

The Way to the Western European Land's End. The Case of Finisterre (Galicia, Spain).

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ABSTRACT

Finisterre, a location at one of the most western European regions: Galicia (Spain) is being repositioned in Europe as a "Land's End destination". It is becoming a second possible destination for one of the most relevant European cultural itineraries: the Jacobean Pilgrimage. As a consequence of the increasing number of pilgrims arriving at Finisterre, territorial changes have transformed the landscape and contributed to its local socio-economic development. This paper aims to investigate how this kind of "reinvention" has contributed to shape a new sense of place. Moreover, it aims to evaluate the role of intangible heritage in the social and landscape transformations in Finisterre and its reconversion to a tourist

destination. We will address the changes occurred in the tourist offer over an 18 years period, including pilgrims' hostels and reception facilities; the institutional tourist promotion; and pilgrims' profile and behaviour. The research methodology is based on the use of statistical sources and document archives from the Pilgrim's Office. It also presents an empirical study through the application of questionnaires to managers of local accommodation facilities and a semi-structured interview to the director of the Tourist Office of Finisterre. The results contribute to highlight the changes that are taking place in Finisterre, both in terms of its peripheral condition, and in regards to the level of tourism management.

INTRODUCTION

Land's Ends are characterized by a peripheral geographical context in which the marine and geomorphologic environment have usually left quite spectacular landscapes. Besides that, its own extreme location has helped to create a symbolic and unique oral and intangible heritage of strong appeal and enormous potential (Alberro, 2004).

This study focuses on one of the ends of the European continent which is located in the northwest of the Iberian Peninsula, on the Coast of Death that belongs to the Autonomous Region of Galicia, Spain. It is Finisterre, the village that for centuries has been considered the end of the Western world of Europe. Lately, the increasing trend to continue the pilgrimage from Santiago de Compostela to Finisterre has contributed to put this peripheral location on the map. A fact that requires reflection on the dynamic character of a relative and relational peripherality (Hall et. al, 2013; Pezzi & Urso, 2016).

Its enchanting landscape is accompanied by great symbolism arising from a location at one of the most western European regions. The toponyms Coast of Death and Finisterre link directly to a rich tradition of myths and legends, also enhanced by the Jacobean phenomenon (Alonso, 2002; Sánchez-Carretero, 2015). Thus, following the theory of Hall et al. (2013), it can be said that the remote location of Finisterre as a "Land's End destination" is being reinvented. It has become a second possible destination of one of Europe's most relevant cultural itineraries: the Jacobean Pilgrimage.

This paper aims to investigate how this contemporary "reinvention" has contributed to shape a new sense of place (Stoddard & Morinis, 1997). It also aims to discuss the role of intangible heritage in the social and landscape transformations in Finisterre and its reconversion into a tourist destination. As a matter of fact, the increasing pilgrim influx has led to the creation of new hostels and other reception facilities, thus contributing to its local development. The paper is structured into four sections. It starts with a contextualization of the case-study, Finisterre and a brief insight in to the route, symbols and rituals of the itinerary Santiago-Finisterre. Then, it moves to the methodological section. A quantitative and a qualitative methodology have been combined with the intention of presenting the changes that

have occurred in the tourist offer over the last 18 years. Next the results and discussion section is introduced, it is based on three interpretive pillars: (1) the evolution of the accommodation offer; (2) the pilgrim profile; and (3) the promotion. Finally, a set of conclusions are presented taking into account the research results.

FINISTERRE: THE EUROPEAN WESTERN LAND'S END

In recent years both the growing interest and the recovery of the idea of landscape as a fundamental element of cultural heritage have brought new forms of heritage exploitation, development and management within the framework of territorial planning. As a matter of fact, this is currently one of the priorities of European and international organizations. The European Landscape Convention, sponsored by the Council of Europe in 2000, considers the landscape as a key element of social welfare. It has a symbolic value which can be accessed according to the culture of belonging, the sensitivity and its willingness towards symbols and their interpretations (Dewsbury & Cloke 2009; Lois, Castro & Lopez, 2016).

The Land's Ends territories are defined by the border and the end of the world of the European continent in northern and western directions. These borders have a cultural imprint in oral tradition and imply an extraordinary immaterial heritage (Alberro, 2004). "Learning to read" the evolution of a place can rebuild its territorial and landscape history, its meaning and how it relates to others (Lynch, 2008). In order to obtain a better understanding of the regional aspects, Ferrão & Lopes (2004) analysed its peripheral situation through the eyes of the four-dimensional periphery concepts. These authors analysed peripheries and their developmental situations by using the categories of distance, dependency, difference and discourse. Reading the landscape is a process of decoding symbols linked to cultural, spatial and temporal factors (Antrop, 2005; Nogué & Vicente, 2004). Some features that serve to define the peripheries can be summed up as follows: distance from core and/or difficulty and costly access; sparsely populated; low GDP per capita that is substantially bolstered by public transfers; an economic structure which is largely primary and tertiary; and limited local economic

control (Wanhill, 1997; Pezzi & Urso, 2016). All these characteristics contribute to the creation of conditions of competitive disadvantage, understood as a lack of capacity to generate innovation and reinvention processes in production bases to ensure a lasting socio-economic development.

Intangible heritage is a relevant aspect in the context of maritime peripheries (Lindkvist & Holmgren, 2014). It is true that there is a wide range of buildings related to fishing and other maritime activities and even important religious assets but myths, legends and oral tradition are the most singular heritage elements of these territories (Sánchez-Carretero, 2015). The history of Finisterre is an example of a peripheral place, whose speculation about its meaning and past has turned it into a mythical space (Margry, 2015a), as usually happens in other areas with similar characteristics. There have been several authors who have studied the profound significance of this territory, as for example: Alonso (2002), Pombo (2000), Trillo (1999), Besteiro (2004) and Herrero (2009).

On the Coast of Death there are tangible elements of great relevance. However, its dramatic landscape is accompanied by a great symbolism coming from a location in one of the continent's westernmost regions. Considering that the Finisterre Latin name means "end of the world", Herrero (2009, p. 166) takes from Garcia "the name becomes the great cultural capital that allows [...] the seizure of all narratives and mythical references related to antiquity, World's End". Also the expression Coast of Death is quite suggestive, since it refers to the dark sea or the many shipwrecks (Sánchez-Carretero, 2015). The creation of narratives, as well as its proper toponym, has played a decisive role in its projection in past and future history. Following MacCannell's (1976) theory of attraction, the symbolism of the last 40 years has been important for the tourist.

The catastrophe of the oil tanker *Prestige* that on the 19 November 2002 sank off the coast of Galicia paved the way for the approval of a Tourism Promotion Plan of the Coast of Death (2003-2007). It allowed the investment of almost €5 million in this territory and major investments in heritage recovery. These programs accounted for an injection of €25 million in total, to which we must add a further €23 million of investment by the regional government between 2006 and

2010 in the Plan of the Coast of Death. Despite all these actions, the Coast of Death continues to show a marked decline in its population. This negative trend is derived from the low birth rate that, coupled with the progressive aging of the population, causes higher mortality rates than the provincial average. In addition, the existing migration from the area contributes significantly to its negative demographic trend (Besteiro, 2004; Balsa & Landsperger, 2015). According to projections from the Galician Institute of Statistics, the population loss will continue over the next 15 years. In 2015 the number of inhabitants on the Coast of Death was 138,586 and it is estimated that by 2030 it will be 18% less, at 113,438. In addition, the number of people over 60 will rise, increasing from 34% in 2015 to 43% in 2030 (Galician Institute of Statistics, 2016).

The village of Finisterre, with less than 5,000 inhabitants, has undergone major socio-economic transformations. Traditionally fishing was its main economic activity. However, in recent years locals have witnessed how tourism has become the economic engine, not only of the village but of the whole surrounding area.

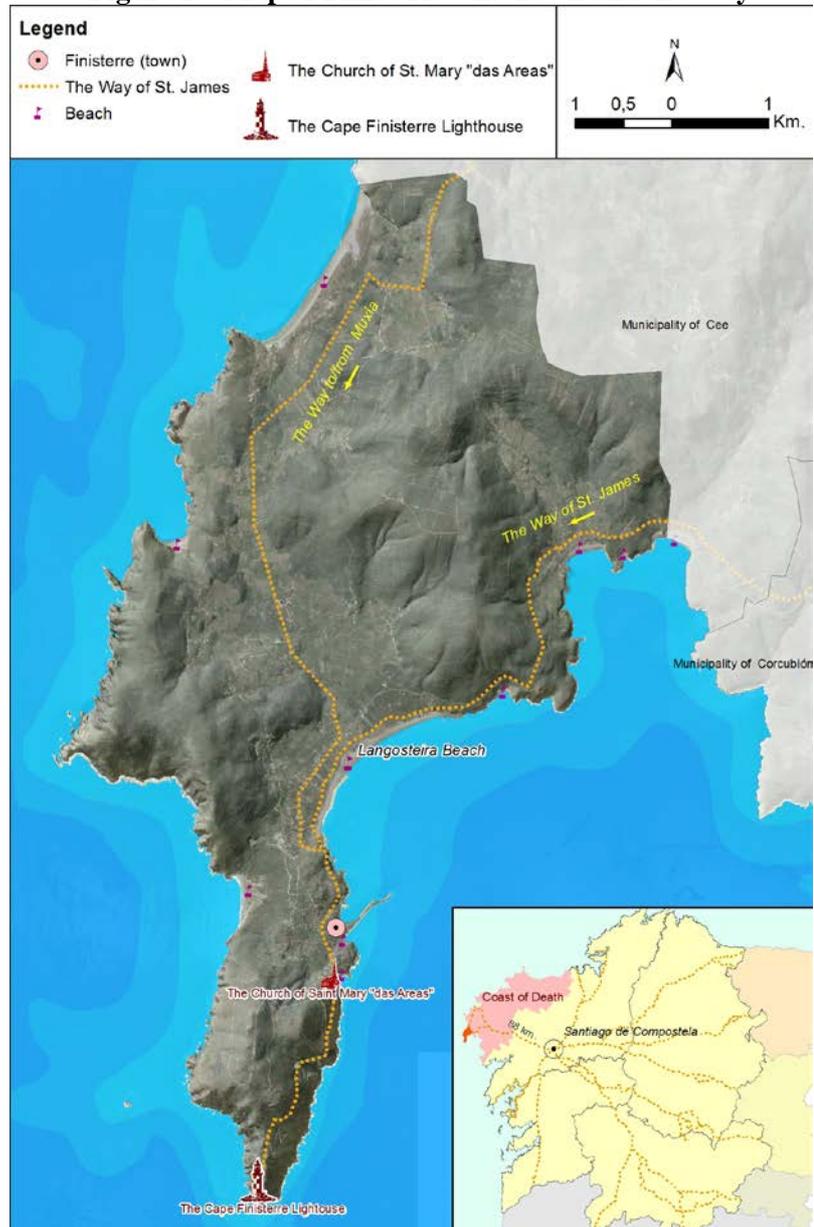
The pilgrimage to Finisterre: route, symbols and rituals

Tourism development in the town of Finisterre in recent decades has been due to the growing importance of the Way to Finisterre. Institutionalization is the result of different human intentions. There are clear links between the growing number of pilgrims along this route and changes in production models of the local communities involved (Parga, 2012; Sánchez-Carretero, 2015). Both political willingness, represented by institutions of different levels, and the pilgrims' increasing willingness to decide to continue their Way have given voice to this route, which is not recognized by the Catholic Church. In fact, unlike other Ways, the Way to Finisterre starts in Santiago de Compostela and finishes in either Finisterre or in Muxía, another town on the Coast of Death (Figure 1).

The characterization of the spatial transformations of Finisterre revolves around a figure: the pilgrim, who starts as part of a public act (pilgrimage). During the walk the pilgrim modifies the space around him or her at an immaterial (rites and practices) and material (facilities

and the visible consequences of rituals) level. In the Jacobean studies, the symbolic language of the pilgrim has always been important; therefore in this case some rituals are present. In the first place, we can distinguish the starting rituals (the main one being the dressing ritual) through which the pilgrim status is assumed (Caucci, 1989, 1993). These also include the preparation of the backpack, as well as getting the pilgrim passport. Today, along the Way, a renewed reading of the old obligations of visiting churches and monasteries is offered, and although they are still present along the Way, they have become resources for cultural tourism. Finally, once in Santiago, pilgrims collect their credential, called the *Compostela*, attend mass with the Botafumeiro, embrace the statue of the Apostle and make offerings. In the case of Finisterre, the rituals that have appeared have been part of a process of building the mythical image of the place along the Jacobean Ways (Sánchez-Carretero, 2015). For the pilgrimage to Finisterre, the lighthouse is the arrival point and the end of the pilgrimage has been transformed into a sacred place. This change can be justified according to two criteria: 1) location; 2) ritual. In the first case, the lighthouse is in an elevated location, whose natural elements serve to reinforce the perception of sacredness (Nolan & Nolan, 1997; Lopez, 2014). In the second case, the increasingly intense streams of worshipers, visitors and tourists, feed the power of attraction of the place, modifying the perception and enjoyment (present and future).

Figure 1 – Map of Finisterre: the Town and the Way



Source: Authors' elaboration

Pilgrims arriving at Finisterre collect their Credential, the Finisterrana, in the Finisterre hostel, stating that they have reached the "*end of the world*". The above mentioned ritual of dressing, contrasts with the ritual of burning clothes and other symbols used to travel the Way to the lighthouse. Many guides describe it as a ritual of purification at the end of the Way (Pombo, 2000; Rudolph, 2004; Vilar, 2015). When burning clothes is not possible due to wet weather conditions, Margry (2015a) states that the pilgrims experience a feeling of dissatisfaction. As was stated by the director of the Tourist Office of Finisterre, Begoña Valdomar Insua in an interview, they have been trying to:

"eliminate the burning of clothes at the lighthouse, or at least control it. The increasing number of pilgrims who come to this point in the end of the Way is causing fires and waste that is turning such a beautiful and important place on the Way to St. James into a huge uncontrolled dump".

It is a ritual that is changing the landscape, since its repetition does not meet the basic principles of caring for nature and sustainability. Therefore, a new ritual is taking off, consisting of "*placing the objects on smaller, more accessible masts at the Cape*" (Sánchez-Carretero, 2015, p. 7). Another ritual of purification confirmed in the interview is the swim at Langosteira Beach. At the end of the day all of the pilgrims climb to the lighthouse beach to watch the sunset, a ritual par excellence at the end of the Way for all pilgrims.

In regards to symbolism, the pilgrimage to Santiago and the pilgrimage to Finisterre show no differences. In both cases the pilgrims carry their backpacks, comfortable clothes and end their walk collecting (in most cases) the credential (Compostela or Finisterrana). Among all the symbols, the *Jacobeian Shell, signum peregrinationis* par excellence, proves the realization of the Jacobean pilgrimage (Castiñeiras, 2007). It does nothing but confirm the geographical position of the Jacobean pilgrimage. With originally pagan and later Christian historical roots, the shell of Santiago belongs to the *Pecten maximus* species present in the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean. The *Mediterranean pecten* is the species that is related to the myth of Venus and for this reason, is often called *veneris shell*

(Castelli, 1995), while the pilgrimage scallop shell or venera scallop is the *plecten jacobeus*. As for its symbolic value, considering that Venus is the goddess of fertility and regeneration of life, the scallop shell reflects these properties becoming the symbol of Venus and her fertility, referring to biological, spiritual or symbolic birth of the life and regeneration (Fernández, 1995; Castiñeiras, 2007). Likewise, the symbolic meaning of the shell today meets some sought after and valued aspects by pilgrims who decide to continue their pilgrimage to Finisterre. Spiritual birth and regeneration are some of the expectations of pilgrims who, with their ancient rituals associated with fire and water, enshrine new spaces such as the lighthouse, the place par excellence of the Finisterrana pilgrimage instead of the church of Saint Mary “das Ares”.

METHODOLOGY

For the development of the case study we used secondary sources from a review of significant literature on the characteristics of the region and the pilgrimage phenomenon. Equally, in order to study the changes produced by the tourism development in the territory between 1997 and 2015, data from the Finisterre Tourism Office regarding the flux of pilgrims have been presented and interpreted. This information was the basis for the development of an empirical study using a combination of quantitative methodology, through the application of questionnaires, and qualitative methodology by making use of the semi-structured interview technique for the interview was given by the director of the Tourism Office of Finisterre, Begoña Valdomar Insua. In order to enrich the study from the perspective of the service providers, questionnaires were given to local accommodation facilities. The questionnaires aimed to enhance the knowledge of the current situation of the accommodation offer in Finisterre and its orientation to pilgrims. Two questionnaires, one directed at shelters and the other to other facilities (hotels, hostels, guesthouses and apartments) were designed. Both questionnaires included similar topics such as: renovations, guest capacity and number of employees, occupation and seasonality, the length of stay, origin of the visitors and actions taken to promote the establishment. This last one was

measured through a scale question, from 0 to 5, and the mean value was determined to analyse the results. In the case of the shelters it was aimed toward specific services offered to the pilgrims. While in the other facilities, the weight that pilgrims had in the total number of guests received was also investigated.

Questionnaires were sent to all 34 accommodation businesses in Finisterre (Finisterre Tourism, 2016): 13 shelters, 11 hotels, 8 hostels and B&Bs, and 2 apartments. These were sent in November 2016 by e-mail including a link generated by the use of the Google Questionnaire Tool¹. However, the response rate was 46% for shelters and 39% for the rest. In the case of shelters, this rate can be explained by the closure due to the low season and the rest simply to a lack of cooperation with the study.

An interview was given by the director of the Tourism Office of Finisterre, Begoña Valdomar Insua. The aim was to deepen the knowledge of the profile of the pilgrims to Finisterre, the rituals performed, the institutional actions taken to promote the Way to Finisterre, and the impact of the Jacobean phenomenon at a landscape and socioeconomic level.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

To understand the changes that have taken, and are still taking place in Finisterre as a result of the pilgrim phenomenon, this analysis has been based on three interpretive pillars: (1) the evolution of the accommodation offer; (2) the pilgrim profile; and (3) the promotion. The knowledge regarding the evolution of the accommodation offer aims to analyse the socioeconomic and landscape impact that this phenomenon has had in the territory over the last 18 years. For its

¹ The questionnaire for shelters is available at: https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1YJddmPAI8wpDhZqYhRnfGRhNDfoRLsWVsYlKxZ5SzwE/edit?usp=forms_home&ths=true. The questionnaire for the other facilities (hotels, hostels, guesthouses and apartments) is available in <https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1QKBZBNMr7pHCAwbDTFI9qSafPIRiBv9iE4QK9U8fq4/edit>.

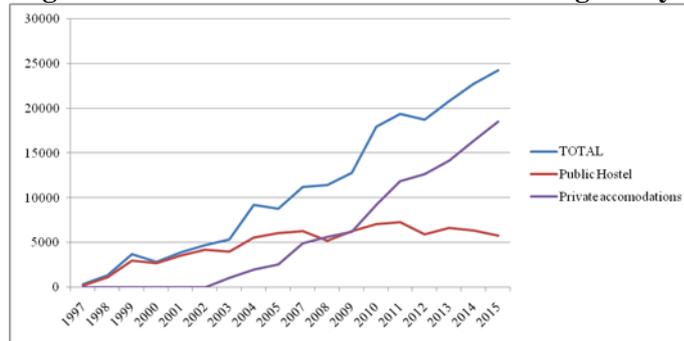
part, pilgrim profile study has enabled an approach to the behaviour and motivations to do the Way to Finisterre, allowing an understanding of the changes associated with the intangible heritage of this unique site on the Coast of Death. The study of tourism promotion offers a perspective of shared work between enterprises, public administration and other institutions to advertise the Way and reinforce its image as a sustainable destination.

The results are presented and discussed combining the data from the questionnaires, the interview to the director of the Tourism Office of Finisterre and information provided by this same office.

The evolution of the accommodation offer

Until 2002, there was only one public shelter, the Municipal Hostel in the town of Finisterre. However, since this date a rapid proliferation of private shelters has taken place. As indicated by Begoña Valdómar Insua in her interview, the guest capacity in private shelters has tripled over the last 10 years as a result of the sudden influx of pilgrims. Additionally, other private accommodation such as hostels, guesthouses and apartments have emerged. This proliferation of supply is clearly evident in the number of overnight stays. As shown in Figure 2, overnight stays in private accommodation started increasing in 2003 and by 2015 they had exceeded the initial number 17 times.

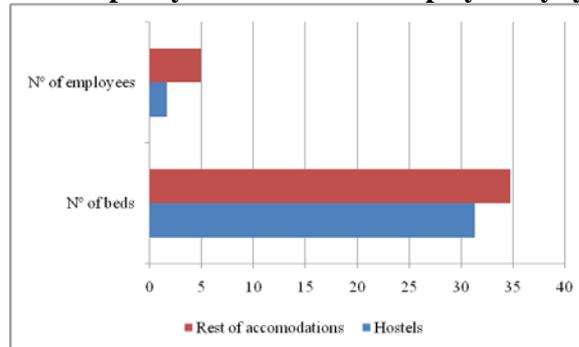
Figure 2 - Evolution of the number of overnight stays



Source: Authors' elaboration based on data personally provided by the Finisterre Office of Tourism (2016).

The surveyed shelters were all built after 2010, except for the Municipal shelter which was built in 1997. 60% of them have made renovations, mainly increasing the number of beds available and the modernized services. It should be noted that some services such as: kitchens, showers, refrigerators, washing machines and Wi-Fi are offered by all the shelters. As for the rest of the accommodation, 78% of respondents were hotels and 22% hostels. Among the hotels, 25% belong to the category of one star, 50% to 2 stars, and the other 25% 3 stars. 67% of them have been built in the last 5 years. With respect to renovations, these hotels and hostels have mostly introduced new services and/or modernized existing ones. In relation to the guest capacity and the number of employees, shelter figures averaged less than other accommodation. However, as shown in Figure 3, the differences are not as far apart as expected considering their categories. This indicates that in the case of Finisterre, a similarity can be seen in the size of these facilities and the volume of people employed.

Figure 3 - Guest capacity and number of employees by type of facility.

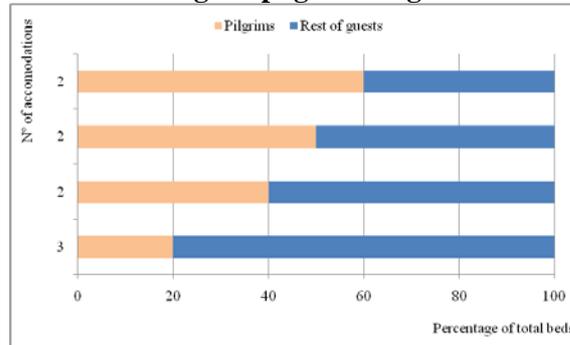


Source: Authors' elaboration based on data from the results of the questionnaires.

The average occupancy rate of interviewed shelters was 57.5%, with June to September having the highest occupancy. For the rest of the accommodation the situation is the same as for the high season, however the average occupancy rate is more than 76.5%. The average stay of pilgrims in shelters is 1.17 nights. In the other facilities the stay increases to 2.17 nights. In this case, it could be said that this is a higher status pilgrim or a pilgrim-tourist that takes advantage of the arrival to Finisterre to perform other activities besides those that are part of the ritual and have been discussed earlier.

We can also infer that not only do all facilities receive pilgrims, but their volume is relevant. Thus, in 6 of the 9 businesses that participated in the study, pilgrims represent or exceed 40% of the total guests in one year (Figure 4). While in 2 of them, pilgrims represent more than half of the guests. This result confirms the fact of the importance of the pilgrims as users, not just of the shelters, but of the entire range of accommodation in the region.

Figure 4 - Percentage of pilgrims as guests in one year.



Source: Authors' elaboration based on data from the results of the questionnaires.

The impact of increased flows of pilgrims can also be seen in the proliferation of restaurants and cafes and transport. Bus frequencies to Santiago and A Coruña have increased, as well as the number of local taxis. As Gibson & Kong (2005) state, the concept of the cultural economy has helped transform economic activity in many places. As we have discussed, this is also the case of Finisterre. So far, the local population has benefited thanks to the socio-economic transformation of the pilgrim phenomenon.

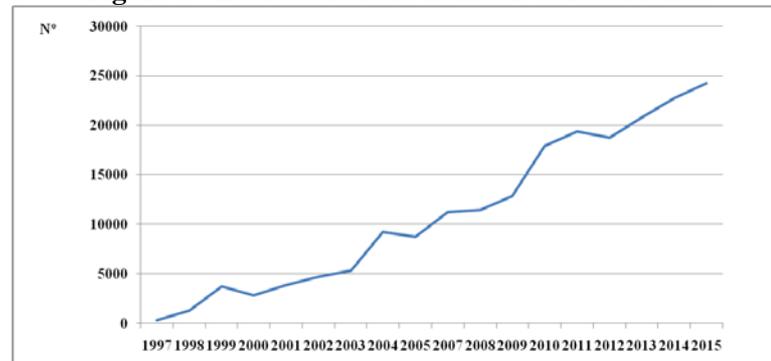
As Begoña Valdomar Insua mentioned, locals have learned to live with the pilgrims. However, in her opinion "some residents see them as the only source of money, but others understand the sense of the Way". Integrating the population of Finisterre in this reinvention process through new methods of communication and management is essential. These methods essentially reflect the identity of people and associate them with future projects. They allow a better expression of local people's values, beliefs and needs about their territory, and it better articulates the local resources for multiple purposes (political, cultural, economic or social) (Loulanski, 2006).

Despite the positive effects of the pilgrimage phenomenon for Finisterre, as the numbers of visitors continue to rise, public officials should consider how to organize the flow of pilgrims. This measure is essential to ensure both the quality of the pilgrim experience and the resident's quality of life. In addition, more emphasis on conservation and education issues, developing new uses and adapting heritage to the contemporary needs of local communities is needed.

The Pilgrim Profile

According to data from the Office of Tourism, the number of *Fisterranas* awarded to pilgrims when they reach Finisterre rose from 367 in 1997 to 24,296 in 2015, increasing 66-fold (Figure 5). Therefore, these figures represent an estimate of the number of pilgrims who have come to Finisterre in the last 18 years.

Figure 5 - Evolution of the number of *Fisterranas*



Source: Authors' elaboration based on data personally provided by the Finisterre Office of Tourism (2016).

The destination of Finisterre clearly shows the challenge of seasonality, a persistent feature of peripheral destinations (Baum & Hagen, 1999) in which accessibility issues, as well as those associated with climate, generate significant imbalances throughout the year (Kühn, 2015). As described by the Finisterre Office of Tourism, the pilgrim's profile is seasonal. In winter they are older than in the rest of the year, with an average age between 40-70 years old. The number of people who complete the Way at this time of the year is smaller, especially due to the weather conditions and the Christmas period. Usually there are more men than women, and also more self-employed or retirees. In autumn the number of pilgrims increases, although ages and profiles are very similar to the winter.

In spring, there are larger numbers of pilgrims, but their ages begin to change thanks to younger people coming mostly from the USA, South Korea, Australia and Canada. At this time retirees from central and northern Europe are almost the majority. These are mainly countries

with better economic conditions and whose pensions are much higher than in Southern Europe. In summer, it is the time where the average age varies considerably as it is the holiday season. Therefore, students have more time to do the Way. Also in the summer the volume of Spanish pilgrims increases in regards to the rest of pilgrims. According to the questionnaires, pilgrims staying in shelters come mainly from Germany, Italy and Spain, with a special note that Italy was mentioned by all the hostel facilities. The rest of the accommodation includes the United States, Canada and Australia. Therefore, it might seem that visitors from these countries have less preference for staying in shelters.

Regarding motivation, the Office of Tourism has indicated that they do not ask about this issue as they consider it too personal. However, previous studies on the pilgrimage to Finisterre lay out some of the motivations that drive pilgrims to continue the Way (Margry, 2015b; Blom, Nilsson & Santos, 2016). In his essay "Spirituality, Motives and the End of the World", Margry (2015b) provides a detailed analysis of the motivations of pilgrimage to Finisterre, which allow us to understand the validity and relevance of this "post-Santiago" route analysis. In his view, the key lies in the "spiritual pluralism" of the Way, i.e. the different concepts of spirituality that walkers to Finisterre find (Van der Veer, 2008). Also, prolonging the walk reinforces the individual character of the post-contemporary spirituality, detached from the power of the Catholic Church (Blom, Nilsson & Santos, 2016).

Continuing to the end of the world serves to make pilgrims feel satisfied and complete; many of the pilgrims do not share a sense of satisfaction after their arrival at the traditional goal (Santiago de Compostela) and keep looking for the meaning of life, thanks to all ancient symbols of the Finisterre pilgrimage. It is a motivation which Blom, Nilsson and Santos (2016) agree upon, which interprets the decision to continue to Finisterre as an anti-movement of the touristification of Santiago de Compostela. No less important, is the impact of the media, which helps spread the discourse of mythical and pre-Christian pilgrimage (Margry, 2015b). According to Blom, Nilsson and Santos (2016, p. 140), "For some of the pilgrims the motivation to continue to Finisterre was a decision that had been taken

in advance", while in other cases the decision develops during the pilgrimage. In the latter case, this decision is possible if time allows.

The Promotion

The revival of Finisterre is not only due to its heritage, made up of myths and legends, but also lies in the work of valorisation carried out by regional, provincial and municipal political institutions (Roseman, 2008; Sánchez- Carretero, 2012; Margry, 2015a). For example, in 2009 the Government of Galicia inaugurated the publication of colour brochures and launched new websites (Fernández-Poyatos et. al., 2011). Therefore, another aspect included in the questionnaire provided to the accommodation businesses was about what promotional source they used. As shown in Table 1, the Xacobeo is the most used source to promote hostels in Finisterre, with a value of 3.67, corresponding to the mean value in a scale from 0 to 5. The Xacobeo is a regional public body created in 1991 aimed at the management of shelter network services in Galicia and its remaining social assets. The accommodation's website is the second most used source, followed by social networks, the Council of Finisterre, the Associations of the Way and travel agencies.

Table 1 - Degree of utilization of promotional sources (Scale of 1 to 5).

Promotional source	Shelters	Accommodation Businesses
Own Website	3.25	3.78
Social Networks	3.0	2.89
Council of Finisterre	3.0	1.22
Xacobeo	3.67	1.33
Associations of the Way to St. James	3.0	1.22
Travel / Incoming agencies	3.0	3.11
Others	2.67	-

Source: Authors' elaboration based on data from the results of the questionnaires.

However, for the rest of the accommodation (hotels, hostels, and apartments) their own website is the most used tool, as well as travel or incoming agencies. These businesses which are not exclusively for

pilgrim's use, work more thanks to their own web pages and with the help of travel or incoming agencies. As already mentioned, promotion is also done at a municipal level; in fact, the Council of Finisterre has taken actions to promote the Way including the workshops "Camiño do Solpor I" and "Camiño do Solpor II". In this framework, activities such as designing a website to promote the Santiago-Finisterre pilgrimage route have been developed. In addition, the council has developed route signalling and recovery works, tourism promotion in several fairs and dissemination of the Way information materials. All these actions can be interpreted as efforts to improve the social settings of Finisterre and placing it in a network that allows it to be part of the political and territorial decisions (Herrschel, 2011; Kühn, 2015).

CONCLUSIONS

Landscape has its own iconography, with conventional and consciously registered symbols. The enhancement of the cultural criteria of authenticity in maritime peripheries is not only because these territories have the singularity of the sea's proximity, which has a role in its cultural heritage, but also because of its peripheral position that determines the existence of a unique oral and intangible heritage. Nowadays nobody doubts that good management of heritage implies that it cannot be only profitable from a social and cultural standpoint, but also from an economic one. The pilgrimage is a human experience and everyday life practice, arousing interest as it is another way of understanding human beings, their behaviour in certain spaces and their relationship with certain territories (Lois & Lopez, 2012; Lopez, 2013). The changes that have taken place in recent years have modified the landscape through the progressive creation of a new sacred-spiritual space by pilgrims who, through their anthropogenic action, are giving new meaning to the peripheral environment. On the one hand, the intangible heritage of Finisterre, formed by myths of origin, travel stories, and especially contemporary rituals nourishes the reinvention of this space. It is no longer simply a peripheral or world end space, but it is also a "spiritual space" and a "tourist space". On the other hand, the milestones that mark the Way to Finisterre (shown

in Fig.1), i.e. the beach, the lighthouse and the church make its original symbolism explicit, becoming a factor of attraction for pilgrims and visitors who come to see them.

As in the case of Santiago de Compostela, visitors and pilgrims share the same space, visit the same milestones, but they do not perform the same rituals. In other words, territorial dynamics are taking place in the periphery (the transformation of the landscape, the increase in tourist facilities, the increase in number of visitors and pilgrims), which are similar to the territorial dynamics of central areas (Blagojević, 2009). Just as happened in Santiago de Compostela, a pilgrimage centre par excellence, Finisterre is being placed on the map as a "new" pilgrimage destination. The reinvention of the pilgrimage and the increasing incorporation of Finisterre into pilgrims travel plans turns this place of pilgrimage into a tourist destination (della Dora, 2012). The combination of landscape transformations, both socially and in terms of tourism, represents the added value of a space that is strong thanks to a mystical past and a demanding present, fostering feelings such as attachment or spirituality.

These immaterial and material transformations require a reorganization of the environment for sustainable management. In fact, the development of a sacred place made for the pilgrim involves the provision of services for pilgrims and the improvement of accommodation and hospitality. Residents must also adapt to these changes, and become traders or hoteliers, thus meeting the needs of the moment. And in this turn, the heritagisation of the past (the narratives and practices) has economic potential. This process favours the institutionalisation and standardisation of a Jacobean Way, which for years the Church has refused to recognize (Raju, 2009; Margry, 2015a).

In conclusion, the changes are modifying the condition of remoteness of Finisterre. While maintaining the physical distance, the cultural distance is reduced as the number of pilgrims who decide to continue their Way to Finisterre increases. These physical movements and a greater international projection of the finisterrana route in literature and promotional material reduce the cultural distance. Repositioning Finisterre, both in tourism and pilgrimage terms, is directed towards

the creation of a "semi-peripheral area" (Blagojević, 2009; Blagojević-Hughson & Bobic, 2014).

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