathedral, and religious center. In fact, the tourist policy developed in the early 1990s, both by the Galician government and local institutions —with special emphasis on the City Council—, focused on the Way of Saint James, largely fed by / based on the discourses of the Catholic Church, UNESCO and the EU, and to a lesser extent *O Diário de um Mago*, and is grounded in specific meanings of pilgrimage and of Santiago (Novello *et al.*, 2013), generating an organizational space of that specific sort of tourism (cfr. xacobeo.es).

According to existing data (Santos, 2006), at the beginning of the 21st century, pilgrims accounted for more than 10% of the total number of tourists, but it is clear from pure observation —orientation of the commercial, catering, and accommodation offer— and by monitoring the local media, that the world of pilgrimage and the Way is becoming a key element in modern interpretations of the city.

Santiago de Compostela has a population that has more or less stabilized over the last 25 years⁴ at a number of around 95,000,⁵ (see Table 1), with an insignificant variation

⁴ The present work takes 2013 as the reference *ad quem* of its temporal scope. According to INE data, the population of Santiago de Compostela was 96,405.

⁵ All data and population tables, unless otherwise indicated, are of our own elaboration, always having as source the Review of the Continuous Standard of Inhabitants, Population Census 1991. INE, www.ine.es

in the data over the last ten years (Table 1.1). This population stabilized, approximately, at the beginning of the eighties, from which point on (Figure 1), the variations are less pronounced than in previous periods (Table 2), taking into account various discrepancies in the data —legal residents and de facto ones.

Table 1

Population and population variation of inhabitants of Santiago right. 1991-2013⁶

Year	Population of Santiago	Rate of change	Cumulative variation	Cumulative variation since 1996
1991	87,807	—	—	
1995 ¹	94,057/ 103,874 (<i>de facto</i>)	—	—	—
1996	93,672	—	—	-0.09
1997 ²	—	—	—	0.08
1998	93,584	-0.09	8.38	0.25
1999	93,745	0.17	8.55	0.31
2000	93,903	0.17	8.72	0.42
2001	93,381	-0.56	8.17	-1.43
2002	93,273	-0.12	8.05	-1.47
2003	92,339	-1.00	7.05	-0.80
2004	92,298	-0.04	7.01	-0.22
2005	92,919	0.67	7.68	0.05
2006	93,458	0.58	8.26	0.72
2007	93,712	0.27	8.53	1.52
2008	94,339	0.67	9.20	1.24
2009	95,092	0.80	10.00	1.64
2010	94,824	-0.28	9.72	2.13
2011	95,207	0.40	10.12	2.52
2012	95,671	0.49	10.61	2.61
2013	96,040	0.39	10.99	

¹ The datum corresponding to the year 1995 are also in reference to the de facto population. Source: Aldrey Vázquez & Formigo Couceiro (1999).

² The Census was revised on January 1 of each year, except for 1996, which was done on May 1. In 1997, this revision was not carried out.

Source: Our elaboration based on the revision of the Continuous Pattern of Inhabitants, 1991 Population Census. INE, www.ine.es

⁶ The revision of the Census was conducted on January 1 of each year, except for 1996, which was done on May 1. In 1997, this revision was not carried out.

Table 1.1

Population variation of Santiago in the last decades

Mean variation 1991-2013	9.38
Mean variation 1991-2001	6.35
Mean variation 2001-2011	1.96

Source: Our elaboration based on the Review of the Continuous Pattern of Inhabitants, 1991 Population Census. INE, www.ine.es

Table 2

Population and de facto population variation of Santiago. 1900-1991

Year	Population of Santiago	Rate of change	Cumulative change
1900	24,120	—	—
1910	24,637	2.14	2.14
1920	25,870	5.00	7.15
1930	38,270	47.93	55.08
1940	49,191	28.54	83.62
1950	55,553	12.93	96.55
1960	57,165	2.90	99.45
1970	70,893	24.01	123.47
1981	93,695	32.16	155.63
1991	105,851	12.97	168.60

Source: Our elaboration based on the de facto population. Historical Series of Population INE, www.ine.es

The de facto population of Santiago de Compostela, based on the data for 1991 (see Table 2; Figure 1) and the data for 1995 (Aldrey & Formigo) may be estimated at approximately 10,000 more inhabitants, a number in which the university student population is significant—though we lack exact quantification, the current enrollment is about 25,000 students on average in the city campuses (“USC en cifras”), most of them coming from different Galician towns, including Santiago, therefore, in turn, included in the population census—, and a growing area of influence, metropolitan, of some 75,000 inhabitants in nearby municipalities, especially Ames⁷ with more than 30,000 people (see and cf. Table 3, Table 3.1, Table 4, and Figure 2⁸). In our analyses, by observation and field interviews, we can consider that at least half the population

⁷ The present chapter takes 2013 as the reference *ad quem* of its temporal scope. According to INE data, the population of Ames in the year 2018 was 31,278.

⁸ We give the most significant data available as demonstrative of this evolution.

of Ames and, in general, the population growth of this small metropolitan area of Compostela is the result of activity in the city. For specific populational purposes, at least half of the 30,000 inhabitants of Ames have a daily connection with Santiago de Compostela.⁹

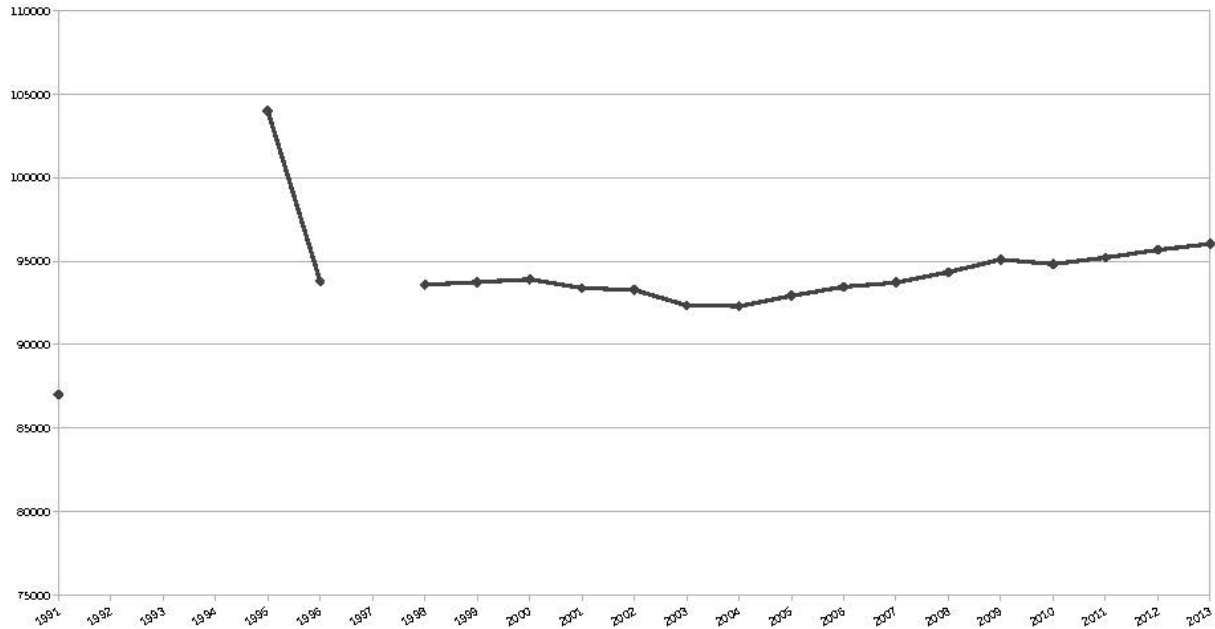


FIGURE 1

Population of Santiago de Compostela (1991-2013)

Source: Our elaboration from the Review of the Continuous Pattern of Inhabitants, 1991 Population Census. INE, www.ine.es

Table 3

De facto population and population variation of Ames. 1950-1991

Year	Population of Ames	Rate of change	Cumulative change
1950	9,425	—	—
1960	9,597	1.82	1.82
1970	9,833	2.46	4.28
1981	9,166	-6.78	-2.50
1991	9,864	7.62	5.12

Source: Our elaboration based on the de facto population. Historical series of population INE, www.ine.es

⁹ Just think about it: the average feeling of being Compostelan that the population of Santiago de Compostela presents is, according to our data, 6.50 out of 8, which drops to 6.36 when calculated together the population of Ames and Teo. Ames and Teo feel that they are quite Compostelan: Ames 5.73 and Teo 6.26 out of 8.

Table 3.1*De facto* population and population change of Ames. 1900-1991

Year	Population of Ames	Rate of change	Cumulative change
1900	7,097	—	—
1910	7,271	2.45	2.45
1920	7,334	0.87	3.32
1930	7,602	3.65	6.97
1940	9,153	20.40	27.37
1950	9,425	2.97	30.35
1960	9,597	1.82	32.17
1970	9,833	2.46	34.63
1981	9,166	-6.78	27.85
1991	9,864	7.62	35.46

Source: Our elaboration from the de facto population. Historical series of population INE, www.ine.es

Table 4

Legal population and population change of Ames. 1991-2013

Year	Population of Ames	Rate of change	Cumulative change
1991	10,011		
1996	13,288	32.73	32.73
1997	—	—	—
1998	14,189	6.78	39.51
1999	15,318	7.96	47.47
2000	16,549	8.04	55.51
2001	17,737	7.18	62.69
2002	18,788	5.93	68.61
2003	20,016	6.54	75.15
2004	20,840	4.12	79.26
2005	22,228	6.66	85.92
2006	23,219	4.46	90.38
2007	24,553	5.75	96.13
2008	25,818	5.15	101.28
2009	26,983	4.51	105.79
2010	27,900	3.40	109.19
2011	28,852	3.41	112.60
2012	29,331	1.66	114.26
2013	29,689	1.22	115.48

Source: Our elaboration from the Review of the Continuous Pattern of Inhabitants, 1991 Population Census. INE, www.ine.es

Table 4.1

Population variation of Ames in the last decades

Variation 1991-2013	196.56
Variation 1991-2001	77.18
Variation 2001-2011	62.67

Source: Our elaboration from the Review of the Continuous Pattern of Inhabitants, 1991 Population Census. INE, www.ine.es

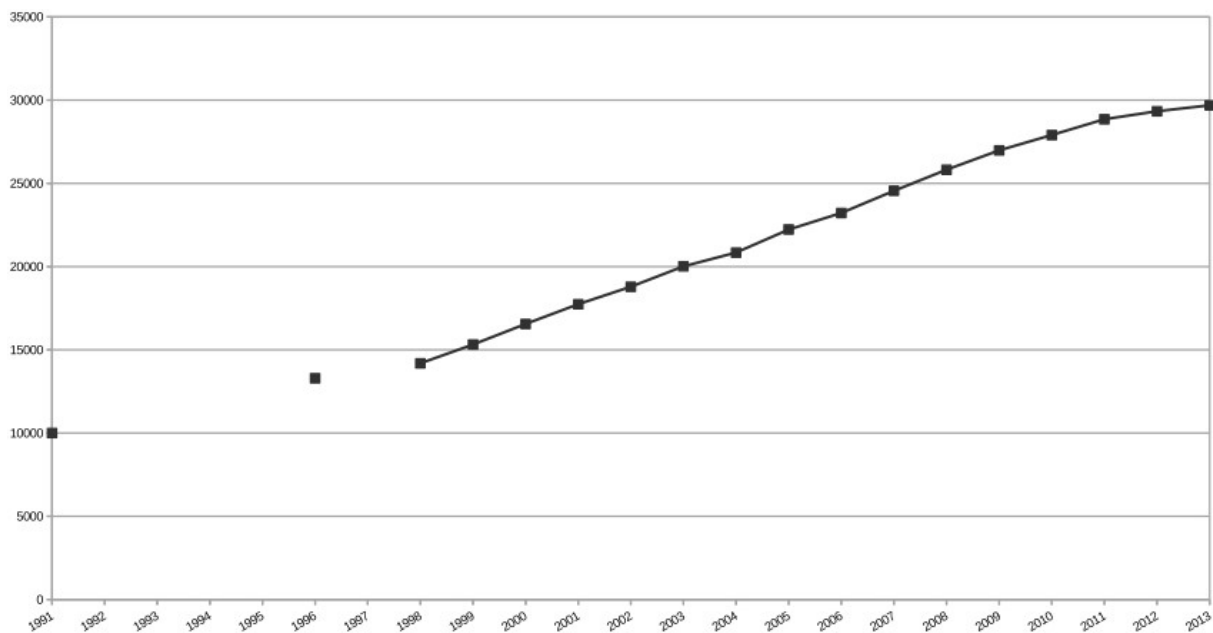


FIGURE 2

Population of Ames (1991-2013)

Source: Our elaboration from the Review of the Continuous Pattern of Inhabitants, 1991 Population Census. INE, www.ine.es

2. Public space and identity

Public spaces are spheres of convergence of narratives, affections, identities, and communities. Sometimes they are very vulnerable to quantitative or qualitative change in the midst of these converging elements.

The conflict regarding an activity that occupies public spaces and tends to influence local identity, usually to change it, is almost inherent and proportional to the quantitative growth of tourism and, above all, to the type of tourism in question. Santiago de Compostela is an example of this, as expressed in the opinions of its inhabitants: 60% of

the population, as a whole, is satisfied with the type of tourist, but 28%, is not, according to our data¹⁰ —this can be consulted at <https://redegalabra.org/exposicion-a-cidade-o-camino-e-nos>. When we go examine locations by neighborhoods and areas of the city, we see that satisfaction increases in the areas farthest from the epicenter of tourist activity and decreases in the overexposed areas. “Logical”, you might be thinking. Certainly, but with nuances. If we consider the Old Town of Santiago as the core, the numbers are very similar to the general ones. But if we go to a neighborhood located outside the walls adjacent to the old city, even though it has no robust statistical value, the numbers reach 50% for and 50% against a type of tourist. Here it is relatively easy to know which type of tourist we are talking about: the pilgrim. Because the French Way passes through the neighborhood in question —San Pedro— one of the best known and most active in the city, just before entering the Old Town inside the city walls.

From another point of view, clearly below-average rates of rejection of this type of tourist in some neighborhoods make us think that there are expectations for benefit: this is the case of the Conxo neighborhood. In recent years controversy has arisen regarding the exact places where the old Portuguese Way would pass, the Way which is experiencing the greatest relative increase in pilgrims. The dispute is between the Choupana/Santa Marta neighborhood, where the pilgrim currently passes and where we register the second highest rate of rejection after San Pedro¹¹ —although probably, in this case, mainly because it is a neighborhood with many new homes in the heart of Santa Marta with a profile of the so-called creative sector: professors, liberal professions, etc. Moreover, the rejection increases 5 points in the sectors of the active population in general —between 30 and 65 years of age— and is proportional to how long a person has lived in Santiago de Compostela —that is, those who have known another Santiago de Compostela, one not modified by the new narrative: the Way. When asked if their way of life has changed due to the arrival of the visitors, out of the twenty-five neighborhoods/Zones considered, three stand out, with numbers, out of 8, of 3.45 —S. Pedro—, 3.78 —A Choupana— and 3.90 —Zona Velha—, the latter being the most affected by the new narrative, with the nuance described for Santa Marta¹². It is a narrative that also has its details: where some see the entrance of new ideas and people enriching their lives, others believe that this is harmful. I leave a note on identity that we have not sufficiently developed in its analysis, and is a sensitive subject: just as there is no significant correlation between the feeling of belonging to Santiago or Galiza and opinions on tourism, the feeling of Spanishness has a significant correlation, although weak —the greater the identification with Spain, the lower the perception that tourism

¹⁰ These and the following data can be consulted online at <https://redegalabra.org/exposicion-a-cidade-o-camino-e-nos/>, where the complete exhibition catalogs of some of the research results carried out by Grupo Galabra in collaboration with the Council of Santiago, throughout 2019 and continuing into 2020, are included.

¹¹ Choupana 37.5%, Santa Marta 47.5%.

¹² In the case of the Choupana/Santa Marta aggregate the Portuguese Way passes through Choupana, 3.78 of 8 express preference of another type of tourist. Santa Marta (2.35) is below average (2.67).

modifies their lives; see Catalog at <https://redegalabra.org/exposicion-a-cidade-o-camino-e-nos/>¹³.

In summary, I believe that these datum allow us to deduce how tourism can be an ally or a threat to the local community as a whole or to sectors of it. I now revisit our starting hypothesis: the invisibility of the local community and their culture, which these grand narratives can impede upon. In the following chapter I will allude to them, to some examples of far-reaching cultural products repertoirely linked to these macro-narratives, and to the analysis of some cultural practices that I understand to be related or homologous to these narratives and products. I will mention one conclusion that is relevant for us, perhaps modest or unimportant: the origin of the uses and meanings of the city resides, at least in cases such as Santiago, in these macro-narratives. This implies that if we wish to modify uses, practices and meanings, we must also focus on the macro-narratives and their scope...

3. The practices of inhabitants and visitors in relation to city spaces

We start from the foundation that, in terms of alliance, there are elements that can motivate a better relationship between visitors and inhabitants, e.g., the length of stay tends to diversify the use of spaces or the realization of activities more, except for specific cases or specific aspects of the reason for the visit. It implies a greater use of local services, including lodging and restaurants, but also cultural and commercial aspects, or simply going for a stroll. These activities seem to result in a better quality of the visitor's practices regarding knowledge and exchange with the local community. Longer duration can mean more diversity in the use of spaces, reducing the saturation of certain places. For example, in our data, when the places visited are compared with the duration of the visit, the two most frequented spaces, the Cathedral —2.95/8— is below the average —3.40/8—, and the Old Town, more extensive in area, is above —3.50/8.

It seems clear that prior knowledge or desire to learn about aspects of local culture or ways of life can increase the quality of the visit. People who report having no prior knowledge are more vulnerable to more stereotypical offers; the type of prior knowledge can also guide practices in the city. If, for example, aspects of local gastronomy are known and well valued, the visitor may tend to be guided by this aspect more readily than those who are unaware of this aspect or whose motivations do not include these facets of local knowledge. This previous awareness can be measured by some indicators:

¹³ In the phase begun in 2017, "Narratives, uses and consumption of visitors as allies or threats for the well-being of the local community: the case of Santiago de Compostela", we carried out fieldwork to verify if the trends extracted in 2013-2015 were maintained —and everything points to yes or even to the worsening of harmful signs— and we worked in parallel on the preparation of the corpus and analytical techniques: we also worked with the textual and audiovisual products of each of the 4 indicated populations, published or disseminated since 2008 —more than 1000: web pages, documentaries, films, literary texts, tourist guides, travel diaries... In 2019 we enter the sweet spot of publishing our findings and working with the citizenship and interested local entities through exhibitions, meetings, etc. —<https://redegalabra.org/> and <https://en-br.facebook.com/RedeGalabra/>—, within the group's understanding of the concept of Social Research Responsibility.

it is possible to typify a more static and passive reception from a more active one, the former being understood as one related to elements that are regularly present in the mass media of the community of reception —important active politicians, soccer clubs, internationally famous singers, etc. By active, we mean that which implies action and/or willpower on the part of the receiver, since the elements he or she knows —artists or writers, elements of pop culture, scientists, less publicized natural landscapes, etc.— do not appear in this sphere of mass reception. We are also able to ascertain that passive receptions are related to a stereotypical vision that does not involve interest in aspects of local community life and can more easily generate saturation or expenses for the city—for example, cleaning or security—with little, or no return, in terms of compensation for hosting the visitor. But there is more: this type of relationship or non-relationship can lead to a misunderstanding or misinterpretation of local life, and can generate important transformations in certain sectors of it that, in turn, affect local identities or ways of life, and negatively affect cohesion. Allow me to provide a few examples of this: failure to understand Santiago as a space and a community with its own language other than Spanish can pave the way for it being spoken far more in certain forms of communication. The failure to comprehend the city as part of a community that produces certain foods or culinary forms can lead to the progressive disappearance of local modes of catering and food production. This lack of understanding, in several dimensions of culture, can lead to the saturation of spaces that are basically expropriated from the community in question, with the complicity of local agents.

3.1. *Public spaces: emblematic, affective identity, and uses*

We asked the inhabitants of Santiago what they considered to be the most important places in Santiago, their favorite places, and those they used the most outside of their professional activity. The question attempts to understand in which spaces the collective identity of Santiago is concentrated for the entire local community. This is expressed in the degree to which or is emblematic of an identity constructed internally and externally, in affective identity —internal identity—, and real use —utilitarian. The answer could include up to three mentions:

We have seen how the Old Town —the *Amêndoa*, as we call it— as a whole centralizes the formal identity, an identity that presents a high degree of consensus: 82.7% of the people believe that their fellow citizens think like them; only 7% do not believe so—but they also refer mostly to the most cited places—, with 10.3 NS / NR; the Zona Velha is followed by the cathedral and the Alameda, the latter outside, although adjacent to the Zona Velha; the Praza do Obradoiro and the Quintana are not far from the “cathedral surroundings”, a generic category with its various squares and adjacent streets. I call your attention to the Market, i.e., the selling point for traditional foods par excellence; and to the Rua do Franco, the aforementioned place to meet or to have a wine for Santiago residents and students in the not-so-distant-past. Santiago’s formal identity is therefore concentrated in its historical heritage, in terms of spaces. The University Campus appears, although fundamentally as a recreational space in Santiago and not so much as a representation of the university, although implicitly it is one. A recent macro-construction, in which hundreds of millions of euros were invested, and which was intended to be

emblematic of the city and Galiza, the City of Culture, presents a modest 1.9% of the mentions as a very emblematic space of Santiago; in use, 1.2%; in affectivity, 0.5%.



MAP 2

The Zones of the city

Source: Exhibition "The City and those its Inhabitants". Curators: Zósimo López and Roberto Samartim.

Table 5

The spaces, most emblematic, loved and used by the inhabitants of Santiago de Compostela

	Emblematic	Affective	Utilitarian
Old Town	44.6%	39.0%	37.4%
Cathedral	37.8%	7.5%	0.1%
Alameda	29.1%	22.5%	10.1%
Obradoiro	24.3%	8.3%	0.3%
Cathedral surroundings	10.5%	9.5%	1.2%
Quintana	9.9%	8.9%	0.3%
Market	7.6%	3.6%	1.5%
New Zone	6.8%	5.2%	15.9%
Univ. campus	6.8%	6.1%	3.6%
Rua do Franco	6.5%	4.3%	1.6%
Bonaival	6.4%	9.8%	2.3%

As we can see, when the Santiago residents are asked about their favorite spaces—in other words, where their affective identity is—, things change; and remarkably so: the Old Town remains in first place; the Alameda moves to occupy second place. The surroundings of the cathedral and the Quintana Square follow, far behind; and Bonaval—a park with a convent, the Museum of the Galician People, and the Pantheon of Illustrious Galicians, at the foot of the historic district of San Pedro— emerges. The cathedral and the Obradoiro—the two places that will be shown to attract the greatest number of tourists and which are considered to be the most emblematic and characteristic part of the city outside— are falling in rank, and declining considerably. If we cross-reference the attributed collective identity and the affective individual identity, we clearly see that the Old Zone and the Alameda are the two great spaces of identity in Compostela. There is no overlap in the interpretation of visitors and locals, as we will see, and the macro-narratives—the images and ideas conveyed, and people’s cultural practices— move away from that which is most valuable to the people of Santiago. Notice the Parks and green areas, whose development was carried out at the same time that the promotion of the Way of Saint James was intensified, and a set to which Alameda and Bonaval also belong.

Table 6

Spaces most emblematic, loved, and used by the inhabitants of Santiago de Compostela

	Emblematic	Affective	Utilitarian
Old Town	39.0%	44.6%	37.4%
Alameda	22.5%	29.1%	10.1%
Parks and green areas	14.9%	4.8%	15.9%
Bonaval	9.8%	6.4%	2.3%
Surrounding the Cathedral	9.5%	10.5%	1.2%
Quintana	8.9%	9.9%	0.3%
Around the city	8.3%	3.7%	7.8%
Obradoiro	8.3%	24.3%	0.3%
Cathedral	7.5%	37.8%	0.1%
Univ. campus	6.1%	6.8%	3.6%
San Pedro	5.3%	4.4%	3.1%
Old Town	5.2%	6.8%	15.9%
Rua do Franco	4.3%	6.5%	1.6%

Except for the Old Town, which maintains a high level of use, although this percentage decreases a little compared to the previous ones, the visit to emblematic places is much lower. The “Zona Velha” has a very large spatial reference, at least 7 square kilometers in its reduced version. Additionally, large spaces have greatly diminished in their use, in some cases because this use has a sporadic character or has been replaced by similar ones—in the case of the Alameda and the new city parks. The

case of Rua do Franco should be underlined in the way its affective attraction diminishes in relation to its collective identity position. However, its use—in the past, much more intense, as identities and affections still reflect—is close to extinction. Almost nobody goes to the squares of Obradoiro and Quintana. In the first case, this is logical because it is a place of passage, in the second case it is relevant, because it was a place of children’s games and meeting and entertainment for young and old, sitting on its benches and stone steps. At present, it is a place often visited by tourists—especially in Holy Year since the Holy Door of ritual access to the temple is open during this time—and where they frequent cafés in the spacious terraces there. The cathedral, which retained some affective value, is visited by practically no one who lives in Santiago.

Thus, it is not difficult to interpret that the local community has given or has had to cede spaces to visitors: those paces closest to the Cathedral as the goal of the Way, and the cathedral itself. It is no exaggeration to say that the cathedral does not belong to the people of Santiago. The community has created new places of identity affection, in the time span that the identity of the Way was manufactured, in terms of use—which is a strong form of affective and identity reinforcement—: the Parks and green areas, which have joined the unique Alameda in the last thirty years, and which occupies the third place in Santiago’s identity affections. In these places and in these places, a sort of identity seems to have taken place, even a defensive preservation against the invasion of other places that, until recently, had played a similar role in terms of recreation.

Table 7

Spaces used by visitors and most emblematic, loved, and used
by the inhabitants of Santiago de Compostela

	Visitors	Emblematic	Affective	Utilitarian
Cathedral	35.9%	37.8%	7.5%	0.1%
Old Town	34.4%	44.6%	39.0%	37.4%
Around the city	23.2%	10.5%	9.5%	1.2%
Obradoiro	21.5%	24.3%	8.3%	0.3%
Alameda	12.3%	29.1%	22.5%	10.1%
Others	8.6%	2.2%	2.4%	5.0%
DK	7.9%	0.1%	0.0%	2.3%
Market	6.4%	7.6%	3.6%	1.5%
New Zone	6.0%	6.8%	5.2%	15.9%
Rua do Franco - street	5.8%	6.5%	4.3%	1.6%
Museums	5.0%	0.0%	0.2%	1.1%
Parks and green areas	3.9%	4.8%	14.9%	15.9%
Rua do Vilar - street	3.5%	3.3%	3.1%	0.8%
N/ A-REF	3.2%	0.2%	2.2%	10.4%

And the visitors, what are their places? It seems clear to us that macro-narratives define the generic uses of the city based on the main ideas created: no interest for the local community, little for its built heritage other than those most related to the main ideas of the Way. The behavior of visitors in general and the homologies that can be established with the various literary, guidebooks, or audiovisual products corroborate this. Let's look at the visitors' perspective as contrasted with local identities and uses (Table 3). For this, I will refer the answers to this question as found in our fieldwork as a whole: Q211. Which places in the city have you visited or are planning to visit?

The Cathedral and the Old Town are the two most cited places. The latter presents a high degree of harmony and overlap between inhabitants and visitors, while the former, quite the opposite. The contrast highlights several things that could already be sensed in the previous examination: the tendency to dissociate, in some cases at least, between a more formal identity and a more affective one. In certain situations, the formal identity may act as protection for the second. Thus, the visitor knows the cathedral, but its use and publicity has alienated the people and a good part of their affections... This is better observed if we take into consideration what I call "surrounding the cathedral", which is no longer a temple with its connotation of a religious area, but a spatial whole: it is the third most visited space by tourists, but one of the least used by the people of Santiago, although they attach some weight to it in terms of formal and affective identity. Even more revealing is the case of the Praza do Obradoiro, the square named after the best known baroque façade of the cathedral... And, because I dealt with this earlier, I pause for a moment at the Rua do Franco (part of the Old Town cluster), to emphasize how it is falling into local disuse, also because of increasing use by visitors. Franco/Raiña is an area used mainly for restaurants. Visitors eat and drink in the areas closest to the Cathedral mainly for this reason and not for the gastronomic attractions that restaurant customers in Santiago might highlight —perhaps it is worth mentioning: of the 20 most valued restaurants or cafes on *Tripadvisor* in 2019, only 2 are on the Franco-Raiña axis, and in some of them, remarkably, and in general, there is more intersection with the local community than in all the other restaurants on these streets—; the place par excellence for the people of Santiago no longer exists and there is almost no intersection between residents and visitors: seen from a utilitarian and identity point of view, it has been handed over by the local community to tourists.

But things can go further: the limited presence of affection towards the cathedral and, in general, the progressive loss of affection that its environment, influenced by it, may also be due to its most important agents: the Catholic Church and, specifically, the archbishopric, or to tourist agents in general. It shows that if the tourist looks for elements of the local community or the community itself in these places, he or she will find little. And if they are not sought out, it is because for the tourist in question the local community is invisible or indifferent, as occurs in the macro narratives and in almost all the stories associated with them.

Visits to museums are not high in percentage, which also reveals that the knowledge of the city or its heritage resources through its exhibits is of little interest to the visitor. Research of this kind can also show how appreciation of these places not prioritized and not part of the collective identification of the city's inhabitants.

Finally, I refer to the case of San Pedro / St. Peter's. These are the percentages of that place as emblematic, affective, utilitarian, and frequented by visitors.

Table 8

San Pedro area used by visitors and most emblematic, loved and used by the inhabitants of Santiago de Compostela

Visitors	Emblematic	Affective	Utilitarian
35.9%	37.8%	7.5%	0.1%

San Pedro is a place that at least 200,000 visitors per year pass through at the end of the French Way, but whose space and community do not seem to be the object of attention or retention for them, and above all, it was visited but not elevated to a minimally relevant category.

In Table 9, one can better observe the differences in use between visitors and inhabitants and calculate the planning potentials available.

Table 9

Differences in the use of spaces between Visitors and Locals-Santiago de Compostela

	Utilitarian (shops)	Visitors	Difference (Shops-Visit)
Parks and green areas	15.9%	3.9%	12.0%
New Zones	15.9%	6.0%	10.0%
N/A-REF	10.4%	3.2%	7.2%
Shopping centers	7.3%	1.3%	6.0%
Rest of city	7.8%	2.1%	5.6%
Hospitality zones (generic)	4.4%	0.3%	4.1%
Bars and coffee shops	4.7%	1.2%	3.5%
Old Town	37.4%	34.4%	2.9%
Sports venues and facilities	3.1%	0.3%	2.9%
San Pedro	3.1%	0.7%	2.4%
Libraries	2.5%	0.2%	2.3%
Univ. Campus	3.6%	1.5%	2.1%
Concert halls, theatres and cinemas	2.0%	0.1%	1.9%
Leisure and walking areas (generic)	2.3%	0.5%	1.7%
Hardly uses the city for leisure	1.3%	—	1.3%
Preguntoiro-Orfas axis	1.1%	0.3%	0.7%

	Utilitarian (shops)	Visitors	Difference (Shops-Visit)
Belvis	1.3%	0.7%	0.6%
Bonaval	2.3%	1.7%	0.6%
Stores and shopping areas (generic)	1.5%	0.9%	0.6%
All city	1.0%	0.7%	0.3%
Colleges	0.5%	0.7%	-0.2%
Rest of Amêndoa	1.4%	1.6%	-0.2%
City of Culture	1.2%	1.4%	-0.2%
Toural Square	0.2%	0.5%	-0.3%
Surrounding Old Town	2.0%	2.6%	-0.6%
Nothing particular	0.6%	1.6%	-1.0%
Rua Nova - street	0.5%	1.5%	-1.0%
Cervantes Square	0.6%	1.7%	-1.1%
Alameda	10.1%	12.3%	-2.2%
Quintana	0.3%	3.1%	-2.8%
Rua Vilar - street	0.8%	3.5%	-2.8%
Others	5.0%	8.6%	-3.7%
Museums	1.1%	5.0%	-3.9%
Rua Franco - street	1.6%	5.8%	-4.2%
Market	1.5%	6.4%	-4.9%
DK	2.3%	7.9%	-5.6%
Obradoiro	0.3%	21.5%	-21.2%
Cathedral surroundings	1.2%	23.2%	-22.0%
Cathedral	0.1%	35.9%	-35.8%

Now, we can offer the conclusion already in general terms: if the visitor seeks to understand the local community or aspects of it; and if the visit is planned around places of importance for the people of Santiago, the data reflect that the greatest distance exists precisely between what is considered the emblem of Santiago and the culmination of the trip: the cathedral, a place, on the other hand, of tantamount importance in other times for local Catholics. The cathedral is hardly used anymore—the number of practicing Catholics in Santiago is counted in thousands—; and as a place of affection, it is far from others. On the opposite side, the parks and green areas, dozens of square kilometers, are not mentioned by visitors and are used by the local community (Table 10), evidence of a rapid affective construction of the inhabitants outside the visiting paradigm.

Table 10

Parks and Green Zones: Affectivity, Emblem and Use for the inhabitants of Santiago de Compostela

Visitors	Emblematic	Affective	Utilitarian
Parks and green zones	14.9%	4.8%	15,9%

3.2. *Spaces, uses, and consumptions and previous knowledge of local community*

We have discussed how one of our hypotheses states that prior knowledge of the community shows interest in aspects of it in relation to its absence. For this chapter, we have defined three profiles: low, medium, and high prior knowledge, using as parameter the mention of artists or writers in the following questions of our survey:

Q.2.7.1 Did you know anything about THIS PLACE before you came?

Q.2.7.2 Do you know any name or something about Galician culture?

Q.2.9 Do you know anything about gastronomy, an artist, writer, famous person musician, or athlete?

Cross-referenced with Q229. Did you inform yourself in any way about possibilities?

The aggregates generate a scale from 0 to 6 points. We group them as follows:

0-2: Low prior knowledge.

3-4: Medium prior knowledge.

5-6: High prior knowledge.

People who have a low prior knowledge of the city, apart from the references derived from Macronarratives, are more vulnerable to the effects —of any kind— of these, because they are the ideas circulating more and more overwhelmingly. One wonders if other kinds of knowledge can influence people's practices in the city, since this would have a high planning value. In summary, we can state that as far as prior knowledge is concerned,

- a) Sociodemographically: there is no significant relationship with gender, education, or income, in general.
- b) Retired people and students are the sectors with the least previous knowledge.
- c) Familiarity with the destination logically generates more prior knowledge in general. Note that, in the analyzed regions of origin —and always in general terms—, the Portuguese know little and the Brazilians care little about meeting the local community; the former probably, among other things, because of an obvious frontier spirit —the idea that, being close, the neighbor is well known; the latter, because their motivations do not lead them to this knowledge.
- d) Prior knowledge is linked to visiting more places and doing more cultural activities, visiting museums, etc. In our data, the stay in number of days is similar to the other sectors of medium and low prior knowledge, but it is much more homogeneous. In short, compared to the average stays of the other sectors

with very high deviations, it tends to remain at 3 days. In the other cases, the average is the result of stays of between a few hours and many days —the latter showing the non-tourist nature of many of them—, and therefore lacking notable homogeneity. Prior knowledge does not imply a longer stay but a more stable duration.

- e) It is specifically in consumption that prior knowledge distinct from Macro-narratives is most relevant: people with higher prior knowledge have higher consumption —in food and beverages and in food purchases— than the rest and the mean. Average spending is much higher among the most informed people. Let’s look at the data:

Table 11

Previous knowledge of the local Santiaguesa community - 3 categories

		% within Prior knowledge (3 cat.)			
		Low	Medium	High	Total
Did you, or do you, plan to eat or drink something in Santiago?	No	19.3%	11.8%	14.9%	15.2%
	Yes	49.8%	65.1%	56.9%	58.0%
	Ns	1.5%	1.2%	1.1%	1.3%
	Nr	29.4%	21.9%	27.1%	25.5%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

If, as we said, the visit to certain places and to more places is an index of a visit of greater alliance with the community, we can observe that people with greater knowledge visit more places. And, in general, they retain more names, which is an indicator of greater attention and interest.

Table 12

Differential Previous knowledge of the local Santiaguesa community - 2 categories

	Utilitarian	Visitors	Differences (Shops-Visitors)
Obradoiro	28.3%	16.3%	12.0%
Rua do Franco - street	11.4%	3.3%	8.1%
Market	11.4%	3.7%	7.8%
Cathedral surroundings	27.1%	19.5%	7.6%
Quintana	7.8%	1.0%	6.8%
New Town	9.6%	3.1%	6.5%
Alameda	14.5%	8.7%	5.8%
Old Zone	38.0%	32.9%	5.1%
Cathedral	39.2%	34.1%	5.1%
Rua do Vilar - street	6.6%	1.9%	4.7%
Museums	7.8%	3.1%	4.7%
Other	10.8%	6.6%	4.2%
Praza de Cervantes - square	4.2%	0.7%	3.5%
Rest of the City	3.6%	0.9%	2.7%
Campus	3.0%	0.5%	2.5%
Parks and green areas	6.0%	3.7%	2.4%
Shopping Malls	2.4%	0.3%	2.1%
Rua Nova - street	2.4%	0.5%	1.9%
San Pedro	1.8%	0.2%	1.6%
Bonaval	2.4%	1.0%	1.4%
The whole city	1.8%	0.5%	1.3%
None in particular	3.0%	1.7%	1.3%
Concert halls, theaters and cinemas	1.2%	0.0%	1.2%
Near the Old Town	2.4%	1.2%	1.2%
Praza do Toural	1.2%	0.3%	0.9%
Preguntoiro-Orfas axis	1.2%	0.3%	0.9%
Tents and shopping areas - generic	1.2%	0.7%	0.5%
City of Culture	1.2%	0.7%	0.5%
Hospitality areas - generic	0.6%	0.2%	0.4%
Belvis	0.6%	0.3%	0.3%
Libraries	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Almond Rest	0.6%	0.7%	-0.1%
Colleges	0.6%	0.7%	-0.1%
Leisure and recreation areas - general	0.6%	0.9%	-0.3%
Bars and cafeterias	0.6%	1.0%	-0.4%
Sports spaces and facilities	0.0%	0.7%	-0.7%
N/ A-REF	1.2%	6.1%	-4.9%
DK	2.4%	9.9%	-7.5%

4. A note on gastronomic consumption and about spending

I would like to briefly mention a note on gastronomic consumption, which is interesting for our purposes. It constitutes a preexistent and non-central aspect of the macro-narratives we have mentioned and can be summarized in that in Galiza we consume quality products —especially seafood— and it is cheap for some pocketbooks. Let us first ask ourselves: what do visitors to Santiago eat?

At this point, I want to remind you of my argumentative plot: if the macro-discourses and their dependent images and ideas do not encourage aspects of the local community, it tends to become invisible. Or to resemanticize and trivialize it. But it should also be remembered that what is a threat can open up an opportunity, if local production is transferred to local restaurants...

We have selected for this question Q. 2151. Did you, or plan to, eat or drink anything in Santiago?

To begin with, let us note (Table 9) that the percentage of Ns/Nr in these questions of our survey is high. Up to 25%. It doesn't seem like speculation to indicate that many of the people asked probably didn't consume or didn't intend to consume, or at least didn't care much about it... And more than 15% explicitly answer that they will not consume at all.

Table 13

Did you have or plan to eat or drink anything in Santiago?

		% within Prior knowledge (3 cat.)					
		CA	ES	PT	BR	NR	
Did you, or do you, plan to eat or drink something in Santiago?	No	12.0%	10.6%	25.5%	14.4%	0.0%	15.2%
	Yes	63.2%	61.6%	52.0%	55.8%	0.0%	58.0%
	Ns	0.0%	0.9%	1.7%	2.0%	0.0%	1.3%
	Nr	24.8%	26.8%	20.8%	27.8%	100.0%	25.5%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

If we take into account that eating is a daily need and that those who can, do it several times a day, the data reveal that a great number of people do not spend much time in the city or simply do not consume in the city. If this is an important indicator of expenditure, we can deduce that the visit of a great percentage of people is not worth it.

But there are surprises.

The people who say they spend more in the city are Brazilians. I show here the disaggregated expenses in Catalonia.¹⁴ The corresponding question, with disaggregated data that are not used here, is Q.2.18. *Expenditure in the city of Santiago de Compostela*.

Report: Spending in Santiago de Compostela			
Country	Average	N	Standard deviation
Catalonia	185,094	112	243,9092
Spain	134,323	606	170,9556
Portugal	73,825	323	91,3930
Brazil	238,878	298	1195,5853
Total	147,245	1339	583,7989

How to explain this? Undoubtedly via macro-narratives: they spend on lodging—linked in many cases to the completion of the Way—, and partly on certain souvenirs linked to these macro-narratives for sale in the stores around the cathedral that were once devoted to local commerce. Pausing here to define whether this produces a greater alliance or not with the community is a delicate matter, and it conveys a cautious warning to be able to work on the definition of indicators. However, given that the number of stores is a constant and their commercial orientation varies, it is clear that local commerce used by locals is diminishing.

The cuisine is not at all explicit as a reason for the trip. But things change and allusions to gastronomy increase considerably when asked, with open answers, about the attractions of Galiza. In fact, when we asked visitors what first came to mind about Galiza, 28% pilgrims and 66% visitors with no religious background—42% Spanish, 20% Portuguese, 20% Brazilian and 19% Galician— indicated gastronomy, 42% of the total. And 24% express a more specific relationship, linked to gastronomy with regard to the culture of Galiza. In total, 775 people sampled expressed their preference for food and beverage activities during their visit. By food preferences, 25% of the choices dealt with seafood, 23% octopus, 16% typical foods, and 15% meat and fish (Carral, Carreira & Del Río, 2018).

The numbers are clear; but what it it they are so eloquent about? This aspect of the local community matters less the greater the discrepancy with knowledge is, this distance understood by a more or less daily coexistence with this discourse. The gastronomic offer, in places with a strong tourist presence is vital for many sectors of the local economy and identity. Some examples: if certain products produced in the

¹⁴ I leave this data about Catalonia because it was so used in the lecture mentioned at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra. Though not possessing extraordinarily solid statistical value, the disaggregation of data by communities in the Spanish state allows us to find important clues about behaviors and expectations of the city.

region are not consumed, this results in the direct impoverishment of the people who produce them and their territories, and of their respective communities. If the supply is quantitatively reduced, and if it is concentrated in a kind of Galician fast food —octopus, meatpies, and broths, *caldo*— are dishes that can be quickly prepared or easily reheated. In fact, the number of cafes dedicated to selling these products is remarkable, and this implies a reduction of specialized cuisine. If fish is not consumed, it affects the local and regional chain of capture and market, in terms of jobs, from fishing and fish market to restaurants.

The contrast between agricultural production in Santiago and the region and its consumption by visitors has been noticed, and the results show an extraordinary gap between them. In a joint work with Galabra colleagues, the ecologist Emilio Carral and the economist María Luísa del Río concluded (Carral & Del Río, 2018):

These first results indicate that we are in need of hard work to changing the food offer for visitors, if we want to use their demands as a weapon for spreading the Galician sociocultural identity and promote food production from a more sustainable point of view (proximity agriculture production and foodshed concepts).

These results indicate that the greater the ignorance, the less weight attributed to gastronomy in the imaginary of attractiveness. And this situation allows us to establish the hypothesis that the greater the knowledge and attraction of the Galician community, the greater the weight of gastronomy in the attractive elements of the place visited. The gastronomic elements lose importance as ignorance about the attractiveness of the community increases. Or, to focus things in the terms I am using: the ideas linked to macro-narratives do not generate attraction or interest for the most eloquent expression of a community: what it produces and eats... And, for that purpose, other narratives are needed.

It is well known that policy makers, economic actors, and many people in general tend to identify quality tourism with spending. This is not our case, and we have been working for some time to determine indicators of visit quality, precisely in the terms of the alliance or threat we dealing with. Of course, spending can be a factor, but not the only one, and not necessarily a good one... Spending is a crucial issue, but not only in terms of the commercial profitability it may have for certain sectors of the city. Spending can also indicate aspects of the quality of the visit, if it is aimed at activities that are not detrimental to the space or the local identity. This is a subject that interests us a great deal, because we find, at least in the case of Santiago de Compostela, the economic or cultural capital of the people does not determine the type of activity or the spending per person; it is the motivation —derived from the image or the expectation of the visit— that conditions it. And this is a determining factor.

Here are some results —see the Exhibition catalog *The City, the Way and Us*. <https://redegalabra.org/exposicion-a-cidade-o-camino-e-nos>):

- a) If one of the first images of Santiago that visitors have is the people of the city, spending on leisure is multiplied by 10.

- b) If one of the essential motives of the visit is walking, leisure expenses are multiplied by 40.
- c) If one of the first things visitors indicate as the reason for their visit is the university, spending on lodging is multiplied by 20.
- d) If one of the essential elements of the visit is gastronomy, spending on culture are multiplied by 4.

Note that in all the cases examined by our colleague Marisa del Río, the variants refer directly to aspects that define traits of the community: its gastronomy, its university, strolling the streets—a way to get to know the places and people of the city—the people themselves. But there is more; the type of correspondences she examines allows her to conclude something quite important already stated above: socioeconomic characteristics or legitimate cultural capital do not show significant effects on spending. That is, the profile of a person with a high economic or educational level does not correlate with a proportionally higher expenditure. Rather, as can be seen, the previous images or motivations are the prime factor; and these expenditures occur on aspects linked to elements of the local community. Images change spending patterns. This is because the visitors who are not exclusively or fundamentally connected to the macro-narratives, but rather to others, spend more and generate a greater alliance with the local community. And this also has effects—for our own understanding let's call them theoretical—methodological effects for now: they lead us to think that we must incorporate alternative methodologies, of qualitative and quantitative nature, and approach other fields that are not exactly econometric in order to understand, in this case, the use of money.

Brief reflection on visitors as allies or threats to the local community

Coming to the final part of this work, I want to return to some reflections about the narratives that generate communities, ways of seeing them, uses, etc. It has been my purpose to offer data from various sources of information and consideration, various techniques and procedures of analysis, to be able to offer a simple result from a varied corpus and diverse sources.

The issue of places, of public spaces in the community, is not only about the city and its community. It is not even about planning that better distributes people who visit the city and avoids saturation or exclusion—recognizing the social and economic complexity of this issue. It can allow the emergence and distribution of local production in a broad sense, and the recovery and expansion of its spectrum, as well as the channeling of needs or possibilities through the opportunities that knowledge of these elements can facilitate.

Besides the direct material benefits or damages of tourism, the question of identity and ways of life which intersects with public spaces is crucial. And it is complex: between intersection and separation. Intersection can increase the quality of relationships and mutual knowledge, although it can end up affecting the use of spaces by locals if they become saturated. Separation implies the transfer of spaces from the community to visitors and merchants—essentially, a loss for the former.

5. Population and commercial activity in the old part in the local framework and the visitor-local relationship (1993-2013)

As a consequence of the above-mentioned processes, certain central areas of Compostela have undergone a profound transformation in the last 25 years, with sectors such as housing and commerce being affected. This is especially true of those areas closest to the cathedral, as a result of the rise of the pilgrimage and the meanings of spaces and patrimonial elements —some new, some re-sized, some privileged, and some neglected.

In order to examine aspects of the disturbance in the city's balance before the nineties of the last century, we will resort to our own data and also use as sources the city's two most highly distributed local written media,¹⁵ as an indication of the concerns and social relevance of the processes being focused upon here. It should be noted that the main factor of change that we are trying to detect has to do with an external relationship: with the creation of a new discourse directed toward the outside world, whose internal consequences are yet to be evaluated, but we have indications that they may be jeopardizing cohesion.¹⁶

This disturbance, according to our data and observations takes shape in a population decrease, among other things, in the Old Town, as we shall see, and in commercial transformation. In this chapter, I mainly analyze data from the period 1993-2013, in order to evaluate the evolution in the twenty years since 1993.

We lack specific studies or official publications —or at least we unaware of their existence— about the situation of commerce and even housing in the Old Town of Santiago in recent years. At any rate, we can present some data and subsequent reflections based on the information presented by different entities to the local media. They coincide in pointing out that despite specific plans and important economic investment, the old part is losing local businesses and inhabitants. At the end of the year 2014, sources from the municipal administration expressed (“Más flexibilidad en la rehabilitación”; “Muchos locales comerciales de proximidad han desaparecido”) that the process of disappearance of commerce of proximity, despite a notable increase of commercial spaces between 1993 and 2013, is relevant. According to these sources, in 1993 there were 2,313 locations and in 2013 2,348. In 1993, there were 697 empty establishments; in 2013, 711. These figures therefore remain stable. What has changed is the type of business. According to the information, many local businesses —bakeries,

¹⁵ The two written media that offer the most daily information and have the largest audience in the Compostela area are *El Correo Gallego* (sold together with newspaper *El Mundo*) and *La Voz de Galicia*, through its Santiago edition, as can be deduced from data from the EGM (Estudio General de Medios <http://www.aimc.es/-Datos-EGM-Resumen-General-.html>) and the OJD (Oficina de Justificación de la Difusión <http://www.introl.es/>), the two main entities that exist in the Spanish state for measuring media audience. The results and analysis of these measuring entities usually generate controversies in the evaluation (“Se desploman las ventas”) or elaboration of the news (“La Voz es el periódico gallego que más crece”) but they do not affect the issue discussed here.

¹⁶ This is a subject that appears with certain regularity in the Galician local and national press.

grocery stores and supermarkets, shoe shops, hardware stores, etc.— have ceased to exist, and those linked to tourism, and particularly souvenirs, have multiplied. As for the population, the data vary according to the sources and the way the Old Town is measured. Our data, taken from the official census of city inhabitants, and circumscribed to the Compostela *Amêndoa* (see Table 1 and Figure 1), reveal that the number of inhabitants in this area is less.¹⁷

Table 14

Demographic evolution of the Census Sections in the Historic Center

Á1) 1507801001 AREA OF THE MARKET STREETS OF PREGUNTOIRO, S. PAIO DE ANTEALTARES, QUINTANA SQUARE										
2001	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
637	680	696	689	709	686	694	665	664	654	645
Á2) 1507802001 AREA OF CERVANTES SQUARE, S. ROQUE, PORTA DA PENA										
2001	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
947	1076	1074	1066	1046	1004	987	967	972	980	956
Á3) 1507804001 AREA OF Rua FONTE SANTO ANTÓNIO, MAÇARELOS, Ruas DOS POXIGOS										
2001	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
1162	1280	1276	1279	1258	1294	1341	1321	1357	1268	1252
Á4) 1507805001 ÁREA OF THE STREETS FRANCO - VILAR - NOVA, SAN CLEMENTE										
2001	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
1005	1069	1077	1087	1063	1068	1020	955	928	937	946
3751	4105	4123	4121	4076	4052	4042	3908	3921	3839	3799

Source: Our elaboration based on the Revision of the Continuous Population Pattern and 2001 Population Census. INE, www.ine.es

In fact, in the last thirteen years there has been a general decreasing tendency, although within a stable behavior for the number of inhabitants in the area—a loss that does not reach 1.5%. But of the four sub-areas considered—the substantive core of the *Amêndoa*—, since 2001, only the one closest to the cathedral, the most “touristified” (Á4), has lost population, and by more than 5%, than 10% with respect to the time of

¹⁷ At a moment with one of the largest numbers of USC students in the city, in the early 1990s, Lois González (1994) estimated the number of de facto residents in the Old Town between 1,500 and 1,700 (with a broader concept of the historic center, not limited to the *Amêndoa*). We estimate this figure to be much lower now because of the decrease in the number of students, the existence of much faster and more accessible transportation which allow people to travel daily from different parts of Galicia to Santiago, and the increase in the supply of “tourist flats”.

its highest number of inhabitants, 2006. In general terms, the figures indicate that the downward trend has occurred mainly in recent years. Still in more general terms, we note the quantitative —and, probably, with these phenomena, qualitative— loss of the weight of the population of the historic center in the city, which does not exceed 4% of the total census. If we consider the percentage growth of the metropolitan area in recent years, these figures decrease even more: it is enough simply to consider the sum of the population of Ames and Santiago de Compostela —see Table 15, without considering the approximately 50,000 inhabitants of the other neighboring municipalities which show similar behavior to that of Ames in relation to Santiago.

Table 15

Percentage of Inhabitants of the Historic Center* Santiago/ Ames, 2001-2013

	Inhabitants historical center	Total population of Santiago and Ames	Percentage of population of historic center relative to the total of Santiago and Ames	Relative rate of change of the old part
2001	3,751	111,118	3.38	
2004	4,105	113,138	3.63	1.82
2005	4,123	115,147	3.58	1.78
2006	4,121	116,677	3.53	1.33
2007	4,076	118,265	3.45	1.36
2008	4,052	120,157	3.37	1.60
2009	4,042	122,075	3.31	1.60
2010	3,908	122,724	3.18	0.53
2011	3,921	124,059	3.16	1.09
2012	3,839	125,002	3.07	0.76
2013	3,799	125,730	3.02	0.58

Source: Our elaboration from the Review of the Continuous Pattern of Inhabitants, 2001 Population Census. INE, www.ine.es

The loss of population in the old part of town is not a new phenomenon in Santiago de Compostela. Starting, particularly, from the development of university activities and public services in the city, since the sixties there has been a progressive displacement of housing and services to other areas, namely the popularly called “Ensanche” of the city, new avenues opened or completely remodeled in the sixties, seventies and eighties. Aldrey and Formigo (1999: 8), with data from 1995, already indicated some characteristics of the population of the old part in relation to the entire city that continue up until the present day. The historic part would have already lost 50% of its number of inhabitants between 1965 and 1995, from 8,856 to 4,342, thus representing 13.94% of the total number of inhabitants of Santiago in 1965 and 4.2% in 1995.

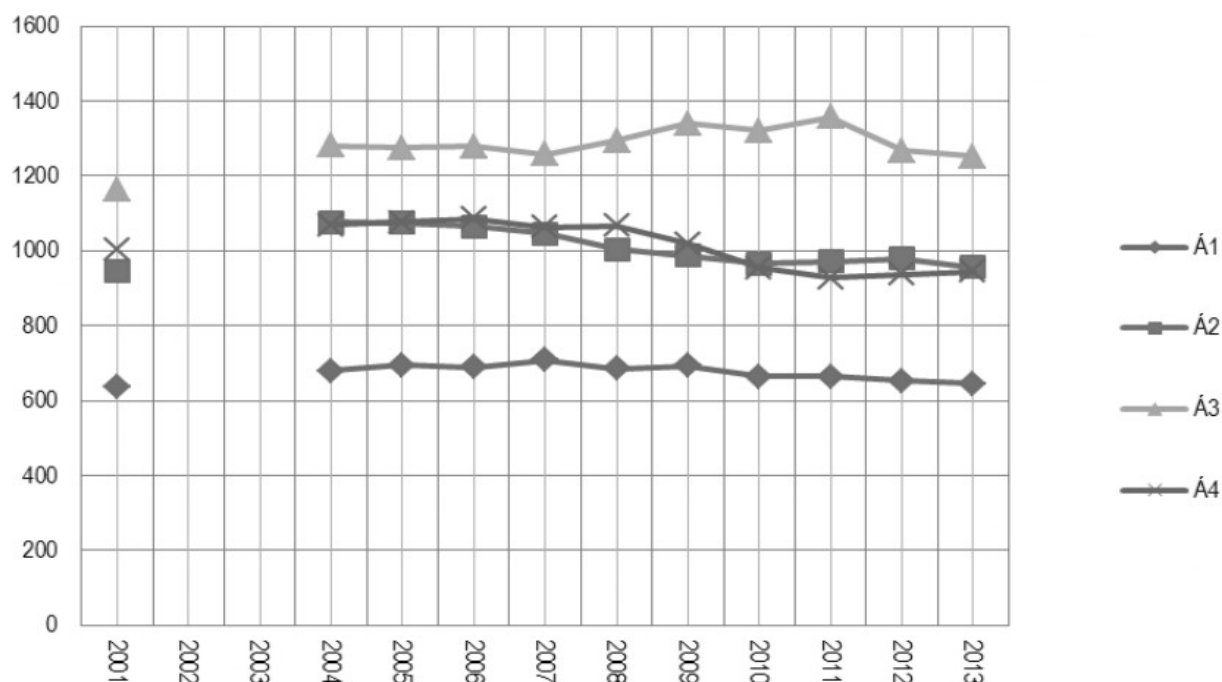


FIGURE 3

Demographic evolution of the sections of the historic center 2011-2013

Source: Our elaboration from the Review of the Continuous Pattern of Inhabitants, 2001 Population Census. INE, www.ine.es

This aging takes place, moreover, in a context in which Galiza presents data that place it ahead of the strongest demographic aging process of the Spanish State and Europe for years (Martínez Rogel; INE, 2010; Observatorio, 2010; IGE) and with stagnation or even slight loss of inhabitants, also affecting Santiago, which implies an inability for strong population renewal (Tables 16 and 17).

Table 16

Evolution (2010-2014) of the aging rate (over 60 years old) of the population of the old part, the rest of the Municipality and the total of Santiago

	Old part	Remaining municiple area	All santiago
2010	27.53	24.09	24.24
2011	27.49	24.52	24.64
2012	27.92	24.95	25.07
2013	27.67	25.50	25.59
2014	27.94	26.08	26.15

Source: Our elaboration from the Continuous Pattern of Inhabitants. INE, www.ine.es

Table 17

Evolution (2010-2014) of the aging rate (over 65 years old) of the population of the Old Town, the rest of the Municipality and the total of Santiago

	Old part	Remaining municiple area	All santiago
2010	21.11	18.02	18.15
2011	21.40	18.44	18.57
2012	22.30	18.80	18.95
2013	22.35	19.23	19.35
2014	22.63	19.76	19.87

Source: Based on the Continuous Pattern of Inhabitants. INE, www.ine.es

In general, several sources coincide in underlining the decline in the number of inhabitants in this area. Citing official sources, *El Correo Gallego* indicated that the old zone—in its broadest sense¹⁸— would have lost 3,000 inhabitants between the late nineties and 2013 (“Más flexibilidad en la rehabilitación”). *La Voz de Galicia* informed days later that (Santiago, 2014) “a tenor de los últimos datos que obran en poder de la Administración compostelana, entre 1993 y el 2013 se constata un descenso de la población en 1.226 personas. Es decir, hay un 9,75 % menos de residentes” desde 1993—12.567. According to this newspaper, in 1993 there were 2,660 residential buildings and a total of 6,971 houses in the historic center. In 2015, there were 2,900 buildings—11.27% more—and 7,575 houses—8.7% more— increases due to construction in vacant areas of the historic part, particularly its periphery.¹⁹ The quoted periodical indicated: “Según fuentes administrativas, se ha producido una sustitución de habitantes originales hace unos años por gente con dinero, pero en estos últimos años ni siquiera compran los potentados”, This would point to a gentrification, the scope of which we do not have enough certainty or verification, but of which we can sense harmful effects in the very short term, some of which are already present today.

In recent times, the threat to social cohesion of these phenomena is joined with increasing impact by the proliferation of tourist flats in the city, in which houses that used to be rented to individuals and families in general, and particularly to the student sector, are now being dedicated to renting to sporadic visitors, because the income is higher and the investment in resources is lower (“Cunde la alerta”). In the old part, in mid-2019 authorities claimed there were 250 floors registered as “tourist”, a figure

¹⁸ In general, the concept of the Old Town or its synonyms is never specified, outside of what is called the *Amêndoa*. It may include, for example, the San Pedro neighborhood or not. But this consideration doesn't excessively affect the data because what matters most is the percentage of evolution taking place, and which obviously includes, in all cases, the *Amêndoa*.

¹⁹ A policy that made the small metropolitan area of Santiago de Compostela grow, as we can see in the example of Ames

that was of no concern to the autonomic authorities (“Solo hay 250 pisos turísticos”); but in November 2019 real estate agencies claimed there were at least 2,400 of this type of accommodation, half, they claimed, of all the supply for rent (“Las inmobiliarias polemizan con Bugallo”). And if we add to this the number of unregistered villas for this use, and the original villas that are now used as hostels, residences, and other lodging uses, we are looking at an important percentage in relation to the total number of buildings in the Zona Velha. Of course this is having negative effects in all the social dimensions that we have been analyzing. The student sector is one that may be particularly affected by this contraction and potential price increase in the supply of floors (“Los pisos turísticos aumentan”). This sector, moreover, given its daily presence in the city, which has historically conditioned the conformation of citizen life in Santiago, may be forced to move to other areas (Montero, 2019), in a speculative and gentrifying phenomenon that undoubtedly has and will continue to have damaging consequences for city life, economically and socially, and its social cohesion.

There is probably some kind of relationship between the decrease in population and the type of business mentioned. Again according to information from *La Voz de Galicia* (“La acción del Consorcio no impide”), experts in the field point to the growing number of visitors “que se traducen en avidez de negocio y en expectativas de conversión del uso de vivienda en residencial colectivo o apartamentos turísticos”. “Eso sirve para albergar visitantes, pero no residentes”, they conclude.

The negative impact of noise in the Old Town would also influence this situation, with which the city’s own policy is directly pointed out. Experts also identify the lack of residential incentive policies in the area of unoccupied or abandoned villas, and the fact that the city’s General Plan gave “free reign” to 38,000 villas on the periphery instead of concentrating efforts on regenerating the urban center—and not only the historic one—, as propitiating the new tourist paradigm in the old part of the city. This is all present even in the very government spheres that contribute to boosting this class of tourism and visitors. In this line, in the same year 1993 we see actions by the Consorcio de Santiago, executive organ of the Royal Patronage of the City of Santiago, whose objective is:

desenvolver políticas de recuperación urbana, de actualización de infraestructuras e equipamentos e de recuperación do espazo público. Todo iso baixo a convicción de que a conservación e posta en valor do patrimonio histórico de Santiago de Compostela pode ser o motor da transformación contemporánea da cidade. Xunto a estas accións, o Consorcio da cidade de Santiago de Compostela promove políticas de acción cultural e de estudo e interpretación da historia da cidade e do fenómeno xacobeo. O compromiso cooperativo das administracións implicadas no Consorcio da cidade de Santiago de Compostela responde o obxectivo e oportunidade de articular, no noroeste da península ibérica e en consonancia co carácter europeísta do fenómeno xacobeo, un proxecto urbano de fortalecemento social, cultural e turístico para a capital de Galicia.

The Consorcio, despite an investment, according to the above-mentioned sources, of 60 million euros, and a considerable amount of work along these lines, recognized internationally (“Zona histórica”), “con el objetivo de rehabilitar y revitalizar el casco histórico, es decir, de asentar y acrecentar el vecindario”, has not achieved the desired result. The municipal government stated in 2014 (“El alcalde de Santiago marca la

revitalización”) to have set the objective of recovering the “función primordialmente residencial” as well as “la diversidad de usos y actividades” of the area. In November 2014, the mayor stated that it was “imprescindible evitar que el casco histórico acabe por convertirse en un mero decorado urbano”,²⁰ adding that in 1995 there were 8.6% of empty houses in the historic area, and thirteen years later there were 13.3%, with more than a thousand uninhabited houses. Among the measures expressed by the mayor, the newspaper reproduced his words in the sense of seeking a situation “equilibrada de residencia, comercio, oferta cultural, e de ocio e equipamentos, integrando o comercio de pequena dimensión e a oferta hostaleira e de ocio” and to “controlar la saturación de determinados tipos de comercios, pensados exclusivamente para turistas, potenciando en cambio el comercio de proximidad”. The complexity of problems, probable causes of deterioration and loss of inhabitants and shops, options and alternatives for the old part was evident in the objectives set by the mayor, when he also referred to controlling the number of establishments destined to hospitality and to protect against excessive noise at night, “thus ensuring better levels of livability”. It also alluded to the strengthening of the pedestrian dimension, the control of heavy traffic, the modernization of basic services and the interior rehabilitation of buildings, citing the need to make the regulations more flexible in what did not affect structural elements. In turn, the words of the councilwoman responsible for the Management Plan focused on this complexity and also on consensual needs, by emphasizing that the Plan seeks to reconcile urban regulation with economic and commercial activities, mobility and tourism, with planning and programming mechanisms and with participatory procedures and evaluation.

The commercial transformation and the loss of population in the Old Town. Effects on intersection and on identity sustainability

COMMERCIAL TRANSFORMATION. THE CASE OF RUA DO VILAR

Certainly, the old city is undergoing an important commercial transformation, progressively marked by the rising disappearance of shops exclusively or primarily serving the local community. We are seeing the abandonment of commercial and relational activities that gave meaning to community activity. The commerce and leisure of the old part are being replaced by offers to visitors and the progressive disappearance of possibilities for the city’s inhabitants, which can be exemplified by what happened, between 2002 and 2012, in the Rua do Vilar, the street with the largest number of residential buildings and commercial premises of those closest to the cathedral. Between these years two bookstores, two toy stores, a jewelry store, a movie theater—founded in 1948—and a small pottery store, among others, closed. Additionally, an old “Bazaar”, the Bazar del Villar, selling toys since 1865, was reconverted into a souvenir store, and

²⁰ Studies on the subject focus on this aspect. Generally, Gigirey (2003: 94), regarding cultural tourism and the use of the cathedral by visiting people, pointed out that “los turistas culturales ‘generales’ (o de masa) parecen por tanto competir por, más que compartir, el acceso y uso de lugares culturales con los residentes”, alerting to the need for “planificación cuidadosa y una atención rigurosa a las capacidades de carga social” “para evitar la consiguiente transformación de monumentos vivos en escenarios”.

in November 2019, it announced its definitive closure, alleging the lack of children and families in the surroundings and an excessive price of rent which would produce loss (Mosteiro, 2019). None of these commercial supply profiles experienced new occupants, except for a bookstore, linked to the San Pablo Catholic publishing house (<https://sanpablo.es/>), with a business line of Catholic books or books about the Catholic religion and the Way of Saint James. Among the new businesses of that period it is worth mentioning two cultural foundations with exhibition activity—one of them, nowadays, intermittently open to the public—, three accommodation and restaurant businesses, a tourism office from northern Portugal, a transport service for shipments called *Consigna del Peregrino*, a RENFE information post and several souvenir stores, mostly in the surroundings of the *Oficina del Peregrino*, before the office moved to the Rua das Carretas, at the end of 2015—motivating the transfer of the RENFE post, for example. The oldest establishments in the area in 2014 show a local community activity that has been progressively lost or replaced: a hat shop, Iglesias (1912), Fotos Arturo (1937), Fotos Sandine (early 1900), Papelería-souvenirs Docobo, formerly Bazaar—since 1950 with the current owner, but in existence since before that—, the clothing store Confecciones Riande (1930), the Café Negreira “O Pataca” (1951, closed in 2018), the Café-Bar “Ideal Azul” (1970, reconverted into a sausage shop in 2018), the Mercería Algui (1948), the Café Casino (1876; opened to the public in 2002, previously only for associates), the Mayer jewelry store (1830), and the Confitería La Mora (1929).²¹

In fact, what has been observed seems to indicate a growing and generalized trend in the old part of the city. Comparing (Figure 2, Table 18) just the last three years of evolution, between the summer of 2011 and 2014, and considering some commercial sectors clearly or fundamentally linked to the local or tourist activity, we find that it is what we call “Other commerce”—textiles, pharmacy, food, bookstores, kiosk, restaurants, toys, furniture store—, linked closely to the inhabitants, where there is a greater negative variation; and that the souvenirs sector continues to grow. Even the number of locations up for rent or closed also increases, and it does not seem that the economic benefit increases and its distribution widens.²²

²¹ Cf. Cores Trasmonte (2003); through this book one can generally contrast the situation in the first decade of the 21st century on this street.

²² The present study does not analyze economic issues; we are not in a position to address the economic benefit and its distribution. One might think that the new tourism promotion is benefiting Santiago economically, equally, one would have to consider who is really benefiting from this situation and whether other circumstances might be more beneficial and sustainable. The data is confusing and, in a context of crisis, there are phenomena that are more difficult to interpret. The most recent study that includes data and reflections on the area (García Vázquez, 2013) denies the existence of a widespread and widely distributed economic benefit.

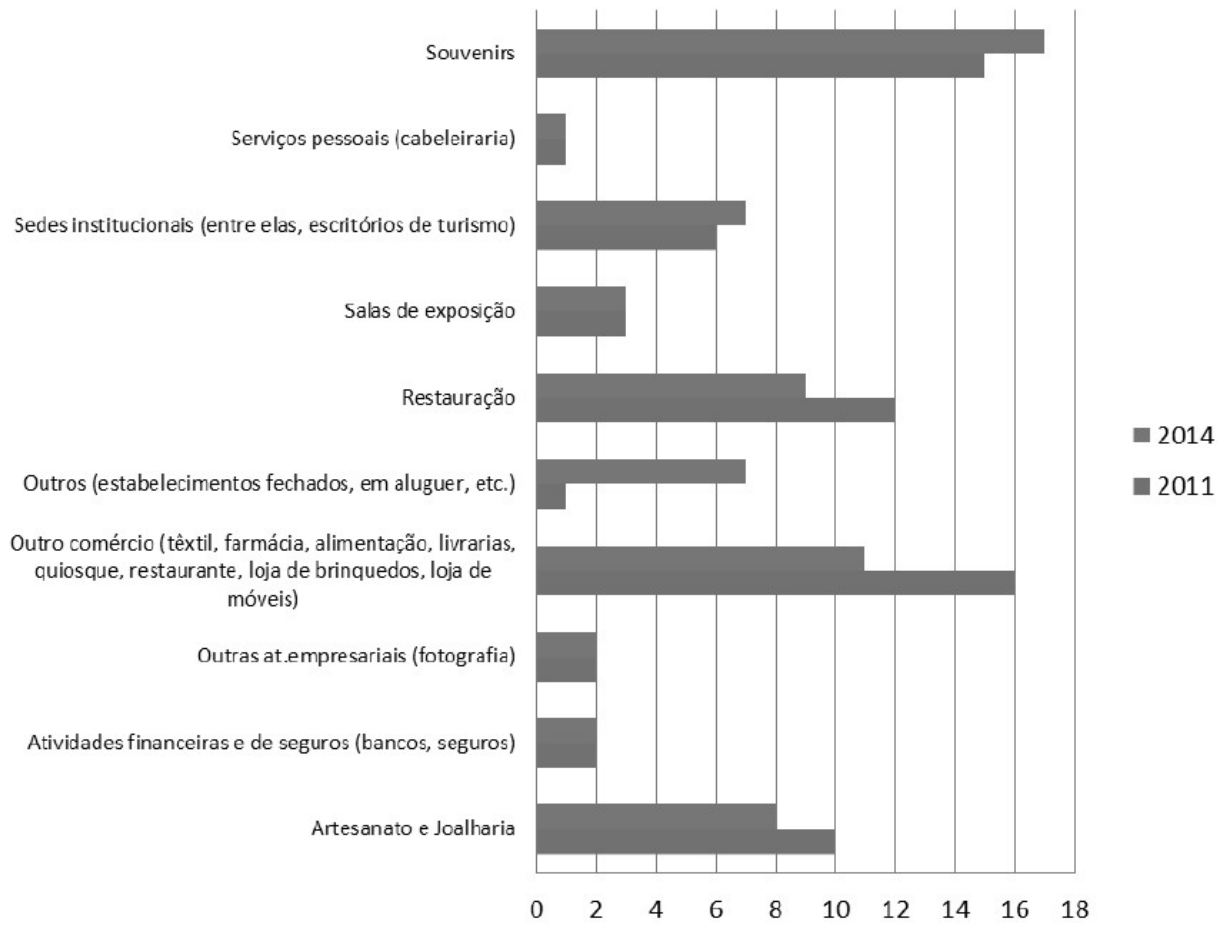


FIGURE 4

Bottom-floor shops in the Rua do Vilar. Numbers 1-69²³ (Comparative 2011-2014)

Source: Our elaboration.

²³ In reality, this street extends up to number 81, but it was only studied up to number 69 because it is the central part of it, which runs between Pratarías and Toural Squares.

Table 18

Commercial first floor locations. Rua do Vilar, historical center. Numbers 1-69. Comparison 2011-2014

	2011	2014
Handicrafts and jewelry	10	8
Financial and insurance activities - banking, insurance	2	2
Other business activities (photography)	2	2
Other commerce - textiles, pharmacy, food, bookstores, kiosk, restaurant, toy store, furniture store	16	11
Other - closed shops, rental shops, etc.	1	7
Restaurants	12	9
Exhibition halls	3	3
Institutional headquarters - including tourist offices	6	7
Personal services - hairdressing	1	1
Souvenirs	15	17

Commercial activity seems, therefore, a clear indicator of the break in the balance we have mentioned, standing out even more in the unique set of evolutionary factors of the old part. In fact, Aldrey and Formigo (1999) indicated, in the synthesis of their work, that in this period “the socio-professional orientation of its residents, linked to “a orientación socioprofesional dos seus moradores, vinculada a actividades terciarias, especialmente as relacionadas cos servicios sociais, que definen a tradicional funcionalidade compostelá: sanitaria, universitaria, administrativa, relixiosa e comercial”, adding: “paralelamente, experimentouse unha presenza crecente, nesta área da cidade, do comercio privado e das institucións públicas, respetando e reutilizando as vellas tipoloxías históricas para a súa actividade”. That is to say, in the loss of population over the past decades that we are analyzing here, the old part maintained, until the nineties, a type of activity that reflected the balance that now seems to be breaking, and is directly linked to the tourist promotion developed since the beginning of the nineties, which, as we have seen, is also recognized by the local administration. An activity and a balance that, we think, may be escaping some researchers’ own analysis. Gigirey (2003: 85) recalls that authors such as Maiztegui Oñate and Areitio Bertolín (1996) or Richards (1996) consider that it was the pilgrimage that “puso las bases del turismo cultural en la ciudad”, a statement only plausible if it is restricted to recent years and not to the type of tourism to the city before the promotional drive of the pilgrimage over the last.²⁴ In late 2019, the deterioration we described earlier

²⁴ It is worth clarifying that, in fact, and more specifically, Richards (1996:11) alludes to the Way of Saint James as a medieval creation that was later used for cultural tourism, in the same way that Maiztegui-Oñate and Areitio Bertolín (1996: 199) do, and not that the current existence of cultural tourism in the city is necessarily due to the Camino as a historical construct and, less so, as the current “basis” of cultural tourism in the city. Our data indicate that quite the opposite is true, and that the invisibility of culture is a strong element stemming from the Way and its implications in the city. Moreover, with data from the mid-1990s —several years after the tourist phenomenon of the 1993

continues. The newspaper *La Voz de Galicia* indicated that more than a third of the places on this street were closed, that rent was never less than 2,000 euros and that hotel and souvenir businesses were now the clear majority (“Más de un tercio de los locales”).

Loss of population and proximity commerce in the old part of the city

There has been a decrease in the resident population in the old part of the city, especially in the areas most linked to these commercial transformations and in the most emblematic spaces of the city. The population of the Amêndoa has decreased by almost 8% in less than ten years (2005-2013), going from 4,123 to 3,799, while the total population of the city has remained relatively stable or even increasing, if we consider the metropolitan area that, in fact, lives most of its life in Santiago. The popularly called “Boyer Decree”, alluding to the Minister who pushed it through in 1985, Miguel Boyer, overturns in general terms,²⁵ in its article 9: the mandatory extension of contracts entered into effective the date the Decree, May 9, 1985. Ley 29/1994, of a general character established the liberalization of lease contracts on January 1, 2015, regardless of the date of signature; the most relevant exception is in cases of commercial establishments where the person who originally held the contract or his or her spouse continues to be in charge of the business, in which case the contract continues until the death or retirement of such person. It seemed common opinion that this would contribute even more to the disappearance of traditional and local commerce (“El fin de alquileres de renta antigua”).

On the other hand, as there is less residential population in this area —and, I repeat, in a context in which the number of empty houses rises and the population remains stable, or even increases, if we consider the metropolitan area—, it is more likely that both the commercial demand and social relations and daily use of the public space by the population of Compostela will decrease. This will result in a loss of quality in the entire space by not having enough users that can maintain it and/or are interested in maintaining it. Without trying to establish any direct systematic relationship of cause and effect between commercial transformation and population loss in the old part, the fact is that this decrease coincides, in absolute and relative numbers, with a lack of supply for the local society, which affects the commercial activity of proximity and basic needs: food, clothing, etc. Accessibility and proximity to people is one of the decisive factors for the small-scale commercial activity that nourishes the old part of the city. Its loss is also the loss of the possibilities of maintaining daily social activity in those spaces, and that loss, not replaced by other local activities —leisure for example, but by activities linked to

Holy Year—, analysts such as Rey and Ramil (2000) have noted that rural tourism, and, increasingly, that of congresses and health were elements of tourist attraction —which, moreover, could contribute to breaking the strong seasonality of tourism in Galicia as a whole; and that, based on statistical analysis of tourism in Galicia (TURGALICIA, 1997), “la mayoría de los turistas encuestados ya conocían Galicia y los principales motivos del viaje son conocer y disfrutar de su entorno y costumbres y los vínculos familiares o de amistad”. (Rey and Ramil, 2000: 16).

²⁵ See Salvador Morell (s.d.) for a summary of the effects of the Decree and the exceptions provided.

tourism and visitors— affects the loss of spaces and possibilities by the local community and may also imply communal tensions. This happens not only with citizen sectors of the community. Though lacking studies on this, we can affirm, by daily observation and by people's opinion, that there are spaces, especially between May and October, that are less and less used by local people due to the increase in the volume of visitors. Several establishments in the old part —especially those linked to accommodation and catering or selling food products to tourists²⁶— close for several months in winter —sometimes the managers give temporary contracts to employees in anticipation of the hiatus—, which leads to producing truly empty and unused spaces, since there is no visitor presence, and local people do not feel drawn to these spaces intended primarily for tourists. The possibilities for using these spaces by certain collectives —from political action groups to civic associations selling products for their projects— are limited. The occupation of a significant building —from the point of view of commercial and cultural activity, such as the aforementioned Yago cinema by groups of young people who develop cultural initiatives during their occupation— is another indication of what we are saying (“Ocupan en Santiago el antiguo cine”), but can also be seen in people and entities involved in the commercial supply itself. Thus, the people in charge of restaurants on the most emblematic street for dining, the Rúa do Franco, were, in 2014, carrying out actions and organizing themselves in associations in an attempt to recover the Compostelan public, criticising the decisions of the municipal government that they accused of fostering projects of “unfair competition” (“Hosteleros del Franco se unen para hacer la Rúa más atractiva”). One of the promoters of the association mentioned above was José Manuel Otero, president of one of the two sections of the “Asociación de Empresarios de Hostelería de Santiago y Comarca” another association for the hotel sector, and yet another is that of restaurateurs, the leadership of the latter two in conflict (“Restauración acusa a Hospedaje”; “Hostelería resta resta valor al aluvión de bajas”).

However, it is worth mentioning that in our analyses a phenomenon occurs that might be described as a heritage overgrowth of sustainability, which is when a fortress for the continuity of an area —in this case, the old part of Santiago de Compostela— is erected that is larger than what it actually possesses. This heritage overgrowth, perceptible in some of the previous news —in which main streets of the Old Town fall into disuse coupled with growing local merchant impact—, can be perceived by other signs and symptoms. In this sense, it speaks volumes that more than a few visitors from our interviews are correct to estimate 100,000 inhabitants to Santiago de Compostela. However, they —and even the residents of the city— err when they are asked to calculate the number of inhabitants for the city's *Amêndoa*. Many give figures that are much higher or lower —more than 200,000 and less than 50,000— than the number of inhabitants of the city, with percentages that mostly exceed 20% —when an answer is given, because in many cases the question is not answered— of the total regarding the proportion old city / city. It is also significant that, among the options of “lot”, “a little”, “not much”, and “not at all”, “a lot” is the preferred option. Monumentality and extension do not correlate with habitability: this is another effect of spectacularization.

²⁶ According to calculations by some hotel managers, it could reach 50% of the total supply in the city (“Los hoteleros de la ciudad auguran”).

Loss of intersectionality and identity sustainability

In the terms we have been working with and with respect to identity sustainability and cohesion, we notice that the data we offer shows a progressive loss of what we propose to call “intersection” —the space or the use of spaces or shared uses between locals and visitors—, considering, at least as a hypothesis, that the greater this intersection, the greater identity sustainability there will be.²⁷ The intersection would be a symptom of stability, between locals and visitors. In the case the old part of Santiago, and in particular the Rúa Do Vilar, jewelry stores and bookstores are lost, establishments which potentially demonstrate robust intersection and others of proximity that could exemplify this, such as the only movie theater on this street²⁸ —which in recent times hosted children’s theater and puppets. It’s place was not substituted by another; in fact, in the city, in November 2014 there were only movie theaters with periodic commercial exhibition in the newest shopping center, called “As Cancelas”, located more than 2 kilometers away, on the outskirts of the urban area of Santiago. The only growing sector is that of souvenirs, encouraging the repurposing of handicraft or jewelry stores. Old businesses such as the Gali bookstore, the oldest in Galica, founded in 1872, has been replaced, in this case by a souvenir store owned by the president —since 2005— of an association of merchants in the historical area called Compostela Monumental. This process, by the way, has caused urbanistic controversy about the quality of the commercial offer in the old bookshop’s space (“Precintan un local en obras”; “Nota de prensa aclaratoria”).

This loss of intersection is produced even in the spaces that are periodically occupied by tourists and residents and that constitute the core of the tourist attraction currently defining Compostela’s identity, as in the case of the cathedral, even when considering pilgrims walking for religious reasons —it is convenient to point out that scholars such as Graham & Murray (1997) or Santos (2002) do not detect significantly different behaviors between tourists in general and pilgrims in particular. This lack of intersection is particularly revealing in the conclusion reached by Gigirey (2003: 94): “los usuarios religiosos locales en Santiago se ven a sí mismos y a los turistas en la catedral como dos colectivos separados e inmiscibles” adding that the various groups analyzed coincide in consciously adjusting their behavior regarding temple visits to avoid tourists. The author suggests that no policies “dirigidas a mezclar los grupos de turistas y residentes dentro de la catedral, puesto que se correría el riesgo de alienar a los residentes religiosos” should be implemented, which reinforces the almost structural character of this lack of intersection with the class and number of tourists and current uses.

²⁷ Certainly, another process of —false— balance between locals and visitors may appear, due to the latter ceding certain spaces of the city and/or seasons —fundamentally, the summer—, above all, to tourists and their activities, in order to preserve and sustain precisely their identity and their ways of seeing and acting in spaces and spheres that the latter do not penetrate, at least massively.

²⁸ The disappearance of services such as movie theaters in historic or central parts of cities and their displacement to large shopping centers seems to be a phenomenon common to many Western cities. What we want to emphasize in any case is that, in this case, it is part of the loss of services of proximity that make these historic areas more vulnerable.

In general, if we consider that the frequency and type of use —quotidian, proximity, non-deteriorating...— are linked to the conservation and maintenance of public spaces and services in a given area, and in the case of the old part of Santiago the risk keeps increasing with the loss of inhabitants in it. In fact, the number of inhabitants in the old part seems to have a direct impact on all aspects of uses, even on those that give a *raison d'être* to the tourist activity promoted nowadays. The cathedral is the central space promoting tourism linked to the Ways of Saint James, and the number of city dwellers who regularly use the cathedral for religious services was, in the early 2000s, close to 70% of the total (Gigirey, 2003: 89), and specifically, many elderly women born in Santiago and who had lived in the city for long periods. More than two thirds of the sample drawn by Gigirey are not economically linked to tourism and do not vacation outside the city on a regular basis. In fact, people coming from elsewhere are the ones most involved in tourism and the ones who proportionally visit the cathedral the least.

Therefore, the local world is increasingly giving up spaces and uses to visitors and to the direct or indirect commercial uses of them, whether due to saturation as a result of the massive presence of tourists in relation to places —whose temporary nature causes, not paradoxically, empty spaces in certain periods—, or due to a commercial offer that appeals to them less.

In this situation, the research team, as a university public service, was faced with two important and complex challenges: the transfer of results to planning; and working together with the affected or involved sectors, starting with the social group, which we call the Social Researcher Responsibility, without compromising independence.

Bibliographical References

- Aldrey Vázquez, J. and Formigo Couceiro, J. (1999) *O Casco histórico de Santiago de Compostela, características demográficas e morfolóxicas*. Santiago de Compostela: Servicio de Publicacións da Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.
- Bello Vázquez, R. (2015) Measuring Identity Indicators of Comparison of Real and Fictional Discourses on a Cultural Heritage, in Ricci, G. (ed.) *Travel, Tourism and Identity*. New Brunswick-London: Transaction Publishers, 127-142.
- Carral, E., Carreira, X.C. and del Río, M. (2018) Santiago visitors and Galiza national food consumption: Sociocultural identity and agriculture production implications. *10th Annual International Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage (IRTP) Conference*. Unpublished Paper.
- Cores Transmonte, B. (2003) *Unha viaxe pola rúa do Vilar*. Coruña: Fundación Caixa Galicia.
- Cunde la alerta por el gran incremento de pisos turísticos. *El Correo Gallego*. 10/10/2019. Available online: <https://www.elcorreogallego.es/santiago/ecg/cunde-alerta-gran-incremento-pisos-turisticos/idEdicion-2019-10-10/idNoticia-1207206/> . Accessed on 9 October 2019.
- Cunde la alerta por el gran incremento de pisos turísticos. *El Correo Gallego*. 10/10/2019. Available online: <https://www.elcorreogallego.es/santiago/ecg/cunde-alerta-gran-incremento-pisos-turisticos/idEdicion-2019-10-10/idNoticia-1207206/> . Accessed on 9 October 2019.

- García Vázquez, Y. (2013) *La ciudad como espectáculo. Marketing territorial, Internet y economía cultural en Santiago de Compostela ¿Éxito o fracaso?* Ph. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.
- Gigirey Vieiro, A. (2003) Turismo cultural en lugares sagrados desde la perspectiva de los residentes. *Estudios Turísticos*, 158, 79-108.
- Graham, B. and Murray, M. (1997) The spiritual and the profane: the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. *Ecumene*, 4 (4), 389-409.
- Hostelería resta valor al aluvión de bajas. *La Voz de Galicia*. 22/10/2014. Available online: http://www.lavozdeg Galicia.es/santiago/2014/10/22/0003_201410S22C19915.htm Accessed 26 December 2014.
- Hosteleros del Franco se unen para hacer la rúa más atractiva. *La Voz de Galicia*. 13/04/2014. Available online: http://www.lavozdeg Galicia.es/santiago/2014/04/13/0003_201404S13C1992.htm. Accessed on 26 December 2014.
- http://www.ige.eu/web/mostrar_seccion.jsp?idioma=gl&codigo=0301 . Accessed on 15 January 2016.
- IGE-Instituto Galego de Estatística (n.d.) Valor e produción da pesca. Available online: Accessed on 29 November 2019.
- INE-Instituto Nacional de Estadística (2009). Censo Agrario. *INE*. Available online: http://www.ine.es/dyngs/INEbase/es/operacion.htm?c=Estadistica_C&cid=1254736176851&menu=resu ltados&idp=1254735727106. Accessed on 1 November 2015.
- Las inmobiliarias polemizan con Bugallo y elevan a 2.500 los pisos turísticos. *La Voz de Galicia*. 29/11/2019. Available online: https://www.lavozdeg Galicia.es/noticia/santiago/2019/11/29/inmobiliarias-polemizan-bugallo-elevan-2400-pisos-turisticos-santiago/0003_201911S29C1995.htm . Accessed on 29 November 2019.
- Lemos, G. (2014) El fin de alquileres de renta antigua aboca al cierre a comercios históricos. *La Voz de Galicia*. 23/02/2014. Available online: https://www.lavozdeg Galicia.es/noticia/economia/2014/02/23/fin-alquileres-renta-antigua-aboca-cierre-comercios-historicos/0003_201402G23P40991.htm . Accessed on 26 December 2014.
- Los hoteleros de Santiago auguran un invierno “terrorífico com más de 50% de la planta cerrada”. *La Voz de Galicia*. 13/01/2015. Available online: <https://www.lavozdeg Galicia.es/noticia/santiago/2015/01/13/hoteleros-santiago-auguran-inverno-terrorifico-50-planta-cerrada/00031421154315993780345.htm> . Accessed on 15 January 2016.
- Los pisos turísticos aumentan y hacen peligrar la oferta para universitarios. *El Correo Gallego*. 08/07/2019. Available online: <https://www.elcorreogallego.es/galicia/ecg/pisos-turisticos-aumentan-hacen-peligrar-oferta-universitarios/idEdicion-2019-07-08/idNoticia-1192846>. Accessed on 9 October 2019.
- Maiztegui-Oñate, C. and Areitio Bertolín, M.T. (1996) Cultural Tourism in Spain, in Richards, G. (ed.) *Cultural Tourism in Europe*. Wallingfort, UK: CAB International, 267-281.
- Más flexibilidad en la rehabilitación para ganar vecinos en la zona vieja. *El Correo Gallego*. 25/11/2014. Availabe online: <http://www.elcorreogallego.es/santiago/ecg/mas-flexibilidad-en-la-rehabilitacion-para-ganar-vecinos-en-la-zona-vieja/idEdicion-2014-11-25/idNoticia-902652/> . Accessed on 26 December 2014.
- Montero, T. (2019) La bolsa de vivienda para universitarios se contrae por los pisos turísticos. *La Voz de Galicia*. 16/08/2019. Available online: <https://www.lavozdeg Galicia.es/noticia/>

- galicia/2019/08/16/bolsa-vivienda-universitarios-contrae-pisos-turisticos/00031565974378085315554.htm. Accessed on 9 October 2019.
- Mosteiro, M. (2015) Bazar de Villar cierra su última juguetería en el casco histórico. *La Voz de Galicia*. 13/03/2015. Available online: https://www.lavozdeg Galicia.es/noticia/santiago/2015/03/13/bazar-villar-cierra-ultima-jugueteria-casco-historico/0003_201503S13C19910.htm. Accessed on 27 de November 2019.
- Mosteiro, M. (2019) La Rúa do Vilar avanza hacia el desierto comercial com uno de cada cuatro negocios cerrado. *La Voz de Galicia*, 28/11/2019. Available online: https://www.lavozdeg Galicia.es/noticia/santiago/2019/11/28/rua-do-vilar-avanza-desierto-comercial-1-4-bajos-cerrados/0003_201911S28C1995.htm. Accessed on 29 November 2019.
- Muchos locales comerciales de proximidad han desaparecido. *La Voz de Galicia*. 11/12/2014. Available online: http://www.lavozdeg Galicia.es/noticia/santiago/2014/12/11/locales-comerciales-proximidad-desaparecido/0003_201412S11C19910.htm. Accessed on 26 December 2014.
- Nota de prensa aclaratoria. *Concello de Santiago*. 23/06/2006. Available online: http://www.santiagodecompostela.gal/hoxe/nova.php?id_nova=1007&lg=ing. Accessed on 15 January 2016.
- Novello, Simone [et alii] (2013) *Xacobeo. De un recurso a un evento turístico global*. Santiago de Compostela: Andavira editora.
- O alcalde de Santiago marca a revitalización da cidade histórica e o equilibrio dos seus usos como os principais obxectivos da revisión do Plan Especial. *El Correo Gallego*. 24/11/2014. Available online: <https://www.elcorreogallego.es/hemeroteca/alcalde-santiago-marca-revitalizacion-da-cidade-historica-equilibrio-dos-seus-usos-principais-obxectivos-da-revision-do-plan-especial-INCG902569>. Accessed on 26 December 2014.
- Ocupan en Santiago el antiguo cine Yago para protestar contra la “especulación inmobiliaria”. *La Voz de Galicia*. 19/11/2011. Available on line: <https://www.lavozdeg Galicia.es/noticia/galicia/2011/11/18/ocupan-santiago-antiguo-cine-yago-protestar-contr-especulacion-inmobiliaria/00031321627135248718775.htm>. Accessed on 26 December 2014.
- Precedo Ledo, A., Revilla Bonín, A e Miguez Iglesias, A. (2007) El turismo cultural como factor estratégico de desarrollo: el camino de Santiago. *Estudios Geográficos*, LXVIII (262), 205-234.
- Precintan un local en obras del presidente de los comerciantes. *La Voz de Galicia*, 22.06.2006. Available online: https://www.lavozdeg Galicia.es/noticia/santiago/2006/06/22/precintan-local-obras-presidente-comerciantes/0003_4885006.htm. Accessed on 15 January 2016.
- Restauración acusa a Hospedaje. *El Correo Gallego*. 11/10/2014. Available online: <http://www.elcorreogallego.es/santiago/ecg/restauracion-acusa-a-hospedaje-de-servilismo-con-grandes-cadenas-hoteleras/idEdicion-2014-10-11/idNoticia-895172/>. Accessed 26 December 2014.
- Rey Graña, C. and Ramil Díaz, M. (2000) Estructura del mercado turístico gallego, *Revista Galega de Economía*, vol. 9, núm. 1, 1-23.
- Santiago, X.R. (2014) La acción del Consorcio no impide que el casco histórico pierda habitantes. *La Voz de Galicia*. 11/12/2014. Available online: http://www.lavozdeg Galicia.es/noticia/santiago/2014/12/11/accion-consorcio-impide-casco-historico-pierda-habitantes/0003_201412S11C19911.htm. Accessed on 26 December 2014.
- Santos Solla, X. (1999) Mitos y realidades del Xacobeo. *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles. Monográfico: cambio turístico y nuevos procesos territoriales*, 28, 103-119.

- Santos Solla, X. (2002) Pilgrimage and Tourism at Santiago de Compostela. *Tourism Recreation Research*. Vol. 27, n. 2, 41-50.
- Santos Solla, X. (2006) El camino de Santiago: turistas y peregrinos hacia Compostela. *Cuadernos de turismo*, 18, 135-150.
- Solo hay 250 pisos turísticos registrados en el casco viejo. *El Correo Gallego*. 03/08/2019. Available online: <https://www.elcorreogallego.es/santiago/ecg/solo-hay-250-pisos-turisticos-registrados-casco-viejo/idEdicion-2019-08-03/idNoticia-1196665>. Accessed on 9 October 2019.
- USC en cifras. *Universidade de Santiago de Compostela*. Available online: http://www.usc.es/gl/info_xeral/responsable/cifras/index.html. Accessed on 1 April 2015.
- Various authors (2004) *Plan de Marketing Esratégico del Turismo*. Santiago de Compostela: Turismo de Santiago de Compostela.
- Zona histórica. *Concello de Santiago*. Available online: http://www.santiagodecompostela.org/facendo_cidade/apartado.php?txt=fc_historica&ap=5&lg=gal. Accessed on 1 April 2015.

Identity Sustainability, Identity Affectivity, and the Ithaca Traveler: Conceptual Tools for Measuring and Modeling Tourism as an Opportunity

Elias J. Torres Feijó

Galabra - Universidade de Santiago de Compostela

1. Introduction

This chapter is part of our need as researchers, in the Galabra Group-USC, to develop this concept in order to understand the ways in which the identities of Santiago de Compostela and Galicia are transformed through the Way to Santiago.

We intend to develop a theoretical, methodological framework for analysis, and to set up some tools and indicators applicable to specific cases. This essay attempts to develop the concepts of “sustainable identity” and “affectivity identity” —here, more specifically, for tourism analysis—, and it suggests the “Ithaca traveler” in order to designate the tourist/visitor as an ally of the visited communities. The goal is to develop a theoretical and methodological framework for that analysis. Here, I will apply these concepts in order to understand the ways in which the identities of Santiago de Compostela and Galiza are transformed through the *Camino de Santiago*.

In fact, this essay intends to provide an in-depth analysis and study of culture understood as the set of mechanisms whereby both individuals and communities organize their lives and their visions. Thus, in the research team Galabra Group-USC, we seek to get to know the different discourses —one of them being the literary discourse— that may work in a community, as well as the effective practices implemented by

individuals. This type of study has an analytic dimension that is firmly rooted upon an empirical, theoretical-methodological basis; and it also has a potential dimension involving the transfer and application of the results obtained.

The concepts of identity sustainability and identity affectivity that I will define later spring from analytic reflection and from the methodological need to be able to understand and interpret the decisions and the actions of the community—or of certain sectors of the community—concerning the preservation or modification of their lifestyles. These concepts also emerge from the need to find out what parameters make it possible to detect whether the elements that link, articulate, and identify the community at a given point in time are preserved or modified, even if they do away with the primitive community and its identities, turning them into something different.

2. Culture, Community and Community Rules

There are a number of common possibilities for communities to organize their lives. This organization is what builds up their culture. I use the concept of culture developed by Lotman and Uspenskij (1978) and Even-Zohar (2010) interpreted as the set of goods and tools for the community to view, classify, understand, and intervene in the world: the sights, the language, the traffic rules, the education system or the ways of asking what time it is; as well as the reviews, evaluations, and opinions—more or less shared—on the landscape, the food, the way to treat the elderly or the lifestyles of the community.

Community is any given social group linked, bound, and ruled by features consisting in access or exclusion rules: a town, a country, a condominium, a group of friends, a cultural association, and so on. No community is a monolithic entity with one identity. Those possibilities are not necessarily shared by the whole community, nor does everyone use the same goods. Likewise, not all the elements need to have the same hierarchy or be sorted out identically by all individuals; instead, there is a wide consensus in the community about the community's inner relations, and about how the community works. Communities can be internally divided and display a range of different identities; but, normally, there are elements—despite different interpretations—uniting a community: a place, a song, the way of life, a territory, or a set of elements. In fact, we may have partial identities, which are part of the identity set, and core identities; these core identities are essential for the community's sustainability, for a more or less stable balance between them.

On the one hand, when we say “community”, we normally mean certain sectors of the community: I use this simplification in order to facilitate the reading; but, obviously, communities consist of people with different interests who use identity items to complement, adjust, defend, and support themselves in relation to or against other people's interests. On the other hand, the very existence of that phenomenon shows the existence of a community and its relations, normally disputing the dominance of the interpretations of shared items; fighting for the imposition or for the legitimation of those very items on some occasions. These may also be usage rules, rules concerning the ideal use and operation of the community.

In this sense, the operation rules concerned may be called systemic rules when applied to the operation of cultural systems, but here we may call them community rules (Torres Feijó, 2011b), rules whose existence somehow accepts all the agents implicated in different cultural systems, both for themselves and for others—since reciprocity guarantees existence—, and contributes to their recognition, balance, and proficiency. As far as the community is concerned, these rules—reportorial materials or rules in Even-Zohar's (2000) analytical perspective—are delimiting criteria which act as basic principles that activate cultural behaviors of social spaces; and their interpretation and acceptance by the participant community depends on the possibilities and the ways to obtain, use, position, and function in cultural systems—compared to and depending on the cultural, social, economic, and symbolic assets of the agents. Furthermore, systemic rules not only determine the nutrients of the system's structure; they also determine the unfolding of the process and the effects that are attained. Therefore, rules are not a way to identify a posteriori, nor are they a simple label of what is or is not: they determine, in every historical moment, the operands of all the macro-factors; they interact within the social space in which they are active; and they are the basic principles of the instruction manual that get activated in order to understand and participate in the community.

Their interpretation characterizes the use, the position, and the operation of such space. Each of these limits, which at any given moment may seem indisputable, or at least undisputed, is the result of the imposition as legitimate of what Pierre Bourdieu has termed principles of vision and division on behalf of certain groups (for example, 1997). These rules also constitute a mechanism triggered when we try to locate an agent or an attitude, identify them (though this does not mean that, as far as intercommunity relationships are concerned, the rules of the community of origin are always going to prevail, and this is a crucial issue in understanding the relations derived from tourism—that is, between tourists and the receiving communities—nor does it mean that their correct interpretation by visitors may be positively accepted by the community as a whole or by some of its members: these may not require people from outside the community to implement community formulae, such as attending certain celebrations or buying in certain places. But these mechanisms also condition or determine the participation in a given community and the way in which the community is received, regulating the admittance of new members and the way in which that admittance takes place. In general, the mechanisms of differentiation of the community with regard to other communities are usually part of community rules. The sense of belonging (be it desired or not, and varying from individual to individual), based upon those rules, is, at the same time a sense of differentiation, which may also be desired or not. Besides, the loss of those factors that bound and limit the community, its differential rules, are the ones that can endanger its cohesion and the sustainability of the identity behind them, and give rise to new identity elaborations or reconfigurations.

3. Conceptual Tools for Measuring Tourism as an Opportunity, as Identity Sustainability and as Affectivity: Identity Items, Identity Sustainability and Consensus

At least some of these elements must be assumed by the community as part of its identity: identity items are the ones that contribute to the sense of community in a community. This set of items can be modified, partially or fully, but it can continue to be used as something owned by the community or by lower levels of the hierarchy. It may or may not keep having the same values for the community; and the community may or may not continue to recognize itself. It is possible for new identity elements of the community to change the scope of the community as well. Many elements can be an essential part of the identity even if they—all—are not necessarily lived in a direct way, daily or in these very spaces; but the community has a symbolic and practical value for them. These values are not exempt from tension, either in their planning or in their use (Jacob & Hellström, 2010).

A public square can have a strong identity value for a city or a whole country, even though its citizens may not use the square for many different reasons, and yet it may keep its symbolic and practical value, managed by specific agents. Think about the Obradoiro and Quintana squares. The citizens of Santiago de Compostela go through them, day in and day out, as they come and go to their daily activities, but they are hardly ever to be seen strolling about through them or spending their time there. They are also regularly frequented by many visitors who drop by just to see them, take pictures, walk around, and sit on their pavements for a while. But the Obradoiro and the Quintana squares are considered by many Galician citizens and by many citizens from Santiago to be the most emblematic squares of both Santiago and, more particularly, Galiza—the symbols of the city and the nation, the places in which, twice or three times a year, some of the most important social, political or cultural events of the Galician people take place. But the institutional and religious use of the Obradoiro Square and the political use—by the nationalist movement—and the cultural use of the Quintana Square shape different symbols and identities for the different sectors involved.

The community recognizes some of the elements that must be assumed by it as part of its identity as their own and as differential traits with regard to other communities. Consequently, the community recognizes the individuals who use this set of goods or tools—namely, languages, manners, clothes, etc.—as its members.

Communities also have other items that link its members together: space(s) and time(s), mainly space(s), because activities are connected to spaces, and all the activities of a community are performed in specific spaces: spaces to walk, meet other individuals, buy and sell, spaces to visit, play, etc. Communities have schedules for daily activities, for organizing their weeks, months, seasons, years, life activities more or less shared, but most, maybe even all of them, are recognizable by members of the collective.

It seems clear that establishing boundaries is essential for the maintenance of the identity and its security belt. The point is: if the community continues to recognize itself,

and the identity items remaining can guarantee the continuity of a common identity, one can say that it is a case of sustainable identity, because the consensus of the community is wide enough: sustainable identity maintains an identification of the community with a set of items that are recognized as its own, that are related to its recognition and its cohesion. In sustainability terms, we can talk about habitability; that is, an identity set has to be habitable and available in order to be sustainable. We can study the conditions for the habitability and the reasons why items for habitability can be left apart. When habitability items are left aside due to exhaustion, failure, or lack of resources, then we are facing a sustainability problem.

This has to do with the different resources and factors that give rise to basic consensuses among the members of a given community, and with which these members identify themselves, allowing their cohesion. Hence, sustainable identity is a set of rules, behaviors, and proposals that make it possible for people to recognize themselves as members of the community; however, it also entails tensions or adhesion problems as far as certain members or sectors are concerned, whereas these tensions are embedded in the basic consensuses. These resources and factors are not necessarily static; the lack or modification of all—or some—of them or of their hierarchy may lead to the prevalence or disappearance of the said basic consensuses. This may cause the upsurge of marked tensions that might break the cohesion of the community and give rise to confrontations between different community sectors. But this may also give rise to new communities, either by disaggregation or through new aggregations. Besides, the existence of a given community does not exclude the operation of other communities inside it. These further communities may operate in parallel to the whole without affecting it—from a paracommunitarian point of view—and they may form part of the community as a whole—from a subcommunitarian point of view—or become aggregates intended to change the character of that community—from a proto-communitarian point of view. Let us consider, for example, a social space characterized by a cultural system realized by a given language and supported by state structures, where different communities with distinct lifestyles coexist—as is the case of the paracommunitarian existence of, for instance, gypsy communities in many countries—and where a specific social sector wants to replace the language of that cultural system and change the structures that back it up (as is the case of the current movements in different European states, such as Spain, where Catalonia, Galiza, and the Basque Country have their own languages—e.g., from the touristic point of view, Catalonia in the Spanish context; see Richards (2007).

Identity sustainability is what guarantees the continuity of a community and the consensus about the community's identity, understanding sustainability in a twofold way: as the action of the community to keep the same items, and as the action of the community to preserve its identity and its limits. We could talk about ability and not performance, but we prefer a more neutral term rather than assigning to the community a priori specific desires or even resilient, standardizing, or substitutive processes. Many questions arise about this: Does the community have levels of acceptable change or acceptable "no-change" for people to continue to recognize the same community? Can the community continue to recognize itself as the same community? How many people actually feel the community as the same and proper?

What guarantees stability? How many items are basic and how can they be identified? Can the community go on? Can it do so using mechanisms of its own and/ or foreign mechanisms? Can the community resist exterior or interior menaces?

How can these menaces be valued regarding sectors —with different and opposite interests— of the whole community? How many menaces, and which ones, can a community resist? I am talking about the survival of the sustainability of the community's identity, not about the survival of the community itself. The community may continue to exist, but the identity elements that nourished it may be lost or severely deprecated; and this means loss of property —goods— and breakdowns —with different intensity— in certain sectors of the community.

Communities may have diverse and diversely used goods and tools, and live more or less strong conflicts, either external or internal, about the said goods and tools, yet their intensity does not necessarily have to affect the existence of the community. Sustainability is lost when the operation of goods or tools that are important for the community or for certain sectors of the community is endangered or disappears: the conflict may increase dramatically, and its results may be the disappearance of certain identity items and, also, the disaggregation of the very community. Let us consider armed conflicts having to do with this type of problems or lifestyles that disappear or are replaced by others due to the influence of tourism, for instance. Let us consider those persons who travel from their communities to other communities or those persons who stop going to certain places for those reasons.

3.1. Primary/Secondary Identity and Weak/Strong Sustainability

There are different identity sets to match the different individuals or sectors within the community; and different hierarchies for the items in these sets for each group of people or sector, too. And all this could be in constant change. We could talk about a primary and a secondary type of identity related to the chronology of the items in the communities' history, such as language, boundaries, and food, for example. The primary identity would encompass all the relevant historical items necessary to constitute identity at present for a given identity community —there are several different identities for the community members—, and the secondary, newer identity items would be those matching the parameters set up during the historical periodization, consensual for that community: The Carnation Revolution, or the "25 April 1974", as it is also known, is a recent historical event, probably marked for the Portuguese society as a structuring element of their culture and identity. The association between carnations and Portugal represents the revolution in general, and Portugal in particular, for many people both inside and outside Portugal.

A hand holding a carnation symbolizes Portugal, democracy, and revolution, among other things, for many people in several contexts; this association does not work if the hand holds a rose instead.

We can also identify a weak sustainability and a strong sustainability, because we can speak of weak sustainability items and strong sustainability items. We understand

weakness or strength as another very important indicator: The most relevant items for the community could be at risk due to some of the previously listed factors, and this fact might go unnoticed by the community. Thus, for instance, the existence of a local community might be defined on grounds of residence, as would be the case of city communities. Inside these communities there may be an old town, meaning different things or meaning nothing at all for each sector or individual in the community, whether they live or do not live in that old town. In this old town could exist a market sector whose actions transform the old town itself —buildings and building uses, activities including the products offered on sale, etc.— and influence the elements that play a role in the identity and the (self-)identification of the local and foreigner communities. The increase of a marketing activity in an important street could be interpreted as a sign of vitality, and it could mean, likewise, an eventual future trivialization of its referential and/or symbolic value for the community, because the cultural diversity of customers and supplies is reduced. At the same time its recovery could become impossible if old stores, which used to be a prestigious landmark, would disappear.

In another graphic example, in linguistic conflictive contexts, the diminution in the use of the community's own language —by young sectors, that is— can be interpreted as a sign of weakening of the identifying value of the item, but the symbolic value could increase among young urban sectors, their support becoming decisive for developing new policies to maintain and increase the use of the language with other perspectives, being aware of that symbolic support.

3.2. *Hierarchies, Identity Affectivity and Trojans*

The sectors of the community can change those elements transforming, replacing, or making them disappear. Transformation may generate new identity elements or produce results that cause disaffection among the whole community or part of it. And these new elements may be driven by sectors as identity and/or community identifiers. Thus, the eventual mismatch can lead to conflict, with various consequences for the whole community. By contrast, the community can lose fundamental elements of its historical identity. The original human geo-culturally constituted set could disappear or be turned into something that no longer identifies with it and has lost any heritage value. The community can lose identity elements and adopt other elements that are not identified as their own.

A community can lose spaces, activities, or scopes, and transfer them to different or new spaces or definitively get rid of some items. An identity set can be substituted by another identity set, and the community can carry on inside the same or similar limits, without changing its configuration or cohesion. The community can promote or accept changes without strong tensions or, conversely, live these changes as a menace against stability leading to the exclusion of some sectors that used to be integrated (Zahra & Ryan, 2007; Yang & Wall, 2009; Jacob & Hellström, 2010).

This identity set as a whole is constantly rebuilt by the community, which at the same time interprets and uses it following that building process: the identity set has

a practical, material, and symbolic value for the community, as it is a very important integration factor and a mechanism for the integration and operation of the community life, both for its members and for foreigners.

Items may increase to reinforce the identity and cohesion of the community.

Even previously hostile items can end up being considered necessary by community agents for the community to remain or hold on, including the substitution or reorientation of former items of any community or communities. This is the case of new postcolonial states constituting new communities from the boundaries established by colonizers.

Community sectors can have different sets, sets having relation with different conceptions for the borders, or considerations of the community: the community can dilute or integrate itself in a larger community and turn —items of— the primitive identity into a secondary element or even make it disappear. The question is, how can a community continue to call itself by the same name as before and continue to call the same people by the same name as before within the same limits? We may think that many identity items can hamper cohesion, whereas few items can undermine sustainability if one of them fails for any reason. It depends: there might be a hierarchy of movable items, of primary and secondary items, of everyday and extraordinary items, of tangible and intangible items, that the community could switch according to its interests with none of them necessarily having to disappear.

But determining how many main items a community needs to turn its identity into something sustainable is a different question.

Identity may be lost or dramatically modified if new and external items are introduced directly as substitutes. But the question is not only —or perhaps not mainly— the introduction of new items, but the hierarchy and the relationships between those items. It is possible for the community to preserve all the items that constitute its identity, losing the sustainability of its own identity if the relationships and/or the hierarchy are modified. The consensus can be changed —and this is very important— because there is a new hierarchy and there are new relations between the same items. This way, the saturation of secondary elements or the new hierarchy would simply open the door to new or secondary interpretations of the identity, both internally and externally. These items —former identity items, important for the community— become Trojans, dangerous intruders, about which I will discuss again later on.

We must bear in mind that we could understand identity as consisting of a set of elements and the relationships between them. Thus, for example —only formulated as a hypothesis—, heritage and pilgrimage/the cathedral are identity items of the community of Santiago de Compostela; heritage. both civil and religious —including university buildings, streets, local market and stores, promenades, songs, churches— hold a high position in the hierarchy; the cathedral and the world of pilgrimage are items belonging to this heritage yet balanced with others —this is possible, although pilgrimage takes

place for religious reasons; and should they win a more relevant position, pushing aside other heritage items or even overshadowing heritage as a whole, the balance could be broken and strong conflicts might arise. Surely enough, identity affectivity is at the basis of those community decisions that clash with rational solutions. In this sense, we may compare these decisions to other type of perceptions that lead people to make decisions that clash with rational theories, such as those made in the areas of economy, healthcare, or public policies (Kahneman, 2012). Therefore, as a result of the internal relationships between the set of items, the religious ones become more straightforward, occupying spaces that could have been occupied by other items before. This process can also be interpreted or promoted according to different contextual conditions, and it can modify the hierarchies and their internal relationships, the identification and use of such items by the community, and/or its spaces and visitors'. The modification of the identity can cause the unsustainability of the identity community.

The hierarchy and the relationship between the elements are complex and need detailed attention. We should bear in mind that, by establishing hierarchies, there may be false perceptions by people within the community according to the questions being raised. Certain items might not be listed because they are taken for granted, considered unimportant, or not tied to the identity; and preferences can actually be changed; for example, people can put the language as a central and core element in their hierarchy, but should they be asked about which element of a set—for instance, the landscape—they would not rather lose, they would probably omit it.

From this point of view, we can talk about different hierarchic sets of identity items—for visitors, for individuals outside the community, and for the local community itself, though, probably, neither for all the individuals outside the community, nor for the whole local community—and we can therefore talk about several hierarchic sets for the different internal and/or external sectors. Those hierarchic sets may be modified or used differently depending on the situation. In order to detect the phenomena that articulate the community or support its identity, it is essential to detect those hierarchic sets.

Now, how can we interpret the items identity communities use? Not all the items are used in the same way, obviously, or with the same intensity, nor are all together all the time. Not all of them show the same use, or for all people. Some items can be symbolic referents: their use is just to be acknowledged as existent, and others can be used once a year, daily, weekly, and so on. We are talking about identity as a set consisting of different parts devoted to visiting, practicing, remembering, acting as referents, or existing. Visiting, practicing, acting as a symbolic referent, all these constitute a scale that governs the use of these items; changes in the use may cause changes in the affections and the identity. Modifying in any way—intensity, use, etc.—the promotion or use of the item scale may reveal the symptoms of an unidentified risk, because it is in stability and not in the items where sustainability lies.

We also have the hypothesis that a scale exists for affectivity inside the community, and that the change of position and/or function of the items in this scale may cause future losses. An example of this would be those items that change the praxis.

Affectivity shows another hierarchy, and in this sense we could talk about identity affectivity, generating an attraction or feeling, or making favorable decisions involving specific items, motivated by the sentimental identification or sense of belonging that an agent experiences with regard to what those items mean or transmit to him/her. By the way, watching a film or going to a music show because the director or the band are locals, traveling to or visiting certain places, and using specific languages or words; do not represent the hierarchy of the items, but the hierarchy of the feelings connected to each of these items—that is, how these items are appreciated. Changes in intensity in the effective use of items that have a high symbolic value can affect the sustainability of those items; likewise, there may be items that have both a symbolic value and an effective use for certain sectors of the community, having just one or the other for other sectors. Different and even contradictory uses and symbolic references can exist, of course. This might have to do with the hierarchy of the items, though not necessarily. People can have a strong affection for folk festivals, since they are part of a whole identity, which does not mean that they would put them at the top of the hierarchy; people may also have a strong affection for a monument, symbolic and referential, and, for different reasons, such affection may decrease if some of its aspects are modified. More effective uses may also trivialize affections and a less practical use could increase them. A saturation of a particular use or a change in that specific use can also be effective because of modifications. Regardless of the agents driving those modifications -local and/or foreign people-the point is that affections can be modified. The item may still exist, continue to be a part of the whole identity, but the change in the community affectivity can eventually lead to problems of sustainability in the medium or long term.

Therefore, the point is not how the items are used, but the modifications in their usage: People can visit a store daily, once a year, or never visit that—traditional—store at all, yet they may want it to exist, and they could have different feelings toward it, generating different ways of looking at it, its benefits, and meanings.

Consequently, that feeling would bring different reactions if the store would close for economic or urban planning reasons, for instance.

4. Modeling Tourism as an Opportunity: Cavafy's Ithaca Traveler

In a context of continuous contact (physical, mediated, virtual, etc.), outsiders' recognition of singularity is vital for the sustainability of identity. Tourism has, therefore, great importance for the building of an image for a community: it forces the community to send specific messages abroad, and visitors elaborate ideas they subsequently disseminate. It can destroy identities if local people are dependent on the high capital and interest of the foreign visiting people, for instance (Laxson, 1991), and it can modify them if there is good, sustainable planning with local people (Besculides, Lee & McCormick, 2002).

Visitor refers not only to physical people actually staying in the community, and it is not a synonym for tourist: emigrant workers, business people, journalists, writers,

and consecrated persons are examples of visitors. At present, one of the main menaces to identity can be tourism; in fact, tourism is seen as a problem for people concerned about identity or identity sustainability; for instance, a massive number of visitors can modify the local ways of life and geo-cultural construction and can even make them disappear. But visitors can also reinforce the community identity and contribute to guaranteeing its continuity: from this point of view, tourists constitute an opportunity. We know that there are basically communities that build their own image (image meaning the set of ideas about something), and we know that the decisions of the various local agents can determine the image of the symbolic and material uses they configure. At the same time, with varying degrees of intensity, we know that the movement of people to other places as occasional or permanent visitors is a mark of our time. So tourism appears as an opportunity. Local communities must establish sustainable levels of identity to turn the visitor into an ally of its economic, social, and cultural sustainability: it is the sum of these elements that builds the sustainable identity itself or creates conflicts (Yang, Ryan & Zhang, 2013).

The influences and interactions between visitors and locals as far as threat or alliance perspectives are concerned have been studied from different points of view (Gursoy, Chi & Dyer, 2010; Yang, Ryan & Zhang, 2013; see also Chang, Milne, Fallon & Pohlmann, 1996 and Ap, 1992, with a model based upon the concept of the exchange relation). Some of them have to do with the psychological or affective meanings of certain objects (for a review of the literature on this issue, see Lee, 2012); others have to do with the promotion of certain community identities playing a dependent role (Richards, 2007).

There is a crucial issue directly related to tourism: how a community shows/presents itself outside; In fact, the community can have an internal identity and an external identity—an identity for foreigners and a homeland identity—and there is no reason for both identities to be contradictory.

Furthermore, they have a close resemblance, and usually, in their generating process, the external identity is based upon the inner identity; it depends on the community's capacity to issue its own signals, which usually is high as well, higher than it might seem, except in communities with few resources (for the relationships between tourism, images, and identity see Morgan & Pritchard, 1998; Johnson, 1999; Pritchard & Morgan, 2001; Ateljevic & Doorne, 2002; Vidal González, 2008).

We must study the attitudes of host communities and the impact of tourism on them in order to understand the possibilities of the community for its sustainability (Andereck, Valentine, Knopf, & Vogt, 2005; Gursoy, Chi & Dyer, 2010; Lee, Kang, Long & Reisinger, 2010; see also Pizam, 1978; Haukeland, 1984; Sheldon & Var, 1984; Johnson *et al.*, 1994; Ap, 1992; Ruiz Ballesteros & Hernández Ramírez, 2007). The external identity—product of the community's own elaborations and of the reworking of internal identity by external or intermediary agents—may saturate some items and neglect others. We can better understand this important process of external influence on local identity and sustainability through the figure of Trojans. I chose the Trojan metaphor to define items whose interpretation or use may modify the identity sustainability and/or the identity itself. Tourism can create Trojan items, acting like a catalyst and accelerator for certain

processes when tourists feel attracted to them, among other things, because they interpret as authentic and relevant what the community is issuing as authentic and relevant. The question of authenticity and its interpretations is truly key to understanding tourism's multiple workings and its potential to make images or relationships (e.g., with cultural consumption; see McIntosh & Prentice, 1999), and also to understanding how it is affected by the processes of saturation (Hughes, 1995) or who articulates the said design and uses and how (Cole, 2007). These processes can occur with the complicity of home sectors —usually it just seems to happen—, but also with an absolute unawareness of locals. For example, the citizens of Santiago de Compostela may interpret that their city works outside as a cultural city, ancient, heritage-centered, academic, religious city, but it may be working abroad as a basically religious city. That will determine the demands of visitors, and the local offer —a mix of internal and external actions.

Certainly, this modification would be subordinate to the interests of a sector in its relationship with the outside, and local people might not precisely notice it; and that will contribute to transforming the local ways of life, and, consequently, its inner identity could be affected to such an extent that the community would have to accept operating with the new hierarchy of elements and its generated relations and/or affections. It may even get to internalize the new scenario as a natural and pre-existing phenomenon: spaces, relational ways, cultural uses, and the like may be affected in the short term (cf. a proposal for a typology in Pearce, 1979).

For example, in a set of seventy-two qualitative interviews to visitors in stores in the old town of Santiago de Compostela, around the cathedral —the main town icon—, we detected (Torres Feijó & Bello Vázquez, 2011) that they had a more heritage-centered vision/idea of the city before than after the visit, and a more religious/pilgrimage vision/idea after than before the visit.

It seems clear for us, as a hypothesis at least, that the community has to offer, in general, a wide and balanced (Chang, Milne, Fallon & Pohlmann, 1996) range in order to avoid Trojans and saturations that may modify its identity structure and, therefore, its sustainability. The community must decide what kinds of cultural and economic capitals (and social capital as well: Park, Lee, Choi & Yoon, 2012) it would be willing to attract are more adequate for the sustainability of its identity, and it must include and pay attention to aspects that are ignored. In addition, it can find allies in tourists in a sustainability identity goal (Russo & Borg, 2002).

The community may wish to enhance certain aspects of its identity and push the visitor to take its side and support this goal through the promotion of specific offers; in this regard tourism, for example, could become an ally of the community's goals, making up for the deficits. Similarly, when it comes to interpreting images as discourses, the community has to decide which discourses (including the impact of distinctions such as the world heritage site designation, for instance: Jimura, 2011; Torres Feijó, 2011a) it wants to promote and with which purposes and then decide how to intervene.

The concepts of identity sustainability and affectivity may help us measure the cohesion chances and community lifestyles and plan the visitor-related proposals.

As a matter of fact, the community agents that relate to or prepare proposals or messages for visitors may do so following the basic consensuses of the different forms of operation and identification of the community; and visitors may want to accommodate to such basic consensuses, assuming the local proposals. To a certain extent, it is possible to define the attitude on both sides according to a static or dynamic conception of the community, or according to a visit reduced to seeing—and capturing—material and immaterial objects of that community—or interpreted as such—or to a visit to the community, its collective property, and its lifestyles. Phenomena such as mass visits to certain spaces or activities—monument or activities turned into a show—are usual in the first case. In those cases, community sustainability is not the prevailing criterion, neither on the side of visitors nor on the side of the locals, or, at least, of some of those visitors or locals.

Regardless of their motivations, visitors would be contributing to strengthening the basic community consensus or to modifying it, risking community cohesion.

In fact, visitors' decisions in favor of the identity sustainability of a community must sprout from a proposal of the community itself and be reinforced by it, too.

Furthermore, visitors must pay special attention to issues concerning identity affectivity: those resources or factors that entail the feelings of identification or belonging of the members of that community as such.

5. The Ithaca Traveler

It is well known that issues concerning traveling styles and the different ways of seeing and interpreting the other have been dealt with in depth by different areas of study, including anthropology and sociology, literary studies, cinema or fine arts, cultural studies or geography, and economics. As far as tourism studies are concerned, this area has been widely analyzed and several ways to interpret tourist offers and tourist types according to their objectives and motivations have been proposed (see Mowforth & Munt, 2008). And now there are new types of tourists, such as the so-called millennials—a new young generation that embodies an altogether different type of tourism—who look for swift, immediate experiences, whose world is interconnected, technological, and global, and who search for real-time information and like local experiences (F. Cueto, apud Rosa, 2014).

My proposal for an explanation consists in examining visitors in a place during their leisure time or as they combine other activities with their leisure time—and to do so from the point of view of identity sustainability and affectivity—and, hence, from the point of view of someone who does not want to damage the elements of cohesion of a community that make its continuity possible.

Thus, I believe that it may be functionally useful to conceptualize the figure of the visitor as an ally of the community as far as identity sustainability and affectivity are concerned. And I think that C. P. Cavafy's poem "Ithaca" is a manifestly useful model. Therefore, I suggest the designation "Ithaca traveler" to define visitors or travelers visiting and traveling to places taking into account and acting according to the aforementioned parameters. This concept is similar to that of ethical tourism (Yang &

Wall, 2009; and before them Laxson, 1991); yet, I think this conceptual proposal also involves the attitude of the traveler with regard to any journey or destination, and not necessarily with regard to communities with economic difficulties or identity issues only.

Here is an English translation of the poem¹:

As you set out for Ithaca,
hope your road is a long one,
full of adventure, full of discovery².
Laestrygonians, Cyclops,
angry Poseidon—don't be afraid of them:
you'll never find things like that on your way,
as long as you keep your thoughts raised high,
as long as a rare excitement
stirs your spirit and your body.
Laestrygonians, Cyclops,
Wild Poseidon—you won't encounter them
unless you bring them along inside your soul,
unless your soul sets them up in front of you.
Hope your road is a long one.
May there be many summer mornings when,
with what pleasure, what joy,
you enter harbors you're seeing for the first time;
may you stop at Phoenician trading stations
to buy fine things,
mother of pearl and coral, amber and ebony,
sensual perfume of every kind—
as many sensual perfumes as you can;
and may you visit many Egyptian cities
to learn and go on learning from their scholars.
Keep Ithaca always in your mind.
Arriving there is what you're destined for.
But don't hurry the journey at all.
Better if it lasts for years,
so you're old by the time you reach the island,
wealthy with all you've gained on the way,
not expecting Ithaca to make you rich.
Ithaca gave you the marvelous journey.
Without her you wouldn't have set out.
She has nothing left to give you now.
And if you find her poor, Ithaca won't have fooled you.
Wise as you will have become, so full of experience,
you'll have understood by then what these Ithacas mean.

¹ I have used different English versions, mainly those of Rae Dalven and of Edmund Keeley and Philip Sherrard, following Keeley and Sherrard's 1975 version as well —except for the island's name, Ithaca. There is always a risk of losing certain nuances in translation, and my knowledge of modern Greek is rather limited. Hence, rather than literality, I will review the meaning of the poem in the light of the interests stated in this paper.

² "Knowledge" in Dalven's version, which we prefer here.

Beyond the meaning Cavafy might have given to his poem or the different readings it may allow, Ithaca speaks of a journey, the journey. The poem is based on Homer's *Odyssey*, which narrates Ulysses's difficult return to Ithaca, and it is from that piece of writing that its religious or mythical references are also taken. The text has been interpreted, basically, as a reference to the journey of life, and that is today's prevailing interpretation (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constantine_P._Cavafy).

I hereby propose to adapt it to the journey in itself, turning to its literal meaning of physical journey, which runs parallel to the allegoric interpretation of the poem, and reading its images and metaphors as related to the meaning of the journey.

The poem is formulated as a proposal that may be assumed as a travel advice set. The poem proposes a long and, most important, delayed journey, a journey made during a period of time that is long enough to allow for adventures, discoveries, and knowledge. Thus, it is the traveler's attitude that is at stake, an attitude that advocates for the willingness to gain knowledge and enjoy new things at every stage and every port, and for the pleasure of whatever the future may have in stock. That pleasure taken from the joy of traveling and learning is pinned down in another part of the poem in which the traveler is expressly invited to acquire the typical local products, elaborated and sold in each local community —e.g., the Phoenician stations— as a pleasure, and where he is advised to enjoy the pleasures he will find there and is also encouraged to learn from the learned men in those places —Egyptian cities' scholars—, and to gather the knowledge that the locals may transmit in multiple ways. This attitude will do away with the hostility on the side of the visited community and with the difficulties during the journey, provided it is undertaken with honesty and respect, that is to say, provided it does not involve a conscious or unconscious aggressiveness, hostility, or predatory drive, aimed at modifying the lifestyles and the cohesion that the community deems positive for its continuity. If travelers do not go around provoking the hostility of the communities they visit by changing their lifestyles or their existence, as happens with the Laestrygonians —who threw big rocks against Ulysses's expedition when they reached Formia: Homer's *The Odyssey*, Book X— or with the Cyclops —as Polyphemus, son of Poseidon, who tried to protect his herd from visitors: Book IX—; if they do not provoke the wrath of Poseidon, god of the sea, lord of winds and tides, and hence god of the road —a god that may be vengeful or cooperative depending on the attitude shown toward him, Book V; if travelers do not harbor such attitudes in their souls; if they do not travel with prejudices; if the journey and the visit are respectful toward the communities visited, "as long as you keep your thoughts raised high, as long as a rare excitement stirs your spirit and your body"; if they are not "inside your soul"; if "your soul sets them up in front of you"; and if the traveler is open, honest, and respectful ("thoughts raised high") and has a positive attitude toward the different stimuli received ("as long as a rare excitement stirs your spirit and your body"), and should this attitude be lacking, without searching for conflict.

The "Ithaca traveler" is the traveler who wants to get to know the rules of the community and act accordingly, and who, considering those rules, does not demand any formulae or offers that may differ from those the community uses for itself, except if he deems some of them inadequate from his/her ethical point of view and decides to

intervene in them, strengthening other trends that may be more similar to his repertoires. Furthermore, interpreting the rules of the community correctly and acting accordingly do not involve success or the general acceptance of the community. The interpretative correction depends on the degree of accessibility of those rules, on whether they have been implicitly or explicitly formulated by the community; and on the community's defense mechanisms in order to protect its lifestyles (Jacobs, 2001). But it may guarantee a less marked effect upon visitors with regard to the local customs and traditions and also a greater comfort from the point of view of the awareness about those customs and traditions. This is a complex question: the community may be acting with different and even opposite repertoires and hierarchies that may be unintentionally favored or damaged by visitors. But it seems to be clear that the coincidence of repertoires, hierarchies, and customs between visitors and locals conditions the different interpretations and traditions also in the case of the "Ithaca traveler". It is attitudes such as these that turn visitors, in general, into allies or threats as far as certain community customs or rules are concerned. And they turn the "Ithaca traveler" in particular into an ally with regard to more sustainable customs having to do with community cohesion and lifestyles.

Without trying to offer a normative concept of the ways in which the "Ithaca traveler" acts, this attitude is closely related to the proposals around degrowth in the Western world. And whereas it is not directly related to the money invested, it is directly related to consumption types and volume. As this chapter does not allow for an in-detail analysis, and since more research has to be done in this sense, the key for the "Ithaca traveler" lies in his/her attitude and not in his/her expenditure—which will also depend on his/her customs and assets.

The "Ithaca traveler" is radically opposed to the tourist who operates outside the community or who, following his/her own idea of capturing places, objects, and so on, tends to turn both spaces and communities into a show, almost a theme park—having to do with the static conception mentioned above— or, as MacCannell (1976) put it, a "staged authenticity".

Thus, the traveler's attitude has to do with himself/herself and also with the proposal of the journey and the visit he/she is presented with; that is to say, it has to do, more specifically, and as far as the relationship is concerned—not necessarily a commercial relationship, though—with the offer. It is here where the interaction between the traveler/visitor and the community (as far as what is offered to the traveler as idea and practice is concerned) becomes meaningful in the light of identity sustainability and in the light of tourism as an ally or a threat³. And in a complex way as far as its consequences

³ In our preliminary research about the "Discourses, imaginaries and cultural behaviours about Santiago de Compostela as goal of the Ways of Saint James", whose first results are coming out, we are corroborating that character of threat against the community of the city: it breaks the balance between the symbolic city (Galiza's capital) and the city as heritage, cultural, religious, university, leisure, and business center, modifying its lifestyles, the local trade patterns, and the relationships within the community, and bringing about consequences yet to be appraised. See Torres Feijó, 2011a, 2012, 2014; Bello Vázquez, 2015; Fernández Rodríguez, 2014; Rodríguez Prado, 2015; Villarino Pardo, 2015. For the corpus and how to classify this corpus, see Samartim, 2015.

are concerned, the traveler's attitudes, conditioned by the offer, may contribute to the development of certain forms and to the exhaustion of others. The Ithaca traveler must therefore define his/her Ithaca, his/her attitude, and the meaning of his journey, thinking that his/her goal will not be capturing a place, possessing an image the way it was initially envisioned by him/ her, but instead the reception of the genuine image that he/she will be presented with—knowing for sure that the value of the journey lies in the journey itself and all it offers, knowing that Ithaca is his/her illusion and his/her illu⁴ (Bourdieu, 1980), and being able to define it in the light of identity sustainability, and of sustainability in general. This is an attitude according to which the journey, so conceived and implemented, never means disappointment, because it is always a satisfactory adventure and brings satisfactory knowledge and memories, too. Maybe this way tourists would cease to be tourists and become travelers and visitors again.

Bibliographical References

- Anderreck, K. L., Valentine, K. M., Knopf, R. C., and Vogt, C. A. (2005) Residents' perceptions of community tourism impacts. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 32, 1056-1076. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2005.03.001>
- Ap, J. (1992) Residents' perceptions on tourism impacts. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 19 (4), 665-690. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383\(92\)90060-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383(92)90060-3)
- Besculides, A., Lee, M. E., and McCormick, P. J. (2002) Residents' perceptions of the cultural benefits of tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 29 (2), 303-319. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383\(01\)00066-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383(01)00066-4)
- Ateljevic, I. and Doorne, S. (2002) Representing New Zealand: Tourism imagery and ideology. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 29 (3), 648-667. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383\(01\)00077-9](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383(01)00077-9)
- Bello Vázquez, R. (2015) A existência de uma comunidade luso-galega como elemento afetivo nas visitas a Santiago de Compostela procedentes de Portugal. Primeiros resultados através de inquéritos quantitativo-qualitativos. In Torres Feijó, E. J.; Bello Vázquez, R.; Samartim, R. e Brito-Semedo, M. (eds.) *Estudos da AIL em Teoria e metodologia. Relacionamento nas Lusofonias II*. Santiago de Compostela-Coimbra: AIL Editora, 87-96.
- Bourdieu, P. (1980) *Le sens pratique*. Paris: Editions du Minuit.
- Bourdieu, P. (1997) *Méditations pascaliennes*. Paris: Le Seuil.
- Chang, T. C.; Milne, S., Fallon, D. and Pohlmann, C. (1996) Urban heritage tourism: The global-local nexus. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 23 (2), 284-305. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383\(95\)00064-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383(95)00064-X)
- Choi, H.S. C., and Sirakaya, E. (2006) Sustainability indicators for managing community tourism. *Tourism Management*, 27 (6), 1274-1289. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2005.05.018>

⁴ Pierre Bourdieu dealt with what he called *illu* from different approaches; in brief, the concept refers to the attraction exerted by different areas upon the agents that take part in them, providing the activities they carry out and the activities carried out in those areas with a meaning. In this sense, it is an area-related belief, rather than a merely rational activity, what triggers this *illu*. Each agent intervenes in the area and plays his/her part in it according to its social, symbolic, economic, or cultural assets, among others, and his/her habitus (his/her disposition as the result of his/her learning and decisions); and each area has specific features as far as its *illu*s are concerned.

- Cole, S. (2007) Beyond authenticity and commodification. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 34 (6), 943-960. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2007.05.004>
- Collins-Kreiner, N. (2010) Researching pilgrimage: Continuity and transformations. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 37 (2), 440-456. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2009.10.016>
- Dyer, P.; Gursoy, D., Sharma, B., and Carter, J. (2007) Structural modeling of resident perceptions of tourism and associated development on the Sunshine Coast, Australia. *Tourism Management*, 28 (2), 409-422. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2006.04.002>
- Even-Zohar, I. (2000) The making of repertoire, survival and success under heterogeneity. Available online: www.tau.ac.il/~itamarez/. Accessed on 15 September 2014.
- Even-Zohar, I. (2010) Papers in culture research. Available online: http://www.tau.ac.il/~itamarez/works/books/EZ-CR-2005_2010.pdf. Accessed 21 March 2013.
- Fernández Rodríguez, M. L. (2014) Literary speech and local repercussions: Paulo Coelho and the cultural practices in Santiago de Compostela, capital of Galiza. *14th Conference of the International Society for the Empirical Study of Literature and Media*. Torino: Campus Luigi Einaudi-Università di Torino, Italy.
- Gursoy, D.; Chi, C. G., and Dyer, P. (2010) Locals' attitudes toward mass and alternative tourism: The case of Sunshine Coast, Australia. *Journal of Travel Research*, 49 (3), 381-394. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0047287509346853>
- Haukeland, J. V. (1984) Sociocultural impacts of tourism in Scandinavia: Studies in three host communities. *Tourism Management*, 5, 207-214. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0261-5177\(84\)90039-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/0261-5177(84)90039-6)
- Hughes, G. (1995) Authenticity in tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 22 (4), 781-803. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383\(95\)00020-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383(95)00020-X)
- Jacob, M., and Hellström, T. (2010) Public-space planning in four Nordic cities: Symbolic values in tension. *Geoforum*, 41 (4), 657-665. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2010.03.005>
- Jacobs, C. F. (2001) Folk for whom? Tourist guidebooks, local color, and the spiritual churches of New Orleans. *The Journal of American Folklore*, 114 (453), 309-330. <https://doi.org/10.2307/542025>
- Jimura, T. (2011) The impact of world heritage site designation on local communities - A case study of Ogimachi, Shirakawa-mura, Japan. *Tourism Management*, 32 (2), 288-296. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2010.02.005>
- Johnson, J. D.; and Senepenger, D. (1994) Residents' perception of tourism development. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 21 (3), 629-642.
- Johnson, N. C. (1999) Framing the past: Time, space and the politics of heritage tourism in Ireland. *Political Geography*, 18 (2), 187-207. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0962-6298\(98\)00072-9](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0962-6298(98)00072-9)
- Kahneman, D. (2012) *Thinking, fast and slow*. London: Penguin.
- Kavafis, K. (1975) *Collected poems*. Translated by Edmund Keeley and Philip Sherrard; edited by George Savidis. London: The Hogarth Press.
- Kavafis, K. (1961) *The complete poems of Cavafy*. Translated by Rae Dalven, with an introduction by W. H. Auden. New York: Harcourt.
- Laxson, J. D. (1991) How "we" see "them": Tourism and Native Americans. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 18 (3), 365-391. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383\(91\)90047-F](https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383(91)90047-F)

- Lee, T. H. (2013) Influence analysis of community resident support for sustainable tourism development. *Tourism Management*, 34, 37-46. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2012.03.007>
- Lee, C.-K., Kang, S. K., Long, P. and Reisinger, Y. (2010) Residents' perceptions of casino impacts: A comparative study. *Tourism Management*, 31 (2), 189-201. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2009.02.011>
- Lotman, J., and Uspenskij, B. (1978) On the semiotic mechanism of culture. *New Literary History*, IX (2), 211-232.
- MacCannell, D. (1976) *The tourist: A new theory of the leisure class*. New York: Schocken Books.
- McIntosh, A. J., and Prentice, R. C. (1999) Affirming authenticity: Consuming cultural heritage. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 26 (3), 589-612. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383\(99\)00010-9](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383(99)00010-9)
- Morgan, N. and Pritchard, A. (1998) *Tourism promotion and power; creating images, creating identities*. Chichester: Wiley.
- Mowforth, M., and Munt, I. (2008) *Tourism and sustainability: Development, globalisation and new tourism in the third world*. 3rd edition. London: Routledge.
- Park, D.-B.; Lee, K.-W; Choi, H.-S., and Yoon, Y. (2012) Factors influencing social capital in rural tourism communities in South Korea. *Tourism Management*, 33 (6), 1511-1520. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2012.02.005>
- Pearce, D. G. (1979) Towards a geography of tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 6 (3), 245-272. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383\(79\)90101-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383(79)90101-4)
- Pizam, A. (1978) Tourism's impacts: The social costs of the destination community as perceived by its residents. *Journal of Travel Research*, 16, 8-12. <https://doi.org/10.1177/004728757801600402>
- Prentice, R. (1993) Community-driven tourism planning and residents' preferences. *Tourism Management*, 14 (3), 218-227. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0261-5177\(93\)90023-E](https://doi.org/10.1016/0261-5177(93)90023-E)
- Pritchard, A. and Morgan, N. (2001) Culture, identity and tourism representation: Marketing Cymru or Wales? *Tourism Management*, 22 (2), 167-179. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0261-5177\(00\)00047-9](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0261-5177(00)00047-9)
- Richards, G. (2007) Tourism and identity in Catalunya, in Richards, G. and Pereiro, X. *Cultural Tourism: Negotiating Identities*. Vila Real: UTAD. Available online: https://www.academia.edu/4562833/Cultural_Tourism_Negotiating_Identities. Accessed on 10 May 2014.
- Rodríguez Prado, M. F. (2015) Textos ficcionais e práticas culturais de portugueses com relação a Santiago de Compostela: contrastes e homologías. In Torres Feijó, E. J.; Bello Vázquez, R.; Samartim, R. e Brito-Semedo, M. (eds.) *Estudos da AIL em Teoria e metodologia. Relacionamento nas Lusofonias I*. Santiago de Compostela-Coimbra: AIL Editora, 143-158.
- Ruiz Ballesteros, E. and Hernández Ramírez, M. (2007) Identity and community - Reflections on the development of mining heritage tourism in Southern Spain. *Tourism Management*, 28, 677-687. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2006.03.001>
- Russo, A. P., and Borg, J. V. (2002) Planning considerations for cultural tourism: a case study of four European cities. *Tourism Management*, 23 (6), 631-637. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0261-5177\(02\)00027-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0261-5177(02)00027-4)
- Samartim, R. (2015) Bases de dados para o estudo da cultura: apresentação do catalogador e possibilidades de abordagem sobre o corpus documental do Projeto Caminho de Santiago. In Torres Feijó, E.J., Bello Vázquez, R., Samartim, R. e Brito-Semedo, M. (eds.) *Estudos da AIL*

- em Teoria e Metodologia. Relacionamento nas Lusofonias II*, Santiago de Compostela-Coimbra: Associação Internacional de Lusitanistas-AIL Editora, 115-125.
- Sheldon, P. J. and Var, T. (1984) Residents' attitudes to tourism in North Wales. *Tourism Management*, 5, 40-47. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0261-5177\(84\)90006-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/0261-5177(84)90006-2)
- Torres Feijó, Elias J. (2011a) Discursos contemporâneos e práticas culturais dominantes sobre Santiago e o Caminho: a invisibilidade da cultura como hipótese, in Lourenço, A.A. and Silvestre, O.M. (eds.) *Literatura, espaço, cartografias*. Coimbra: Centro de Literatura Portuguesa, 93-151.
- Torres Feijó, E. J. (2011b) About literary systems and national literatures. *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture*, 13.5. Available online: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7771/1481-4374.1901>. Accessed on 10 May 2014.
- Torres Feijó, E. J. (2012) Interesses culturais e âmbitos receptivos em dous romances sobre o Caminho de Santiago: Frechas de Ouro e O Enigma de Compostela. *Romance Notes*. 52 (2), 135-149.
- Torres Feijó, E. J. (2014) Autor, texto e espaço geo-cultural mediatizado: processos de ressemantização, banalização e misturação de géneros em produtos sobre o Caminho de Santiago, in Quinteiro, S. e Baleiro, R. (eds.) *Lit & Tour. Ensaios sobre literatura e turismo*. Vila Nova de Famalição: Edições Humus, 291-310.
- Torres Feijó, E. J. and Bello Vázquez, R. (2011) *Informe para o Consello da Cultura Galega*. Documento científico.
- Vidal González, M. (2008) Intangible heritage tourism and identity. *Tourism Management*, 29 (4), 807-810. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2007.07.003>
- Villarino Pardo, M. C. (2015) Produtos literarios e práticas culturais sobre Santiago de Compostela: proposta de análise contrastiva dos corpus (romances e inquéritos). In Torres Feijó, E. J.; Bello Vázquez, R.; Samartim, R. and Brito-Semedo, M. (eds.). *Estudos da AIL em Teoria e metodologia. Relacionamento nas Lusofonias I*, Santiago de Compostela-Coimbra: AIL Editora, 89-104.
- Yang, J., Ryan, C., and Zhang, L. (2013) Social conflict in communities impacted by tourism. *Tourism Management*, 35, 82-93. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2012.06.002>
- Yang, L. & Wall, G. (2009) Ethnic tourism: A framework and an application. *Tourism Management*, 30 (4), 559-570. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2008.09.008>
- Zahra, A. & Ryan, C. (2007) From chaos to cohesion. Complexity in tourism structures: An analysis of New Zealand's regional tourism organizations. *Tourism Management*, 28 (3), 854-862. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2006.06.004>

Tourism and Gastronomy in Santiago de Compostela (Galiza): A Case Study Under Polysystem Perspective in Relationship with Other System Analysis

Emilio V. Carral Vilariño

Galabra, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela

1. Introduction

Complex systems are characterized by high levels of entropy, meaning high degrees of organization, mediated by a significant diversity of elements and by the relationships established between them. This nature of the system makes the sum of the parts more than the whole, significant and meaning that goes through the history of human thought from Aristotle, von Bertalanffy —founder of the Theory of Systems— to Von Humboldt or Ritter, pioneers and fathers of landscape ecology discipline¹. In this sense, the system is characterized by possessing and manifesting certain emerging properties resulting from the interactions/relationships between the different components, a concept proposed by Ramón Margalef (Walker, 2005). However, it is quite common for approaches to the study of systems to be given in sectoral form, either by greater ease of analysis and/or by following certain specific interests in that study. This perspective escapes from a global

¹ Basically the analysis of the landscape —landscape ecology— recognizes the need for a holistic study that allows to recognize and understand the relationships between the different structural elements of the landscape system, arranged on the territory. This holistic perspective is reflected in the need to recognize that the sum of the parts is more than the whole.

vision, and therefore obvious and loses the information corresponding to the richness and diversity of the elements that make up that system, and to the corresponding relationships that are established between its components.

Interpreting the words of Itamar Even-Zohar, reductionist analyses imply, from a theoretical point of view, a break in the functioning of the system: “a system is unable to function by confining itself to his home repertoire only...”, “Weak situation”. And when we obtain the results from this reduced and/or sectoral study, the practical recommendations of application to the management of the system also cause a breakage or dysfunction in it, since it will be modified as responses to sectoral interests, seeking to achieve partial objectives —reduction and simplification.

At this point, we understand that the analysis performance derived from Polysystem Theory (PST) allows an approximation, theoretical and practical, that contributes to the system characterization by way of completing contributions from the general theory of systems, and other models derived from more specific fields, but which follow the same line —Landscape Ecology: Ritter, von Humbolt; Entropy: Boltzmann; Information theory: Shannon; Ascendancy and Panarchy in ecosystems: Ulanowicz, Gunderson & Holling². However, Even-Zohar’s proposal from the world of literary analysis, in the form, but really social in substance, provides us with a fundamental tool to be able to analyse systems from a clearly social perspective, which ends up becoming a social, economic and environmental perspective —sustainability—, and therefore allows us to assess the resilience of system, that is, their resistance or recovery from change. Even-Zohar’s proposal makes it really easier for us to escape the neutral model of analysis, methodologically interesting, but which considers the elements, their characteristics and their relationships as equivalent (Hubbell), leading us to an assessment of the reality of the system, and its consequences for human communities, or rather, the consequences arising from the interaction between those communities and the resources

² Both Ludwig Boltzman’s universally well-known proposal, which for what we are interested in in this text, means a clear dependence between the level of organization, available energy and number of elements of the system -upward positive relationship between number of elements, available energy, organization and entropy. That is, a greater wealth of the system from the point of view that concerns us, can also be defined or characterized by Claude Shannon’s theory of Information, which can be interpreted in the same direction, indicating to us that the greater entropy of the source that emits the message derived into a less capacity to compress it. The concept of wealth of the system leads to what Itamar Even-Zohar exhibits in relation to its weakness by the procedure of its simplification, and the play between peripheries and centre mediatized by power -energy source. From the point of view of the functioning of ecosystems, it is also necessary to indicate the coincidence with the theory of Ascendancy (Ulanowicz), which allows us to approximate the measurement of the total activity of the system according to the quantitative interaction between its elements, characterized by subordinate interactions: marginal or conditioned probabilities of one event/element over the other, probability of one event occurring based on the presence of a previous event. It becomes clear that sectoral management, or the aforementioned periphery-centre game proposed by Even-Zohar, and usually designed by the sectors that hold the power, it has the ability to modify and direct such interactions by suppressing certain elements, or interactions between them —basic facts in the characterization and functioning of the ecosocial system, beyond pure social capital, because we are interested in the relationship of social capital-natural capital—, meeting at the end of the road with clear processes of homogenization and impoverishment of the system, far away from the eco-social pattern.

of the environment -ecosocial system: natural capital, social capital and their interaction. That is, the application of PST allows us to understand, or at least approach in a real and truthful way, that power makes the social system—in the end all are—, and the management of them by the “elites” conduces, usually, to homogenization of the system due a loss of the wealth of it by reduction of constituent elements, and the number of potential or real relationships established between them. As a consequence, we found loss of entropy, simplification of dynamics and decrease of capacity for time/space permanence/adaptability: decrease in system resilience. We can conclude that Polysystem Theory becomes a powerful tool for the analysis and characterization of what we understand as ecosocial systems (Colding and Barthel), in which the interaction between human communities and environmental resources play at the same level of importance, always trying to seek a plane of balance or win-win performance.

2. Case study: Tourism and Gastronomy in Santiago de Compostela (Galiza)

2.1. *Presentation*

The Touristic System is one of the most complex that exist by its truly nature: fuel consumption, housing and displacement infrastructures, consumption of basic resources—food, water, energy—, waste production—treatment and environmental impact—, and socio-economic relations with the environment destination. Following Farrel and Twining-Ward, we can say that research into this phenomenon should be interdisciplinary, and collect transformations in related fields of knowledge, such as ecosystem ecology, environmental economics, global change science and complexity theory. That is, its analysis has to escape reductionism and integrate into the human-natural complex, under a pan-hierarchical vision (Panarchy)³.

The need for holistic analysis, and especially from the point of view of the Panarchy, has also been highlighted by the same authors, focusing specifically on the concept of resilience or the ability of a system to resist or recover at the force of an alteration. In our case—design and management of the tourist event—it becomes clear that these vectors of alteration/modification derive from the political-administrative power. Returning to Itamar Even-Zohar, and to the importance of studying the peripheries, centres and canonical models in the design and management of systems, we clearly reinforce the need for holistic approach, and from a practical need, we can more easily

³ Systems theory is an interdisciplinary field of science that studies the nature and processes of complex systems, a term designed to describe evolving hierarchical systems with multiple interrelated elements, offering an important new framework for understanding and resolving this dilemma. Panarchy is the structure in which systems, including those of nature and humans, as well as combined human-natural systems, are interrelated in continuous adaptive growth, accumulation, restructuring and renewal cycles (Gunderson and Holling). The term [Panarchy] was coined as an antithesis of the word hierarchy -literally, sacred rules. The authors thus describe the theory: “The cross-border, interdisciplinary and dynamic nature of theory has led us to coin the term Panarchy for it. Its essential objective is to rationalize interaction between change and persistence, between the predictable and the unpredictable”.

identify those elements that manage and direct the system, usually following sectoral interests. In addition, this combined approach also allows us to identify structures: subordinate relationship between elements—the ascendancy of the system. We can then, once the elements and control relations are located, head towards a critical analysis of the ecosocial system, and make proposals to modify its management and design, which potentially directs the system towards a sustainable balance point -environmental and socioeconomic factors.

2.2. *Scope of Study*

The characterization of the tourist event in Santiago de Compostela was carried out for the period March 2013-March 2014 under the umbrella of the research project *Local community well-being through cultural visitors narratives, consumption and uses: Santiago de Compostela case-study*, FFI2017-88196-R.

The tourist event studied is a complex system with the presence of numerous elements and interactions between them, in addition to being related to various areas of knowledge of the social, economic and environmental sphere, as we will perceive.

The consumption of food by visitors—pilgrims and non-pilgrims—, the gastronomic offer by bars and restaurants, and its spatial distribution in the city—physical location—, has been characterized. The usual consumption of food by the Galician population, and the gastronomic information provided by three official tourist information websites during the study period—Turgalicia.es-Turismo.gal, Gastronomiadegalicia.com, Santiagotourism.com— was also analysed (Carral *et al.*). In addition, the potential food production of the region of Santiago was defined under the foodshed frame (Carral and Carreira).

2.3. *Results*

Out of a total of 2081 interviews, 51% identify Galiza with gastronomy, while food consumption by visitors is mainly concentrated in two types of product: seafood and octopus—25, 38% and 22.9% of food-related responses. Compared to both the usual consumption and the production of the foodshed of Santiago de Compostela, we find that these preferences are clearly moving away in relation to these two facts. For normal food consumption we have to both seafood as octopus are not the most consumed products in daily life by Galicians, since they appear in the 48th and 65th places of a total of 564 food items—groups of food products commonly consumed—, being the first places occupied by fruits, milk, fresh vegetables, meat and bread: positions 1, 2, 6, 7, 8 respectively. In addition, food productions in the region of Santiago are mainly concentrated in horticulture products and milk and meat production.

Moreover, 28.8% of the city's commercial activity is related to the gastronomic offer, of which 34.7% relates to bars, restaurants and grocery stores. In the specific field of catering, the star products of restaurants are octopus and seafood. On the other hand, the

historical City area —around the Cathedral— concentrates 24.6% of the places dedicated to bars and restaurants.

Finally, the results obtained from the analysis of the three websites indicate that gastronomic-tourism marketing is somewhat broader than what reflects consumption and supply, although clearly the tendency is to promote these products: the most consumed by the visitor and the most offered by the catering service (Carral *et al.*).

2.4. Polysystem Analysis

The overall analysis indicates that both consumption and gastronomic supply are initially positioned paradoxical from the perspective of PST, since the characterized consumption-offer fact should be considered as a central element within the tourist model studied —canonical model—, since it is clearly majority, dominant and representative of the system, while if we frame it in the most global analytical landscape, usual consumptions of the country and food production capacity of the basin, the preferred and most offered products —seafood, octopus— are placed in a clearly peripheral position. This periphery-center transit —offer-consumption canon— follows the path suggested by Itamar Even-Zohar, when he talks about the importance of power for its ability to transform peripheries into a center, according to certain sectoral interests, and in this case clearly propagandistic with regard to the promotion of the Camino de Santiago-Pilgrim Way (Pazos-Justo *et al.*). It responds to a central-canonical model of activity, management and tourism promotion, which tends to concentrate supply and demand around very few elements of the system: two types of food and a main spatial area of supply location. A promotion specifically designed for the attraction of tourists —pilgrims or not—, with the main objective of increasing the number of visitors, clearly de-lying from the other elements of the system: local production, social relationship and consumption-production-culture relationship. That is, there is a simplification of the system, clearly moving away from the ecosocial system pattern and orienting it towards a bulk-tourism phenomenon. It can also be seen as a clear example of converting an element, that we can consider peripheral within the tourist model, such as the Camino de Santiago, into the central element, transforming it into a “nature” of the touristic event to respond to certain sectoral interests -economic and power management. Following the statistics of the Pilgrim’s Office, we have 179,891 pilgrims registered in 2004 and 327,378 in 2018. The historical series more clearly shows this process, with less than 18,000 in the 1980s as a whole, reaching 272,417 in 2010, Holy year (<https://www.editorialbuencamino.com>).

This change in the management/promotion of the tourist event, based on clearly sectoral and non-holistic promotions, contributes to the creation of a very un-resilient system, so that it will be affected by unforeseen alterations, although theoretically possibilistic, such as the emergence of a factor that decreases the flow of pilgrims, and therefore *de facto* cancels out the tourist event. In this sense, the emergence of the covid-19 pandemic clearly reflects this fact: according to the register of the municipal tourist office of the City of Santiago de Compostela —www.santiagoturismo.com—, dated August 15,

2020, face-to-face consultations by tourists were 1,756, compared to 7,979 in 2019 for the same month.

Clearly, the most appropriate data for this comparison would be data from the Pilgrim's Office, but which are not currently available. However, the information published by the daily press directs us on this same path, so *La Voz de Galicia* gathers the following news: In July 2020 9,752 pilgrims were registered, representing 18.2% of the 53,319 pilgrims who arrived on the same dates of 2019 (Gómez, 2020). These figures tell us the weight of pilgrims in the tourism model and the low degree of resilience of the system. That is, a model completely removed from the pan-hierarchical pattern that considers the performance of the system as a whole, with the aim of maximizing its resilience. On the contrary, in our case the sectoral promoted model leads to a state of low responsiveness to unforeseen, but predictable modifications/alterations external to it. Consequently, we are clearly faced with a model designed and managed from an evident sectoral central canon, and supported by the administrative power, which is oriented to meet specific human needs —sectoral interests—, and not to develop learnings of how human communities can adapt as part of the system, bearing in mind the different spatial and temporal scales, that is, the full development of the ecosocial system.

The resulting landscape clearly reflects the periphery-centre disjunctive, being clearer when you see the uneven spatial distribution in the location of restaurants and bars. Again the appeal of power, physically represented by the location of the Cathedral, symbolic and clearly publicized asset, directs the distribution of the elements of the system, leading it towards a homogenization of it, which results in an inequality in the distribution of benefits related to gastronomic tourism for the whole city, and an increase of the negative social impact by the concentration of these premises in a specific area of the city, with the consequent damage related to the gastronomic-offer spatial concentration, “gastronomification” in parallel with gentrification concept: agglomeration of visitors, spaces available for daily-life development diminished, etc. We are then faced with a very homogenized system, confined in itself, with little adaptability to changes resulting from a lower influx of visitors —e.g. covid-19—, and anchored in a weak situation in the face of such changes —“Weak situation” Even-Zohar. By the other hand, other sectors of local production and catering of “non-typical” products was levy to the periphery of the system, a position characterized by the difficulty of penetration and normal participation in a reduced and homogenized system (Communications in the Round table starring *A Moa* restaurant —Manuel, one of the owners—, *Blue Café* —Rita, the owner—, *Airas Nunes catering* —Xavier, the owner— and local producer —Carmen Freire.

The main questions released from this round table were:

Rita - *Blue Café*. Need for a sustainable development model for the tourism sector. It is necessary to include the visitor in the daily life of the city. The owner should serve as a guide to local/proximity food production for the tourist, as they are the ones dealing directly with tourists, and therefore we have to develop such responsibility.

Manuel - *A Moa* restaurant. Need to develop gastronomic projects that promote local and seasonal food products. Relationship with sustainable production and trade. The problem is the absence of a stable and powerful supply network. It is also necessary to adjust the price and quality of the product, and to be able to transmit this relationship to the customer.

Carmen - local producer. Not only is it necessary to produce food, it is also very important to produce social relationships. The visitor must know, and be aware, of the relationship between cultural and productive elements, ecosocial system. The development of equitable and holistic governance systems is essential to achieve these objectives.

Xavier - *Airas Nunes catering*. The scale in tourism development is very important. Large-scale tourism promotion distorts the system, preventing the development of a sustainable model in practice. Cooperation between different actors —administration, restaurants, producers, academia— is essential.

As can be seen, it is necessary to develop a complex, more equitable system without a clear center or periphery, which allows for a greater number of key elements and, consequently, the establishment of an important network of relationships, which will increase the resilience of the system. In order to achieve this objective, the type of governance is essential, as we must escape from a large-scale model of tourism, as well as from a central role of a sectoral management.

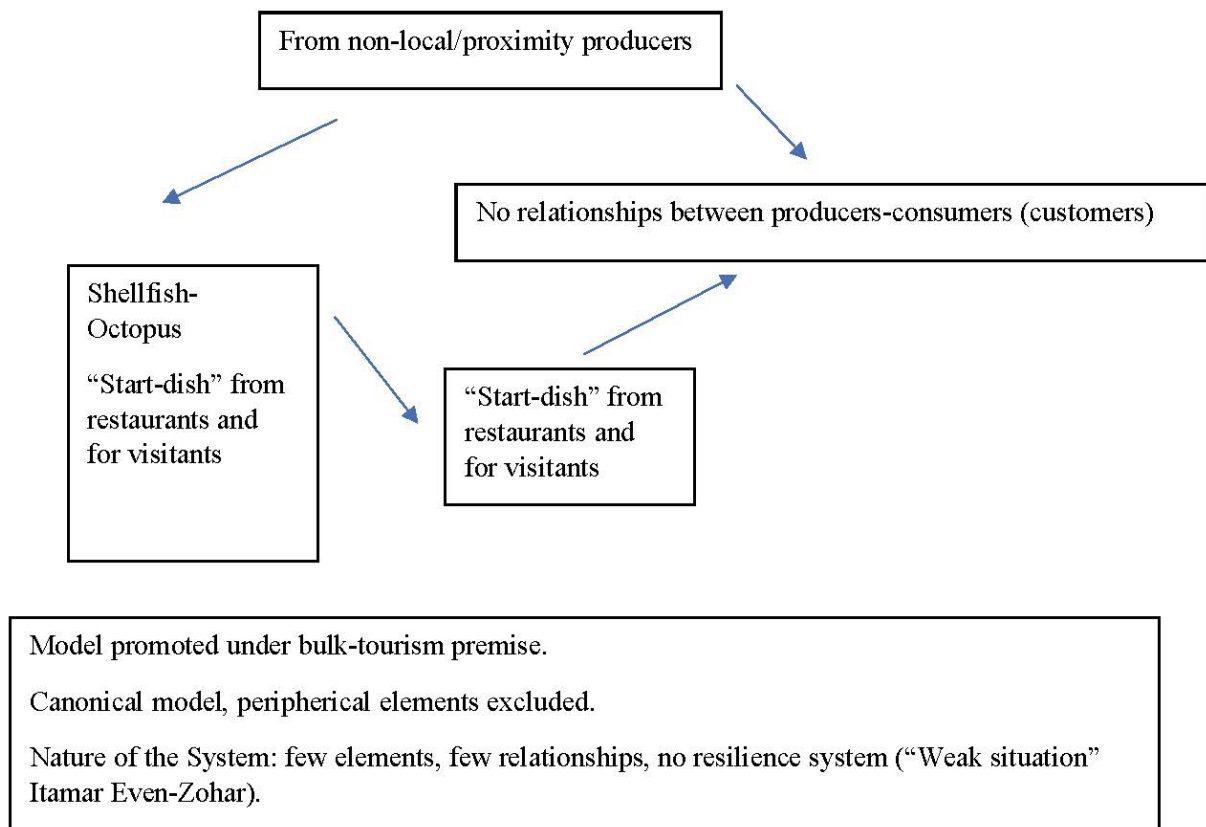
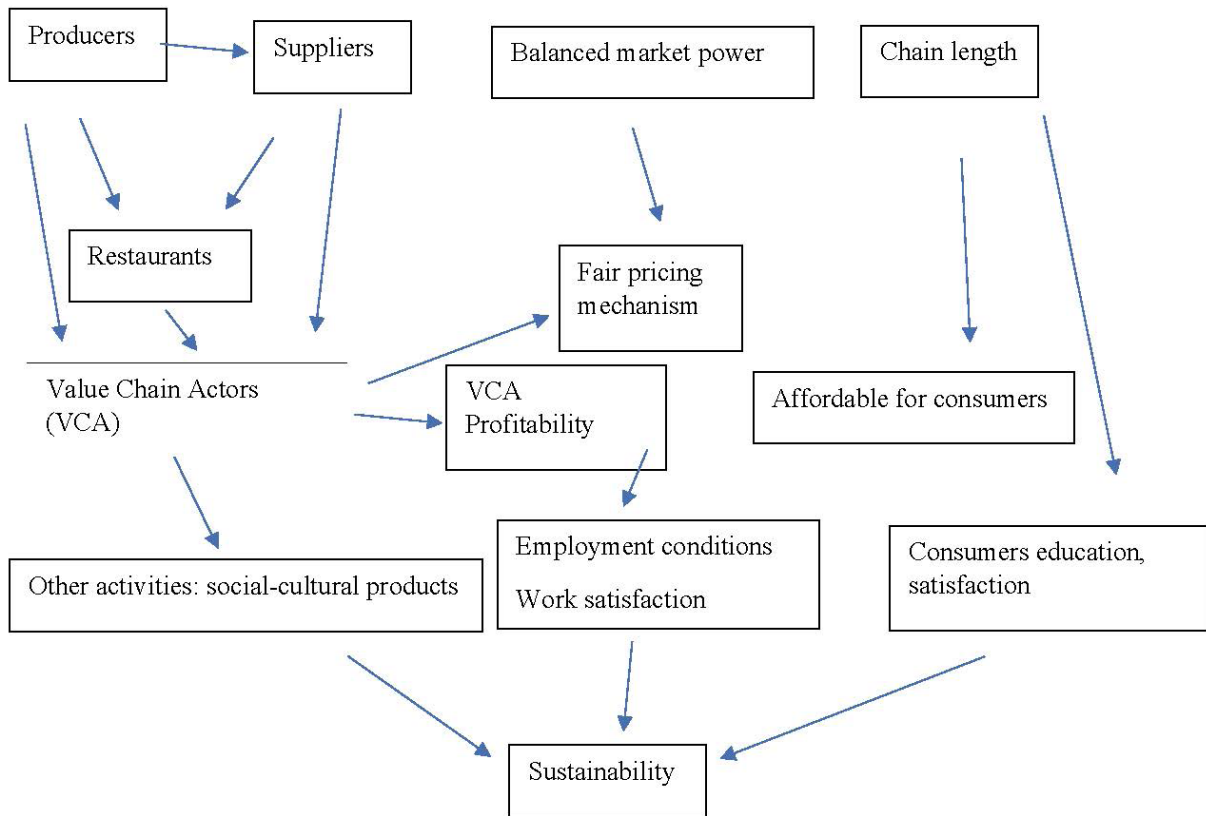


FIGURE 1
Actual System



Model promoted under social ecosystem associated premises.
 Not canonical model, peripheral elements not excluded.
 Nature of the System: a lot of elements, several relationships, equitable governance, resilience system.

FIGURE 2

Ecosocial System -scheme modified from Sureau *et al.*

We can conclude that the leading players in this round table have clearly defined the need to escape from a canonical model, in which management is in the hands of a central power, and the peripheries do not count in the promotion and management of the current tourism model. That is, we are facing a landscape clearly object of analysis from the perspective of Polysystem Theory: peripheral elements, central element, canonical model, management from power, importance of scale..., and very important, help to us in the process of design a more sustainable system as we can see in the next graphic proposal.

3. Conclusions

The application of the Polysystem Theory allows us to analyse and obtain timely conclusions and applicable to tourism management, with the aim of designing a program of management of it, that seeks the non-creation of peripheries, both in the consumption and supply of products, which are clearly harmed within the established tourist system.

On the other hand, and with the help of this theory, we can see as a clearly peripheral element from a holistic view of the system, such as a reduced gastronomic supply/demand, becomes into a canonical model and central element, promoted by particular sectoral interests, and correspondingly associated with the centre of power in decision-making on the tourism model to be developed. Likewise, even if it is a canonical element, being circumscribed and confined to an extremely small scope within the holistic system of the tourist phenomenon, it places the current system in a position of weakness in the face of events of change, that always request a necessary adaptation of the system to new conditions, a basic characteristic for the survival of this —resilience.

Finally, and from a methodological theoretical point of view, we must consider PST as a fundamental cooperative contribution to system analysis, coordinating perfectly in the study and diagnosis of different ones along with the other models —panarchy, ascendancy—, and being of clear application and support within the sphere of study of ecosocial and bio-complex systems. The tourist phenomenon can be determined as a bio-complex system, understanding biocomplexity (Bolte *et al.*) as the description of models rich in interactions and behaviours between the natural community and the human community, therefore related to the concept of ecosocial systems at the time when we place such states, human and nature, at the same level of importance. Then this partnership, including the concept of an ecosocial system, facilitates the evaluation of system cycles, networks and resilient/vulnerability capacity. This help provided by PST is revalued by simplified and meaningful analytics, as given the complexity of the system, it is the only way to start analysing and understanding it. That is, it allows us to recognize the key variables —periphery, centre, canon—, as well as retain us in the importance of temporal and spatial scale, importance on the other hand, also recognized by the other analysis models already mentioned. The Polysystem Theory brings these elements, and their relationship with the power system, to the centre point of focus, to the front plane.

Bibliographical References

- Aristóteles (2014) *Metafísica*. Madrid: Gredos.
- Bertalanffy, L. V. (2015) *General system theory: Foundations, Development, Applications*. George Braziller, 2015.
- Bolte, J. P., Hulse, D. W., Gregory, S. V. and Smith, C. L. (2006) Modeling biocomplexity actors, landscapes and alternative futures. *Environmental Modelling & Software*, no. 22, 2006, 570-579.
- Boltzmann, L. (1973) *The Boltzmann Equation: Theory and Applications*. Edited by David Ezechiel Godert Cohen and Walter Thirring. Springer.

- Carral, E. V., Del Río, M. and López, Z. (2020) Gastronomy and Tourism: Socioeconomic and Territorial Implications in Santiago de Compostela-Galiza (NW Spain). *Int. J. Environ. Res. Public Health*, 17, 6173. doi: 10.3390/ijerph17176173
- Carral-Vilariño, E. and Carreira Pérez, X.C. (2018) Balance producción-consumo de alimentos na Galiza: Aproximación dende a soberanía alimentar e a comercialización local. *SEMATA*, 30, 2018, 167-190.
- Colding, J. and Barthel, S. (2019) Exploring the social-ecological systems discourse 20 years later. *Ecology and Society*, vol. XXIV, n. 1, art. 2. <https://doi.org/10.5751/ES-10598-240102>
- Even-Zohar, I. (1990) Polysystem Theory. *Polysystem Studies* [= *Poetics Today*, vol. 11, no. 1], 1990, 9-26, https://m.tau.ac.il/~itamarez/works/books/Even-Zohar_1990--Polysystem%20studies.pdf
- Gómez, L. (2020) Casi 10.000 peregrinos llegaron a Santiago en el primer mes tras la reapertura del Camino. *La Voz de Galicia*. 01/08/2020 https://www.lavozdegalicia.es/noticia/santiago/2020/08/01/10000-peregrinos-llegaron-santiago-primer-mes-tras-reapertura-camino/0003_202008S1C2991.htm . Accessed 3 Sept. 2020.
- Gunderson, L. L. and Holling, C. S. (2001) *Panarchy: Understanding Transformations in Systems of Humans and Nature*, Washington, D.C: Island Press.
- Hubbell, S. P. (2001) *The Unified Neutral Theory of Biodiversity and Biogeography*. Monographs in population Biology, no. 32, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Humboldt, A. V. (2011) *Cosmos: ensayo de una descripción física del mundo*. Madrid: La Catarata.
- Oficina del Peregrino. <https://oficinadelperegrino.com/estadísticas>. Accessed 3 Sept. 2020.
- Pazos-Justo, C., Del Río Araújo, M. and Samartim, R. (2019) Políticas culturais e comunidade local: Contributos para a análise do caso de Santiago de Compostela como meta dos Caminhos de Santiago, in Martins, M. L. and Macedo, L. (eds.) *Proceedings of the III Congresso Internacional sobre Culturas: Interfaces da Lusofonia, 2017*. Braga: CECS-Universidade do Minho, 175-189.
- Ritter, C. (2009) *Comparative Geography*. Charleston, SC: Bibliolife.
- Shannon, C.-E. (1948) A Mathematical Theory of Communication. *The Bell System Technical Journal*, vol. 27, 379-423, 623-656.
- Sureau, S., Lohest, F., Mol, J.V., Bauler, T. and Achten, W. M. J. (2019) How Do Chain Governance and Fair Trade Matter? A S-LCA Methodological Proposal Applied to Food Products from Belgian Alternative Chains (Part 2). *Resources*, 8, 145. doi:10.3390/resources8030145.
- Ulanowicz, R. E. (2000) Ascendency: A measure of ecosystem performance, in Jorgensen, S. and Müller, F. (Eds.) *Handbook of Ecosystem Theories and Management*, Boca Raton: CRC Press, 303-315.
- Walker, L. R. (2005) Margalef y la sucesión ecológica. *Ecosistemas*, vol. 14, n. 1, 66-78.

Gastronomy and Tourism: Socioeconomic and Territorial Implications in Santiago de Compostela-Galiza (NW Spain)

Emilio Carral Vilariño

Galabra - Universidade de Santiago de Compostela

M. Luisa del Río Araújo

Universidade de Santiago de Compostela

Zósimo López Pena

Galabra Network - Universidad Internacional de la Rioja

1. Introduction

Among the topics in tourism research, gastronomic tourism is one of the most important topics from different points of view and considering different meanings—cultural, social, geographical, and political— so it is essential to adopt a holistic approach to its research. Food tourism, culinary tourism, and gastronomic tourism are often used as synonyms, but the relationships with cultural systems resulting from each of these concepts are different (Ellis *et al.*, 2018). From this point of view, we understand that gastronomic tourism establishes a closer relationship with the concept of sustainability since it represents the role of food in the host culture; therefore, it allows us to establish, or at least investigate, a holistic relationship between tourism and the socio-community system of the host society: culinary (expression of cultural heritage and cultural consumption), forms of production, forms of social relationship, and local trade (economic, social, and environmental benefits).

Spain is the second most important tourist destination in the world in terms of number of visitors: 83.7 million foreign tourists travelled to Spain in 2019, according to UNWTO (2020). The most recent study on their motivations (Mabrian) —based on more

than 55 million mentions of tourists on the Web— highlights their cultural attractions as the most important —28% of mentions on the Internet—, followed by those that constitute the traditional model of sun and beach —19% of mentions. According to data from the same study, the “top 3” of tourist products is made up of “nature tourism” —11%—, “active tourism” —10%— and “gastronomic tourism” —9%.

Diversity is the most outstanding feature of Spanish gastronomy. Garden products, oil, wine, or ham represent important items of Spanish exports, although they are always valued in international markets below their Italian or French competitors. The typical dish —and cliché— of the Spanish gastronomy in the world is the “paella”.

Galiza is located on the Atlantic coast of Spain, just above Portugal. Its climate is humid, and its attractions are far from those on which the sun and beach tourism model is based. Nature —the green— and gastronomy are the attributes most cited by its visitors (Fernández *et al.*, 2016). Galician gastronomy is known for its wines, especially its white ones. It is also known for its variety of fish and seafood, and for the quality of its meats, converted into dishes by simple preparations.

Santiago de Compostela is located in the interior of Galiza and is its capital. It is a small medieval city —with less than 100,000 inhabitants—, declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1985. Its international image is linked to the Camino de Santiago, a pilgrimage route of Christianity for twelve centuries. In this context, this paper seeks to assess the extent to which there is a relationship between food production and consumption at the local level. It also assesses the gastronomic supply and demand linked to those who visit Santiago de Compostela. The data obtained from the different sources used in this study provide indications of the sustainability of this city, that is, to what extent Santiago de Compostela has sustainable tourism.

By the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO, 2017), “Sustainable tourism” is “Tourism that takes full account of current and future economic, social and environmental impacts to meet the needs of visitors, industry, the environment and host communities” and Montecinos (2016: 227, 228) proposes the following definition of Sustainable Gastronomic Tourism: “People who, during their trips and stays, carry out activities based on the tangible and intangible gastronomic cultural heritage in places different from their usual environment, for a period of time less than one year, with the main purpose of consuming and enjoying products, services, experiences and gastronomic inspirations in a priority and complementary way. They help the development of the receiving society and to maintain in present and future time the preservation and safeguard of the Tangible, Natural, Intangible and Mixed Gastronomic Cultural Heritage, the endemic species, the environment and the food and economic security of a site, community, locality, region or country”. The same author states that in gastronomic tourism one cannot speak of sustainability if there is no system of gastronomic and tourist planning that prioritizes the benefits of local communities through a regional system that is born from the earth and ends up in it. By other hand, tourism and sustainable development is a very important and actual coupled issue, yet the United Nations General Assembly designated 2017 as the International Year for Sustainable Tourism for Development. The same year, UNWTO member states —at the 22nd UNWTO General Assembly— signed the Chengdu Declaration on Tourism and the Sustainable Development Goals.

Then we can conclude as Esteban *et al.* (2015), that we should start from the idea that tourism is a mass phenomenon with important social, cultural, and environmental consequences, and from this perspective, the study of tourism requires a multidisciplinary approach to explore and interpret this phenomenon rather than create it.

But the enhancing sustainability through gastronomic tourism would be complex, because sustainability itself is often conceived broadly within policy proclaiming the benefits of gastronomic tourism, with a need to study, characterized and understand the each dimension of sustainability: economic, environmental, social and cultural, which independently enhances sustainability.

By other way the gastronomic tourism studies are manly oriented to case-study in relationship with market segmentation, tourist behaviour, preferences and consumption, relevance of food/product image and the strategic role of gastronomy as tourist destination selection (López-Guzmán *et al.*, 2017; Castillo-Canalejo *et al.*, 2020; Seyitoğlu & Ivanov, 2020), or focused in the research about specific strategies development for gastronomic tourism attraction, as co-creation experiences (Rachão *et al.*, 2020), or more singular aspects, as the restaurant role in the gastronomic tourism development (Bertan, 2020), in relationship with specific food item: olive (Moral-Cuadra *et al.*, 2020), home-made bread (Birkić *et al.*, 2020), cheese (Ermolaev *et al.*, 2020; Fusté-Forné, 2020), wine (Crespi-Vallbona & Mascarilla-Miró, 2020), blue tuna (Pérez-Lloréns, 2019) or ham (Cava Jiménez *et al.*, 2019). A broad approximation could be the community-based tourism approach, but usually only in the sense of matched regarding the items offered as a part of community-based tourism (Ernawati & Sanders, 2017). The general perception is that the main researching is under the exact fact of “tourist looking for authenticity approach and sense of place” perspective (Chaigasem & Tunning, 2019).

A recent review from Naruetharadhol and Gebsoambut (2020), about food tourism studies in Southeast Asia, reflects, in a general way, the same facts above enumerated: the most applied approaches were focused in case/empirical study, followed by a comparative case studies, and only one paper was related with the government tourism web site analysis. Other studies present a broader perspective in relationship with the opportunity of gastronomic tourism for local development—economic local resource—, but the research pay more attention to the linked between destination image and food events (Privitera *et al.*, 2018).

In our case, research follows the idea of Yeoman and McMahon-Beatt (2016), understanding gastronomic tourism as a political capital, where food and tourism, with a historical connection, binds them together as a political force in a general way, which includes economic, social, cultural, environment and political aspects, without forget the evident and strength relationship between food and agriculture, and its related aspects with public policies and strategies. In the same sense, we share the concept of food tourism as visionary state, a vision of the future—or the present—in which gastronomy tourism offers a scalable cost-effective means of local and regional development, with the potential to enhance regional economy, local heritage and environment appreciation, as UNWTO (2017) reflects. This holistic perspective should be including a “meeting point” for researches, stakeholders, tourists, community, and political organizations. In any way, this wide-range point of view is not new, yet Gilbert (1990) expressed that “ the study of tourism

phenomenon requires a multidisciplinary approach, it is hard to isolate it from other phenomena and we should try to explain and interpret it, and not create it". In the same way, Jafari (2005) talking about "Knowledge-bas platform" as the starting point of projecting tourism from a perspective with more holistic, global, multidisciplinary, and trans-disciplinarily vision. In the same way run the point of view expressed by Costa Beber and Gastal (2020) about the relationship between tourism, daily-life and food, understanding this link as a tourism product and a tool for identity/brand place development. In our case, Galiza daily-life food consumption analysis adds a very relevance point, because it belongs to the Atlantic Diet concept: healthy, functional, and bioactive (Leis Trabazo *et al.*, 2019).

Following this holistic perspective, our research analysed the relationships, and their implications, between tourist food consumption, Galiza daily-life food consumption, restaurant offers and local/regional food potential production —foodshed analysis—, in order to draw a general implications of gastronomic tourism fact in Santiago de Compostela. This wide-range perspective could help us to point out the several tasks that should be development by a holistic tourism policy, from the point of view of regional/country perspective, linked gastronomic tourism, food offers, agricultural production and community development.

Consequently, our study analysed the demand for food consumption by tourists according to the nationalities with the highest frequency of visits, as well as the gastronomic offer in the food industry establishments of Santiago de Compostela – Galiza, NW Spain. This consumption is compared with the normal consumption of the Galician population and the production capacity of the corresponding foodshed to qualitatively determine the degree of sustainability of the gastronomic tourism activity: the cultural reflection of the local cuisine and the promotion of local production according to the gastronomic supply/demand relationship. This perspective allows us to assess which aspects are potentially related to the negative impacts of gastronomic tourism: homogenization-globalisation of the offer, loss of food heritage, little or no prominence of local food production, and concentration of economic benefits. On the other hand, these aspects are reinforced by the fact that local food consumption is an aspect that influences the tourist's overall satisfaction with the trip (Sengel *et al.*, 2015). The elements of cultural heritage and products from local agriculture (Jiménez-Beltrán *et al.*, 2015) and of identity (Nicolosi *et al.*, 2018) are equally important for visitors. In addition, the promotion of these perspectives in gastronomic tourism management allows places to be more competitive globally (Rinaldi, 2017). Therefore, evaluating the sustainability of the gastronomic event/destination should not only be done from the strict economic point of view but should also be understood as an element of cultural production /consumption. The linking of economic and cultural aspects also implies an environmental link from the perspective of local production, short distribution circuits, and associated sociocultural systems.

All this holistic process becomes more important when we refer to a city with a significant touristic component, as is the case of Santiago de Compostela, which is the end goal of pilgrimage routes and which has reached great international visibility as a tourist destination in the two decades of this century. This promotion, mainly channelled through official promotion policies and aided by the publication of different literary works and film, has resulted in the "reinvention" of the city as tourist attraction, with a translation into a significant increase in the number of tourist visits, going from less than 10,000 in 1990 to more than 250,000 in 2013 (Pazos-Justo *et al.*, 2019). All these

characteristics make the city the ideal setting to analyse the impact and behaviour of visitors in relation to the aforementioned factors.

2. Materials and Methods

The research objective, gastronomy in the city of Santiago de Compostela and its relationship with the different socioeconomic aspects mentioned above, is part of a broader project to analyse tourist uses and consumption and their influence on the local community. Specifically, in the present case, the study was approached from different angles that required the use of three complementary methods:

2.1. First, to understand the food supply in the city and its demand by visitors, a descriptive analysis of primary information on the characteristics of the suppliers and demanders of food provided by two samples was carried out: one of merchants and another of visitors to the city.

Table 1

Technical data of the analysed samples of visitors and merchants

Survey technical attributes	Visitors data base	Commercial sector shops
Survey type	Personal (structured questions)	
Universe	Visitors to Santiago: >16 years old, from Galiza, Spain, Brazil and Portugal. ¹	Restaurant, bar and food shops in Santiago de Compostela.
Statistical population	Infinity (>100.000)	
Sample size	2,081 valid surveys Galiza: 398 / Spain: 878. Portugal: 408 / Brazil: 396.	1,362 (reference sample).
Sampling error	Whole sample: $\pm 2.15\%$ For different countries: Galiza: $\pm 4.91\%$ / Spain: $\pm 3.31\%$ Portugal: $\pm 4.85\%$ / Brazil: $\pm 4.92\%$.	118 valid surveys.
Confidence level	95%; $p = q = 0.5$	$\pm 8.63\%$
Survey development	On convenience by country origin quotas.	
Dates	March 27 th , 2013 / March 26 th , 2014.	On convenience by city districts ²

¹ During the one-year period studied, Portugal and Brazil are the countries with a greater number of visitors, one from Europe and the other from the rest of the world. Data from Centre for Tourism Studies and Research - University of Santiago de Compostela (CETUR).

² Districts of Santiago de Compostela: Old Town or Historic Centre; "The New District", developing during the 1950-1960-1970 decades; Peripheric Neighbors; Industrial and Commercial Estate; and others traditional/historic settlements joined to the urban net in the last decades. The pilgrim's way entrance to the city were differenced too: entrances for French —East direction— and Portuguese —South direction— pilgrim way, and pilgrim way out to Finisterre —West direction, to complete the pilgrim way. As can be deduced from Table 2, the samples are balanced in terms of gender and average age, with people interviewed ranging between 16 and 91 years. Most of the respondents from both samples had a higher education. Professional activity on the part of merchants was linked to tourism, totally or partially. The sample of merchants consisted of restaurants, bars, and food stores distributed throughout the city.

Table 2
Socioeconomic characteristics of the interviewed population

Characteristics		Visitors	Commercial owners
Gender	Female	57.8%	50.8%
	Male	42.2%	49.2%
Age		Mean: 41-year-old (SD: 14)	Mean: 40- year-old (SD: 11)
Educational background	University	26.2%	26.2%
	Higher technical school	5.5%	12.7%
Pilgrim	Yes	28.4%	—
1 st time in the city	Yes	31.2%	—
Commercial activity by city district	Old Town	—	24.6%
	New District	—	16.1%
	Industrial estates	—	10.2%
	Santiago Pilgrim way	—	27.9%
	Countryside	—	3.4%
	Remain city	—	17.8%

S.D.: Standard deviation.

From the questionnaires characterizing the two sample populations, the variables shown in Table 3 were selected. Most of the items were formulated as open questions so that the biases of the research team would not influence—and, therefore, contaminate—the responses of those surveyed.

Table 3

Study variables of visitors and merchants

Visitors	Merchants
Did you think about eat/drink something in Santiago? ¹	Yours customers are mainly conformed by: Local people (not frequently) Mainly visitors Mixture between local and visitor people Mainly local peoples Visitors (not frequently) ³
Which did you eat/drink in Santiago? ²	Would you prefer other type of tourist? ¹
Where did you eat? ²	Which are the more selling products? ²
Which was your source of information about eat/drink? ¹	Demands from local people and visitor are different? ¹
Did you purchase some food product in Santiago? ¹	During the touristic high season, do you change the supplies offering? ¹
What kind of food? ²	If yes, which are? ²
Where did you purchase the food products? ²	
Which was your information source about food-supplies facilities? ¹	
Other opinion about food-supplies offering? ²	

¹ Dichotomic closed variable.² Open and nominal variable.³ Nominal, closed and polychotomy variable.

In response, all the information provided by the interviewee in his answer to each open question was taken into account. From the totality of the answers, different categories were extracted, identifying the basic concepts included in each of the answers and calculating the frequencies with which each concept was mentioned in the total sample. After following this procedure for all open questions, a variable was created for each of the identified categories. With the statistical package IBM SPSS vs. 24 (IBM), univariate and bivariate descriptive analyses of the variables under study were performed.

2.2. Next, to understand the local customs on food, a descriptive analysis was carried out on the secondary information about the consumption of food products provided by the National Institute of Statistics of Spain through the Family Budget Survey regarding consumed amounts of food and beverages (Mapa, n.d.). The data are separated by autonomous communities. Those relating to the autonomous community of Galiza, in which the city of Santiago de Compostela is located, were analysed. Likewise, and based on the data provided by the Galician Institute of Statistics —Survey of Crop Areas and Yields— and the Agricultural Statistics Yearbooks —Ministry of Rural Affairs—, the productive potential for the Region of Santiago de Compostela was determined for the period studied (Carral Vilariño & Carreira Pérez, 2018).

2.3. To decode the information on gastronomy within the main online institutional sources of tourist information, the information published on three websites during the field study was analysed:

- Turgalicia.es - currently: turismo.gal
- Gastronomiadegalicia.com
- Santiagotourism.com

The first two sites depend directly on the tourism bureau of the regional government of Galiza. The latter belongs to the local government of Santiago de Compostela. In all cases, they are both governments' means of institutional social communication on tourism.

For this work, it was necessary to analyse the meaning of the text, images, video, and hypertext reading of the contents of the aforementioned websites. For this, the use of a theoretical framework based on multimodal discourse analysis —MDA— (O'Halloran, 2016) to achieve a content analysis of these websites that is as complete as possible. This multimodal approach is concerned with the meaning that is created through the different configurations, combinations, and interactions, in the same message, of image, sound, speech, text, typography, and/or melody (Cárcamo Morales, 2018, p. 148). The MDA applied to websites proposed in this study is based on multimodal semiotic theory (Jewitt, 2003; Kress, 2003 and 2010; Leeuwen, 2005). Authors such as Djonov (2005), Djonov and Knox (2014), and Cheregi (2018) have already worked productively with an MDA model that was exclusively applied to website analysis.

As Jewitt (2009: 21-27) notes, before describing and analysing the text, images, videos, colours, or animations of a tourist website, it is necessary to be clear about some concepts such as the "mode", "semiotic source", and "modal affordance". The denomination "multimodality" is related to the interrelation of the so-called modes; these are an organised set of semiotic sources for the creation of a meaning that is socially modelled and culturally transmitted (Kress, 2009: 54). Modal affordance can be defined as what can be expressed and represented simply; that is, how a mode has been repeatedly used to represent something through social conventions in certain contexts and, in an unequivocal way, refers to the same meanings. For example, one would have to think about how gastronomic products are represented on a tourist website: one possible mode is the display of fresh produce in which there is no room for misunderstanding; another mode is the sample of the processed product in the form of a cooked dish as a final product, which we usually find on a menu or advertising device and that the consumer expects to find. Both the menu of a restaurant and its website or its advertising spot —if it has one— are units composed of numerous modes and semiotic sources. We can generally call these units composed of numerous modes and semiotic sources "multimodal artefacts" (Hiippala, 2013). Taking the latter into account, we can affirm that tourism websites are multimodal and multimedia artefacts created in a specific sociohistorical context within a "semiotic landscape" (Kress & Leeuwen, 2006: 35) that tend to compile different semiotic sources, such as videos, images, logos, text, audios, and digital publications, such as brochures, dossiers, reports, and catalogues. Like all multimodal artefacts, an official tourism website is created in a context of specific interests and with specific purposes (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001: 136).

In turn, it can be asserted that there is no perfect way to recover and preserve an object of study itself given the digital nature of the product (Djonov & Knox, 2014: 172) since the environment, context, and hyperlinks of a website can break, be moved, or simply disappear, which means that its design and functionality have been changed. Being aware of the constraints in this field and when retrieving digital files located on the World Wide Web, the Wayback Machine tool from archive.org was chosen to retrieve the information from these sites between March 2013 and March 2014.

3. Results

Owing to the coexistence of different methods to approach the relationship between tourism and gastronomy in the city, the main results are presented in sections, reserving their joint interpretation for the Discussion.

3.1. Demand, supply, consumption, and production of food in Santiago de Compostela

3.1.1. FOOD PURCHASE AND CONSUMPTION BY VISITORS

The importance of gastronomy for people who visit Santiago was demonstrated in their answers to the first question that was asked: The majority of those who answered this question indicated that they planned to eat or drink something during their stay in Santiago, 51%. This figure also represents 31.85% of the total number of visitors surveyed.

Regarding the types of food they prefer, a strong prevalence of shellfish and octopus was observed —Table 4. Interestingly, Santiago de Compostela is a city located inland. Among the respondents from the countries with the most visitors during the study period, Spaniards were those who most frequently opted for the consumption of octopus and shellfish over other types of food —Table 5—, and in general, the preference for these products decreased as the visitor travelled more times to Santiago, with their food type preference becoming more similar to what is typical for the Galician population —Table 6.

Table 4

Preferences of food consumption by visitors

Food chose (answers: 733)	n	%
Shellfish	186	25.38
Octopus	165	22.92
Meat/ Fish	112	15.28
Typical food	114	15.56

Number of answers (n) and percentage (%).

Table 5

Preference in the consumption of food products by country of origin

Food chose (%) n= 115	Galiza %	Portugal %	Brazil %	Spain %
Shellfish	1.00	2.94	9.34	15.14
Octopus	2.76	4.66	4.54	13.60
Other food	12.37	11.76	9.30	6.83

Number of answers (n) and percentage (%). Differences at level p = 0.05.

Table 6

Preference in the consumption of food products as a function of the number of times visiting the city

Food choose	Less one time/year n = 1,478	One time/year or more n = 478
Shellfish	11.30	3.14
Octopus	10.01	3.56

Number of answers (n) and percentage (%). Differences at level p = 0.05.

Regarding the places in which visitors declare having eaten, it was observed that, as with food, the demand in this case was concentrated in very specific spaces —Table 7. Almost 70% of the answers referred to a restaurant in the old town area. A single restaurant, “Casa Manolo” —which stands out for its low prices—, was mentioned by tourists 134 times.

Table 7

Places chosen by visitors to eat

	n	%
Restaurant - Old Town	446	69.15
Hotel/Hostel	62	9.61
Family / friends home	54	8.37
Urban green spaces	19	2.95
Bus/train station, airport	19	2.95
Hamburgers	16	2.48
Shopping mall	12	1.86
Restaurants - New Quarter	10	1.55
University- Hospital	7	1.08
Total answers	645	100
Don ´t know /Don ´t answer	1,436	
TOTAL	2,081	

Number of answers (n) and percentage (%) in relationship with Total answers.

To make their decisions about what and where to eat in Santiago, only 11.00% of visitors consulted some source of information. If the percentage is limited to visitors who answered this question, it goes up to 19.5%. Word of mouth made up 79.35% of the sources of information consulted —Table 8. Of these, 23.85% refer to suggestions from contact personnel in the tourism sector -guides, receptionists, and tourist information offices. Only 10.09% declared using the Internet as a source of information, exclusively or in addition to other sources.

Table 8

Sources of information on food options consulted by visitors

Information sources	n	%
Friends, relatives, fellows	91	41.74
People by the street	30	13.76
Official group guide	21	9.63
Hotel staff	20	9.17
Pilgrim/Tourist Office	11	5.05
Street banners	9	4.13
Internet	22	10.09
Other sources	18	8.26
Total answers	218	100
Don't know/Don't answer	1,864	

Number of answers (n) and percentage (%) in relationship with Total answers.

Food purchases were also concentrated around a few products and areas. A single product, the Santiago almond cake appeared approximately 30% of the responses. The top three products made up almost half of the mentions —Table 9.

Table 9

Products purchased by visitors

	n	%
Santiago Pie	198	27.97
Cheese	134	18.93
Cakes	82	11.58
Wine	43	6.07
Liquor	41	5.79
Empanada	33	4.66
Bread	29	4.04
Other typical products	51	7.20
Other products	97	13.70
Total answers	708	100
NS/NR	2,081	

Number of answers (n) and percentage (%) in relationship with Total answers.

The purchase of food products, as well as their consumption, by visitors was conditioned by the place of origin of the interviewees and by the frequency with which they visited the city. If we look at the place of origin, the pattern of behaviour of Galicians differed from the rest: They bought Santiago almond cake, cheeses, and wines with significantly less frequency in favour of other sweets and bread —Table 10.

Table 10

Food products purchased by visitors

Food chose n= 533	Galiza %	Portugal %	Brazil %	Spain %
Santiago Pie	11.3	33.7	31.5	41.8
Cheese	5.7	16.9	20.4	31.5
Wine	0.0	5.6	9.3	12.8
Cakes	32.1	29.2	8.6	16.7
Bread	13.2	6.7	3.7	4.2

Number of answers (n) and percentage (%). Differences at level $p = 0.05$.

Looking at the frequency with which the tourists had visited the city —Table 11—, the food consumption pattern observed was repeated: Frequent visitors bought the top-ranked products —Santiago almond cake and cheeses— significantly less often and bought other sweets and bread significantly more. In this case, no significant differences were observed in the purchase of wines.

Table 11

Purchase of food products based on the number of times they had visited the city

Food choose	Less one time/year n=444	One time/year or more n=83
Santiago Pie	40.3	16.9
Cheese	26.6	15.7
Bread	4.5	10.8
Cakes	13.3	24.1

Number of answers (n) and percentage (%). Differences at level $p = 0.05$.

The demand for these products —Table 12— occurred mainly in different enclaves of the Old Town, 66.81% of the responses alluded to them. The most mentioned retail format was the supermarket, followed closely by the tourist shops of the Old Town.

Table 12
Places where visitors shop

City district	n	%
Old Town	64	26.56
Old Tow-Touristic Shops	64	26.56
Central Market	33	13.69
Supermarkets	72	29.88
Others	8	3.32
Total answers	241	100

Number of answers (n) and percentage (%) in relationship with Total answers.

Only 3.3% of the visitors sought information about the commercial offer of the city before making their purchases. The figure rises to 6.3% if it is calculated based on the number of people who answered this question. In relation to the sources consulted, only 54 people responded —Table 13. As in the case of the food industry offer, the majority —65.67%— referred to word-of-mouth information, with 24.07% mentioning contact personnel in the tourism sector and 12.96% mentioning the Internet among the sources of information consulted.

Table 13
Sources of information on the commercial offer consulted by visitors

Sources of information	n	%
Friends, relatives, fellows	15	27.77
People by the street	9	16.67
Official group guide	3	5.56
Hotel staff	7	10.11
Pilgrim/ Tourist Office	3	5.56
Internet	8	14.81
Total answers	7	12.96
Don't know /Do not answer	54	100

Number of answers (n) and percentage (%) in relationship with Total answers.

When visitors were asked to add opinions about the city's gastronomic offer to their responses —Table 14—, the theme alluded to most was its variety, although opinions were divided between those who perceived it to be varied and those who

considered the offer to be too homogeneous. In addition to the latter, there were those who thought that the gastronomic offer catered too much to tourism. The opinions of visitors on this issue are therefore conflicting.

The next-most mentioned aspect of the service was the price. Again, opinions were divided, between those who considered them appropriate and those who did not, although most tended to find them appropriate. Something similar occurred with the sufficient/insufficient supply dichotomy, although in this case, the balance was even more towards the positive. The quality of the products was one of the attributes most often deemed positive and least frequently deemed negative. Finally, the responses that addressed the gastronomic offer in general were positive in almost all cases.

Table 14

Opinions on the gastronomic offer: variety, quality, customer service, and catering specifically to tourists

Gastronomic attribute	Positive consideration %	Negative consideration %
Variety in offering	19.73	14.58
Suitable price	11.49	6.86
Offering enough	11.84	3.43
Good quality of products	17.32	2.74
Good customer attention	2.74	1.54
Higher touristic emphasis	0	2.74
General valuation	10.63	0.34
Total answer	583 (380 positive and 203 negative)	

Percentage (%) in relationship with Total answers.

3.1.2. SUPPLY OF FOOD PRODUCTS

From the perspective of supply, a process of “gastronomisation” —concentration and spatial dominance of specific food industry businesses— was observed: bars, restaurants, and food shops were concentrated in the Old Town and the New District or *Ensanche* —Table 15.

Table 15

Proportion of bars, restaurants, and food stores in different areas of the city

City District	Restaurant n (%)	Bar n (%)	Food shop n (%)	Total n (%)
French pilgrim way	28 (8.67)	43 (5.99)	25 (7.79)	96 (7.05)
Portuguese pilgrim way	18 (5.57)	18 (2.51)	14 (4.36)	50 (3.67)
The New District	68 (21.05)	168 (23.40)	61 (19)	297 (21.81)
Old Town	92 (28.48)	180 (25.07)	120 (37.38)	392 (28.71)
Industrial estates (North part of the city)	14 (4.33)	19 (2.65)	8 (2.49)	41 (3.01)
Countryside	22 (6.81)	51 (7.10)	10 (3.12)	83 (6.09)
Remain City	81 (25.08)	239 (33.29)	83 (25.86)	403 (29.59)
TOTAL	323	718	321	1,362

Source: National Classification of Economic Activities [CNAE, for its initials in Spanish]. Number of commercial establishment (n) and percentage (%).

In the Old Town of the city, 60% of the businesses in the sample stated that they mostly or exclusively served visitors. Despite the typology of the clients, 74.6% of those consulted did not find differences between visitor demand and the preferences of the locals. Perhaps because of this, the merchants almost never changed their offer during the tourist season: 94.4%. A total of 32.4% of respondents indicated that they would prefer another type of tourist: essentially, a tourist with more purchasing power.

The interviewees were also asked about their best-selling products. They were allowed to identify up to six categories of “top products” —Table 16. The responses indicating “drinks” or “infusions” exceeded 37% of the total. If generic responses such as “food” or “prepared meals and menus” were excluded, the following stood out in order of importance: “meats and charcuterie”, “fruits, vegetables and legumes”, “pizza and pasta”, “octopus and shellfish”, “cakes and sweets”, “bread”, and “fish”.

Table 16

Top food products identified by retail and restaurant establishments

Item	%
Drinks, beer, wine	27.54
Menu and take-away meal	24.26
Coffee/tea	9.84
General food	9.18
Meat/butchery	4.26
Fruit/vegetables/grocery	4.26
Octopus/shellfish	3.28
Pizza /pasta	3.28
Pie/cake	2.95
Hamburger, kebab, sandwich	2.62
Bread	2.30
Fish	1.97
Tapas	0.98
Empanada	0.66
Stew/boiled meal	0.66
Without "start food/meal"	1.97
Total (n=305)	100.00

3.1.3. FOOD CONSUMPTION IN GALICIAN HOUSEHOLDS

The findings for visitor demand contrasted with those obtained from the search and processing of secondary information on food consumption in Galician households—Table 17. Fruit, milk, vegetables, meat, and bread were the preferred foods consumed in Galiza. On the other hand, shellfish and octopus were foods of lower and markedly seasonal consumption, both individually and with respect to total food consumption—Table 18.

Table 17

Typical food consumption model in Galiza

Food Items and Their Position (Consumption Preference) from 564 Total Food Items	Consumption (kg/monthly/home). Total Food Consumption (53.4 kg/year/home)	% Consumption from Total Food
1-Fresh Fruit	8.9	16.6
2-Milk	7.1	13.3
6-Fresh Vegetables	4.8	9.1
7-Meat	4.2	7.9
8-Bread	3.6	6.7
9-Fresh Meat	3.3	6.2
18-Potatoes	2.7	5.0
29- Fresh Fish	2.5	2.4
48-Shellfish	0.7	1.3
175-Fresh Octopus	0.1	0.2

Table 18

Interannual variation for the main foods consumed in Galiza

Consumption Coefficient of Variation (%) (intra-annual variation) for different food items from table 17
10.8—Meat
9.5—Fish
33.8—Shellfish
20.6—Octopus
35.3—Shellfish/Total food
11.4—(Meat/Fish)/Total food

3.1.4. PRODUCTION POTENTIAL FOR THE REGION OF SANTIAGO

From the point of view of the productive capacity of the Santiago de Compostela foodshed —the territory defined by a radius of 50 km from the city of Santiago—, we can conclude that there was sufficient agricultural production and surplus production of fruits, potatoes, vegetables, legumes, and meat, with a surplus of 100,392 ha for a territory of 369,780 ha, and a population of 373,976 inhabitants. However, there is a marked deficit about 3,166 ha in the production of cereal grains (Carral Vilariño & Carreira Pérez, 2018).

3.2. *Analysis of institutional gastronomy websites*

As mentioned in the methodology section, to analyse the information on gastronomy on the Web, the following official websites were chosen: Turgalicia.es —currently turismo.gal; Gastronomiadegalicia.com and Santiagotourism.com.

3.2.1. TURGALICIA

The website was analysed between March 2013 and 2014, a period in which its content was dictated by the advertising strategy set by the tourism department of the Galician government, called Turgalicia, in the studied chronological period. The campaign designed by the advertising agency CIAC, which was called “Galicia, will you keep my secret?”, was presented in December 2010 (Venegas, 2010). According to the news taken from the specialised blog casosdemarketing.com, this campaign consisted of a television spot —previously teaser— in 45°, 30°, 20°, and 10° versions. In the video, an intimate woman’s voice speaks on behalf of Galiza and confesses the “sins” that Galiza offers to its visitors. Along with the spot, the campaign had several originals for the press that sought to provide an image of renewed visual identity, but using as a starting point the Galician cultural roots, such as the Gaelic and Celtic codices, including radio spots and an Internet campaign within the Turgalicia website, www.turgalicia.es. The Turgalicia website is therefore part of this advertising campaign that began in 2011 and lasted until 2014.

The website showed two options related to gastronomy:

1. A hyperlink called “Festivals of interest” accompanied by text and an image of a square plate with what appeared to be cheese cut into portions and a loaf of bread —Figure 2. The text that accompanied this image was as follows:

Festivals of interest. Nearly a hundred Galician festivals have been recognized as being of interest for international, national, or Galician tourists. A world of festivals of all kinds, from gastronomic to folkloric as well as religious or the “rapa das bestas” -“capture of the beasts”. Which ones are celebrated this month? Choose one and experience it!...

Mapa del portal | Inicio | Comunicación | Empresa | Sector profesio

galicia
¡Me guardo el secreto!

Acerca de... **Galicia** | Visita estos... **destinos** | Disfruta de estas... **experiencias** | Te proponemos... **planes**

Ruta de la camelia
Pazos y paisajes de una elegante decadencia, auténticos jardines botánicos creados con esmero y sabiduría que, si sabes ver, te descubren sus secretos de belleza.
[Ruta de la camelia...](#)

Fiestas de interés turístico
Cerca de un centenar de fiestas gallegas tienen el reconocimiento de interés turístico: internacional, nacional o de Galicia. Un mundo de fiestas de todo tipo, desde gastronómicas a folclóricas pasando por las religiosas o las "rapas das bestas". ¿Cuáles son las que se celebran en este mes?
[Escoge la que más te apetece y ¡vívela!...](#)

Manantiales de Galicia
La cantidad y variedad de balnearios y talasos permite encontrar lo que más se ajuste a tus necesidades, gustos o presupuesto: tratamientos de relax, estética o salud.
[Turismo de salud y bienestar, descúbrelo...](#)

Central de Reservas
Conozca y haga sus reservas en las casas de turismo rural de Galicia.
[Central de Reservas de Turismo rural](#)

Acceso rápido a...

Síguenos en... [blog](#) [f](#) [t](#) [g+](#) [yt](#)

[Cómo llegar...](#)

[Dónde alojarse...](#)

[Dónde comer...](#)

[Qué visitar...](#)

[Qué hacer...](#)

Bono iacobus
Oferta turística diseñada específicamente para el Camino de Santiago

Agenda Cultural
Todos los eventos que no debes perderte si estás o vas a venir a Galicia

Descarga de folletos
Consigue nuestros folletos en formato PDF.

Sendas para descubrir

FIGURE 1

Images from the landing page of the website www.turgalicia.es

Source: Turgalicia.

The Figure 2, of a neat and orderly arrangement of elements on a plate that seems to be made of ceramic, has nothing to do with the plates served in the more than 3000 popular festivals that were celebrated in Galiza in a year (Fandiño *et al.*, 2013: 42), which could lead to false expectations by the consumer that resulted in dissatisfaction if they did go to one of those festivals.



FIGURE 2

Image that accompanies the hyperlink “Festivals of interest”

Source: Turgalicia.



FIGURE 3

Image that accompanies the hyperlink that shows available restaurant information.

Where to eat?

Source: Turgalicia.

2. A hyperlink with the name “Where to eat” within the resource locator of the site itself – Figure 3. The options focused on gastronomic offerings of fixed and regulated establishments such as restaurants. The text and options for choosing a restaurant on this website were as follows:

In Galicia, there are some things that you can miss, but you cannot miss its gastronomy. Try the seafood: barnacles, king crabs, velvet crabs, lobsters... The clams and mussels are delicious. And the fish stews are unbeatable. Inland, the octopus, the *empanadas* (pies), the stews, and the pork shoulder with turnip greens are a must. Choose the restaurant below or use the search engine on the side for more specific results.

The information shown in both links may lead one to think that in Galiza there are no other alternatives —such as gastronomic festivals, casual venues that are popularly known as “*chiringuitos*”— or other popular fairs in which food is traditionally served.

Additionally, this website allowed the visitor to download several tourist publications catalogued by more specific topics. Related to gastronomy, there were five publications: One on the Camino de Santiago, one on popular festivals, one on cheese and wine, and two specifically on wine, thus highlighting the importance given to wine tourism compared to other varieties gastronomy of the autonomous community. We must highlight a section from the publication called “Galicia. The Way of St. James”; on page 11, there was text that referred to the gastronomic offer apparently typical of the city of Santiago de Compostela:

Tapas dining along Rua do Franco (Franco Street) and A Raíña (Raíña Street). As this is your first night in Santiago, we suggest that you opt for the typical Galician portions for dinner. This is a good way to enjoy some all the essential dishes of Galician cuisine, such as octopus cooked feira style, stewed meat ao caldeiro, Galician pie (empanada), marinated pork loin (raxo), Galician chorizo-spiced pork loin (zorza), and pig’s ear; shellfish from the Galician estuaries such as mussels, cockles, and clams; or seasonal products such as Padrón peppers or xoubas (small sardines). You can try all these delicacies in the many taverns and restaurants of the old quarter. Rua do Franco and A Raíña house the majority of these establishments.

What may seem striking in this first text is the lack of beef options, limited to “stewed meat *ao caldeiro*”, the complete absence of goat products, or that pork products are represented by the “*zorza*”, the “*raxo*” and the pig’s ear, which are made to be consumed as a portion or *tapa*. It leaves out such complete, traditional dishes as the Galician stew or pork shoulder with turnip greens that incorporate local vegetable products, not to mention the most avant-garde alternatives based on market products. In summary, the content clearly invites visitors to the city of Santiago de Compostela to take a *tapas* tour on *Rua do Franco* and *A Raíña* —Table 7.

3.2.2. GASTRONOMIADEGALICIA.COM

Within the Turgalicia website, there is a direct link to a page called *gastronomiadegalicia.com* —<http://www.gastronomiadegalicia.com>— Figure 4a. This autonomous website is part of the institutional communication of the body responsible for tourism promotion of the Galician government. Its content is exclusively geared towards Galician gastronomy. The content of the information varies, being adapted to the different seasons, and the food seems to change with each season, which would favour sustainability through the balance between the local production and consumption of food.



(a)



(b)

FIGURE 4 (a and b)

Landing pages of gastronomiadegalicia.com

Source: Gastronomía de Galicia.

As seen in the menu on the right on the second page of this website —Figure 4b—, the options offered for browsing were the following:

Guide to Galician Food Products / High-Quality Galician Products / Gastronomy of the Sea / Typical Galician dishes / Gastronomic festivals of interest / Hotel Management School of Galicia / Publications / Other websites of interest / Protagonistas Newspaper Archive / Conocer y Harmonizar Newspaper Archive.

In each of the tabs, reference was made to products produced in Galiza, with a hyperlink dedicated exclusively to “Gastronomy of the Sea”. It was the only link dedicated to a type of product. In turn, in the navigation options, the search was done by product type and not by geographical area or season.

In the tab “Guide to Galician food products”, there was an abundance of images of fresh, live, or unprocessed products —Figure 5. This was a trend of the site: Of the 68 images that appeared throughout the different pages that made up the site, only 17 were prepared dishes. The processed included wine, bread, honey, and cheese —six images—, but the images corresponding to fresh or live products totalled 31. Obviously, in the Typical Galician Dishes tab, all the images included in this document were prepared dishes given that it was a space intended for the explanation of cooking recipes.



FIGURE 5

Guide to Galician food products within www.gastronomiadegalicia.com

Source: Gastronomía de Galicia.

3.2.3. Santiagotourism.com

On the date of archiving —25 March 2013—, the page provided information about the Catholic holiday of Lent and the Holy Week —Figure 6a. According to the Catechism of the Catholic Church, people practising this Christian rite perform penance for forty days —from Ash Wednesday to the eve of Easter Sunday— in commemoration of the forty days that Jesus wandered through the desert after being baptised. This penance is materialised by inviting fasting and avoiding meat, especially on Fridays. This religious context explains why the gastronomic offerings announced on the site at this time of year are, above all, fish, and sweets.

One of the visual elements related to gastronomy was the composition “Santiago Pasión”, in which a plate of cooked fish could be seen in the background —Figure 6b. The very name “Santiago Pasión” —in conjunction with cooked fish— refers to the period of the Holy Week. It plays with the polysemy of the word “passion”, which can mean both appetite for something and devotion to something, like the torments suffered by Jesus Christ from the Last Supper to his Crucifixion.



FIGURE 6 (a and b)

Detail of the header of the Santiagotourism.com site

Source: Santiago Turismo

Within the home page of the site, there was a fixed hyperlink that was maintained in the base structure and referred to “Gastronomy” accompanied by an image of a woman who sells cheese —Figure 7.

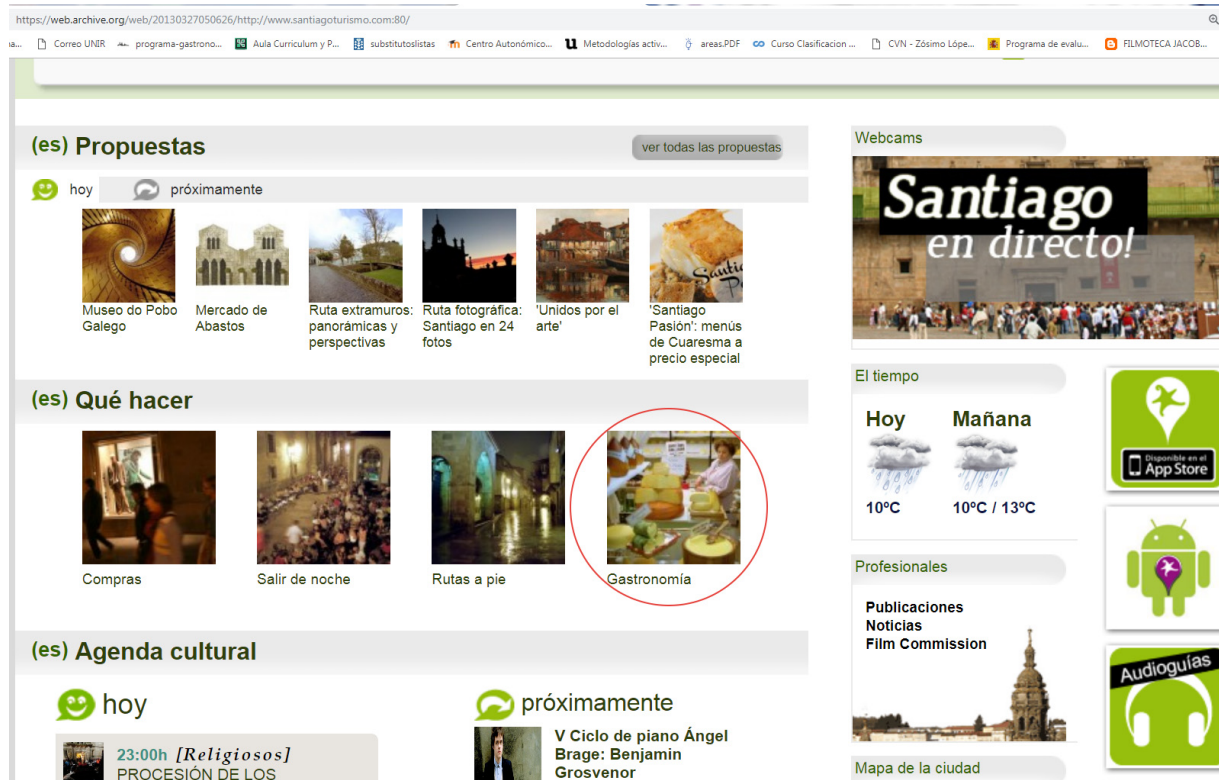


FIGURE 7

Detail of the hyperlink and image that alluded to the topic “Gastronomy”

Source: Santiago Turismo.

Inside, the gastronomy website of this site had the following hyperlinks —Figure 8: Activities and gastronomic events / Food Market / The menu of Compostela / Where to eat / Taste to take home / Training / Gastronomic route.

Qué hacer | Gastronomía

Gastronomía

Santiago, como capital de Galicia, ejemplifica toda la tradición y riqueza gastronómica de una cocina mirada por la soberbia calidad de sus ingredientes, del mar y de la tierra, en la que tienen cabida desde lo más tradicional hasta lo más innovador. Por eso la gastronomía es sin duda uno de los principales atractivos de nuestra ciudad.

Actividades y eventos gastronómicos
Santiago de Compostela ofrece a santiagueses, gallegos de otras comarcas y...

Mercado de Abastos
El segundo lugar más visitado de la ciudad después de la...

El menú de Compostela

¿Por qué se come tan bien en Santiago? Vámonos a descubrirlo con esta...

Sabor para llevar
El Mercado de Abastos, las rúas históricas y el Ensanche...

Formación
Asociación de Empresarios de Hostelería de Santiago de Compostela e...

También te puede interesar...

Guía Gastronómica
Publicaciones
Editada por Turismo de Santiago en gallego, español e inglés, orienta al viajero deseoso de hacer turismo gastronómico en la...

Videocreación Fórum Gastronómico Santiago 2010
SantiagoTurismo TV
Videocreación

"La pesca de la lamprea" con Xosé Cannas
SantiagoTurismo TV
Galicia es el paraíso de los amantes de la lamprea, posiblemente el animal vertebrado más antiguo y exótico de cuantos hoy...

Making Off: Fórum Gastronómico Santiago 2010
SantiagoTurismo TV

'De tapas por Santiago (2011)' - 2'
SantiagoTurismo TV

Tour Gastronómico
Visitas guiadas
Santiago, como capital de Galicia, ejemplifica toda la tradición y riqueza gastronómica de una cocina admirada por la calidad de...

Tour gastronómico, Con Miguel Vila, periodista gastronómico
SantiagoTurismo TV

Lo más destacado en Gastronomía

más visitado | más comentado | mejor valorado

FIGURE 8

Detail of the menu within the “Gastronomy” website

Source: Santiago Turismo.

In June 2013, another hyperlink, “Traditional markets near Santiago”, was added; it referred to all the traditional markets held in towns less than 30 kilometres from the city of Santiago de Compostela. Although the heading of this section read “[...] a cuisine admired for the superb quality of its ingredients, of the sea and of the land, in which there is room for the most traditional to the most innovative [...]”. What was shown in the images were processed or cooked foods and where they could be eaten or bought. Information on the commercial activity of buying/selling food products was given priority over the culture and productive identity of the area.

The food market of the city had great prominence in this tab, as (1) there was a specific hyperlink dedicated to this traditional market, and (2) throughout all the other places within the site, this market was alluded to —such as in the hyperlink “Taste to take home”.

Another element that drew attention was the hyperlink on “Training” in gastronomy, through which the visitor could access data on regulated training in

hospitality —both secondary and higher education— or on the Association of Hospitality Businesses of Santiago de Compostela and Region. In this part, the activities offered by other organisations —public and private— related to training in gastronomy and not in hospitality were ignored.

Within the website “The menu of Compostela”, three options are presented in the form of a hyperlink: From the sea to the land / The kingdom of shellfish / Desserts, wines, and spirits.

The value of the meat, vegetable, and dairy products of Santiago and the region was omitted. It is worth mentioning that after clicking on the hyperlink “From the sea to the land”, veal and pork were mentioned by way of the traditional dish known as Galician stew.

4. Discussion

The analysis of the model of consumption of food products by visitors to Santiago de Compostela indicates, first, that gastronomic activity plays a fundamental role in the demands of tourists, given that it was mentioned by 32% of the people surveyed as a single factor and by 51% of those who expressed their activity preferences for their visit to the city.

The visitors show a special preference for the consumption of two products, shellfish and octopus, and for the purchase of three others, Santiago almond cake, cheese, and wine. Among the countries with the highest influx of visitors in the period studied, Brazil, Portugal, Galiza, and Spain, it is the Spaniards that clearly show a greater affection for the foods. It is also important to note that as the number of times an individual has visited the city increases, gastronomic preferences increasingly shift from the top products mentioned toward the normal consumption of the residents of Santiago and Galiza —meat, fish, bread. This behaviour may be due to a process of familiarisation with the aforementioned products (Mynttinen *et al.*, 2015). In addition, this change in behaviour favours the sustainability of tourism and gastronomy, since the analysis of the Galician foodshed demonstrates the ability to produce —with surplus— the food products consumed regularly by the resident population.

In terms of the spaces, the “gastronomisation” of the Old Town of the city is observed: most of the bars, restaurants, and food stores that acknowledge —approximately 60% of them— selling exclusively or mostly to visitors are located in this area. They do not identify differences between the preferences of visitors and those of the local population, so they do not vary what is on offer in the high season. Thus, what is generally on offer at these establishments responds, throughout the year, to the gastronomic varieties that both customer segments demand.

On the other hand, the study of the three sources of tourist information on Galiza, and the city of Santiago in particular, indicates a clear bias towards the consumption of shellfish and octopus, although not exclusively, since in some cases cheese, bread, meat,

and fish are also mentioned, but mainly as very specific products of specific occasions—gastronomic festivals. In the specific case of information to pilgrims, the institutional website of the Autonomous Government recommends in its brochure “Galicia. Camino de Santiago” that the visitor tries dishes that are usually served in the form of *tapas* in the establishments located in the streets of the city most overcrowded by visitors.

The impact on the general behaviour of online content visitors can be considered relatively low, since less than 20% state that they have used the Internet to learn about the city’s food industry offerings and approximately 13% have used it to learn about their commercial offerings. Thus, an appropriate orientation of institutional advertising would lead to a much more sustainable model, not only from the environmental point of view—local production and consumption— but also in terms of the promotion and recognition of local agricultural communities and their role in environmental care, the production of healthy food, and the generation of culture associated with the use of the area and its natural resources.

These results indicates a clearly reductionism landscape for the gastronomic tourism fact, because, following Hall and Mitchell (2001), Gastronomic tourism can be describe as the dynamic process of “Visiting primary and secondary food producers, gastronomic festivals, restaurants and specific places where tasting dishes and/or experiencing the attributes of a region specialized in food production is the main reason for a trip”. After that, the case of Santiago de Compostela laid so far from the real, and desirable, concept of gastronomic tourism, and we could talk about the Santiago gastronomic tourism fact as “bulk food tourism”, a merely food offering and consumption which not reflects, in any circumstances, the community gastronomic daily-life, neither the agri-food production potential of the country.

5. Conclusions

There is a clear trend towards consumption and practices related to gastronomic activity among visitors to the city of Santiago de Compostela during the time analysed. This activity is specially focussed on the consumption of shellfish and octopus and on the purchase of Santiago almond cake, cheese, and wine. These products differ widely from those normally consumed by residents in the city and in Galiza. In comparison with normal consumption—vegetables, meat, fish, bread— and the production capacity of the foodshed of the region of Santiago, the gastronomic preferences of visitors do not correspond to a model of tourism sustainability, clearly being counter to the promotion of local production and consumption. On the other hand, the institutional information supplied to potential visitors in terms of gastronomy only partly reflects the varied offer of existing food products, giving seafood and octopus products outsized prominence. This information clearly stresses—product photographs—a cognitive approach, more than an affective one, when the affective contents would be more appropriate to shape a powerful, clear, and long-term image of the tourist destination (Sung-Eun *et al.*, 2017; Mak, 2017). Therefore, these tools should be managed to promote a more varied gastronomic offer, which truly represents the normal consumption of food products by the resident population and that also favours the local production capacity of these

food products within the corresponding foodshed. Another important tool, in view of the results, could be institutional promotion of a gastronomic offer directed by the restaurateurs, given that, as we have seen, their suggestions are acted on by a significant percentage —23.85%— of the visitors, who refer to their sources of information —about what and where to eat— as word of mouth.

The more times a visitor comes to the city, the closer his gastronomic demand gets to the foods normally consumed by Galicians. This trend indicates that an adequate reorientation of sociocultural planning, specifically gastronomic planning, would lead us to a greater sustainability of the system: greater local production/consumption and better knowledge of the socioeconomic reality of the host community.

From the methodological point of view, the research shows the convenience of holistic approximation applied to the gastronomic tourism fact analysis, because this perspective let us point out several disfunctions or gaps in the relationship between visitors food consumption, food offering and governmental gastronomic marketing, and of course, with all others items in relationship with the local community development, local agri-food production, and its economic and environmental related aspects —sustainable development.

Even more, some basic and useful aspects used for this approximation, as foodshed study or day-life food consumption characterization, doesn't need a field-experimental work, expensive, because to get a first view, it is enough work with statistical information, provided and open accessed, by the governmental institutions.

The results of this work may be representative of the situation in many tourist destinations that lack a sustainability objective in terms of gastronomy. The results of the extensive research carried out by Marine-Roig *et al.* (2019) in the Canary Islands serve as an example, from which it is concluded that, according to the comments made by visitors to TripAdvisor, the two restaurants of the Hard Rock chain are the most highly valued of the islands' gastronomic offer. So, is there a gastronomic offer? And if there is and it is, does it serve to give a differential value to the Canaries, or does it use the territory's resources, where are the suppliers, where does the food travel from, how many indirect jobs does it generate, in short, is it a sustainable offer? And finally, why do so many tourist destinations "suffer" from a globalized gastronomic offer? The same questions can be asked for Santiago de Compostela.

The reason seems to lie in the consideration of tourism management as a zero-sum game, in which what is gained in sustainability is lost in profitability. This belief is based on the idea that tourists in the destination demand "what they want" and public and private managers must limit themselves to satisfying them. The results of this study indicate that tourists demand "what they are offered". Demand adapts to what is offered, and supply believes it adjusts to what satisfies demand, without prior knowledge of what tourists' value or would value if it were made known to them.

The results obtained in previous studies contradict this perspective. Tourists are more satisfied when they consider that they contribute to the sustainability of the

destination to which they travel (Asmelash & Kumar, 2019; Iniesta-Bonillo *et al.*, 2016). Moreover, recent studies support the existence of a positive relationship between perceived authenticity in a destination and tourist satisfaction (Zhang *et al.*, 2018). A gastronomic offer that is consistent with the reality of the destination must necessarily be as authentic as possible, if it is well communicated.

Tourism is, in general, a leisure activity. Most tourists do not know the destination in depth before the trip (image - not even after the trip, "real" image). It is the destination—its managers—who must take an active role in delivering a message based on what the destination is, rather than what they "think" it is. The results of this study show that the institutional communication of the destination analysed tends to reinforce the "clichés" about fate. The theory of cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957) would advise avoiding messages that contradict the initial image; however, there is room for messages that—without contradicting it—complete it with a discourse that is more adapted to what the destination is, and what it needs from tourists in order to continue to exist. This type of message would improve the authenticity perceived in the destination and, as a consequence, the satisfaction of the tourists would respond to the tourists' oblique motivations, would increase their satisfaction and would change the "real" image of the tourists after the visit -achieving a "real" image, more similar to reality.

As for the approach to reality, the results of this study are based on objective data obtained from national and regional statistics. They show that food consumption in the city is "sustainable" in the sense of Montecinos (2016): most food constitutes a cycle, that is born on earth and dies on it. The use of objective sources of information is essential to draw the reality of the destination if we consider that, from a subjective point of view, it is difficult—or impossible—to describe the reality.

The implications of the results of this article are not positive if evaluated in relation to their contribution to the five objectives, that the UNWTO (2017) proposes for gastronomic tourism in its agenda 2030: (1) Economic growth could continue in the medium term, but without the adjectives "inclusive" and "sustainable", insofar as the results of the activity benefit mainly a few; (2) the positive impact on employment and poverty reduction would be in the hotel and catering industry and in trade—seasonally—, but would not impact sufficiently on employment in the primary sectors; therefore, inclusion would not be favoured; (3) the efficient use of natural resources would not be taking place, which would have negative effects on the environment—the abandonment of areas for cultivation and livestock breeding with the consequent increase in forest mass and fires—and would accelerate climate change; (4) the cultural values, diversity and intangible heritage implicit in Galiza's gastronomic wealth would not be preserved; and finally (5) mutual understanding would not be promoted because interaction with visitors would take place at a very superficial and standardised level.

From the management point of view, the results of this work are useful for managers and businessmen in the destination analysed, which could be extended to public and private decision-makers in other destinations.

Bibliographical References

- Asmelash, A. G., & Kumar, S. (2019) The structural relationship between tourist satisfaction and sustainable heritage tourism development in Tigray, Ethiopia. *Heliyon*, 5 (3). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2019.e01335>
- Bertan, S. (2020) Impact of restaurants in the development of gastronomic tourism. *Int J Gastron Food Sci*, 21, 100232. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijgfs.2020.100232>
- Birkić, D.; Rujevčan, D.; Kralj, E.; Blažić, M. (2020) Cultural-historical heritage of the Karlovac county-homemade bread as a gastronomic tourist product in restaurants in the Karlovac county. In *Proceedings of the 10th International Congress "Flour-Bread '19", 12th Croatian Congress of Cereal Technologists "Brašno-Kruh '19"*. Osijek, Croatia pp.7-15. Ermolaev, V.A., Yashalova, N.N. and Ruban, D.A. (2019) Cheese as a Tourism Resource in Russia: The First Report and Relevance to Sustainability. *Sustainability*, 11 (19). <https://doi.org/10.3390/su11195520>
- Cárcamo Morales, B. (2018) El análisis del discurso multimodal: una comparación de propuestas metodológicas. *Forma. Func.*, 31, 145-174. <https://doi.org/10.15446/fyf.v31n2.74660>
- Carral Vilariño, E.V., Carreira, Pérez, X.C. (2018) Balance producción-consumo de alimentos na Galiza: aproximación dende a soberanía alimentar e a comercialización local. *SEMATA*, 30, 167-190.
- Castillo-Canalejo, A.M., Sánchez-Cañizares, S.M., Santos-Roldán, L., Muñoz-Fernández, G.A. (2020) Food markets: A motivation-based segmentation of tourists. *Int. J. Environ. Res. Public Health*, 17 (7), 2312; <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph17072312>
- Cava Jiménez, J.A., Millán Vázquez de la Torre, M.A., Hernández Rojas, R. (2019) Analysis of the Tourism Demand for Iberian Ham Routes in Andalusia (Southern Spain): Tourist Profile. *Sustainability*, 11 (16), 4278; <https://doi.org/10.3390/su11164278>
- Chaigasem, T., Tunming, P. A. (2019) Local cuisine tourism approach to authenticity and a sense of place for Postmodern gastronomy in I-SAN Thailand. *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure*. 8 (4). Available online: <https://kkbsrs.kku.ac.th/jspui/handle/123456789/203>. Accessed on 15 July 2020.
- Cheregi, B.F. (2018) Nation branding in transition countries: a multimodal analysis of Romania and Moldova tourism campaigns. *JEMI*, 14, 81-106. <https://doi.org/10.7341>
- CNAE. <https://www.cnae.com>. Accessed on 5 February 2020.
- Costa Beber, A.M., Gastal, S. (2020) Turismo, cotidianos e comida. *PASOS. Revista de turismo y patrimonio cultural*, 18 (2), 207-217. <https://doi.org/10.25145/j.pasos.2020.18.014>
- Crespi-Vallbona, M. and Mascarilla-Miró, O. (2020) Wine lovers: their interests in tourist experiences, *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 14 (2), 239-258. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJCTHR-05-2019-0095>
- Djonov, E. (2005) *Analysing the organisation of information in websites: from hypermedia design to systemic functional hypermedia discourse analysis*. PhD Thesis, Sydney: University of New South Wales.
- Djonov, E. and Knox, J.S. (2014) How-to-analyze webpages. Introduction: Why do multimodal discourse analysts need to study Web communication? In *Interactions, Images and Texts: A Reader in Multimodality*; Norris, S., Maier, C.D., Eds.; Boston-Berlin, Germany: De Gruyter Mouton, 171-193.

- Ellis, A.; Park, E.; Kim, S.; Yeoman, I. (2018) What is food tourism? *J. Tourman*, 68, 250-263. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2018.03.025>
- Ernawati, D.; Sanders, R. (2017) Host–Guest Orientations of Community–based Tourism Products: A Case Study in Bali, Indonesia. *Int J Tourism Res.* 19, 367-382. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311975.2020.1733829>
- Esteban, J., Cetin, G. and Antonovica, A. (2015) Theory of knowledge of tourism: A sociological and epistemological reflection. *JoT*, 1, 2-15. diva2:889325.
- Fandiño, X. (coord.), González, M., López, Z., Neira, H., Regueira, J.C. (2013) *Do palco ó escenario: Unha aproximación á industria da música nas festas populares de Galicia*. Santiago de Compostela, Galiza, Spain: Andavira Editora.
- Fernández, L., del Río, M., Rodríguez, F. (2016) Dous produtos e um destino: The Way, O diário de um mago e a imagem da Galiza como destino turístico. *iS Working Papers*, 32 (3), 1-30.
- Festinger, L. (1957) *Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*. Stanford, USA: Stanford University Press, 1957.
- Fusté-Forné, F. (2020) Savouring place: cheese as a food tourism destination landmark. *Journal of Place Management and Development*, 13 (2), 177-194. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JPM-D-2019-0065>
- Gilbert, D. C. (1990) Conceptual issues in the meaning of tourism. C.P. Cooper (Ed.), *Progress in tourism, recreation and hospitality management*, Vol. 2, London, UK: Belhaven Press.
- Hall, C. M., Mitchell, R. (2001) Wine and food tourism. In *Special interest tourism: Context and cases*; Douglas, N., Derrett, R. Eds.; Brisbane, Australia: John Wiley, 307-329.
- Hiippala, T. (2013) *Modelling the structure of a multimodal artefact*. PhD Thesis, University of Helsinki: University of Helsinki. <https://helda.helsinki.fi/handle/10138/41736>
- IBM SPSS Statistics for Windows, Version 25.0. Armonk, NY. USA: IBM Corp.
- Iniesta-Bonillo, M. A., Sánchez-Fernández, R., & Jiménez-Castillo, D. (2016) Sustainability, value, and satisfaction: Model testing and cross-validation in tourist destinations. *J Bus Res*, 69 (11), 5002-5007. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2016.04.071>
- Jafari, J. (2005) El turismo como disciplina científica. *Polít. Soc. (Madr.)*, 42 (1), 39-56.
- Jewitt, C. (2009) *The Routledge Handbook of Multimodal Analysis*; London, UK: Routledge.
- Jewitt, C. and Kress, G. (2003) *Multimodal literacy*. New York, USA: Peter Lang.
- Jewitt, C., Oyama, R. (2001) Visual meaning: A social semiotic approach. In *Handbook of Visual Analysis*; Leeuwen, T. V., Jewitt, C., Eds.; Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 134-156.
- Jiménez-Beltrán, F.J., López-Guzmán, T., González Santa Cruz, F. (2016) Analysis of the Relationship between Tourism and Food Culture. *Sustainability*, 8, 418. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su8050418>
- Kress, G. (2003) *Literacy in the new media age*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Kress, G. (2009) What is mode? In *The Routledge handbook of multimodal analysis*. Jewitt, C., Eds.; London, UK: Routledge, 54-67.
- Kress, G. (2010) *Multimodality: A social semiotic approach to contemporary communication*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Kress, G. and Leeuwen, T. V. (2006) *Reading images: the grammar of visual design*. 2nd edition. London, UK: Routledge.

- Leeuwen, T. V. (2005) *Introducing social semiotics*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Leis Trabazo, R., Lamas Pérez, C., Castro Pérez, X., Solla, P. (2019) Atlantic diet. Nutrition and gastronomy in Galicia. *Nutrición Hospitalaria* 36 (Spec. N. 1), 7-13. <https://doi.org/10.20960/nh.02686>
- López-Guzmán, T., Serrano López, A.L., Pérez Gálvez, J.C. (2017) Food Motivations in a Tourist Destination: North American Tourists Visiting the City of Cuenca, Ecuador. *Journal of International Food & Agribusiness Marketing*, 29:4, 308-327. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08974438.2017.1350243>
- Mabrian Technologies. Available online: <https://mabrian.com/es/>. Accessed on 15 July 2020.
- Mak, A.H.N. (2017) Online destination image: Comparing national tourism organisation's and tourists' perspectives. *J. Tourman*, 60, 280-297. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2016.12.012>
- Mapa (n.d.) Panel de consumo alimentario. Available online: <https://www.mapa.gob.es/es/alimentacion/temas/consumo-y-comercializacion-y-distribucion-alimentaria/panel-de-consumo-alimentario/ultimos-datos/default.aspx>. Accessed on 11 December 2019.
- Marine-Roig, E., Ferrer-Rosell, B., Daries, N., Francis, C. (2019) Measuring Gastronomic Image Online. *Int. J. Environ. Res. Public Health*, 16 (23), 4631. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph16234631>
- Montecinos, A. (2016) *Turismo Gastronómico Sostenible*. Ciudad de México, México: CEGAHO.
- Moral-Cuadra, S., Acero de la Cruz, R.; Rueda López, R.; Salinas Cuadrado, E. (2020) Relationship between consumer motivation and the gastronomic experience of olive oil tourism in Spain. *Sustainability*, 12 (10). <http://dx.doi.org/10.3390/su12104178>
- Mynttinen, S.; Logrén, J.; Sarkka-Tirkkonen, M.; Rautiainen T. (2015) Perceptions of food and its locality among Russian tourists in the South Savo region of Finland. *J. Tourman*, 48, 455-466. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2014.12.010>
- Naruetharadhol, P., Gebsumbut, N. (2020) A bibliometric analysis of food tourism studies in Southeast Asia. *Cogent Business & Management*, 7. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311975.2020.1733829>
- Nicolosi, A., Laganà, V.R., Cortese, L., Privitera, D. (2018) Using the Network and MCA on Tourist Attractions. The Case of Aeolian Islands, Italy. *Sustainability* 2018. 10, 4169. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su10114169>
- O'Halloran, K. (2016) Análisis del discurso multimodal. *ALED*, 12, 75-97. <http://dx.doi.org/10.35956/v.12.n1.2012>
- Pazos-Justo, C., Del Río Araújo, M. L.; Samartim, R. (2019) Políticas culturais e comunidade local: contributos para a análise do caso de Santiago de Compostela como meta dos Caminhos de Santiago. In *Proceedings of III Congresso Internacional sobre Culturas: Interfaces da Lusofonia. Braga, Portugal, 2017*; Martins, M.L.; Macedo, I., Eds.; Braga, Portugal: CECS, 175-189.
- Pérez-Lloréns, J.L. (2019) Bluefin tuna and Cádiz: A pinch of history and gastronomy. *International Journal of Gastronomy and Food Science*, 17. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijgfs.2019.100170>
- Privitera, D., Nedelcu, A., Nicula, V. (2018) Gastronomic and food tourism as an economic local resource: Case studies from Romania and Italy. *Geojournal of Tourism and Geosites*, 21 (1), 143-157. <http://gtg.webhost.uoradea.ro/PDF/GTG>

- Rachão, S., Breda, Z., Fernandes, C., Joukes, V. (2020) Cocreation of tourism experiences: are food-related activities being explored? *Br Food J*, 122 (3). <https://doi.org/10.1108/BFJ-10-2019-0769>
- Rinaldi, C. (2017) Food and Gastronomy for Sustainable Place Development: A Multidisciplinary Analysis of Different Theoretical Approaches. *Sustainability*, 9, 1748. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su9101748>
- Santiagoturismo.com. Available online: <https://web.archive.org/web/20130317234309/http://santiagoturismo.com>. Accessed on 20 February 2020.
- Sengel, T., Karagoz, A., Cetin, G., Dincer, F.I., Ertugral, S.M., Balik, M. (2015) Tourists' Approach to Local Food. *J. Sbspro*, 195, 429-437. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2015.06.485>
- Seyitoğlu, F. and Ivanov, S. (2020) A conceptual study of the strategic role of gastronomy in tourism destinations. *Int J Gastron Food Sci*, 21, 100230. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijgfs.2020.100230>
- Sung-Eun, K., Kyung Young, L., Soo Il, S., Sung-Byung, Y. (2017) Effects of tourism information quality in social media on destination image formation: The case of Sina Weibo. *J. Im.*, 54, 687-702. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.im.2017.02.009>
- Turgalicia.es (currently: turismo.gal). Available online: <https://web.archive.org/web/20130304024824/http://www.turgalicia.es/portada>. Accessed on 11 February 2020.
- UNWTO (2017). Tourism and the Sustainable Development Goals – Journey to 2030. Available online: <https://www.e-unwto.org/doi/pdf/10.18111/9789284419340>. Accessed on 15 July 2020.
- UNWTO (2020). World Tourism Barometer. Available online: <https://www.unwto.org/unwto-tourism-dashboards/barometer>. (Accessed on 15 July 2020).
- Venegas, A. (2010) Galicia se confiesa. La nueva marca turística de la comunidad autónoma se estrena con una campaña intimista. <https://www.anuncios.com/anunciantes/mas-anuncios/1053398007501/galicia-confiesa.1.html>. Accessed on 10 March 2020.
- Web.archive.org. https://archive.org/help/wayback_api.php
- www.gastronomiadegalicia.com. Available online: https://web.archive.org/web/20140421103103/http://www.gastronomiadegalicia.com/v_portal/apartados/apartado.asp?te=17. Accessed on 17 February 2020.
- www.mapa.gob.es. Available online: <https://www.mapa.gob.es/es/alimentacion/temas/consumo-y-comercializacion-y-distribucion-alimentaria/panel-de-consumo-alimentario/ultimos-datos/default.aspx>. Accessed on 11 December 2019.
- www.usc.gal. Available online: <https://www.usc.gal/en/institutos/cetur/index.html>. Accessed on 13 January 2020.
- Yeoman, I., McMahon-Beatte, U. (2016) The future of food tourism. *Journal of Tourism Futures*, 2 (1), 95-98. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JTF-12-2015-0051>
- Zhang, H., Ge, Q., An, T. G., Cho, T. Y. (2018) A study on relationship on authenticity, tourist experience, tourist satisfaction and acculturation of world cultural heritage. *Indian J Public Health Res Dev*, 9 (8), 759-765. <https://dpo.org:10.5958/0976-5506.2018.00825.2>

The Existence of a Luso-Galician Community as an Emotional Element in the Visits to Santiago de Compostela from Portugal. First Results through Quantitative-Qualitative Surveys

Raquel Bello Vázquez

Galabra Network, Centro Universitário Ritter dos Reis

1. Introduction: the project

The present work is part of the research project “Discourses, Images and Cultural Practices in Santiago de Compostela as Goal of the Ways”,¹ referenced from here on, as project CS.

The main objective of the project is the analysis of the three items referred to in the title (discourses, images, and cultural practices) as expressed by visitors arriving to the city, identifying possible similarities to what we call “culture products”, in order to understand the impacts they have on the local community, the community’s degree of

¹ The present work is part of the research project “Discursos, Imagens e Práticas Culturais sobre Santiago de Compostela como Meta dos Caminhos”, developed by GALABRA of the University of Santiago de Compostela with the support of the Ministry of Economy and Innovation of the Spanish government - FFI2012-35521; and “Leituras, culturas e turismo. Homologias e feed-back entre os consumos culturais e turísticos no Brasil e no Caminho de Santiago”, developed in the Programa de Pós-Graduação em Letras —Universities Ritter dos Reis and Caxias do Sul— as part of the Visiting Professor Abroad Program, PVE/CAPES.

satisfaction regarding the images generated by tourism as a social phenomenon, and, ultimately, as a first step towards planning effective tourism that puts the focus on the receiving community.

2. Theoretical basis and methodology

The two main theories of literature and culture analysis in recent decades (Polysystems Theory on the one hand [Even-Zohar, 1990 and 2010], and Cultural Fields Theory on the other [Bourdieu, 1979, 1991]) have shown that

- the main function of cultural products —literary, cinematographic, musical, plastic, etc.— is the transmission and promotion of repertoires that are linked not only to their aesthetic dimension, but also to the ideological and social dimension of the groups that sustain them
- that there are homologies between aesthetic repertoires (and taste) and the social and ideological positions held by consumers of cultural products.

These are the theoretical bases that underlie our hypothesis, namely, that by examining, on the one hand, the repertoires present in visitor discourse, and on the other hand, by analyzing the repertoires conveyed by cultural products, we will be able to identify these correlations. From the point of view of basic research, this will allow us to advance empirically, testing these theoretical concepts. From a practical standpoint, we hope that these results will allow us to develop diagnostic mechanisms for the impacts of tourism on local communities —particularly in terms of cultural identity and consumption— and in possible tourism planning protocols.

The methodology for identifying repertoires involves carrying out surveys with visitors, which are then analyzed by means of factor analysis, combined with the quantitative analysis of cultural texts through text mining techniques.

In the present paper I will present preliminary findings that concern only the first type of corpus.

First of all I will focus on the answers given by people coming from Portugal to those questions which might clarify to what extent they consider that there is an affective element in their visit to Santiago de Compostela that is somehow linked to the perception of the existence of a possible Luso-Galician community. The reason for this question is rooted in historical as well as linguistic and social factors. The former have to do both with the existence of a unified kingdom during the Middle Ages that included the current autonomous community of Galiza and some of the current northern regions of Portugal, which has its reflection in the existence of a common language, although there is considerable debate at the present time in Galiza as to whether the languages spoken in Galiza and Portugal are still a single language with different varieties or two languages with the same origin. In any case, both historical and linguistic factors support a proven presence of Portugal and Lusophony as constitutive and central elements of

Galician repertoires since at least the 18th century (Bello Vázquez, 2012) to the present day (Torres Feijó, 2004, 2006 and 2011, among others).

Based on this relevance as well as the data from the beginning of our project, Portugal had the largest number of visitors to Santiago de Compostela, followed by Spain (this data were no longer sustained for the years of 2009 and 2012, where Portugal was surpassed by Germany and France, in part most likely due to the effects of the economic crisis, as well as certain internal phenomena of these countries (CETUR, 2014). Hence our research project examines a Portuguese corpus composed of surveys to visitors from this geographical origin as well as the production from 2008 to the present day in the areas of literature, film, websites and travel guides.

Given the sociohistorical and cultural elements indicated above, the research question that this paper attempts to answer is whether visitors from Portugal exhibit signs of a Galician-Portuguese community, and the impact that such a community would have on the practices of both visitors and locals in the experience of visiting Santiago de Compostela.

3. Context of the corpus

The corpus selected for this particular project is constituted by what has been called in the context of our project the Observatory, that is, the creation of series of surveys over the course of one year (from March 11, 2013 to March 26, 2014), conducted to any visitor (defined as people who visit Santiago de Compostela staying no longer than 15 days, regardless of the reason for their visit), and selected according to their place of residence: Brazil, Portugal, Spain and Galiza. The duration of the survey is between 15 and 20 minutes, conducted on the street every day of the year (including weekends and all holidays during this time), and covering all urban areas of Compostela.

For the present preliminary analysis I use data from the first quarter, because this period is more advanced in terms of coding, and serves as a test for the analysis procedures. I discarded the period between March 11 and 22, deeming it a pre-test and training period for the team that carried out the interviews, so the data used covers the period from April 23 to July 26, 2013. The team was made up of four people, including one Brazilian and one Portuguese interviewer, anticipating that the exclusively local origin of the team could cause some kind of bias in the responses. A total of 409 surveys were conducted, distributed according to quotas proportional to the presence of Galician, Spanish, Portuguese and Brazilian people in the city over the course of 12 months. The data for this distribution were taken from previous institutional reports, resulting in the data in table 1.

Table 1

Places of origin

Place of origin	Surveys conducted
Galiza	83
Spain	181
Brazil	66
Portugal	79
Total	409

Source: CS Project; our elaboration.

4. Constituent factors of a Luso-Galician community

The survey used in our observatory does not include a specific question about the existence of this community. On the one hand, in order to obtain results that are as comparable as possible, the survey is the same for the four geo-cultural groups that constitute the corpus; on the other hand, this survey was designed as a semi-structured interview that would allow the establishment of a comfortable environment between the interviewer and the interviewee, in order to facilitate the flow of information as spontaneously as was possible. In this way, after the interviews were conducted, a series of questions were selected that, in different dimensions show the perception of the existence of a cultural community, even if it is not alluded to in an expressed or explicit way by people. The non-inclusion of a direct questions adds, in fact, to the reliability and intensity of the data and, in any case, puts a limit *below* absolute reliability.

To achieve my goals, the following factors were isolated:

Table 2

Factors for the analysis of survey responses

Identified elements of a Lusophone/Luso-Galician community	Direct link with Portugal Location Portugal Cultural similarities	Linguistic proximity Territorial proximity Comparison with Portugal
Uniqueness of Galiza	Identity. History and tradition. Habits and customs GZ. Human landscape. Places in Galiza. Galician language. Gastronomy.	Inter-territorial ties Portugal/northern Portugal. Habits and customs in relation to Portugal. Specific indications from the Galician people in response to questions about SC/GZ Language. History and tradition. Way of being. Way of life.
Explicit elements of common or differential Galician-Spanish community	Integration of Galiza into Spain. Landscape. Territory. Peninsular connection.	Referent Spain. No distinction or similarity specified. Differentiation with respect to Spain.

Source: CS Project; our elaboration.

These factors, integrated into the three groups in the left column, were identified in the questions listed in table 3.

Table 3

Questions used for factor analysis

Time of visit in SC	Places visited with map support Planned shopping in SC
Previous image of SC	What must one do in SC?
Current image of SC	Planned purchases in SC
Previous image of the GZ	Purchases in SC
Current image of the GZ	Discoveries in SC
Attraction towards GZ	Discoveries in GZ
Reasons for the trip and for choosing SC	Emotions in SC
Previous knowledge of the GZ's culture	Places in GZ visited during the trip
Previous knowledge of the culture reflected upon	Other places in the city visited on previous trips
Places visited in SC	Socio-demographic characteristics

Source: CS Project; our elaboration.

The results to these questions were processed using a spreadsheet: each person (identified with their ID or identification number) was placed in a row, while the survey questions listed in Table were placed in the columns.

Each of the questions was treated by means of a threefold process:

1. Double, triple, etc. answers were disaggregated into individual columns (e.g. in one answer the same person mentions the cathedral, the square and the little shops this is considered a single answer, but each term has its own column).
2. Those responses that were recorded numerically in the coding to speed up the process were transformed into terms (e.g. in the SC preview, a 1=Cathedral).
3. The answers were harmonized linguistically according to the orthographic agreement, and graphically in lower case letters with the exception of proper names.

For the analysis of the possible existence of a Luso-Galician community, an initial classification of responses into five possible blocks was established:

1. Explicit elements in which a comparison or affirmation of a similarity between Portugal and Galiza or Santiago de Compostela is stated.
2. Implicit elements in which a cultural closeness between communities is induced, or there is some degree of comparison between their realities although without explicit referencing;
3. Elements in which the uniqueness of components of a differential Galician community is emphasized.
4. Statements that establish a relationship between Galiza and a different Spanish autonomous community;
5. Answers that point to positive or negative elements perceived during the visit to Galiza or Santiago de Compostela.

For each question, a separate spreadsheet was created where each person's answers were analyzed according to their grouping. Within each class a corresponding subdivision was performed with what we call "cultural parameters" (Table 4; Torres Feijó, 2012). This classification is a basic element of the analysis since it is the one that allows the comparison with the second corpus of cultural productions.

Table 4

Cultural parameters

Space and landscape	Human Landscape Nature Climate Places in Galiza The Way of Saint James Places in the city of SC
History	History and traditions Material heritage and politics Culture
Habits and customs	Way of being Ways of life Gastronomy Economy
Identity	Differential identity Interterritorial relations
Language	
Affectivity	Roots and origins Personal connections
Spirituality	Religion Spirituality Esotericism Mystery

Source: Torres Feijó (2012) and Project CS; our elaboration.

After this operation the focus was aimed only on those directly related to the imaginary, the impressions and the experience in the city. For this reason, the questions finally used are those collected in Table 5, directly connected with the previous expectation and with the experiences and sensations of the city.

Table 5

Questions for obtaining the imagery

Previous	Experiences and Sensations
Reasons for choosing SC	Current image of SC
Attraction towards GZ	Current image of GZ
Prior image of SC	Discoveries in SC
Prior image of GZ	Discoveries in GZ
	Emotions in SC

Source: CS Project; our elaboration.

This decision is due to the inconvenience of entering at this preliminary stage into the depth of cultural reconstruction required by the study of each particular reality in the answers concerning gastronomy, in the objects purchased by visitors, or references to places in the city such as the Museo do Pobo Galego or the Museum of Contemporary Art, which raise questions such as identity and the degree of linkage between communities due to the Portuguese origin of the architect of the latter, Álvaro de Siza Vieira.

On the other hand, to ensure the least possible bias, I chose to focus on the answers that directly or explicitly mentioned a relationship between Portugal and Galiza, some aspect that made Galiza stand out from the point of view of the person interviewed, or a differentiation regarding Galiza by association with Spain.

Each of these 9 questions was again treated in an individualized spreadsheet, regrouping each one within the general category of explicit answers subdivided into three: *Lusophone community*, *singular Galician community*, *differential Galician-Spanish community*. Finally, within each of these, one by one, each answer was classified according to the aforementioned “cultural parameters”.

The open answers were converted into numerical values in order to perform statistical analysis and graphical representations through a binary assignment of 1 when there was a mention of: *community in general*, *Lusophone community* / *unique Galician community* / *differential Galician-Spanish community*, and *space/history/habits and customs/identity/language/affection and spirituality*; and 0 when there was no mention attributable to one of these categories.

Having quantified each question in a particular way, the next step was to merge them all into a single spreadsheet. To understand the summation, it must be taken into account that each person could make references to only one or two communities and, at the same time, could make references to these communities in one question, in several or in all nine, just as various cultural parameters could be referred to. Having numerically represented the relation between totals and individuals, the information obtained is:

- a) A total of 79 Portuguese people for this quarter who, in their interview, allude to a community:

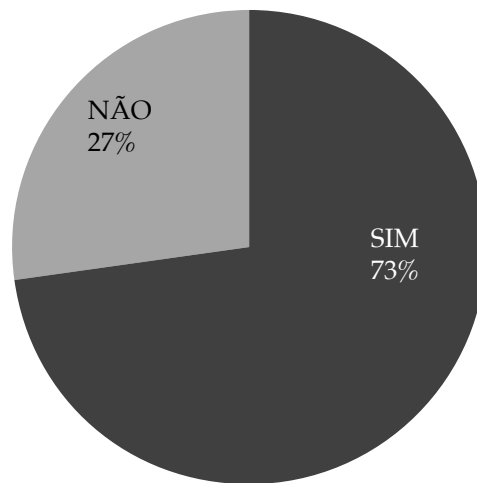


FIGURE 1

People who made reference to community in general from the total os 79 Portuguese surveyed

Source: CS project; our elaboration.

- b) Exact percentage of references issued for each class and breakdown with respect to the total: Luso-Galician community, Galician singular community and Galician-Spanish differential community.

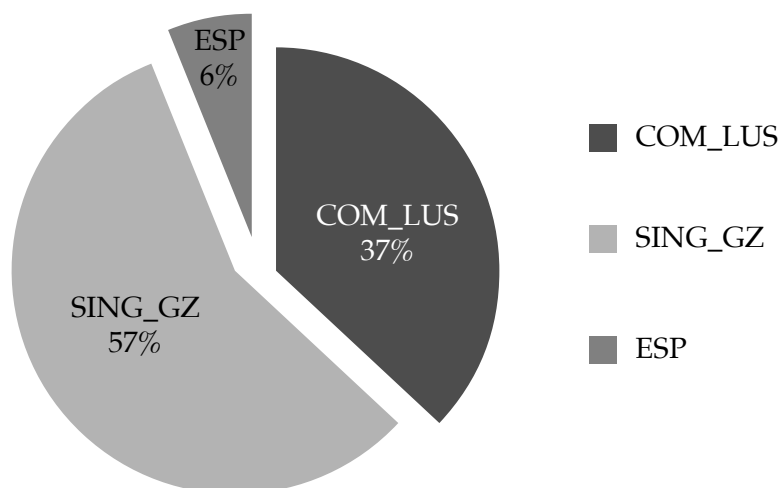


FIGURE 2

Distribution of references by COMMUNITIES - Portuguese area

Source: CS project; our elaboration.

- c) Cultural parameters cited for each of the three community types and the percentage of distribution among them

Table 6

Cultural parameters mentioned by portuguese people

	Total number	Percentage
Space/Land	18	24
Time/History/Tradition	15	20
Habits/Customs	14	19
Identity	13	17
Language	7	9
Peninsular connection	3	4
Affectivity	2	3

Source: CS Project; our elaboration.

The most noteworthy element, over 20%, is the Space/Landscape set (24%), followed by History/Tradition (20%), Habits/Customs (19%), Identity (17%), in close percentages, the other items being quite distanced: Language (9%), Peninsular Connection (4%), and finally Affectivity (3%).

In the analysis of these factors I highlight, for reasons of space, only a few elements of relevance.

As for the factor Space/Landscape, besides the references that could be called generic, I took particularly into account those specific references to similarities with places in Portugal, which I collected in Table 7.

Table 7

Referenced spaces

Total references to places	16
Portugal	7
Minho	3
Viseu	1
Fátima	1
<i>Fronteira</i> / Border	1
Portuguese Way	2
Oporto	1

Source: CS Project; our elaboration.

Regarding the History/Tradition factor, the specific references are summarized as follows:

Table 8

Responses linked to History/Tradition

Total references	14
Similarities	7
Relationship with Portugal	3
Cultural relations	2
Heritage	1
Linguistic proximity	1

Source: CS Project; our elaboration.

For the factor Habits/Customs, the synthesis is:

Table 9

Responses linked to Habits/Customs

Total references	14
Similarities	7
Ways of being	6
Bonds	1

Source: CS Project; own preparation.

For reasons stated at the beginning of this paper, of particular interest to this study is the perception, implicit and in no way induced by the questions, of some kind of linguistic or non-linguistic affinity.

Table 10

Responses linked to Language

Total language references	7
Linguistic proximity	3
Portuguese language	1
Language similarity	2
Language	1

Source: CS project; own preparation.

Also, to understand the extent of these references to Galiza or the Galician language, it is worth establishing a comparison with the references expressed to Spain, in order to identify a possible uniqueness of Galiza in the eyes of the Portuguese people.

Table 11

Answers that refer to Spain

Total links with Spain	3
Spain-Fátima	2
Portugal-Spain	1

Source: CS project; our elaboration.

Another one of the indicators we use to establish this uniqueness is the degree of knowledge about Galiza through references to places. Here we note only those that are mentioned more than once.

Table 12

Places in Galicia referenced

Total references to places in Galiza	119
Santiago de Compostela	42
Vigo	23
A Coruña	13
Rías Baixas	4
Pontevedra	5
Finisterre/Fisterra	6
Sanxenxo	6
Tui	6
Beaches	6
Caldas	2
Ourense/Orense	2
Arteixo	2

Source: CS Project; our elaboration.

5. Discussion

I sustain that data presented, even if succinct and preliminary, begin to point to a reality that must be verified with an analysis of the other interviews. Note that the present paper comprises only a fourth of the total corpus, which is the existence of a perception of community, though this might be vague and poorly defined among the Portuguese people who visit Santiago de Compostela. Almost 3 out of 4 people interviewed express some idea of proximity or community, which finds its expression through mention of similarities with specific places in Portugal—be they cities or regions—or even by mentioning of unspecified likenesses.

If we analyze specific similarities in detail, we see a relatively high incidence (on 16 occasions) of comparisons with Portugal (in general or with specific places) in relation to the view of the geographical space and landscape, showing that people are not shocked during their trip regarding the territory, which they perceive to a large extent as part of their own place of origin. A similar number recognizes parallels in questions of history and tradition or in customs, which points to a large group of people who travel to Galiza with a continuous perception of their reality in all aspects, particularly in the areas of important values of identity that are territory and tradition.

To this is added a fairly remarkable knowledge of places in Galiza, which perhaps speaks of a cultural exchange that remains to be verified through other questions in the survey. This would seem to indicate a desire for knowledge that in turn underpins the answers given, and this is relevant in that it seems to overcome a bias, potentially present in communities which are geographically close, that proximity generates stereotypical images and a sense of knowing. This in turn does not invite people to go deeper, especially in cases like Portugal-Spain and the more nuanced Galiza (-Spain?)-Portugal relational frame, because they judge their knowledge to be sufficient. Notice in Table 12 that specific places in Galiza are mentioned up to 119 times by 79 people, which seems to indicate that there is a certain degree of knowledge of the Galician environment.

We find it interesting to compare these indicators regarding Galiza with the presence of Spain as a reality with which comparisons are also made. As collected in Table 11, these references are minimal (only 3). Lacking more research in this sense, it seems to indicate that largely, for the people interviewed, a visit to Santiago de Compostela and Galiza is not necessarily mediated by the Spanish reality, but by a reality closer and derived from an experiential relationship to landscape and cultural proximity.

Of special interest for this work is the Portuguese peoples' idea of language with regard to Galiza, due both to the aforementioned historical reasons, as well as to the applied and planning dimension that these results may have. As mention of language is relatively scarce (7 out of 79 interviews), the fact that all of them point to the proximity or identity in the speech to the north and south of Minho is noteworthy.

More cultural factors still need to be explored—gastronomy in particular—but this preliminary analysis seems to point to the fact that there is, albeit somewhat diffusely, a vibrant notion of community or proximity on the part of visitors from Portugal. We must

now analyze which elements may have a positive or negative impact on the affirmation of this idea of community—are they influences coming from the media? Does the corpus of cultural production reproduce these same ideas? It is precisely in the contrast between this data and that of the corpus composed of cultural products that the results offered here will acquire their full significance. The perceptions of those people who do manifest neither a relation of similarity nor difference should also be explored with greater attention, to better understand what exactly is their understanding of Galiza.

This first phase of research, at any rate, already clearly points to the relevance of the compiled data for transfer, application and planning, in terms of local sustainability and towards a better relationship and building community with Portugal.

Bibliographical References

- Bello Vázquez, R. (2012) Portugal como referente na Galiza do século XVIII. O Caso de José Andrés Cornide. In Petrov, P., Sousa, P. Q. de, López-Iglésias Samartim, R., Torres Feijó, E. J. (Eds.). *Avanços em Literaturas e Culturas Africanas e em Literaturas e Cultura Galegas*. Santiago de Compostela - Faro: Associação Internacional de Lusitanistas - Através Editora, 271-288.
- Bourdieu, P. (1979) *La Distinction. Critique sociale du jugement*. Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit.
- Bourdieu, P. (1981) Le champ littéraire. *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*. 89, 3-46.
- CETUR (2014) *Study of the characterization of tourism demand in Santiago de Compostela (Portuguese and Brazilian market). Years 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011 and 2012*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.
- Even-Zohar, I. (1990) Polysystem Studies. *Poetics Today*, 11:1, 9-26.
- Even-Zohar, I. (2010) *Papers in Culture Research* [Online]. Tel Aviv: Unit of Culture Research - Tel Aviv University.
- Torres Feijó, E. (2004) Contributos sobre o objecto de estudo e metodologia sistémica. Sistemas literários e literaturas nacionais. In Tarrío Varela, A. and Abuín González, A. *Bases metodológicas para unha historia comparada das literaturas da Península Ibérica*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela Santiago de Compostela, 419-440.
- Torres Feijó, E. (2006) Para uma revisom da historiografia literária: objecto de estudo e métodos. In Moreira, M. E., Cairo, L. V. *Questões de crítica e historiografia literária*. Porto Alegre: Nova Prova, 121-134.
- Torres Feijó, E. (2011) About Literary Systems and National Literatures [Online]. *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture*, 13.5, 1-8.
- Torres Feijó, E. (2012) Interesses culturais e âmbitos receptivos em dous romances sobre o Caminho de Santiago: Frechas de Ouro e O Enigma de Compostela [Online]. *Romance Notes*. 52.2, 135-149.

Polysystem Theory and Research Applications: Planning and Social Research Commitment in an Analysis of the Expositive and Dissemination Project *The City, the Way and Us* as a Case Study

Elias J. Torres Feijó

Galabra – Universidade de Santiago de Compostela

1. A Planning and Social Theory; Transdisciplinary and Interventional

Since its earliest manifestations, Polysystem Theory has shown its planning component, already clearly present in 1990. In fact, Itamar Even-Zohar along with the authors of the most suggestive analytical proposals and developmental praxes that followed—as far as I am aware—incorporated this component both in an explicit and implicit way, and to multiples ends. In this sense, Polysystem Theory is a planning theory: 1) It allows us to study planning processes and results and 2) enables us to offer planning proposals, either implicitly or explicitly, when studying current and active processes.

Polysystem Theory began as a literary theory, designed for the study of literary systems. The very conception of polysystem, which sought to avoid simple structuralist identifications, necessarily pointed to a sociology of literary activity. It identified the macro-factors, agents, instruments, channels, etc., that were involved in said activity. Furthermore, it already had the prevention, or rather the foresight, of addressing not only texts, but products and producers as well. It was not limited by the written functions of

the authors alone, but also of their receptors —not only readers. These considerations had their locus in the concept of repertoire which, when talking about norms and models, in addition to materials, proposed a holistic perspective on this activity.

There was another fundamental component already in the first formulations of the theory, namely the relevance —social, national, and international— of literary activity. Relevance as a good, relevance as a tool, which is already quite explicit in the author's 1993 work. It was this relevance that sought out other types of agency dedicated to the same functions and determined the relative importance of literary activity in the constitution of societies or communities, and in their perpetuation throughout history. A certain relevance, by the way, that in many societies today seems to have been replaced or neglected (Even Zohar, Torres Feijó and Monegal, 2019), and which implies looking into where the relevant elements or agents in those societies are, how they manifest or function. This requires the study of literary activity not as an object in itself or as itself, but as part of culture when it serves to answer research questions on these subjects. Necessarily, when speaking in terms of its construction, cohesion, and social upkeep, the notion of repertoire —of the structuring ideas geared towards that purpose— moves into the foreground. A semiological understanding of its functioning accompanies this shift to center stage, which is also the basis of the first formulations of the theory. In that semiological niche, as well as in Bourdieu's concepts of repertoire and habitus (1979), the notion of culture as the ways in which people and communities see, classify, and interact with the world constitutes the starting point, and most importantly, the logic underlying the theory.

This consideration clearly approaches the theory of polysystem, in its most modern enquiry and advances, and resembles the general outlines of other multidisciplinary spheres. Within the Galabra Network, a stirring case in point in approaching this theory via its similarities to ecosystem theories, can be found in the work of the biologist Emilio Carral, resulting in a high degree of compatibility and overlap between one and the other (vid. Carral, in this volume).

This concept of repertoire, of culture, of considering society's activities from these points of view, calls for a type of research that is no longer merely disciplinary or even transdisciplinary, but which requires —for lack of a better understanding of the phenomena— a certain transdisciplinary attitude and perspective, set at the crossroads, if possible, where intertwined disciplines begin to appear. In our case, regarding the research projects in this work —alluded to in note 1— researchers from various fields have participated throughout its development: tourism studies, literary studies, sociology, ecology, biology, economics, computational linguistics, lexicography, the audiovisual realm, anthropology. Inclusive research of this nature, following the work of Even-Zohar, might be described as "cultural research". It is not a question, in other words, of having teams with people who are expert in certain academic disciplines. It is rather about trying to formulate research questions according to the teams' possibilities and expertise —and with whatever external resources may prove necessary— and being able to guide them towards unified, transdisciplinary answers. We understand that a transdisciplinary logic improves upon the production of valuable knowledge in any delimited object of study.

The holistic consideration of the object of study and the planning component of the given theory for social analysis beckons us to think in terms of social intervention. I do not intend with this statement to be categorical in the debate about whether or not the researcher should intervene socially, even though I have already had the opportunity to express my position on the subject (2015 traders); but it is clear to me that social intervention should be incorporated into professional research work, in the sense of working with the sectors who are involved or interested in the research, making the results known to them and to the society in which they work, while welcoming the possibility of receiving feedback from these or other sectors, which can potentially modify the research questions of professional teams. Of course we must maintain academic autonomy, objectivity with regards to outcomes, and the ability to integrate knowledge and people in any phase of research without them being research professionals, all while promoting well-determined objectives with clear limits and possibilities.

2. Socially Commitment Research

As a necessary corollary of this component, which I think is inherent to Theory—especially from the formulations of 1997 and solidified, for example, in 2010 by its author— years ago I outlined (“Tourism” in Torres Feijó): “the proposal of socially responsible research (first as Social Research Responsibility), as an element derived from the theory’s logic. As was indicated in this text, by Socially Responsible [Commitment] Research we mean (SRR) the commitment to share results and the explanations of the research processes that lead to them with the human subjects involved in it and/or the social sectors potentially interested in or affected by those results. A generic definition of SRR might describe it as the commitment acquired by a research entity with the communities that are potentially interested in or affected by its research. We talk about result analysis and explanation in order to refer to those actions that lead to the understanding of research questions and their objectives, the processes used to arrive to the results and the information derived from them. We believe that, together with teaching, research, the promotion of corporate or self-employment initiatives by students or researchers (wrongly called sometimes entrepreneurship), SRR (and Social Responsibility in the Teaching-Learning process) must become one of the main missions of higher education. SRR is not proposed as a type of research, though it does involves this; but rather, as a necessary intrinsic research postulate, in general, in social sciences.

Concepts such as the aforementioned can integrate other concepts—as in the case of the Galabra Network— as inherent, particularly that of sustainability and social welfare, to the extent that it is conceived as one of its core concepts; and demands the cooperation of communities, with particular focus on the most vulnerable and disadvantaged, from our point of view.

In this direction, in recent times, more attention and concern has been shown by various institutions to combine concepts of responsibility and sustainability in their recommendations and guidelines for public institutions—extending it to other spheres as well, both public or private. I believe that this direction should be central in the

conception of the university and public service, alongside its traditional teaching and research missions. In several international institutions, this concern has also appeared for years. Nevertheless, it still suffers from certain problems regarding its implementation: the communities are usually more on the receiving end than proactive themselves, which means receiving ideas, recommendations or instructions without generating them from their own needs or desires; they are without additional information and training to make the applied measures effective; they lack facilitation and monitoring of actions; lastly, a certain idea is based, in some cases, on social responsibility linked more to the entity's internal functioning —transparency, good environmental practices, etc.—, than to a real and effective connection to the communities affected by its action. Thus, the initiatives are often inserted or affected instead of being directly responsive to the need of the communities in question.

I use two examples that are relevant at the international level to show this: the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the ESSA project. The former indicates mechanisms for monitoring and calculating investments and eventual resources vectors —and international solidarity— but neglects empowerment of the communities and sectors involved, leaving the implementation and detection of needs and application formulas to the discretion and competence of states or administrations. The second, which includes the student sector as participant, results in a concept of Social Responsibility that does not quantify the relationship of the entity with its surroundings and the eventual contributions of said entity towards improvements to the quality of life in the communities, particularly those in more precarious situations. In fact, it mirrors a reinforcement of the action within the entities in question —in this case the universities— but without any real attention to their applicability outside these institutions. The ESSA (<https://www.essaproject.eu/>) and yet, these projects by the UN and the EU, for the cases that concern us, point towards goals that could truly be much more satisfactory provided that the model shifted and the criteria of community empowerment and real benefit was incorporated.

3. The Project *The City, the Way and Us*

The project of diffusion and results-sharing encompassed under the general title *The City, the Way and Us*, represents aspects related to the findings of two research projects: “Discourses, images and cultural practices on Santiago de Compostela as a destination of the Ways of St. James” (2012-2016) and “Narratives, uses and consumption of visitors as allies or threats to the welfare of the local community: the case of Santiago de Compostela” (2018-2021), funded in part by the Spanish State Research Agency.

The first of the projects identified three major narratives of an international scope that would later be used, with more or less explanation and importance, in the tourism advertising campaign used from the nineties onwards by the Galician Government and the Municipality of Santiago de Compostela, which resulted in significant changes in the local community and in the number and type of visitors (vid. Torres Feijó “Bem-estar”). These three great narratives are those elaborated by the Catholic Church —namely, by

John Paul II on his trips to Santiago in 1982 and 1989—, UNESCO and the European Union with the various distinctions given to Santiago and the Way —declared World Heritage Site in 1984 and 1993, respectively— and the one crafted by Paulo Coelho’s *O Diário de um mago* (1987) [*The pilgrimage*, in english version]. The first of these, established the idea of the strength of the Catholic Church with the pilgrimage and the Way linked to structuring—to European cohesion, with Christianity as the basis of this European identity and connectedness. And it established the idea of the Apostle Santiago and the Way as objectives and processes of the Catholic conversion and overcoming. The International Organizations (UNESCO / EU) link the Way to Christianity in their Declarations and as an element of anti-Islamic defense, stressing its medieval nature and the massive heritage it has given rise to over time. Paulo Coelho’s book also delves into the notion of individual overcoming and transformation, a religious-mystical conception of life and the search for happiness.

The analysis of these three narratives posits a working hypothesis for the invisibility of the local community and its culture that they carry and give rise to (Torres Feijó “Discursos”). Thus, in the first of the aforementioned projects, we delimited four areas of study: visitors from Galiza, and, taking as a source the data from the Center for Tourism Studies (CETUR) in 2008 —the study’s *ab quo* temporal marker, two years before the most recent Holy year to date-2010— the areas from which the greatest volume of people came at the time; the rest of Spain, as well as Portugal and Brazil, the largest set of visitors from the EU and outside the EU, where compilation labors, field work and later analysis was done on the following corpus; several surveys of visitors, inhabitants and merchants from Santiago de Compostela; and finally cataloguing books —literary texts, travel diaries, tourist guides, etc.—, web pages and audiovisual productions. The data can be consulted in the following resource: https://redegalabra.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/ExpoWEB_GalCasEn_PaineisDEF_mai2019.pdf

As the panels themselves show, the project stems from Polysystem Theory and its Socially Responsible Researcher correlate. This can also be seen in several of the group’s publications, among which we find —I mention it in order to more broadly encompass some of the research’s strongest elements— Torres Feijó (2019): Community welfare and visitors in Compostela: great narratives, ideas and cultural practices linked to the Way of St. James [original in Galician/portuguese language]. Concepts and tools proper to the theoretical framework of Polysystem Theory, such as idea-makers, repertoire, communities and community identities, are centrally present in the project’s approach throughout, in its design and development, and is supported by rigorous work in the field.

On the other hand, the usefulness of the theoretical framework manifests itself in the effectiveness of its planning component. As an example, we show that economic and educational level are the factors that most condition the cultural uses and practices of people visiting the city. Thus, if we wish to reverse the adverse effects of these practices it will be precisely at the level of narratives that work on the city where they occur. This, in turn, demands a strong investment of transdisciplinary work to give a unified answer to questions that are complex for us, answers which must be researched within the community.

We will have the opportunity to demonstrate this planning component in the analysis of how the exhibition project was developed as well.

3.1. *Diffusion precursors and results sharing*

On the basis of our definition of SRR, we made several presentations and shared results with various social and economic sectors in order to fundamentally understand the possible interest that our work might have for them and to be able to better focus our subsequent dissemination and work.

In this way, and in collaboration with our newly created spin-off *Faz consultora. Cultura e Desenvolvimento*, we made an initial presentation of partial results in the Chamber of Commerce of Santiago de Compostela (<http://fazconsultora.com/faz/pt/2012/10/07/faz-en-prensa-outubro-2012/>; <http://www.camaracompostela.com/notas/061012.pdf>; <http://www.camaracompostela.com/notas/151012.pdf>). The year was 2012 and we presented the results of field work carried out on clients of 36 commercial establishments in the historic part of the city. With sparse audiences, nevertheless local politicians and some businesses were in charge. Due to this meeting, several organizations, among them hotel owners and the Heritage Commission of the Galician Cultural Council, became interested in the work we were doing; months later we presented the main initiatives of our field work to this Commission. In the spring of 2015, we convened two meetings, one with residents and neighbors associations and another with various merchant and entrepreneurial associations. Of the 54 neighborhood associations registered in the municipality of Santiago de Compostela, only 8 attended; in this meeting we could see that many associations either didn't exist or didn't regularly meet. Those remaining expressed serious expectations of participation, as well as a lack of political and social rapport with the local administration. In the case of business associations, we found this same interest in knowing data and some reticence regarding the reliability and eventual application of the results —this process, together with analyses of the expectations shown regarding our work in surveys made to merchants is described in Torres Feijó "Tourism". In February 2016, we presented the first results in a public monographic act ("Monographic Meeting with Cultural Heritage: 2. Tourism and the Way of St. James") organized by the Heritage Commission of the Galician Cultural Council (<http://consellodacultura.gal/noticia.php?id=4440&tipo=noticia>), with a large public turnout and media coverage (<http://consellodacultura.gal/evento.php?id=200438>; <https://www.elcorreogallego.es/santiago/ecg/plan-zona-vieja-no-transforme-guirilandia/idEdicion-2016-02-19/idNoticia-981059/metrics>), which, with some inaccuracies, already collected the planning aspect of our work. We collaborated again with the Galician Cultural Council in July 2017 as part of the symposium "Mass tourism and heritage. Convergence and divergence in a potential dialogue" (<http://consellodacultura.gal/noticia.php?id=5127&tipo=noticia>), a title which already hinted at the evolution of the city's tourism.

We noticed a broad interest, expectation and diverse opinions about the affect of tourism and visitors in general, about the local community and vague ideas—in short, a lack of real information about what was happening in the city.

In the meantime, the research team produced an important scientific volume of works and presentations, part of which can be consulted at <https://redegalabra.org/impactos-caminho-comunidade-local-santiago-compostela/>

3.2. *The exhibition project: The City, the Way and Us*

3.2.1. THE SIGNING AND OBJECTIVES OF THE COLLABORATIVE PROTOCOL BETWEEN THE UNIVERSITY OF SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA AND THE CITY COUNCIL OF SANTIAGO

After several working conversations and in keeping with the Government Group of the Municipality of Santiago de Compostela, a protocol of cooperation between the University of Santiago de Compostela and the Municipality of Santiago de Compostela was signed in April 2019 FOR CARRYING OUT EXHIBITIONS AND ACTIVITIES REGARDING DISCOURSE, IMAGE AND CULTURAL PRACTICES OF VISITORS AND HOUSEHOLDS OF SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 83 OF LAW 6/2001.

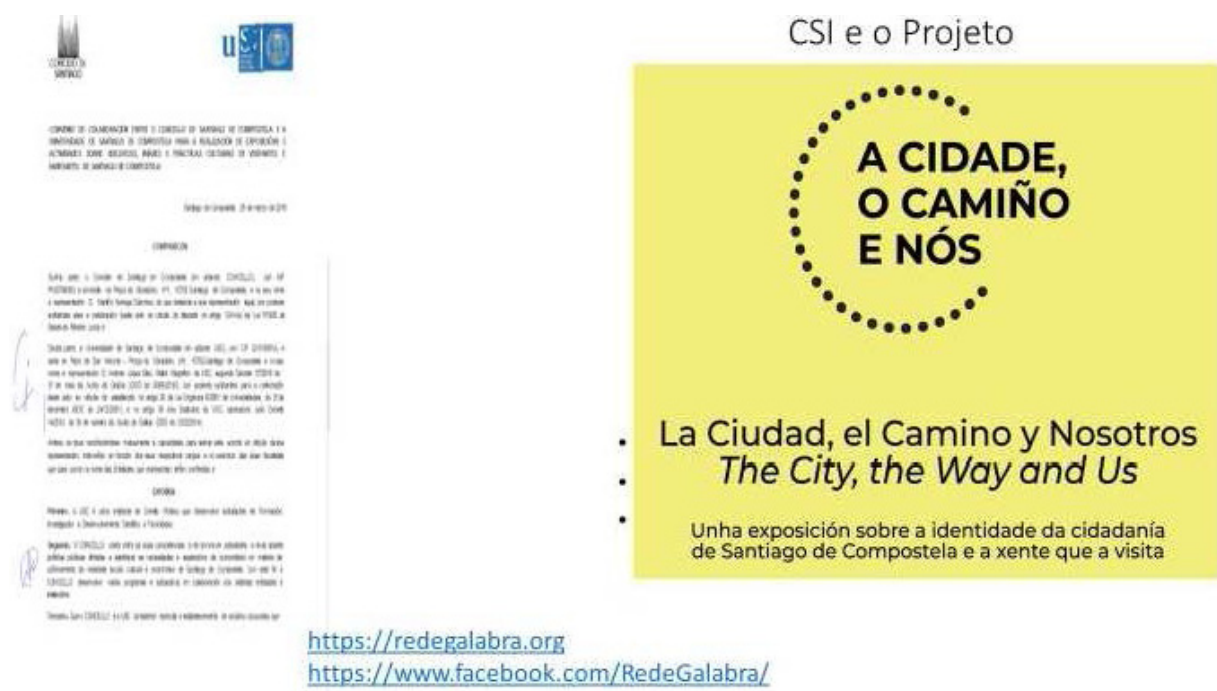


FIGURE 1
The collaborative protocol USC - City Council and the exhibition

Source: Galabra, 2019.

In this protocol, and in paragraph 3 of its explanatory memorandum, the main considerations can be read for a SRR:

Third. That the CITY COUNCIL and the USC consider it essential to establish joint actions that aim to provide information and societal support regarding a reality as important for the present and future of Santiago de Compostela as is the discourse, image and cultural practices of visitors and inhabitants of the city. It is information that is of interest in the field of knowledge and city planning, primarily at a cultural and social level.

These considerations are based on the aforementioned protocol's Technical Annex, which stated that the "specific goal of the agreement" was:

to provide the results of the aforementioned research that may be of interest to society, in its various sectors and activities and public authorities, in order to have a more specific and concrete knowledge of certain dynamics and phenomena importantly linked to the well-being of the local community.

Furthermore, for the fifth item the sphere of collaboration and partnership that the university can have with relation to municipal objectives it was stated that:

Fifth. That the COUNCIL does not have the appropriate media to face this task, and that is why a collaboration between both institutions is necessary, which allows the project's goals to be met, within the framework of article 83 of Law 6/2001.

The first clause was the "Purpose of the collaboration agreement", which outlines the entire project to be developed:

The present agreement establishes the conditions for the collaboration between the Council and the USC for the organization, documentation and curatorship of four exhibition shows on the results of the research projects of the Galabra group related to the cultural practices of visitors to Santiago de Compostela, as well the perspective of the city and visitors to the city and the commercial sector. The exhibitions will fall under the general title: DISCOURSE, IMAGE AND CULTURAL PRACTICES OF VISITORS AND INHABITANTS OF SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA, as well as the parallel activities that will take place according to the plan and budget included in the technical annex included as part of this agreement.

In the listing of activities in the technical annex, "open activities of dissemination and debate", are defined with the following objective:

(...) by means of the plural and open participation of diverse sectors of the population, the emergence and collective elaboration, from the data and analyses contained in the expositions, of ideas, proposals, questions and observations about the phenomenon in focus.

Continuing:

For this, it will be necessary to count on the co-participation of various leaders and political parties, associations of all kinds that feel challenged by these issues

and the citizenry in general. The participation of social agents, local and socio-cultural associations, sectors (particularly in the field of commerce and catering) and educational entities will be a priority.

With regard to the 4 planned expositions, its reference is preceded by the following reflections:

The city of Santiago de Compostela has been notably transformed, since the early nineties, by virtue of the primacy given to tourism linked to the Way of Saint James. This transformation has diverse dimensions: identity, life habits, access to resources, uses of the city and public space, commercial, cultural and social activity, etc. After twenty five years since the beginning of this transformation, the Galabra Group has data and striking analyses in this sense, as a result of research, and it seems appropriate to offer it to the public to contribute to its better knowledge and formation of opinion. For this purpose, 1 central and 3 sectional expositions are foreseen, the first static and the remaining 3 itinerant in various parts of the city.

Before the official opening of the exhibition, we called the neighborhood associations and the municipal groups represented in the Santiago de Compostela City Hall, in order to introduce the general lines of the divulgative project and to hear observations that would be helpful to the project. The work with the associations confirmed the lack of a real and effective forum for their relationship with the public administrations. In some cases, they even came to us as if we were in some way part of the public administration. Groups coming from the rural area —where approximately 16,000 people live, around 16% of the total population of Santiago— expressed a feeling of being poorly represented in the study, reflecting in this way a feeling of general marginalization they brought to the meeting. Although the rural area was sufficiently represented in terms of percentage throughout the survey, the Research Team tasked itself to conducting field work with its own funds in rural areas, whose most significant results were included into exhibition *The City and the people Living in it*. The work was done in the late spring and early summer of 2019 with 100 surveys. As for political organizations, all of them expressed interest and appreciation for the research done and its usefulness.

3.2.2. THE EXHIBITION AND DISSEMINATION PROJECT

The central exhibition was installed in a place slightly removed from the city, but still central enough, an emblematic and widely used as a space for walking, leisure and sports: the Alameda de Santiago. The space was chosen by taking into account the need for a noise free environment, given the clearly Compostelan nature of the exhibition —what the various data from our surveys revealed. It consisted of 32 iron panels —all the production was made by small companies in the region—, grouped into 4 thematic clusters:

COMPOSTELA AND THE WAYS
HOW DO WE SEE OURSELVES?
HOW DO THEY SEE US?
HOW DO WE SEE WHO COMES?



FIGURE 2

Visitors to the exhibition talking with a member of the Research Team

Source: Galabra, 2019.

In the first of the exhibition's thirty panels, we indicated the goals and the characteristics of the showing:

- “THINKING, TELLING, FEELING, AND CARING FOR THE CITY AND ITS PEOPLE. THIS IS THE CHALLENGE.
- We present four exhibitions —this general one and three others which will circulate through city neighborhoods— which mark a synthesis of some of the results of the research carried out by the Galabra Network since the year 2008 on visitors in general and, in particular, the effects of the Way of Saint James on our city. (...) analyze the discourse, images, and practices taking place in Santiago both from businesses and residents of Compostela, as well as people from countries who provided the largest number of visitors at the time.
- (..). We study the ideas present in the books read by those who visit us, the films they watch and the websites they consult. We derive solid and meaningful facts regarding who comes here and who experiences the city from out of the questionnaires and qualitative interviews we conduct.
- in it, we also realized the parallel activities designed by the Research Team:
- And beyond this main exposition we urge participation in a variety of parallel activities:
 - Sectorial exhibitions in the City Council's sociocultural centers: The city and its inhabitants / The city and its visitors / The city and commercial activity.
 - Thematic round tables discussions with city specialists and representatives.
 - Education and schoolchildren participation from the city's Secondary Schools.
 - Citizen participation and photographic exhibition: “How does the Way influence your daily life? Citizens (re)thinking the Way”.

We transcribed the Exhibition’s Technical Details, which we now give for a better understanding of the type of research conducted: Type of inquiry carried out: Personal with a structured questionnaire; Accuracy level; Sampling procedure: Convenience-based; Geographic location: Santiago de Compostela; Universe: Visitors from Galiza, the rest of the State, Portugal and Brazil —largest number of visitors from EU and from outside the EU in 2008 [Source: CETUR] Sampling error: ± 2.15%; Dates: From March 2013 to March 2014; Residents in Santiago de Compostela or in surrounding municipalities, Teo and Ames: Infinite population (>100,000) Sampling error: ± 3.2%;

Dates: Second half of 2014 to May of 2015; Economic and commercial activity in Santiago de Compostela Population (sampling section): 4,096; Sampling error; Dates: April and May, 2015; Sample size: Visitors Inquiries 2,081 valid inquiries Galiza: 398, Rest of the State: 878, Portugal: 408, Brazil: 396; Local inquiries 929 valid inquiries, Santiago: 684, Teo: 104, Ames: 101; Economic and commercial activity inquiries: 410 valid inquiries; Qualitative interviews: Visitor interviews: 271, Rest of the State: 100, Galiza: 56, Rest of country: 100, Portugal: 56, Brazil: 59;

Interviews to pilgrims: 34 from Porto Alegre (Brazil); 6 conversation groups in the local population; Control inquiries to test tendencies: 155 visitors, 50 inhabitants, 50 shops (Note: The results of the control inquiries made in 2018 are fully reliable but not statistically representative. Their value lies in detecting signs of evolution or, if it were the case, confirming the trend consistency manifested in the 2013-2015 inquiry). Catalogued: 559 books, 211 websites, 90 audiovisual materials.

ATIVIDADES DE DEBATE PARALELAS Á EXPOSICIÓN

Todas as actividades están subordinadas ao asunto central da exposición e terán lugar na **Sala de Actos do Instituto Rosalía de Castro**, excepto indicación expresa neste programa, **de 19:30 a 21 horas**. Toda a información en redegalabra.org

- 9 de maio Encontro cos grupos políticos con representación no concello.
- 16 de maio Encontro con Asociacións Veciñais: Zonas de intensidade turística e comercial.
- 23 de maio Encontro con Asociacións Veciñais: O rural, zonas emerxentes e periferia da cidade. Ou Comerciantes, restaurantes e produtores agrícolas locais.
- 4 de xuño Encontro con representantes da USC, Catedral, CETUR: A cidade patrimonial, universitaria, relixiosa, turística, habitábel. ...
- 5 de xuño Encontro con comerciantes, restaurantes e produtores/as agrícolas locais
- 6 de xuño Encontro con comerciantes da Zona Vella: A actividade comercial singular na parte antiga da cidade.
- 13 de xuño Encontro con representantes comerciais, empresariais e sindicais: A actividade comercial e empresarial e a cidade na Cámara de Comercio.
- 18 de xuño Encontro con especialistas en turismo e urbanismo. + Encerramento da exposición "A Cidade, o Camiño e Nós" (na Sala de Actos da Facultade de Filosofía).

Mesas redondas

FIGURE 3

Round table program and a few of their photos

Source: Galabra, 2019.

The finished work can be seen documented on the Facebook page of the Galabra network <https://pt-br.facebook.com/RedeGalabra/>. The central exhibition catalog and the supporting leaflet can be found at <https://redegalabra.org/>. In the period of 2020-2021, the catalogs of the central exhibition and the three sectional exhibitions with additional information on their impact will be published, as well as the results of the round tables, repercussions on the city and in the press and the social interactions made by the Research Team.

3.2.3. DETAILS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROJECT

a) Given the changeover in government in the municipality as a result of the local elections on May 29th, 2019, and also in order to avoid overlap, an agreement was reached with the new political leaders, on the one hand, to extend the central exhibition located in the Alameda until July 10th, 2019 and, on the other hand, to start the itinerancy of the sectional exhibitions after the summer of this year, from October 2019 until February of 2020.

b) With the postponing of the sectional exhibitions, the photographic competition, which was planned to run parallel to these, was postponed as well. Work began at the end of 2019, segmenting it into two phases, December-April and April-August, to cover two different moments of the influx of visitors to the city and raising funds for the awards, aimed at supporting local administrations and trade associations through small purchases at their sites for the people awarded. Due to the COVID-19 crisis, this process was suspended.

c) The response of the schools to the text inviting participation sent at the end of April 2019 was absolutely non-existent. We are considering a second mailing at winter's end, soon after the planned itinerancy of the sectional exhibits throughout the Council's Sociocultural Centers, unable to occur because of the crisis of COVID-19.

3.2.4. SOME EFFECTS

The roundtables held with the Neighborhood Associations served to note the lively interest of the entities convened —several requested additional information— and a chance to break down the information: in this sense, several entities asked us open up a forum for debate regarding findings that could serve as a meeting point between them. This took place in October 2019, with scarce attendance, focusing once again on the issues being commented, and called for a reorientation of the work in this area. Some of them are also using the model we proposed in order to promote debates related to these issues, such as Raigame, in the Ensanche neighborhood —the most highly populated area of Santiago: 16,000 inhabitants, approx.—, which opened a series of Round Tables with our participation (<http://aavvraigame.blogspot.com/p/novas.html>).

The political and institutional participation tables also caused interest. In the electoral campaign that took place at that time —May 2019— certain groups used our data in a relevant way (<https://praza.gal/politica/desafiamos-os-poderes->

facticos-e-somos-peza-a-bater-pero-estamos-en-condicions-de-revalidar-o-gobierno-de-compostela). Galabra's idea of proposing a city observatory to the municipality made up of specialists is currently underway, with several USC research groups taking part. Merchants emphasized the lack of unity of the sector and the need for it, as well as the usefulness of these sorts of studies for their activity. Guild associations —Ourives de Compostela, e.g.— asked us for guidance.

The coverage received in the press was equally important, which we reference in the following. The exhibition allowed our work to gain strong visibility. The interest came from general and specialized media —hotel industry—, shedding light on the fundamental concerns that these media collect and/or convey: tourist massification, local food and production, cultural identity, and, in general, a reassessment of the tourist phenomenon in the city.



FIGURE 4

Screen shot of redegalabra.org with news from the newspaper *La Voz de Galicia* collecting the act of presentation of the central exhibition, with the presence of the mayor's office, members of the various political groups represented therein and the Rector of USC, in addition to presidents of the faculties of Philology and Economics, the curators of the exhibition and assistant public

Source: https://www.lavozdegalicia.es/noticia/santiago/santiago/2019/05/04/muestra-recoge-vision-vecinos-turistas-sobre-santiago/0003_2019054C5991.htm

In addition to our presence in those newspapers with the largest audience (<https://www.elcorreogallego.es/santiago/ecg/santiago-reflexionara-turistificacion-exposiciones-charlas/idEdicion-2019-04-29/idNoticia-1180057>; https://www.lavozdegalicia.es/noticia/santiago/santiago/2019/05/04/muestra-recoge-vision-vecinos-turistas-sobre-santiago/0003_2019054C5991.htm), certain media became interested in our work for specific reasons (<http://www.galiciainconfidencial.com/noticia/96797-polbo-marisco-dilemas-agricultores-restauradores-nunha-cidade-turistificada>, on the table of the food sector) or specialized media covered us (such as CompHostelería magazine, Asociación de Hostelería de Compostela, which dedicated a cover spread to us and an interview for its number 187 https://issuu.com/albertoseoane/docs/revista_ch-187__web_).



FIGURE 5

Coverage in the press

Source: Galabra, 2019.

3.2.5. QUESTIONNAIRE FOR RESIDENTS AND NON-RESIDENTS VISITING THE CENTRAL EXHIBITION

A brief survey on the central exhibition was available in three languages, Galician, Spanish and English —the central exhibition was written in Galician with a QR code referring to the Spanish and English versions hosted at galabra.org. at the exhibition itself. These were the results received from residents:

Table 1
Social Rating Questionnaire of the Main Exposition - Residents

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Average	Standard Deviation
The exhibition was interesting	135	1,00	8,00	5,87	2,31
The results of the research were surprising.	139	1,00	8,00	4,77	2,27
This exhibition bored me.	136	1,00	8,00	2,74	2,37
I understood the contents of the exhibition.	135	1,00	8,00	6,58	2,06
Money should not be spent on this type of projects.	137	1,00	8,00	2,64	2,51
I am satisfied with my assistance to this exhibition.	139	1,00	8,00	5,75	2,26
I will recommend this exhibition to my acquaintances.	137	1,00	8,00	5,19	2,48
I believe that these types of projects are useful for society.	138	1,00	8,00	5,93	2,44
I would like more researchers to display their results in this manner.	137	1,00	8,00	6,09	2,41
Valid number (by list)	125				

Source: our elaboration.

It should be pointed out that the statistical value of these surveys is relative and works more as evidence. Therefore, on a scale from 1 to 8, the highest values —exceeding 6 out of 8— correspond to the understanding of the contents exposed and the pleasure / willingness to continue interacting with data or other surveys of this nature.

At the opposite extreme, 2.5 relays annoyance from their the visit to the exhibition and consider it to be money badly spent -therefore, it is communicated approximately the same.

At nearly 6, an appreciation of the usefulness of our research —exactly 5.93— and the interest of the exhibition —5.87 to be exact., which they recommend a great deal —5.19—, although the results were not very surprising -4.77.

We declared 25% of the completed questionnaires null, due to incompleteness or being used for improper purposes.

More women than men participated, and many more young people —under 30; a good part of them not students- than other age groups. By neighborhood: Ensanche, whose proximity was likely a factor, clearly wins; San Pedro, an active and historical neighborhood, receiving arrivals from the French Way, marks an important presence; this is followed by the Old Zone, of the 17 zones in which we divide Santiago.

This is the result of the questionnaire to non-residents:

Table 2

Questionnaire on local community perception and the visit in relation to the information contained in the central exhibition. Non-residents

	Tourism modifies your visit	The Way is a part of Santiago's identity	Have a lot of contact with the local people	Talk more with Santiago's inhabitants	Prefer to focus on the visit that I prepared previously	Would like to frequent places where people from Santiago usually go, local events, etc.	More interested in the visit you have planned previously	This exhibition may change your perception, consumptions and places to visit
Valid	67,00	70,00	71,00	69,00	57,00	68,00	58,00	68,00
Losses	6,00	3,00	2,00	4,00	16,00	5,00	15,00	5,00
Average	4,99	6,94	5,25	6,25	4,18	6,91	3,98	4,82
Median	5,00	8,00	6,00	7,00	4,00	7,00	4,00	5,00
Standard deviation	2,06	1,70	2,27	1,89	2,20	1,47	2,13	2,30
Range	7,00	7,00	7,00	7,00	7,00	6,00	7,00	7,00
Minimum	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	1,00
Maximum	8,00	8,00	8,00	8,00	8,00	8,00	8,00	8,00

Source: our elaboration.

As we can see, simply as an indicator and without a noteworthy statistical value, this type of information can modify the visit —4.18— and the interests of the visiting person —3.98— and even their perception —4.82. We also use these surveys to define indicators of the quality of the visit by the local community and the visitor, which is one of the dimensions of our projects.

4. Appreciation

The results speak for themselves, in our view, that this process of sharing results and working with entities, agents, and people interested in the process is beneficial in many ways. In the city a dynamic of social participation and activation is generated to which we noticeably contribute, to the extent we are able to. And it appears to be positive for society that this type of proposals receive greater development and presence. We can count, in approximate terms, an average of between 75 and 100 quality visitors —those who dedicate more than 5 minutes to reading— daily, which is statistically significant.

Ours is, therefore, a very positive evaluation; but not without errors and difficulties. We would like to cite, among others:

- a) Information design and selection. The intelligibility of data and analysis: the difficulty in translating research results of this type into expository and dissemination proposals. And this, in spite of working with an unusually gifted exhibition design team.
- b) It's not customary for people to attend this class of activities. One can perceive, in cases and as a consequence, the tendency of some people to either experience a sort of *déjà vu*, or rather, to discredit of the results in general, part of a larger tendency to doubt results in the field of Social Sciences in general.
- c) The Round Tables have an extraordinary participation of people and groups but suffer from sparse audiences: overload, poor choice times or place, poor communication, lack of interest? The hypotheses are open and under examination.
- d) The lack of professional recognition of these types of groups: still overcome by the strong commitment of the team, this can be clearly demoralizing and tiring.
- e) A future reflection on the relationship of these actions with the international and national Agendas that the group considers necessary. Actions such as this, for example, may notably satisfy or complement some of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) indicated by the UN which we referred to at the outset here. In the very least, they offer reflections for society to work on these issues. This is the case with goals 8: Decent Work and Economic Growth; 10: Reduced inequalities, and 15: Life of land —the economy and relation sustainability and affectivity of local community identity; vid. Torres Feijó "Bem-estar". These issues can then be coordinated with this specific agenda and also highlight what further needs must be addressed.

5. Reflections on SCR and Its Development

What is exposed above are aspects related to an ongoing process, both in the team's divulgative project and in its derivations. We understand SCR, then, as a permanent process, with different degrees, phases and participants. We consider that, besides teaching, research, promotion of self-employment of students or researchers —commonly called, sometimes by mistake, entrepreneurship—, the SCR —and the Social Commitment in the Teaching-Learning process—, should constitute one of the fundamental missions of higher education, due to the very nature of the sense of research —learning in order to improve people's lives— for, in this case, working with public resources and for being able to offer alternatives of social and/or professional activity that are not dependent on any interests acting against the above-established principles. In this sense, at least three dimensions can be considered: 1) the diffusion and dissemination of results, 2) their transference and means of obtention via agents or professional or social entities and 3) cooperation towards the improvement of the quality of life of the entire community, or for the studied sectors. In these derivations, the transfer of knowledge and results produced by the university may have several functionalities, in both the social realm as well as in cultural and professional fields.

And it must be the object of promotion and dissemination of results, both in mass media as well as in specialized media¹. We believe, for example, that advising public and private companies is an interesting line of work, because it approaches entrepreneurship from the point of view of self-employment, small businesses and professional development in several dimensions: The incorporation of synergies between universities and companies and the processes of transference —spin-offs here, but widely understood as a transfer between universities and companies; the possibility of making the research profitable because of its capacity to create jobs; opportunities to innovate through relationships to various research components; and, last but not least —although from a subjective perspective—, setting aside resources to prevent the disappearance of professionals by large corporations or lack of possibilities for business development, and avoiding such dependency on major transnational trends or present high rates of market vulnerability. But even more relevant as a line of work is the social work to be developed with sectors, particularly those with fewer or more disadvantaged resources, in order to share knowledge and formulas that make their well-being grow and consolidate.

In this case, and as an integral part of our exhibition project, parameters such as population loss or reorientation of commercial activity according to the visiting people translates into the aforementioned loss of social relationship and emblematic spaces showing the possible existence of conflicts of interest of groups within the local community and conflicts between sectors of this community and its visitors, which may point to a loss of social cohesion in the medium or long term. Here, as in other cases, a sphere of subjectivity and calculation about the evolution of the supposed symptoms is opened, which makes it difficult to craft proposals for solutions, especially if the problems are not felt by the city's population as a whole or if they are indifferent to them; this poses an important challenge in terms of Social Research Responsibility that we would like to simply leave here, on the table. For reasons of our ethical conception of research, both in the sense of the information obtained and in the purpose of their analysis, the dissemination of results to general society and, in particular, to the community —the object of study— must be present in the research agenda: dissemination, clarification, debate and feedback bearing in mind the quality of life and cohesion of the whole community. This has to do, in part, with what we enunciate as Social Research Responsibility: the cooperative and/or collaborative work with the sectors of the community to achieve these same objectives of improving the quality of life and cohesion, with priority for people with fewer resources or in more disadvantaged situations. As indicated earlier, this is a complex and debatable subject: Research must always be subject to rigor and verifiability. At the same time, what is at stake is the real need of the research team to work with the people it interacts with in its investigation in order to achieve the aforementioned objectives. A long and complex debate can be opened about whether the researcher should act as an active citizen, whether his/her

¹ We have no knowledge of any study carried out from this point of view. However, there is useful bibliographical material for this purpose on the participation / lack of participation of residents in planning processes (Stenseke, Eshliki & Kaboudi, see also the recent review by Hatipoglu *et al.*, on sustainable tourism); and there are also studies analyzing new forms of participation (Viren *et al.*).

interaction with the community invalidates or disturbs his/her work, or even whether s/he should interact, as such, with the community. A simple easy answer could be “no”, but with a boomerang effect on what the real final object of the investigation should be—at least, the one carried out with public money. The development of work among many, the delimitation of the role of each person and the consequent action... This is a difficult manner and demands a great deal of self-reflection and self-analysis, in the way Pierre Bourdieu discusses this (2004).

Bibliographical References

- Bourdieu, P. (1979) *La distinction: critique sociale du jugement*. Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1979.
- Bourdieu, P. (2004) *Esquisse pour une auto-analyse*. *Raisons d'Agir*, 2004. CETUR - Centro de Estudos e Investigações Turísticas (2014) *Estudo da Caracterização da Demanda Turística de Santiago de Compostela (Mercado português e Brasileiro): ano 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011 e 2012*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 2014.
- Coelho, P. (1987) *O Diário de um mago*. São Paulo: Rocco.
- Eshliki, S. A. & Kaboudi, M. (2012) Community perception of tourism impacts and their participation in tourism planning: a case study of Ramsar, Iran. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, vol. 36, 333-341.
- Even-Zohar, I. (1990) Polysystem Theory. *Polysystem Studies* [= *Poetics Today*, vol. 11, no. 1], 9-26. https://m.tau.ac.il/~itamarez/works/books/Even-Zohar_1990--Polysystem%20studies.pdf
- Even-Zohar, I. (2005) Polysystem Theory (Revised version). *Papers in Culture Research*, University of Tel Aviv. <http://www.tau.ac.il/~itamarez/papers/ps-th-r.htm>. Accessed 3 Aug. 2014.
- Even-Zohar, I. (2003) Idea makers, Culture Entrepreneurs, Makers of Life Images, and The Prospects of Success. www.tau.ac.il/~itamarez/. Accessed 28 Oct. 2003.
- Even-Zohar, I. (2010). Culture as Goods, Culture as Tools. *Papers in Culture Research*, Unit of Culture Research - Tel Aviv University, 9-14, http://www.tau.ac.il/~itamarez/works/books/EZ-CR-2005_2010.pdf. Accessed 5 May 2014.
- Even-Zohar, I., Torres Feijó, E.J. and Monegal, A. (2019) The end of literature, or: What purposes does it continue to serve?. *Poetics Today*, Special Issue 40, 2019, 7-31.
- Hatipoglu, B. *et al.* (2014) Barriers to stakeholder involvement in the planning of sustainable tourism: the case of the Thrace region in Turkey. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 2014, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jclepro.2014.11.059>
- Stenseke, M. (2009) Local participation in cultural landscape maintenance: Lessons from Sweden. *Land Use policy*, vol. 26, n. 2, 214-23.
- Torres Feijó, E. J. (2011). Discursos, imagens e práticas culturais sobre Santiago de Compostela como meta dos Caminhos de Santiago, in Lourenço, A.A. and Silvestre, O.M. (coord.) *Literatura, espaço, cartografias*. Coimbra: Centro de Literatura Portuguesa – Universidade de Coimbra, 391-449. <http://grupogalabra.com/investigacao/projetos/99-discursos-imagens-e-praticas-culturais-sobre-santiago-de-compostela-como-meta-dos-caminhos.html>. Accessed 5 May 2014.

- Torres Feijó, E. J. (2015) Tourism and local community: unperceived and imperceptible risks and socially responsible research (SRR). First stages to work SRR with traders. *Critical Tourism Studies VI Conference*. 2015, <http://wp.nyu.edu/cts2015/wp-content/uploads/sites/657/2015/06/TorresFeijo.pdf>
- Torres Feijó, E. J. (2019) *Bem-estar comunitário e visitantes em Compostela: grandes narrativas, ideias e práticas culturais ligadas ao Caminho de Santiago*. Santiago de Compostela: Andavira.
- Viren, P. *et al.* (2015) Social network participation and coverage by tourism industry sector. *Journal of Destination Marketing & Management*, Vol. 4, n. 2, 110-119 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jdmm.2015.03.004i>

IKERTUZ

Ikerketa lanak
Trabajos de investigación

INFORMAZIOA ETA ESKARIAR • INFORMACIÓN Y PEDIDOS

UPV/EHUko Argitalpen Zerbitzua • Servicio Editorial de la UPV/EHU
argitaletxea@ehu.eus • editorial@ehu.eus
1397 Posta Kutxatila - 48080 Bilbo • Apartado 1397 - 48080 Bilbao
Tfn.: 94 601 2227 • www.ehu.eus/argitalpenak

eman ta zabal zazu



Universidad del País Vasco Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea