Living in the Same but Different City. Evidence from Santiago de Compostela

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Abstract

When talking about tourism in historic towns we forget that there are frequently other urban areas that firmly remain hidden from the tourist gaze. This duplicity, often favoured by public policies, does not just have very negative effects on the historic areas with, for example, impact on residential and commercial functions, but also on the tourists' experience due to overcrowding. In this paper we will analyse this reality applied to the example of Santiago de Compostela. We will focus on the pressure exercised on fragile urban spaces while the city experienced by the local population proves to be invisible to tourists. Finally, we will make some proposals in order to improve the pilgrims' urban experience as well as strengthening visitor loyalty.

Keywords

Introduction

Urban tourism as an organised practice has taken some time to draw academic attention and political action. The city's

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multifunctional consideration is understood as seeing another activity that takes place in more complex spaces. However, from the social and economic point of view the intensification and extensification of the tourism phenomenon, along with the existing forecasts in this market, has made it possible to pay increasing attention to this economic sector; a sector which has become part of the many regional and local governmental priorities.

It is difficult to make a generalisation about tourism and cities because the latter are very complex and diverse spaces. We can basically classify them into three categories for the purposes of this paper: large urban cities, mid-sized cities and small historic towns, although each has internal differences.

The first ones have always had, at least in the modern age, a large number of tourist visits which are, for instance, mainly related to business or health. Many have significant cultural heritage which is often derived from their hegemonic role (political and/or economic and/or cultural) in their respective countries. They even have their international importance as is the case of capitals such as London, Paris, New York or Tokyo. But that heritage is not always the backbone of its tourist appeal, as is the case in Macau where the casinos gain more relevance than the other part of the city that are protected by UNESCO (Huang et al., 2012). It is in these large agglomerations where the definition of tourist space is more complex and where the overflowing processes, or the end of the boom, are more evident. This, however, does not mean that there is no significant spatial flow concentration.

Mid-sized cities, regardless of their culturally relevant heritage, have also decided to decisively join the race to attract tourists. We are especially interested in those that have had a significant industrial development and, as a result of the changes in the production models, have been forced to redirect their economy towards very significant tourism, at least in many cases. This is the example of Bilbao, Valencia, Liverpool or Dusseldorf. It is commonplace to see that, in the absence of a strong resource, their strategy is based on a strong urban renewal with outstanding architecture being used to define new tourist districts.

Finally, we find that small historic towns often preserve these urban spaces quite well due to their minor dynamism. Their tourist districts are usually well defined around the historic centre with a marked functional divorce. From a tourist sector point of view, they were the first to show a clear interest in this economic sector, not only for its power but also as a remedy to a declining situation. In this case there are many examples, such as Santiago de Compostela, Venice, Bruges, and so on.

The focus of this paper is to be placed precisely in this last set of cities. We will try to prove the following statements: The extraordinarily rich heritage of many historic towns has enabled tourism to focus almost exclusively on it. As a consequence, there have been a number of problems that have affected destination viability. Among them there is the problem of limited tourist space which puts destination loyalty at risk. Also, and this will be the core of our argument, there is a clear urban duality in which just in one city there are two divided parts that are a world apart from each other, except for those working in the tourism sector. We will try to show this by mainly focusing on the example of Santiago de Compostela.

The historic town as a tourist destination

Historic towns, as we have said, have a long tradition in welcoming tourists who are attracted by the universality and splendour of their monuments (De La Calle, 2002). However, in the mass tourism development period in Spain, in the second half of the twentieth century, the excessive focus on coastal areas left these nuclei in the background; many of those therefore suffered neglect and harassment of misunderstood modernity. Only extraordinarily valuable cultural heritage was given any attention in an excessively singular and monumental focus (Castro, 2010).

Therefore, it would be from the 1970s, and especially from the 1980s, when there would be significant changes. This involved stimuli like the creation of the World Heritage Site from 1972 which gave significance to certain monuments and urban centres

and favoured conservation policies. Nevertheless, there were also significant changes in the tourism sector and in the concepts of economic and urban models. In regard to the former, the overwhelming dominance of the sun and beach holiday, at least in southern Europe, gave way to a diversification which confronted the maturity-obsolescence of many destinations and the growing competition from other regions, such as the Caribbean or North Africa. Thus, the city and, in particular, historic towns started to heavily promote tourism.

The second change, to which we allude in the previous paragraph, lies in the transformation of economic and urban models. The industrial crisis that is evident in the 1970s requires a change in process that, in countries like Spain, is delayed until the early 1980s when the country's imminent entry into the European Union accelerated the pace. De-industrialisation is accompanied by a tertiary sector where tourism is gaining an increasingly important role, not only in small historic towns where undiversified functionalities derive into fragile economies, but also in large cities, including some with an intense industrial past. Urban renewal is accompanied by new trends such as designer architectural projects, the gradual pedestrianisation of city centres, many more greener spaces, the re-instalment of old types of transport, like the tram, or the attention paid to culture in general, one which would also have an impact on tourism.

Sanz (1998) says that the pedestrianisation of historic centres have created a series of polarised images which have come from several models, such as the city-museum, the city-hypermarket, the city of political power and the city-bar. This author insists that, at least in the first phase, pedestrianisation did not cause a reduction in car use but rather it diverted the traffic to other parts of the city and, at the same time, neither did it turn the historic centres into good places to live and the implied multi-functionality. In any case, the generalisation of this phenomenon of humanising European cities is important. Dating back to the 1950s, this begins to take shape from 1963 with the Buchanan Traffic in Towns Report pointing to partial city traffic withdrawal as a strategy to improve urban and commercial appeal. Meanwhile Ferrer (2003) points out that Spain, where

Andalusia has a tradition of quiet streets with little traffic, establishes pedestrianisation as a paradigm for the rehabilitation of the historic centres, and mainly in the late 1970s, coincides with the democratisation of the councils and a new concern for these urban areas which had been abandoned until then.

The reasons for pedestrianisation almost always coincide with the same aspects: heritage protection, poor roads or the creation of a favourable environment for trade and meetings in general. Naoi et al. (2011) also point out another aspect of particular interest when they show the importance of maintaining an historic appearance so that visitors in the historic districts appreciate all those elements that modernity represents in a negative way, like cars or electrical cables, for example. We would then enter into old debates concerning authenticity and theming.

Retaking the argumentative discourse we were on, cities and especially the historic ones are focused on tourism as an important activity in their respective economies, at least in Spain. Recognition as world heritage sites places them at the forefront and their participation in the creation of ministerial plans and consolidation for new or mature destinations (revitalisation and excellence plans) gives them the financial tools needed to carry out their projects.

In 1984 Spain adds its first monuments to the UNESCO list, which already included the historic centre of Cordoba and the Albaicin in Granada, and continues the following year with the inclusion of Santiago de Compostela, Avila, Segovia and so on until the completion of the 13 current cities. Years later, at the turn of the decade, from 1980 to 1990, the concern for the critical situation of Spanish tourism leads to the formulation of the Master Plan for Spanish Tourism Competitiveness (launched in 1992) which will be revised in subsequent updates. What interests us is to highlight the plans at the destination point, aimed at reviving mature destinations (plans of excellence) and support others with initial tourism development (revitalisation plans).

Initially, most of the efforts focused on mature destinations on the Mediterranean coast (Beas 2012, Brunet et al. 2005), but

from the second phase, in 1996, opens up to rural, mountainous and urban areas, with special attention paid to historic towns. These latter are mainly included in formulas for mature destinations although most of them did not respond to this typology at all. Although many cities benefitted from these plans, their importance was reduced and then results, in general, were different.

Perhaps one of the most striking aspects is that the destination's participation in these plans sparked interest in tourism in many historic towns and served as a springboard for others to place the tourist sector as a priority in their urban policies. Beas (2012) indicates that while the number of historic towns affected by these plans was relatively small it is certain that they were useful to correct many deficiencies and to boost their tourist development. It is difficult to make an overall assessment of the Plans of Excellence in historic towns because the behaviours are different and because there has been no official information which gives an overview of what has been done (Brunet et al. 2005). Authors like Beas (2012) and Brunet et al. (2005) and Ivars (2003) attempt to highlight the positive aspects of cooperation between the different administrations or the strategic planning source by providing appropriate management tools. However, there are some lacks such as the pursuit of economic profitability, the low involvement of the private sector and the development of actions that should correspond to other initiatives, as for example the urban renewal of some historic centres with funds from these plans.

One of the most worrying aspects is that sometimes the efforts carried out during these plans' operational period at the destination in question fades once the plan comes to an end because the local authorities are unable to bear the financial burden of maintaining the created management bodies, while at other times apathy and mismanagement are the reasons for this neglect. This latter circumstance tends to occur more frequently in those nuclei where tourism is emerging and where the initial results regarding tourist visits were not as spectacular as they had imagined. Basically, what happened was; an overriding lack of knowledge of a sector that functions on medium and long term

strategies, an overreliance on the *singularity* of resources, a weakness of private initiative and ultimately an idea of strategic planning which proved to be a useless document when coping with daily needs.

In any case, it is relevant that, at least in Spain, historic towns have begun to take on a unique role in the tourism landscape, mainly for domestic markets and also for international ones, as is the case of Toledo, Salamanca, Cordoba and Santiago de Compostela**.** They are increasingly being offered as cultural destinations more than urban ones. This difference is importantly turning the tourist gaze towards the heritage rather than to the city itself. In the next section we will look at the study case of Santiago de Compostela and try to prove the existence of a conscious policy of separation between the two city areas, the historic and modern one, despite some unsuccessful attempts to move towards a more comprehensive urban vision. In the classification by Vera et al. (2011) it would correspond to the *duality city-tourist centre* type more than a *city or tourist resort*. Although this second one is more identified with historic towns and the first with coastlines, with the examples of Venice and Palma de Majorca respectively, we actually believe that historic towns, at least many of them, respond more to a fully dual typology, as we will see in Santiago de Compostela.

Santiago de Compostela, the schizophrenia of the urban model

The City of Santiago was developed as a powerful political and religious centre throughout the Middle Ages, mainly from the twelfth century and parallel to its significance as one of the most influential religious destinations for Christianity. The importance acquired in Europe was visible through the installation of numerous convents, churches and other buildings that were trying to show the power of institutions and families linked to these constructions. The Cathedral is undoubtedly the most impressive work carried out in the city as a reflection of cumulative grandeur.

What we would like to emphasise is that the seed of the current historic town, which originates in the Middle Ages, is consolidated and transformed over time, surpassing, as usual, the walled area around which groups of houses and religious buildings are often extramurally built due to the lack of space in the interior. Although the walls were knocked down in the early nineteenth century, urban expansion was very slow, at least until 1860 (Aldrey, 1999). He notes that even by 1900 around 75% of the population, that is to say just over 25,000 people, lived in the urban area, basically in the historic centre.

We are not going to go into the detailed urban demographic development of the city. We will just provide some information to help understand the current situation. This requires the incorporation of some significant notes focused almost exclusively on the twentieth century. We can very simply say that the high concentration of the population in the historic area is decentralised to the outside of the old city walls at a moderate pace that largely depends on the international situation, depending on the possibilities to migrate, and also the internal dynamics. In the 1960s major city growth occurs through migration remittances in a timid industrial implementation and especially through a dramatic increase in the number of university students. Some 3,250 students were enrolled during 1960-1961, 15 years later there were 25,275 in 1975-76 and over 30,000 in 1980-81 (Lois, 1994) and all management and services personnel and the number of teachers, which rose from 157 during 1960-61 to 1,556 some 25 years later, must be added to those figures (Lois, 1994).

Therefore, from the 1960s a remarkable urban transformation begins to happen in Santiago. Neighbourhoods near the historic centre are developed, housing estates are initially built as separate parts of the urban area and, above all, a section called the 'Ensanche' appears. The latter is of great importance as it takes on most of the business and service functions that had previously been in the historic part. It also accounts for much of the student residential activity. This fact is confirmed by Lois (1994) who points to the estimation for the year 1987-88 showing that 34.1% of college students lived in rented

apartments, to which those who took lodgings in private homes (7.2 %) or those who stayed in hotels or guest houses (11.7%) should be added. Much of these options were located in the 'Ensanche' and again Lois (1994) indicates that 53.4% of students reside in Santiago in the 'Ensanche' during the academic year and only 7.5% live within the old city walls.

During the 1980s the city took on a very different new structure from that of the previous one and few changes were to happen in the future. Most importantly for us is that the historic part loses most of its functions, especially the residential one while the 'Ensanche' becomes the commerce, housing and service centre. From the morphological point of view the latter urban part, built at a time of very rapid estate growth, is characterised by its densification, a lack of green spaces and poor construction quality and even aesthetics of its buildings are questionable. To some extent, it appears to be the antithesis of the historic town and leads to a double vision of Compostela.

It should be noted that while coming to terms with the unfortunate idea of the 'Ensanche', the old town takes on symbolic value as a unitary piece after the process of losing its traditional functions. In fact it is good to bear in mind that it was declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1985 and its tourist boom comes immediately after that. The constitution of the Consortium of Santiago de Compostela is largely responsible for the rehabilitation and renovation policies for the historic centre, contained in the Royal Decree 260/1991 on the organisation of the City Royal Trust. This institution incorporated in its first meeting's agenda, in 1991, the constitution of the said Consortium, which finally began working in 1992 with the approval of its statutes.

At this point it is important to refer to the time the municipal government was run by Mr. X. Estevez. As an architect and mayor of the city council between 1983 and 1998, he was responsible for an urban plan that eventually consolidated the current city model. The most important element is the low urban growth, embodied in specific actions, which resulted in a significant increase in the price of housing and poorly controlled urbanisation on the outskirts of Santiago, on the boundaries of

other councils. There is also a commitment to natural areas that make up the outer belt and positions Santiago as excellent in standards of green space per inhabitant. At the same time special attention is paid to the historic centre as it recovers its central role, although some of its classic functions, such as the residential one, are still in decline. There is also the need to overcome the excessively conservative image that the old town generates and gives way to unique architectural designs culminating years later with the so-called City of Culture driven by the regional government. Finally, we highlight some concern about the 'Ensanche' which is affected by processes of beautification, with the rearrangement of some spaces, the plantation trees and the widening of pavements. All these initiatives would have continuity in subsequent years although with progressive, constructive openness which significantly expanded the residential area in Santiago.

In any case, Santiago's urban transformations, mainly from the 1960s – 70s did nothing but reinforce the split between the 'Ensanche' and the historic town. Not even has the architectural and cultural project of the City of Culture been able, at least until now, to break up this binomial. One of the main proposals to physically join Santiago with the City of Culture was proposed at the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century. It consisted of the installation of a cable car service at two possible locations, one on the edge of the old city walls and another in the vicinity of the train station in the new area. Although the idea was not successful, they had almost unanimously decided to take the first of the locations due to its proximity to the historic centre being a strong point and the possibility of strengthening a second complementary tourist attraction for after the cathedral. However, the place near the railway station was hardly ever considered because it was far away from the tourist centre (although we are talking about a few minutes walk away) and because it was located in an area of the town considered inappropriate for the tourist's gaze.

Santiago. Image and tourist behaviour

The image of Santiago de Compostela is inextricably linked to its cathedral and to it being the final destination at the Way's end. Thus, religion is seen as a strong identity which, of course, determines the potential tourist flows. Although it is true that it is difficult to generalise about all markets it must be said that the closest markets, those that have a greater knowledge of the city, are where cultural aspects linked to heritage or the university have greater relevance; obviously, we are mainly talking about the Spanish market. However, over the country's borders a complex urban reality is diluted in order to make the strength of the pilgrimage destination clear and to be rated as one of the most important in the Christian world. The data provided by the research of L. Lopez (2003), in his interviews with Italian visitors, leaves no room for doubt, at least in relation to the provisions they had made before their arrival in Compostela.

This image is considerably reinforced with the promotion of tourism showing the cathedral and the Saint James' Way as exceptional elements to identify the city. We also have to consider the returning visits of the Pope and participation religious city networks. It is true that, at least at the beginning of the 2000s, there were efforts to diversify the offer but they collided with a reality which made the effectiveness of different messages very difficult. The contemporary architecture, the urban parks or the City of Culture were unable to overcome the imposing weight of the Jacobean phenomenon and the heritage closely linked to the presence of the Church. In fact, we believe that in these recent years the efforts to diversify the offer have moved towards more complementary issues than to the religious and cultural offers, such as gastronomy.

Surprisingly, the statistics compiled by the Centre for Tourism Studies at the University of Santiago (CETUR) focus on the limited role that religion has as an attraction variable for the destination. It is true that the pilgrims, who represent about 25% of those interviewed, represent a considerable but not dominant number. We might be forgiven for thinking that their latter motivation is religious. However, considering the surveys

conducted by the Saint James' Observatory until 2010 and other studies (Alvarez, 1999), there are consistent indications that, although religious motivation is important, it is not always the main reason, spirituality reaches a more meaningful representation.

Therefore, we can say that we are in a religious destination where tourists with that motivation are in the minority. Obviously, this statement deserves some explanation. To begin with, we should define what exactly a religious tourist is. We find particularly interesting the continuum referred to by authors such as Smith (1992), Cohen (1974), Stoddard (1997) and Collins-Kreiner & Kliot (2000) when establishing a grade of motivation. Probably the 1.7%, excluding the pilgrims, who report religious reasons, to visit Santiago, is close to one of the groups that clearly defines this segment. Perhaps we should research the higher social value or even the uncertainty that comes with the concept of cultural tourism. In an increasingly secular society, to define oneself as a religious tourist may not be socially acceptable whereas the idea of culture falls into a more open category, more in accordance with a modern society.

Moreover, there is another aspect that deserves our attention. One of the characteristics of contemporary, which is closely related to mass tourism, is the shallowness of the motivations. As we mentioned before, we referred to the continuum in religious tourist motivation and so we can do the same with culture. Silberberg (1995) points out several profiles in the relationships between tourists and culture ranging from highly motivated tourists and those for whom culture has a more accidental character, something added to his travel experience. Probably many of the visitors in Santiago fall into this category. The low percentages of visitors who go to a museum (excluding the one in the cathedral) or those who participate in cultural activities indicate that cultural motivation is only tangential.

We can also say that Santiago is a city with predominance for mass cultural tourism. Together with this are the pilgrims whose casuistry is very special and deserves special attention in order to complete their peregrination experience linked to spirituality and being at one with nature. Other smaller groups complete the

tourism landscape in Compostela. The question that seems to be relevant here is related to the potential that mass cultural tourism has in order to incorporate new areas of the city into tourist itineraries.

At first, we could say that as their cultural motivation is less developed and more dependent on external factors, it should be easier to redirect their interests to other urban areas. However, this process should be accompanied by a change of tourism policies that effectively incorporate areas of the city that are far beyond the gaze of visitors. The Observatory's tourist data for Santiago still indicate that the number of tourists straying from the historic centre is barely significant and, in many cases, only old town limits are included, such as the Alameda City Park. Perhaps the most unusual example of the boom is represented by the tourist train which includes hardly ever visited points in its itinerary. It is worth noting that this type of fast-track service allows tourists to take in lesser known parts of the city, and it also leads to a shorter stay in the city as it shows them the highlights of the urban area in a short period of time.

On analysing the offer that the Santiago Tourist Office provides, we can confirm the excessive weight put on the historic centre. For example, the official tourist map contains two routes: one intramural or monumental and another extramural or panoramic**,** both of them last approximately 3 hours. A detailed study allows us to observe notable differences, not only in their routes but also in their route length even though the same time has been estimated for both. The first runs entirely in the reduced space of the walled enclosure where most of the historic and artistic heritage is contained. The second itinerary highlights the possibility of obtaining views of the historic area and observing the convents and other monuments, as well as walking through parks and gardens and admiring the contemporary architecture. Therefore, we see that there is also a significant classic heritage vision. The length of the route draws our attention as it is much longer, as stated earlier, yet the estimated time is the same. This leads us to the idea that there are less interesting elements on the second route and so the pace is accelerated; and, again, it completely excludes the new city.
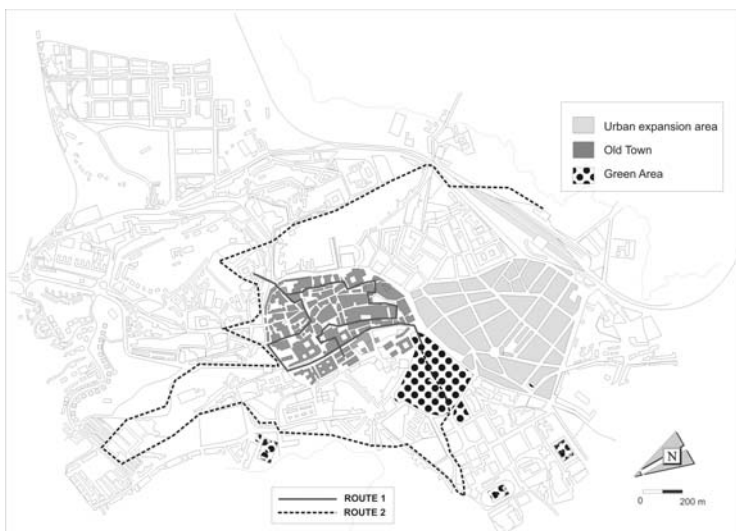
Figure 1. Itineraries Proposed in the
Official Tourism Map for Santiago.
Source: compiled from the official tourism map for Santiago

The offer showed on the Santiago official website
(www.santiagoturismo.org, July 2013). Despite the wealth of
contents it also completely excludes the new town. In the hiking
section only one out of the 5 listed is outside the walls while the
others primarily run inside the walls. In regard to all guided city
street tours, they all contain the historic scenario and there is
only an exception - a combination of historic city + city of
culture. The only one covering contemporary architecture is
highlighted.
Therefore, it shows that Santiago continues to strengthen its
image of a historic city linked to architectural and religious
heritage. The diversification efforts focused on parks and
gardens as well as on modern architecture are secondary and, in
any case, continue to exclude urban areas, where the majority of
the population resides and where there is much of the economic
and social dynamism in Santiago. Under the assumption that
they do not contain distinguishing features that make them
attractive to the tourist gaze, they are completely sidelined from

this phenomenon. Tourism continues to expand in the historic town, incorporating far less frequent sectors and causing the same impacts: the disappearance of traditional commerce, the abandonment of the residential function and an increase in prices.

Proposals and conclusions

It is not easy to cope with changes in consolidated tourist destinations which base their image, offer and brand on a heritage of great international recognition and prestige. In any case, they are slow and sometimes risky transformations for the uncertainties generated. Especially in times of crisis like this, the easiest way is to continue to promote and support what works and leave no room for experiments. However, it is also true that the extraordinary competition that exists around tourism requires continuous changes that contribute to attracting new clients and consolidating customer loyalty. We must consider that the number of returning visitors is relatively low in Santiago, 38.5% in 2012. Destination loyalty is the key to understanding the diversification of activities. Wang (2004) in his study on Hong Kong notes that the returning visits allow work with well-known clients, in order to know their behaviour patterns and spending changes so as to evolve as they establish a bond of trust and sentiment with the destination. That is why he often says that a loyalty strategy is better than that which seeks new tourists in a particularly complex market. Unfortunately, expensive efforts are often made in actions such as the promotion or extension of stay when profitability is not always adequate. Opperman (2000) indicates that, in addition to an increased tourist spending by returning visitors, minor marketing expenses have to be considered.

Loyalty involves maintaining high levels of satisfaction beyond a first visit. Usually any data we check about satisfaction with destinations usually give positive results and the intention of repeating the visit reaches high percentages. For example, for Santiago 2012, the figures were 4.5 (out of 5) for satisfaction and

82.5% who positively claimed their idea was to certainly return for another visit, 12.8% used the word *likely*. However, as we have seen, the reality is quite different. So a show of intention should be taken with a degree of caution while destination analyses have to be much more realistic. In fact we should turn the argument and point out that it is actually the returning visit that allows us to evaluate the quality of the destination. There is clear evidence from a first successful experience and the desire and intention of a returning visit (Wang, 2004)

The small size of Compostela, much more in terms of tourism space, linked to a tourist territorial organisation aimed at facilitating the visit, means that in a relatively short time it is possible to visit all the highlights the city has to offer. It is necessary to incorporate new activities and new areas of the city with the aim of creating expectations for future visits. In this case we will only mention the limited use and poor formulation of cultural centres and museums in the city, or the invisibility that the new areas and neighbourhoods have in tourism, not only in physical but also in experiential terms. A returning visitor stays longer and is interested in the environments related to daily life (Wang, 2004). He is interested in the authenticity of the place, which opens new opportunities to sectors that have remained aloof from the tourist gaze until now.

Santiago de Compostela, in addition to its artistic historic heritage, has as a favourable element in the fact that it is the Way's end, a consolidated product in international markets. However, there is an important fact that does not always receive the attention it deserves. For pilgrims the authentic motivation is the Way itself more than the ultimate goal. Santiago, with all its symbolism, represents a reunion with everyday life, leaving behind the sacrifice of the route, the solidarity among walkers or being at one with nature and with oneself, all experienced along the many miles of the Jacobean route. In fact, the satisfaction levels have seen to be lower than the rest of the tourists, and they stay a rather shorter time in the city (Santos & Lois, 2011).

The Strategic Marketing Plan for Tourism 2004 regarded pilgrims as a differential segment in the orbit of the captive market and, therefore, they are not part of the high-priority

products; in fact it was stated that *holding and balancing* are important. However, we believe that a greater role and a much more singled out treatment should be given to them. It is true that there is a captive market in which Santiago will always be a reference point with a particular meaning. Nevertheless, this fact should not serve to minimise the actions to be taken with the pilgrims as they are responsible for the destination's internationalisation and the creation of a cosmopolitan image that is warmly welcomed and transmits values acquired on the Way.

Pilgrims arriving in Santiago become tourists without being the subject of attention that differ them from other visitors. In short, we insist on the need to strengthen links between the Way and Santiago, between pilgrims and the city that gives meaning to the Jacobean phenomenon. This is where traditional sectors of the city, left out of tourism until now, can be incorporated. The pilgrims reaching Compostela are mostly inserted in an urban environment under high tourist pressure, wandering the streets with an oversupply of souvenir shops. Many of them stay in the hostel for pilgrims in Monte do Gozo, 3 km away from the city centre, although this is not always for economic reasons but mainly as a way to extend their peregrination experience. It seems appropriate to create urban environments that favour the conservation and enhancement of the experience. This would be a set of spaces on the outskirts of the historic centre that would meet the minimum standards of: centrality, nature, history and proximity, both among the pilgrims and the local population which is under less pressure from traditional tourism.

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