

Sustainable identity. Tourism as opportunity or menace. Extracting parameters for the study of identity sustainability. Proposals based on a case study in Santiago de Compostela

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ABSTRACT

As a part of a wider project focusing the study of the discourses over the city of Santiago de Compostela, Galiza, and the pilgrimage trough its different trails, we have tried to elaborate for specific application to the study of touristic phenomenon the concept of “sustainable identity.” Besides the theoretical concept, explored by my colleague Elias J. Torres Feijó, my paper aims to study, through the specific case of Compostela, the possibility of elaborating a range of parameters useful for measuring the sustainability degree of the identity of a given community, taking into considerations the different aspects involved, from the perceptions of the insiders to the vision of the foreigners, using both statistical tools and qualitative analysis.

Our goal is to know at what extent and in what specific ways tourism, and the interaction between locals and tourists, as well as their respective expectations interfere with the building process of local identity, the items selected for its construction and the dynamic definition of identity boundaries between communities.

For the aforementioned purpose we have developed a framework that establishes the items that, in our opinion, set ground for identifying and measuring the degree of sustainability of the identity of a community. Among them, we have selected three that we would explore in this paper through the data already collected by the research team:

a) The narratives that posses a wider potential range and influence, dealing with aspects of identity: legal texts, textbooks, institutional and government hierarchies and structures, as well as cultural institutions, exploring the elements used to set identity.

b) The discourses expressed through products outletted as community specific and proper items (as literary texts, documentaries, websites...).

c) The comparison between external and internal images, analyzing if the items and hierarchies match in both sides of the identity boundary, expressed through interviews conducted with tourists and visitants in the town of Santiago de Compostela.

An overview of the position of Santiago de Compostela

Our research project aims to explore the connections between tourism as a cultural and social phenomenon, and the building of identities in a local community (for the several definitions of the concepts *community*, see Colombo, 2011). In this regard, we should say that, first, we assume that the building of identities is a dynamic process that is in constant shaping and reshaping regarding the items people assume to be defining and determinant for the identification with a given community. Those items must be agreed upon by a community –or at least by a relevant part of that community- and must have a certain duration, as communities are built not only synchronically but historically rooted. In our specific case –the town of Santiago de Compostela- we have to take into consideration that is not only local identity under discussion, but regional and national identities too, since Santiago de Compostela is the capital of Galiza, legally considered as an autonomous territory within Spain, with its own institutions –as Parliament, Government, an *Estatuto* -or

Constitution-, and Justice Court, among others. Nonetheless, the national or regional consideration of Galiza is not consensual, different social and political groups existing –currently and historically- promoting different strategies, goals and definitions moving along an axis from the wanting of an independent state to the consideration of Galiza as a non-differential territory of Spain.

As a town, Compostela joins a highly connotated meaning as political capital, national (or nationalist) capital (chosen place for frequent political demonstrations and all sorts of commemorations) and University town, with an undeniable relevance as a religious center and a touristic attraction. A small town with less than 100 000 inhabitants, she scores around 8 million visitants a year. Tourism, consequently, has an important role to play in this complex scenario, seen and marketed as an economic opportunity by the Galician government, specially since the “holly year” of 1993 *Jacobeu*. The religious pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela –one of the three holly cities of Christendom with Rome and Jerusalem- has, therefore, turned into focus and core of the touristic strategy for Galiza (Lage, Losada, Gómez, 2012). Tourism has turn in one crucial activity for Galician economy, as literature on the subject shows (Exceltur, 2009) a steady growing from a 4% of the GDP in the beginning of the 90's to 10.9% according to data from 2007. Data from the same year set a 10.3% of total employment in the touristic sector. For the different orientations of tourism in Galiza literature exists as the works of Abad (2003); Besteiro (2003, 2004, 2006), Garin-Muñoz (2009), Martínez and De Miguel (2000), Martínez and Rodríguez (2006), and Rodríguez and Guisado (2001, 2003).

The project and the methodology

Given the ideological and identity differences noted, and the complexity of studying all the aspects of the intersection tourism-local identity, in this first stage of our project we decided to tackle specifically the questions related to local identity and the usage and meaning of places of the town for locals and tourists.

The methodology designed for accomplishing our goals involve two different approaches suitable for the two different parts of the project. For the first phase, we select all the production in the fields of literature (meaning fiction), odeporic literature (guides, travelers diaries...), magazines, blogs and websites devoted to the Santiago Trail, and audio-visual fiction (films, series) and documentaries. We restricted our corpus –for feasibility reasons- to the products released from 2008 onwards starting two year before the last “holly year” in 11 years (an abnormally long gap between *Jacobeus*), and to the specific areas of Galiza, Spain, Portugal and Brazil. The reason for this national cut is the relevance of those specific groups among the visitors to Compostela: Galician are the most important group of visitors; Spaniards constitute the most important group of non-Galician; Portuguese the most numerous group of non-Spaniards, and, finally, Brazilian the wider group of non-European visitors. With this corpus, we are trying to identify and analyze the kind of

discourse that delivered as permanent, avoiding the ephemeral character of the discourse carried by newspapers or specific advertising campaigns.

For handling this material, we have developed a cataloger that allows us to identify and classify every piece of the corpus with all the relevant information: besides simple cataloging information (author, title, languages, editor, publishing house, etc.) we introduce in this database standardized data about the contents of the items in order to discuss our hypothesis.

The second phase of the project is focused on interviewing visitors to Compostela, belonging to the aforementioned national groups. For this, we have designed a survey and a qualitative interview. The first one aims to obtain a wide sample of the perceptions and opinions of visitors related to their degree of knowledge of the town –both geographical and cultural- the images they embodied before coming to the city, and to what extent they can acknowledge they experience had an impact in those images or visions of the town. Using the same methodology we have drawn a third phase for testing –whenever is possible- the actual reception of items of the corpus among the locals.

As my colleague Elias Torres studies in his paper, the mere intersection between locals and visitors –in addition, in a largely disproportionate scale- brings issues related to the stability and sustainability of identity boundaries, or, in a simple way, the identity sustainability, defined in his paper as the situation “[w]hen the community recognizes itself, and the identity items remaining can guarantee the continuity of a common identity, and the consensus of the community is wide enough.” And we would like to strongly underline here that we understand community identity as a dynamic rather than fixed set of elements in constant changing.

Research questions

Relations (non-equal relations, should be said) brought by tourism have been studied for a variety of contexts, specially for those conditioned by extreme culture and income differences (Ahmed, Z. U., & Krohn, F. B., 1992; Belisle, F. J., & Hoy, D. R. (1980); Cohen, 1996; Chambers, 2000; Greenwood, 1977, 1989; Fisher, 2000; McIntosh, 2004; McIntosh and Johnson, 2005; Nash, 1977, 1989; Pereiro, 2012; Ryan and Aicken, 2005; Ryan et al., 2007; Smith, 1977, 1996; Sofield, 1996; Swain, 1977; Tucker, 2003). The interest in this case is that we are dealing, mostly, with a fairly homogeneous scenario according to the income level, ethnics, culture in a wider sense, and language of visitors and locals. Even though, changes can be noticed specially regarding the usages of public places in town. From this start point we formulate the following research questions:

- 1) Under what circumstances could identity be analyzed as sustainable?
- 2) Does sustainability depend on the items contributing to define identity, or, quite the opposite, can the boundaries of a certain community be stable, regardless the items that contribute to define it?

3) Is it possible to detect for the specific case of Compostela a reshaping of identity items in relation with tourism?

4) Is this relation and the eventual reshaping affecting somehow the meaning and function of places for locals?

5) Is this relation and the eventual reshaping affecting somehow the degree of satisfaction of locals regarding their town?

6) And, finally, is this relation and the eventual reshaping affecting somehow the profile of visitors and their satisfaction regarding their tourist experience?

Possible indicators

We tried to contribute to the discussion exploring three particular aspects related to the provisional findings of our project. As a working paper, the conclusions and eventual findings are provisional. We won't explore here the three selected criterion in depth –actually, every one of them could be the subject of a specific paper- but we will discuss their usefulness for turning into sounded indicators for identity sustainability.

a) Legal texts, textbooks, institutional and government hierarchies and structures, as well as cultural institutions.

As is expressed by the theoretical stream of institutionalism or neo-institutionalism, institutional frameworks have the ability not only of channeling the actions of the agents acting in a given field, but as well and in a very relevant way, of creating identities or interests for communities (Powell and Dimaggio). Role of institutions for Galician identity has been reviewed by other authors before like Torres Feijó (2010) for social cohesion, and Máiz and Losada (2000), who have tested how the existence of an “institutional context provided by federalism” can reinforce the collective identity. Even if we don't agree in all the extent of the conclusions of Máiz and Losada – Galician identity can be found in previous periods, before the current autonomy, linked to other institutions-, we think that the existence of autonomous institutions has a crucial role for the building of identities. For a first approach to this indicators, we will summarize and review the identity references of the three main legal and institutional elements for Galician culture: the *Estatuto*, the *Consello da Cultura Galega* and the *Real Academia Galega*.

A first *Estatuto*, or Galician Constitution was promulgated in 1936 and, after Franco's dictatorship, the second and current one was approved in 1981. The latter assumes that the first mission for Galician government is the “defense of the Galician identity.” This identity is not defined, though, in the legal text. The symbols that legally represent Galiza were promulgated in May 29th 1984. Those are the flag, the anthem and the coat-of-arms. The flag and the anthem, particularly, are linked to the nationalist tradition from the turning of the 19th to the 20th century, having been established at that time. In the case of the anthem, the lyrics are strongly related to the

ideological stream that links Galiza with a Celtic origin. The coat-of-arms is linked with catholic tradition, displaying the chalice and seven crosses representing the seven ancient provinces that used to constitute the Galician Kingdom.

The *Consello da Cultura Galega* (The Council for Galician Culture), was created by a law passed in July 8th 1983 by the Galician Government “for defense and promotion of the cultural values of the Galician people.” The definition of culture given by the act is strongly historical, mentioning people's right of “enjoying generation after generation the goods of the historical memoir and heritage.” The functions attributed to it are linked to the preservation of cultural heritage, research in this field and the analysis of the “cultural needs of Galician people.”

Both the *Estatuto* and the *Consello da Cultura* place in a central part of their definitions and actions the Galician Language as a core part of Galician Culture. With a similar goal, the *Real Academia Galega*, the Galician Royal Academy, is devoted from its establishing date in 1906 to the regulation of the grammatical rules and the protection and promotion of the Galician language. The current legislation on the Academy was passed in June 15th 1983, referring the aforementioned tasks as well as the promotion of cultural and literary heritage, and doing consultancy on the correct usage of language for public institutions.

In all those cases, the identity is not explicitly defined, despite of what some conclusions can be drawn from the analysis of what we can call the *legal* or *official* identity, that seems to be composed by language and the idea of cultural heritage in a good part. Despite the origin of the symbols and the *Academia* being in the nationalist tradition of the late 19th century and the early 20th, nor the functions neither the definitions of this *legal identity* is very attached to the repertorial roots of the former (particularly the Celtic ideology, the cultural link to Portugal, and the placing of landscape and geography as the main components of Galician identity).

b) The discourses expressed through products outletted as community specific and proper items (as literary texts, documentaries, websites...).

As our project has shown (Torres Feijó, 2011) the main narrative around the Santiago de Compostela Trail was set by a combination of the discourses addressed by the Catholic Church, the UNESCO and the European Union, and Paulo Coelho's writings. The output was a definition of the Trail as a path for self-acknowledgment, for live renewal and for deeply spiritual exploration of the self, and, at the same time, the characterization of Compostela as a town rooted in ancient history. The mix of both ideas –history and spirituality- gave birth to a popular stream of cultural products exploiting the aesthetics set in recent times by Dan Brown among others (Torres Feijó, 2012).

The main conclusion to this analysis (Torres Feijó, 2013; and Bello Vázquez. 2013, forthcoming) is that regardless the genre used by authors or even the degree of actual knowledge of Galiza, the weigh of history and esoterism is overwhelming in the cultural products related the the

Santiago Trail, while those products focused on Galiza but not on the Trail, are particularly concerned about whether, food and a certain degree of ruralism and underdevelopment.

In our previous work where we interviewed the owners or employees in stores situated in the center of the old town in Santiago and we performed participant observation on the spots, we analyzed the products that can be purchased as “typical.” (Torres Feijó and Bello Vázquez, 2011) Those products, addressed specifically for tourists are mainly linked to symbols of the Trail like the shell –that used to be an emblem for ancient pilgrims could demonstrate that they actually reached Galiza- and the yellow arrow pointing to Compostela all through the pilgrimage way (a modern-times icon). By their side, we can find items related to the Cathedral and catholic religion –figures of the Cathedral or Saint James, rosaries, crosses, etc.-, and, finally, emblems of esoterism and Celtic imagery: figures of witches, angel callers, magic stones, Celtic spirals, etc. According to interviews conducted with the sellers, some of them are part of a kind of “suspension of disbelief” process, where the seller knows –and believes that the purchaser knows as well- that all those symbols are fake, but part of a tradition.

In the same area, craftsmanship shops can be found, where they offer as representative of the Galician culture jewelry made of silver and jet, with some pottery and Celtic symbols.

c) The comparison between external and internal images.

In a series of interviews conducted with visitors of the town in the summer of 2011, we gathered the vision of visitors on Compostela, specifically asking about images, culture and identity (Torres Feijó and Bello Vázquez, 2012). The main conclusion was that the predominant image among visitors characterized Compostela as a place with an uncomfortable weather, extremely good food, beautiful rural landscapes, and culturally defined by religion and Celtic background (specially in music).

An ongoing new series of interviews with visitors are reinforcing right now the conclusions of the previous report. Consequently, we believe that we have obtained already an accurate profile of the embodied image visitors carry with them when they arrive. If we compare this with the study of the shop owners and employees, on the one hand, and the published opinion of locals about the same items we could find the level of correspondence between the internal and the external image. In our survey, merchants complains are made about the economic profile of tourists, but they don't manifest uncomfortableness regarding the ideas or the images about Galiza. In some cases, they can be slightly surprised because of the lack of knowledge about food or, specially, seafood, but they see this as normal. Surveys published by the most popular Galician journal –La Voz de Galiza in 2005- show that the most relevant identity items for Galician people are landscape, food and “people.”

Discussion

If we combine the three elements analyzed in this paper, we can see that we find a weak definition of identity by official authorities, even if they show that identity is an important issue for the understanding of the building process of Galician institutions themselves. Regardless the existence of a nationalist historical process that supports the creation and modern-times function of autonomous government institutions, those institutions don't embody many elements that were a core part of the former process, as the allegedly Celtic roots, the landscape or others, explicit only in the lyrics of the anthem, that is actually a poem written in the late 19th century.

If we want to find the items that can constitute identity, both local and Galician, nowadays, we don't have many published sources. In the case of local identity, studies on Compostela are non-existent. As a part of our project we have done an experimental series of interviews characterized by reaching local people in a process of actually consuming items of our corpus. Nonetheless, we only have at the moment raw results, not ready to be used at the time of writing this paper. If we look at studies made on Galician identity, we have mainly surveys made by media. The results offered by those surveys is that landscape and food are the main items that characterize Galician culture. Those results are basically coincident with the image expressed by visitors.

The last element for contrast is the fictional production. In this regard we noticed a difference between the products focused on the Santiago Trail and those focused in Santiago or Galiza in general. The latter are consistent with the image generated by locals and visitors. Is the fiction surrounding the Trail of Santiago the one which is promoting a very different image, focused on religion, esoterism and medievalism.

Conclusions

We think that the crossing of the parameters indicated in this paper shows a strong consistence between the local and the outsider vision of Compostela. In addition, the official image of Galiza –lacking jet a more sounded study of other sources as textbooks and public policies in detail- is apparently non-relevant for the configuration of the insiders image. In this terms, we could say that the local identity could be studied with those parameters, but only if we could add more specific data on the opinions and behavior of the Compostela inhabitants.

On the other hand, picking fiction products as a parameter –showing, as occur in this case, relevant differences- can be useful to predict new trends among visitors, and, in consequence, to elaborate strategies for preventing or not the eventual interferences that could arise. In fact, one of the conclusions of our previous work (Torres Feijó and Bello Vázquez, 2012) is, precisely, that the pilgrims and the Trail, or at least the images carried by them can be starting to work as main builders of the images of Santiago, far beyond the actual experience of visiting the town.

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