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## Abstract

Many studies have highlighted the potentially damaging effects of tourism on local culture. Cultural events in particular seem to be one area of concern, as events visited by tourists may be viewed as “inauthentic” and lose their meaning for local residents. Such arguments tend to overlook the ability of local communities to use tourism creatively as a means of displaying and strengthening their local identity (FRIEDMAN, 1994). One of the most important indicators of the resilience of local communities is the level of social capital present in the host population, which is important in creating social cohesion and in ensuring a more even distribution of the benefits of tourism.

This paper presents a study of social capital, local networks and tourism in Catalunya. Surveys of local residents and visitors attending fiestas indicate a relatively high level of social capital among local residents, particularly in terms of cultural association membership. There is a direct relationship between membership of associations, active participation in cultural events and positive attitudes towards cultural change and tourism. The research suggests that developing social capital may be one means of developing a more positive relationship between tourism and culture. The role of local associations and networks is crucial to this process.

**Key words:** effects of tourism, local culture, inauthentic, local communities, identity, social capital.

## Resumen

*Muchos estudios han resaltado los efectos negativos potenciales del turismo sobre la cultura local. Los eventos culturales son un área de preocupación particular dado que pueden parecer “inauténticos” al ser vistos por los turistas, además de perder el significado para los residentes locales. Estos argumentos tienden a pasar por alto*



*la capacidad de las comunidades locales para usar el turismo de manera creativa como medio para exponer y fortalecer su identidad local (FRIEDMAN, 1994). Uno de los más importantes indicadores de resistencia de las comunidades locales es el nivel del capital social presente en la población receptora, lo cual es importante a la hora de crear cohesión social y asegurar una distribución más equitativa de los beneficios del turismo.*

*Este artículo presenta un estudio del capital social, redes locales y turismo en Cataluña. Encuestas a residentes locales y visitantes a las fiestas indican un nivel relativamente alto de capital social entre los residentes locales, particularmente en términos de membresías a asociaciones culturales. Existe una relación directa entre membresía de asociaciones culturales, participación activa en eventos culturales y actitudes positivas hacia cambios culturales y hacia el turismo. Esta investigación plantea que el desarrollo del capital social puede ser una manera de desarrollar relaciones más positivas entre el turismo y la cultura, tomando en cuenta que el papel de las asociaciones y redes locales es esencial en este proceso.*

**Palabras clave:** efectos del turismo, cultura local, no auténtico, comunidades locales, identidad, capital social.

## Introduction

Discussions about the relationship between culture and tourism, just like wider discussions about the development of culture in general, tend to polarise into negative and positive positions. The pessimists tend to see tourism as a conduit for modernisation, commercialisation and globalisation, all of which have been known to contribute to an erosion of local culture, tradition and identity. Culture and tourism are often presented as being in “conflict” with each other, a situation which can be seen as “inevitable” in view of the cultural differences between hosts and

guests and the different objectives of the tourism and cultural “industries” (ROBINSON and BONIFACE, 1999). The optimists, on the other hand, paint a picture of tourism as a force for global peace and cultural understanding, that can help to bring people together and end rather than create conflict (D’AMORE, 1988).

In most situations, however, the relationship between tourism and culture occupies a position somewhere between these two extremes. While there are examples of cultural objects and practices that have been damaged by tourism, such as the Basilica of San Marco in Venice (COSTA and VAN DER BORG, 1993) the cultural festivals of the Basque country (GREENWOOD, 1977) and the exploitation of funerals in Bali (WIDIADANA, 2002), there are also examples of local culture and tradition continuing almost unscathed in the midst of substantial tourism development, and increasing evidence that tourism can have some positive consequences for culture (PICARD, 1996; GRÜNEWALD 2002).

In examining case studies of the cultural impacts of tourism, it is clear that social structures have a vital role to play in supporting cultural structures and traditions, and yet the social and cultural aspects of these case studies are often treated separately. For example, there has been a plethora of research in recent years on the role of cultural capital in tourism, stimulated by the work of PIERRE BOURDIEU (1994). Studies have indicated that individual tourists may use their travel experience as a means of developing their individual cultural capital (DESFORGES, 2000) while the destinations they travel to attempt to valorise the collective cultural capital embodied in buildings, landscapes and cultural icons as a means of increasing their “real cultural capital” (ZUKIN, 1995). However, most of these studies have paid little attention to the other forms of capital that BORDIEU saw as being important in determining our position in society: economic

and social capital. The possession of cultural, economic and social capital according to BORDIEU enable individuals to move within a “social space” and to establish a position relative to others in society. It is interesting that BOURDIEU himself also paid little attention to social capital, while collecting reams of data on economic and cultural capital.

One of the major reasons for this is the difficulty involved in operationalising the concept of social capital. BOURDIEU never actually defined the concept, and it was left to other researchers to clarify and analyse the concept. In particular the work of ROBERT PUTNAM and his classic book *Bowling Alone* (2000) have helped to put social capital higher on the research agenda. PUTNAM argued that social capital, that he defined as the “glue that hold communities together [...] and] represents bonds of trust that affect society in a variety of tangible ways”. Was vital in underpinning a sense of community and social cohesion. He charted the postwar “decline” of social capital, as measured through participation in civic life and levels of individual trust. The work of PUTNAM and others illustrates that it is very hard to understand the changes in culture without understanding social change as well. For example, the reproduction of traditional culture is not just a question of interest in culture *per se*, but is also a reflection of the cohesion of society and individual investment in public life—in other words, social capital. The important implications of social capital mean that the concept has been widely used in a range of different contexts, including studies of development, social structure and organisations (World Bank, 2004).

To date, however, the concept of social capital has not been widely applied in the tourism field. The relationship between culture, tourism and social life is therefore one of the main foci of research that we have been undertaking in Catalunya (RICHARDS, 2004).

In particular we have been addressing the question of whether social capital can play a role in mediating the relationship between culture and tourism. The working hypothesis is that societies with higher levels of social capital should have social networks which are more resistant to externally-induced change, and should therefore be less susceptible to tourism impacts. In this paper, we address the relationship between social capital, traditional and popular culture and tourism, specifically in the context of festivals in Catalunya.

## Methods

To assess the opinions of local residents, visitors and tourists about the relationship between society, culture and tourism, surveys were conducted at 8 Catalan cultural events in 2003. These included major fiestas (or *festas* in Catalan) such as La Mercè in Barcelona, which attracts over 1.5 million visits each year, and small local events such as the *fiesta major* in Salt, a town of 21.000 people in the Province of Girona.

A total of 894 surveys completed in from a total of 8 locations in Catalunya. The surveys were mainly concentrated in Barcelona, with a total of 500 completed surveys. The rest were spread around different locations in Catalunya (Salt, Cornellà, Sabadell, Santa Coloma, Vilanova i la Geltru, Sitges and Roiers). Most of these sites are located close to Barcelona, a choice that was dictated by the concentration of tourism in this area and by the availability of survey assistance. Some, like Barcelona, are important tourist destinations (e.g. Sitges and Vilanova i la Geltru); others have relatively little tourism.

The surveys were collected via self-completion questionnaires distributed to festa participants by the interviewers. The interviewers instructed the respondents on how to complete the questionnaires and gave them a few minutes to answer the questions before collecting the completed forms. Because the surveys were being completed during festas, it was considered important

to use this method in order to provide the maximum flexibility to adjust the survey methods to different events.

Social capital was operationalised in terms of the level of participation in the events concerned (active participation and involvement with event organisation) and wider participation in associations. Respondents were therefore asked what role they had taken in the event and whether they were members of different types of associations. Interpersonal trust was measured through a question on the attitude of residents towards visitors, and a question for visitors on the extent to which they felt welcome in the area.

### Social Capital in Catalunya

Before looking at the survey data, it is useful to give these some context by analysing secondary data on social capital in Catalunya. Because social capital is a complex phenomenon, it requires data to be drawn from a large range of sources. We will therefore briefly review the evidence relating to social capital in Catalunya in terms of participation, cultural involvement

and levels of trust.

The Generalitat de Catalunya (Catalan Government) positions the country as “un país amb un nivell notable de consum cultural, superior a la mitjana espanyola” (a country with a notable level of cultural consumption, above the average for Spain) (*Generalitat de Catalunya*, 1998, p. 488). Levels of cultural participation in Catalunya have also risen significantly in recent years. Leisure time surveys conducted by the Generalitat indicated that overall levels of cultural participation (those having participated in the four weeks prior to the survey) rose from 32% in 1991 to 47% in 1996. Another indicator of increased cultural consumption is the fact that the number of museum visits in Catalunya have almost doubled since 1994, reaching almost 13 million in 2000. However, it is in levels of participation in different forms of traditional and popular culture that the Catalan taste for culture is particularly marked. This is particularly the case for emblematic Catalan cultural forms such as *Castellers* (human castles) or *Gegants* (giants). As well as a growth in the number of Castellers groups, there has also been a rise in the number of members and performances

Table 1: Groups and Participants in Traditional and Popular Culture

Cultural form	Number of groups, associations	Number of participants
Music	288	11648
Vocal music	891	91700
Images (giants, animals)	1072	123003
Dance	1122	113269
Foc (fire)	174	21228
Multidisciplinary cultural associations	2108	241996
Specialist cultural associations	610	200686
Human constructions (castells)	58	25642
Theatre	987	141112
Pessebres (nativity performances)	493	84307
Other	46	3385
Total	7849	1057976

Source Grau (undated)

per group.

The resurgence of cultural activity, particularly since the death of Franco, has created a rich network of cultural associations, which now have over a million participants (table 1).

The result is that Catalunya has a higher level of associationism than the rest of Spain, particularly in the field of culture. Participation in these associations is also growing, at a time when most other countries are experiencing a decline. INCAVOL (2000) estimates that the number of volunteers in Catalunya grew by 34% between 1996 and 2000. This indicates that the level of voluntary participation is moving in the opposite direction to that indicated in the USA (PUTNAM, 2000) and in other European countries. For example KNULST and VAN EIJK (2003) show that the weekly level of volunteering in the Netherlands fell from 30% in 1985 to 24% in 2000, with the decrease between 1995 and 2000 being particularly sharp.

In Catalunya, the rise of associationism is evident in all areas of social life, including cultural associations and in sport, where FC Barcelona is the most prominent example. During the Franco regime, membership of Barca was seen as a form of asserting Catalan identity, and membership has mushroomed from around 70,000 members in 1975 to 122,000 in 2004.

Social capital is also related to levels of trust in society. It can be argued that the more we

trust other members of society, the more likely it is that social, economic and cultural networks function effectively. In general terms, the highest levels of interpersonal trust are found in Scandinavia and other “social democratic” societies, such as the Netherlands. Levels of trust are generally much lower in societies which rely heavily of kinship networks, since trust is generally only extended to family members, not to the wider society. This tends to be the case in Spain, for example.

However, Catalunya has relatively high levels of trust compared to the rest of Spain and approaches levels usually found in Scandinavia (table 4). The reason for this might be evident in the history of the country and its turbulent relationship with both France and Spain over the years. Once an independent kingdom spanning the Pyrenees, Catalunya has been subsumed into France and Spain for 500 years. During this time, however, it has maintained a separate identity, largely as a reaction to the Spanish “occupation”, which was particularly cruel under the regime of General FRANCO (1939-1975). As PUTNAM points out “Social capital is most easily created in opposition to something or someone else” (PUTNAM, 2000, pp. 360 y 361) and so Catalunya has preserved its identity and cultural and social structures in opposition to both Spain and France. Under FRANCO, civil society resisted attempts to impose Spanish language, culture and identity through a dense network of associations (many clandestine) which

Table 2: Levels of interpersonal trust

%	Most people can be trusted	Can't be too careful
Europe	30.9	69.1
Spain	38.7	61.3
Catalunya	50.7	49.3

Source: European Values Survey 2000

provided a wide range of services not delivered (or forbidden) by the state, such as Catalan language education, cultural activities and various forms of “rational recreation”. Self-reliance also created a relatively high level of inter-personal trust in Catalan society (table 2).

These figures serve to underline the important social structures that underpin the production and reproduction of culture in society. In this context, it seems difficult to talk about the cultural impact of tourism, or other conduits of globalisation or commercialisation of culture, without at the same time considering the social context in which cultural life is situated. It is for this reason that we have attempted to trace the relationship between culture, tourism and social capital in Catalunya.

The concept of social capital is not without its problems, however. In particular, concepts of social capital have usually been developed and deployed in the context of relatively sedentary “communities”, and the conception of community also leans towards more traditional visions. For example, PUTNAM’s concept of social capital has echoes of small town American longing for a specific, geographically-based form of community:

I challenge America’s urban and regional planners, developers, community organisers, and home buyers: Let us act to ensure that by 2010 Americans will spend less time travelling and more time connecting with our neighbors than we do today, that we will live in more integrated and pedestrian-friendly areas, and that the design of our communities and the availability of public space will encourage more casual socialising with friends and neighbors (PUTNAM, 2000, pp. 407 y 408).

This is a “garden fence” model of community

that ignores the increasing mobility of contemporary society. Such visions are also often based on a nostalgia for a simpler, monocultural past, when the reality is that most societies are now formed of a complex mosaic of different cultures and forms of communication. In PUTNAM’s model, mobility is seen as a threat to social capital and therefore to community. But the reality in most societies is one of increasing mobility and the formation of new forms of sociability and trust. There is little evidence to suggest that these new forms exhibit lower levels of trust than the old ones, but that trust is embodied in a different set of interpersonal relations. This is particularly important in the field of tourism, where global mobility has led to the formation of new communities “on the road” and new relationships between “hosts” and “guests” (RICHARDS and WILSON, 2004).

Is it therefore inevitable, as PUTNAM seems to suggest, that increased mobility and the growth of tourism lead to a decline in social capital? Are stable, immobile communities sharing the same physical space with high frequency of personal contacts the only way of increasing social capital in the face of disintegrating social structures? The surveys carried out in Catalunya examine the relationship between local communities and visitors in the context of their consumption of cultural events in an attempt to address these issues.

### Surveying social capital among visitors and residents

In order to ascertain if there is a link between social capital, culture and tourism, surveys of residents and visitors to traditional and popular cultural events (*festas*) in Catalunya were conducted in 2003.

### Respondent profile

The respondents were predominantly local residents, with 60% coming from the local area. Most of the “visitors” to the *festas* came from other parts of Catalunya (19%).



Only 5% of visitors had travelled from other parts of Spain, and less than 16% from abroad. The majority of the visitors from outside Catalunya were attending events in Barcelona, predominantly La Mercè (which attracted 68% of all the foreign visitors interviewed). For events in other parts of Catalunya, the proportion of “external” visitors was less than 10%.

In terms of the gender distribution of respondents, there was a slight majority of male respondents (53%). This contrasts with the stronger representation of females found at most other types of cultural events and attractions (RICHARDS, 2001). This may be a result of the staging of some interviews during evening events, when women are less likely to be found in public spaces. However it may also reflect the fact that women have traditionally tended to have a relatively marginal role in *festas* in Catalunya, and have only begun to participate in greater numbers in recent years.

In terms of age distribution, almost a third of respondents were aged between 20 and 29. This is not surprising in view of the nature of the events surveyed, and also corresponds to the high participation of young people in cultural events noted in previous ATLAS surveys (RICHARDS, 2001). In general there was a marked absence of respondents aged over 50. Again this distribution was reasonably consistent across the different events surveyed. There was some relationship between age and visitor origin, as local residents tended to be slightly older than the sample average, as did tourists from Spain and abroad. The group with the youngest age profile tended to be the visitors from other parts of Catalunya, which underlines the tendency for young Catalans to travel around the country (or at least their region) to visit other *festas*.

The broad range of visitors attracted by

*festas* in Catalunya was underlined by the varied education levels of the respondents. The distribution of education levels showed two clear peaks, one for those with higher education (32%) and for secondary education (30%). This distribution is influenced by the large proportion of young respondents, most of whom have not yet finished their higher education studies. This is accounted for by the large number of students in the sample (24%), most of whom have not yet gained a qualification. For respondents over the age of 30, over 40% had a university qualification, underlining the relatively high level of education of the respondents. However levels of higher education were significantly lower for older respondents, with less than 20% of those aged over 50 having a higher education qualification. This underlines the rapid growth in higher education participation in Catalunya since the restoration of democracy.

The occupational status of the respondents was predominantly that of employee (39%) or student (24%). Retired people made up about 15% of the sample, and there were just over 2% unemployed, a far lower level than the Catalan population as a whole (although this may have been affected to some extent by the social undesirability of indicating you are unemployed). As with previous studies of cultural consumption, there tended to be a majority of professional and managerial occupations. About half of the total respondents were in professional or managerial positions. In general, the proportion of professionals was higher among foreign respondents. For local residents much larger proportion of the professionals were in technical occupations.

There was a clear occupational status division between Barcelona and other regions of Catalunya, with Barcelona having a larger proportion of managerial and professional people, while other areas of Catalunya tended to have more technical professionals,



administrators and manual workers.

### Motivation

The most important motivation for almost all *fiesta* visitors was not surprisingly “to have fun”. About 80% of all respondents rated this motivation as “important” or “very important”, irrespective of origin. The second most important motive was social: “to meet friends”. But this was significantly more important for local participants than for visitors. The motive ranked third most important by both residents and visitors was “to meet local people”. Again this was slightly more important for locals, although the difference was not significant. “Experiencing local culture” was only seen as important by about half the respondents, and again there was no significant difference between locals and visitors. There was also no difference in the degree of cultural motivation by visitor origin when controlling for frequency of previous visits. This seems to suggest that the basic reasons for participating in a *fiesta* are either for fun or social contact, rather than being cultural. *Fiestas* therefore seem to have a more important social function for the visitors than a cultural function.

### Visitor Experience

There were no significant differences in the assessment of the “content” of the event by residence. Both local residents and visitors tended to see the event as relatively “traditional” (72%) and “authentic” (67%), and were only slightly less likely to see it as “exciting” (61%). On the other hand, less than 40% of respondents were likely to agree that the event was “innovative” or “commercial”. This generally suggests that people saw the *fiestas* as authentic, traditional events.

The affective aspects of visitor experience were measured through a series of statements about their feeling while attending the *fiesta*. The most heavily scored affective aspect was a feeling of happiness, which was

scored positively by over three-quarters of all respondents. The next most important factor was a feeling of the event being “crowded”, which was perceived by two thirds of respondents. However, the fact that the participants felt the event was crowded did not produce negative feelings, because over 60% also indicated that they felt “safe” at the event. Crowds of people therefore seem to be experienced as positive, rather than negative, although not always relaxing, as only 45% of respondents indicated they were relaxed.

The feeling of safety in public space was obviously of importance to the participants in underpinning feelings of happiness and freedom. Feelings of safety were highly positively correlated with an expressed sense of freedom ( $r=0.578$ ) and happiness ( $r=0.515$ ).

The only significant difference in the affective experience of the event in terms of gender was a weaker feeling of freedom on the part of women. They may feel that their behaviour in public space is more under scrutiny and control than that of men.

In terms of age, younger people were more likely to feel relaxed and to have a sense of belonging than older people. In particular those aged between 20 and 29 were most likely to be relaxed and to feel they belonged. This indicates that the young enjoy the atmosphere of the *fiesta* more than older people, and that the feeling of belonging is perhaps more related to belonging to an “imagined community” based on a shared experience of the event rather than feeling part of the physical community in which the event is held. This suggestion is supported by the fact that young residents feel more relaxed and free than older residents do.

### Memberships

An important aspect of the survey was the

determination of the level of association membership among *fiesta* visitors. This was designed to provide a measure of institutional social capital, and to test the hypothesis that social capital is an important support for cultural vibrancy. Respondents were therefore asked to indicate whether they were members of sports, cultural, neighbourhood or solidarity associations.

Sports clubs were the most frequent form of membership held by the respondents (39%). This is perhaps predictable in view of the relatively young age of most respondents and the high level of membership of major clubs such as FC Barcelona in Catalunya. Membership of cultural associations was the next most frequent category (18%). This is much higher than for the population of Catalunya as a whole (7%), and is undoubtedly related to the surveys being held at cultural events. Local residents were also more likely to be members of cultural associations (18%) than visitors (15%). In contrast to the pattern for sports club membership, members of cultural associations tended to be older (20% of over 30s, compared with 15% of those under 30). This was also the case with neighbourhood associations and solidarity groups (NGO).

### Connection to location and the event

If as PUTNAM argues, levels of social capital are supported by participation and trust, then we should see relationships between participation in cultural events and social capital.

Respondents who were members of cultural associations were slightly more likely than other respondents to see themselves as “participants” (27%), but much more likely to be organising (44% of association members - others 20%). This indicates that structural and participatory elements of social capital are linked. Those who are members of associations also participate

more frequently. These two types of capital also lead to a stronger feeling of connection to the local area. Those who saw themselves as participating were twice as likely to feel very strongly connected (51%) than non-participants. Those who saw themselves as organising even more so (82% compared with non-organisers 28%). Perhaps not surprisingly, language played an important part in the level of involvement, with native Catalan speakers more likely to see themselves as participants (52% of Catalan speakers against 41%) and much more likely to be organising (68% - 26%).

However, 65% of those who did not consider themselves to be participating still felt connected to the event. Over 70% of those not involved in organising the event also felt themselves to be connected to the event. In spite of the relative lack of active participation on the part of visitors, a vast majority still felt themselves to be welcome (93%) and over 70% of visitors disagreed with the statement “I have little connection to this place”. There was no significant difference in the extent to which people felt themselves to be welcome by origin, which suggest a level of generalised trust is active in Catalan *fiestas*.

Potentially the most interesting finding about the role of social networks in creating social capital lies in the differences between those who are members of associations and those who have no association memberships. Those who were members of Sports clubs, Cultural associations, neighbourhood groups and NGO were significantly more likely to feel themselves welcome, regardless of whether they were local residents, visitors from Catalunya or outside the country. Those without association memberships, on the other hand, were more likely to feel welcome if they came from the local area or from other parts of Catalunya. This indicates that

association membership has a significant role in promoting generalised trust and bridging capital.

Interestingly, the number of association memberships held by individuals was positively related to feelings of relaxation, and motives of creativity, eating and drinking. Those who participate most in associations, and who are most likely to have high levels of both bonding and bridging social capital, are also those most likely to enjoy themselves at such events.

The data therefore seem to indicate a feeling of ownership and belonging on the part of the locals in spite of the presence of tourists. This feeling is more readily converted into a feeling of pride in showing that culture to others if the level of social capital is higher.

### Attitudes to tourism

One of the areas of discussion about the impact of tourism on cultural events (and on local communities in general) is the extent to which increasing numbers of visitors create negative feelings among local people. Resentment of visitors may also lead to the visitors themselves feeling less welcome in the area.

However the local residents questioned on the whole welcomed visitors. Almost 70% of local residents indicated that they were proud that so many visitors came to their *festa*. A further 25% said they didn't mind who came to the event, leaving only 7% who resented the presence of outsiders. Negative attitudes to visitors were likely to be higher among Catalan speakers than other local residents, and also among those who felt the event had changed over time. Local residents who were members of cultural associations were less likely to be negative about visitors and much more likely to be proud about the event attracting external attention.

The relatively low level of resentment towards visitors was also evident from the reaction of visitors, the vast majority of whom felt welcome. Interestingly, visitors from Spain and abroad felt more welcome than visitors from other parts of Catalunya. This may indicate that local rivalries are stronger than negative feelings towards strangers in general.

Not surprisingly, those visitors who had been to the event before were more likely to feel welcome than first-time visitors. However, even those visitors who indicated that they had little connection with the place they were visiting were unlikely to feel unwelcome. Only 9% of those with no connections to the location said they did not feel very welcome.

When asked if their visit had changed their attitude to the place they were visiting, 42% of visitors said it had made them more positive. There was no significant difference in the change in attitude with the frequency of previous visits, which may indicate that visitors react to an individual event rather than a series of experiences.

### Conclusion

The basic conclusion of the research presented here is that social capital has an important role to play in making local cultural practices resilient to the impact of tourism, and also in creating positive relationships between locals and visitors. Social networks are extremely important in determining the attitudes of residents and visitors towards cultural resources and the use of these resources by tourists.

The differentiation between and within local communities in terms of levels and forms of social capital seems to have been largely ignored in previous studies. Models such as Doxey's irridex assume that the "community" becomes irritated by tourists as tourism

grows. However, this research indicates that levels of social capital not only enable groups within the local community to develop positive attitudes towards tourism, but that the inevitability of declining relations between tourists and hosts is unfounded. If levels of social capital can be maintained, or even increased, then new, positive relationships can be formed.

Another important point to be considered in the networks that bind the local and link the local with the global in the context of tourism is the extent to which the local-tourist dichotomy holds in a globalising-localising world. FRANQUESA I, BARTOLOMÉ and MORELL I TIPPER (2003) point out that the spatial nature of the relationship between local and tourist is often overlooked. The “locals” and the “tourists” use the same space, but is the meaning of that space so diametrically opposed? They give the example of a “local” resident of a tourist city, who visits the historic centre to shop or have a night out. Is the experience of the “local” not in fact very close to that of the ‘tourist’? This echoes other studies which have indicated the decreasing spatial, social and behavioural distance between visitors and residents in cities (e.g. HOFFMAN et al., 2004), which implies that tourism policies and social and cultural policies increasingly need to be integrated in order to deal effectively with the new spaces of consumption in urban areas.

This issue is likely to become even more important in future, because of the tendency of many ‘tourists’ to seek out the everyday as a novel form of experience. If tourists increasingly consume the everyday lives of others, it is important to develop both bonding and bridging capital in local and mobile communities, so that new social relationships can be formed which enable all the actors to adapt to their new roles.

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