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The Way of Saint James,
Tourism, and Local Community

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Summary

Presentation. Starting from the local community

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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 —initiallly 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 Sampedro 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.

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

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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

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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 tourism[2] or urban tourism (López Palomeque, 2015).

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[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 vimaranense 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 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).

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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.

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[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 city[5]: 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 periodsthat 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 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

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[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.
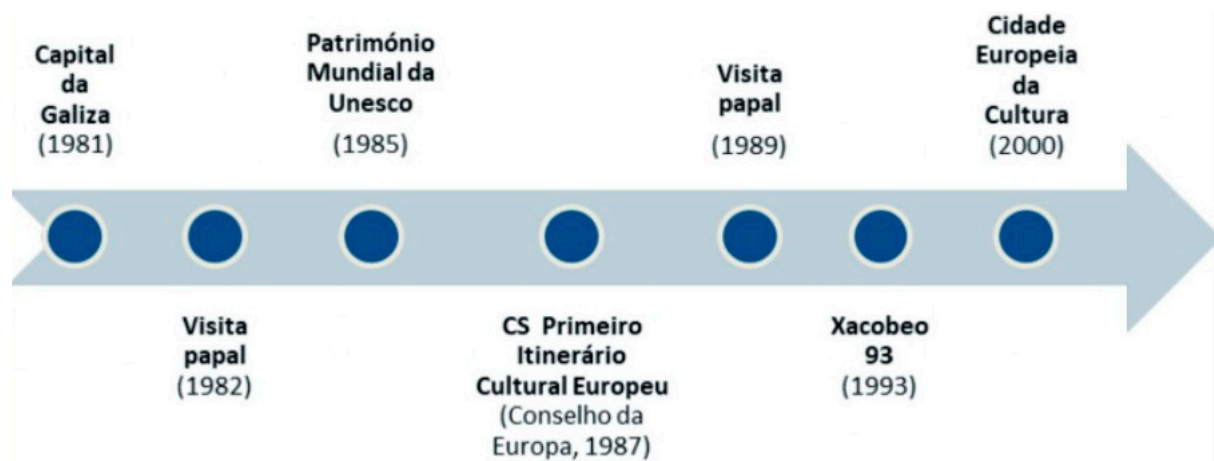
FIGURE 2

(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).

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[7] "The Xacobean 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).
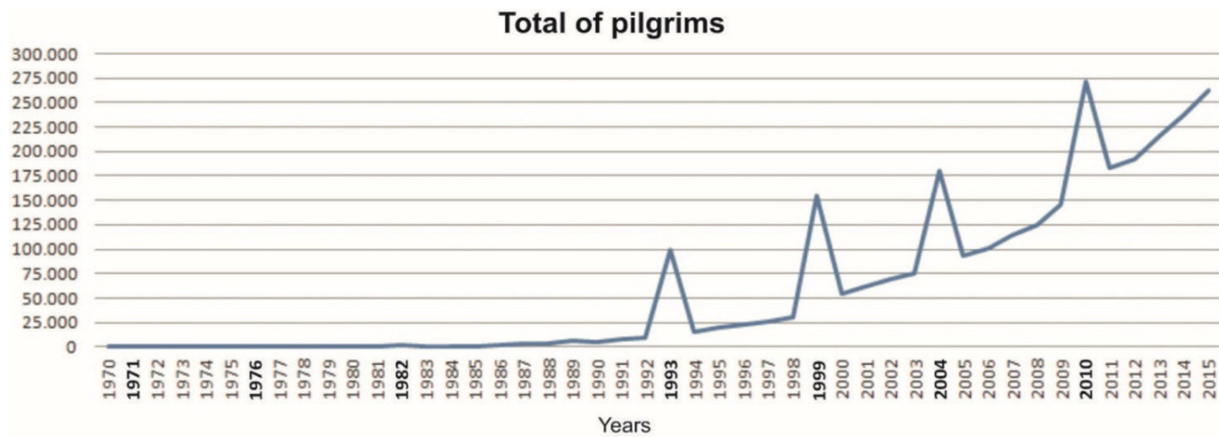
FIGURE 3

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 *Consorcio* 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.consorcio-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.

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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 successifully 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 strking 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.

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