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Sharing Space in Tourism Places: a Study of Interrelationships in Sarlat, France

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ABSTRACT

While the relationships between hosts and guests are still frequently thought of in terms of a conflicting opposition between two groups, this article intends to question the co-presence and the sharing of space at work in heritagized and touristified cities. Based on a fieldwork conducted in Sarlat, a city with a very pronouced seasonality in tourism, we argue that the willingness to share the space, even though it is linked to the status of people in relation to the place (tourists / inhabitants), also depends on other factors (socio-economic profiles, attachment to place, territorial anchor, etc.). In this sense, our hypothesis is that the concepts of social and cultural capital, originally developed by the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, associated to the concept of indigenous capital proposed by Jean-Noël Retière, which reintegrates the spatial dimension at the heart of the concept of capital, can help to refine the understanding of the dynamics and socio-spatial stakes that come into play in touristified cities. We postulate that the input brought by those various types of capitals activates an interesting dialogue between tourism studies and social geography by apprehending the spatial dimension of social reality in a tourism context.

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Keywords: Co-presence; Touristification; Socio-cultural Capital; Indigenous Capital; Sarlat

Alors que les relations entre visiteurs et visités sont encore fréquemment pensées en termes d'une opposition conflictuelle entre deux groupes opposés, cet article propose de questionner la coprésence et le partage de l'espace à l'œuvre dans des villes patrimonialisées et mises en tourisme. Nous partons du postulat selon lequel

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l'acceptabilité du partage de l'espace, si elle est liée aux "statuts" qu'ont les individus dans ce cadre spatial (touristes / habitants) demeure toujours influencée par d'autres attributs (profil socio-économique, attachement au lieu, ancrage territorial, etc.). À partir d'un travail d'enquête mené à Sarlat, une ville où la saisonnalité du tourisme est très marquée, nous émettons l'hypothèse que les concepts de capital social et culturel, initialement développés par le sociologue Pierre Bourdieu, associés au concept de capital d'autochtonie proposé par Jean-Noël Retière, lequel réintègre la dimension spatiale au cœur de la notion de capital, permettent d'affiner la compréhension des dynamiques et enjeux socio-spatiaux en cours dans ces villes. Nous postulons que l'entrée par ces différentes formes de capital permet d'entamer un dialogue intéressant entre les tourism studies et la géographie sociale en appréhendant la dimension spatiale du réel social et ce, dans un contexte touristique.

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Introduction

The effects (positive or negative) of tourism on host communities are increasingly being addressed, either by scholars or in the media. Whilst the funeral of Venice in 2009[1] or "Tourists go home" tags on the walls of Palma de Mallorca[2] raised a lot of comments,[3] one can wonder if these situations are representative of the reactions of the residents in tourist cities. Tourism, considered as a "genre commun", or "an ordinary mode of spatial organization of social realities"[4] (Lussault, 2007, p.335), now affects multiple places all around the world. If the "hauts lieux"[5] of tourism, its paramount places, are certainly more numerous today than ever, there is still a whole range of places we might call ordinary tourist places where tourists and residents are broadly from the same geographical area. The area that was studied for this paper belongs to this category: a small French town[6] mainly visited by domestic tourists.

Thereby, this article is focused on how the development of tourism through the enhancement of urban built heritage modifies the way tourists and residents share the public space. We hypothesize that the concepts of social and cultural capital, originally developed by the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1979, 1980), associated to the concept of "indigenous capital" proposed by Jean-Noël Retière (1994, 2003), make it possible to refine the understanding of the socio-spatial dynamics of co-presence in a tourism context. Displayed in several forms that intersect, the concept of capital mainly helps to deconstruct tourist and resident categories. It is thus necessary to avoid locking individuals into fixed identities (tourists / inhabitants) that overlook and annihilate the relations of social class and social representations operating at other levels.

1. Understanding co-presence in a tourist city through the notions of socio-cultural capital and "indigenous capital": a literature review

Tourists and residents can no longer be considered as two opposite categories. Since about a decade, in part thanks to the writings of Sherlock (2001), Reisinger and Turner (2002), Mordue (2005) or Stock's thesis of the "polytopical living" (2001), it is increasingly accepted that tourists can also be considered as inhabitants, although they have quite different ways of inhabiting the same place. However, this "all inhabitants" thesis must not lead us to consider a necessarily harmonious and pacified coexistence. Relations between different types of inhabitants are not always easy and tensions and even conflicts can break out (Colomb & Novy, 2017).

It should also be noted that while we are thinking in terms of residents and tourists, we are aware that tourists here are residents elsewhere and vice versa. This principle of interchangeability is particularly true in the case of European tourism places where a large number of residents also have regular tourism practices. These terms can therefore be used for our investigation, with the reservation that they don't define fixed identities but rather provisional states of being that can change according to time

and space (Équipe MIT, 2002). Thus, an element of definition, which is paramount in this work, is that the tourist lives in a time-space which is unusual for him/her (the Équipe MIT (ibid.) calls it the "out-of-daily", "le hors-quotidien"), which distinguishes him/her from the residents of the places he/she visits, who for their part are experiencing the space-time of the daily life. Nevertheless, the relations these inhabitants maintain with others as well as with places, even if they are intimately linked to the space-time in which they are at the moment (daily / out-of-daily), cannot be understood only through these categories. The situation is more complex, since we need to take into account individual patterns and strategies. We suggest that the concept of capital could make it possible to enrich and refine the analysis.

The notion of capital, used to understand social relationships and conducts, is central to the work of Pierre Bourdieu. This sociologist makes capital a polymorphic notion, falling into several types. We focused in this article on two types: the socio-cultural capital and the "indigenous capital", developed by Jean-Noël Retière.

1.1 The concept of social and cultural capital according to Bourdieu

We first postulate that the way people will share the space depends on the social and cultural capital related to each individual co-presence, which others estimate through the image they convey. According to Bourdieu, social capital represents "the totality of current or potential resources that are linked to the possession of a sustainable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of intercognition and inter-recognition; or, in other words, belonging to a group" (Bourdieu, 1980, p.2). As regards cultural capital, it is found in three conditions, namely the knowledge acquired (being educated, having a good command of language, etc.), the objectified dimension (a heritage of cultural goods like paintings, books, etc.) and finally institutionalized status (titles, diplomas, etc.).[7] In the case of co-presence in tourist places, this notion of capital can be apprehended essentially by means of the "body hexis", which is, according to Bourdieu, "a social signum" expressed through embodiment (Bourdieu, 1962 [2002], p.116). We cannot know for sure, just by being co-present with an individual in a public place, what his/her job or his/her academic level is. The information one gets that enables to build a representation and make a judgment of who this individual is therefore essentially based on the perception of the "body hexis", assimilated to the economic and social condition of the individual as it appears to the viewer. Even though the "body hexis" is about the capital an individual is endowed with, it inevitably contributes to classify individuals into a social group.

1.2 Indigenous capital: reintegrating the relation to space to understand social interrelations in tourism places

Although the "indigenous capital" constitutes another form of capital, it differs from the other forms identified by Bourdieu mainly at the level of the spatial dimension which plays a central role in this concept. "Indigenous capital" designates:

(…) the set of resources provided by belonging to networks of localized relations. It is a question of naming symbolic resources, symbolic in that they have neither economic capital nor cultural capital, but rather a reputation acquired and maintained on a singular territory (Renahy, 2010, p.9).

By mobilizing this capital, one "either seeks to emancipate oneself from a "total" theoretical ambition, or to criticize a theory of domination which neglects marginal entries in politics or to approach the Bourdieu empiricist, anthropologist of Kabylie and Béarn" (Renahy, 2010, p.10). While the empirical dimension was central to Bourdieu's work in Kabylie (1958, 1964, 1972) and Béarn (1962 [2002]), his research took on a more theoretical dimension from the 1980s (Renahy, 2010). At the same time, the work carried out about the social organization of hunting by Jean-Claude Chamboredon, a former collaborator of Bourdieu, with Michel Bozon (1979, 1980) seek to give a central place to the empirical dimension of their research. They focus on the spatial dimension and the rural-urban continuum. Although the notion of "indigenous capital" appeared for the first time in Retière's writings in 1994,[8] Bozon and Chamboredon (ibid.) had already highlighted the role played by autochthony in the appropriation of space. In the works of Bozon and Chamboredon and those of Retière as well, "indigenous capital" makes it possible to fill a gap in other capitals (cultural, social, economic, etc.). Above all, this notion makes it possible to reintegrate the spatial dimension at the heart of the concept of capital. The "indigenous capital" can indeed refer to a criticism of the Bourdieu's notion of capital, where the spatial dimension is missing. However, it is not for us to defend a primacy of the "indigenous capital" over the socio-cultural one. We postulate that a single type of capital cannot account for the complexity of social reality. The crossing of these two forms of capital makes it possible to simultaneously embrace the social and spatial dimensions.

2. Research settings

While tourism is generally identified as a peaceful encounter between foreign individuals (Lazzarotti, 2011) as opposed to wars, this space sharing between tourists and residents does not always happen smoothly and without tensions or even conflicts. Although the development of tourism in the city centers refers to the "right for the city for all" (Gravari-Barbas, Bourdeau & Robinson, 2012), it could lead to conflicts of appropriation (Colomb & Novy, 2017). We have thus sought to understand what makes

the sharing of space and co-presence more or less easy. What criteria facilitate the cohabitation? In this sense, the small French town of Sarlat is a particularly relevant case study to understand the acceptability to share space and the co-presence of all these inhabitants.

2.1 Sarlat, a small heritagized and touristified French city

Located in South-West of France, Sarlat is a city of about 10,000 inhabitants. The city is located in the heart of a very attractive region for tourists, the Périgord. This region is well-known for its picturesque landscapes, outdoor activities, gastronomy, castles, historic towns and villages and prehistoric caves, listed as a World Heritage Site (WHS).[9] Whereas until the early 1960s Sarlat was only a base for touring the region, it has emerged as a tourist destination after being selected as one of the first cities whose historic center was protected and restored as part of the "Loi Malraux" in 1962.[10] The Malraux Act has put a spotlight on the city allowing the public to (re)discover its heritage. Most of Sarlat urban heritage consists of many mansions and ancient religious buildings including the Saint-Sacerdos cathedral, the ancient church of St Mary or the White Penitents Chapel.
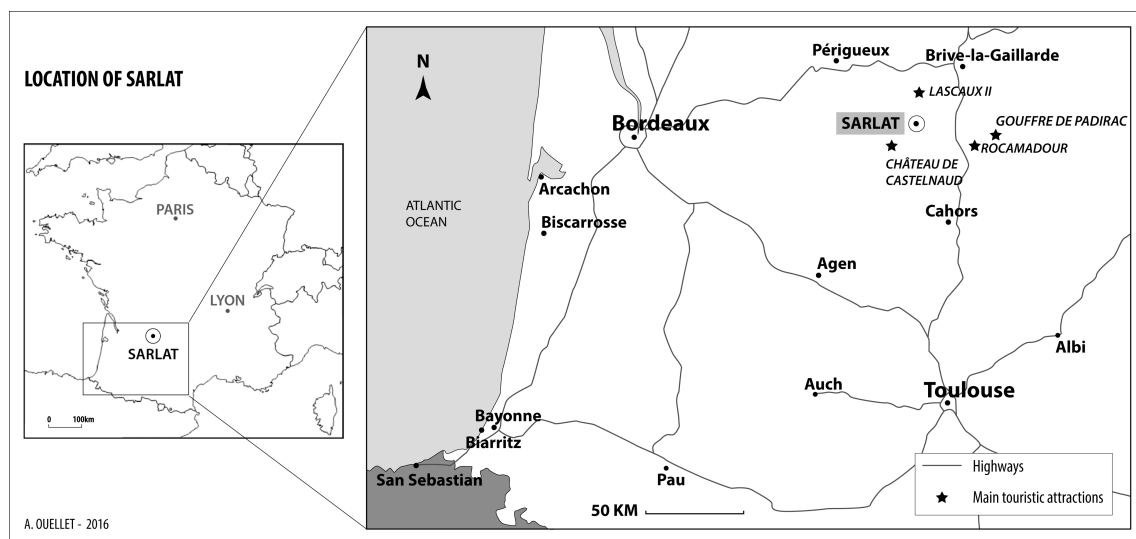

Figure 1: Location of Sarlat
Source: A. Ouellet, 2016

Figure 2: Public places and street in Sarlat's inner city
Source: A. Ouellet, 2016

Today, the city attracts more than one million tourists annually, among whom 70% are domestic tourists.[11] Although the historical center is the main attraction, gastronomy is also important, the region being (also) famous for foie gras, confit or magret of duck or goose. Tourism, as in the majority of small French cities, is strongly influenced by its seasonal nature. We can consider that tourist season starts around April and ends in October, July and August being the busiest months (see Figure 3). While in winter time only permanent residents, storekeepers and some second-home residents remain in the city, with the beginning of the season the first tourists arrive, as well as the "touristic" storekeepers. In summertime, in addition to tourists becoming numerous, one will find street artists and street sellers (see Figure 4). So, even when considering that all these people are inhabitants of Sarlat, their relations to space are rather distinct.
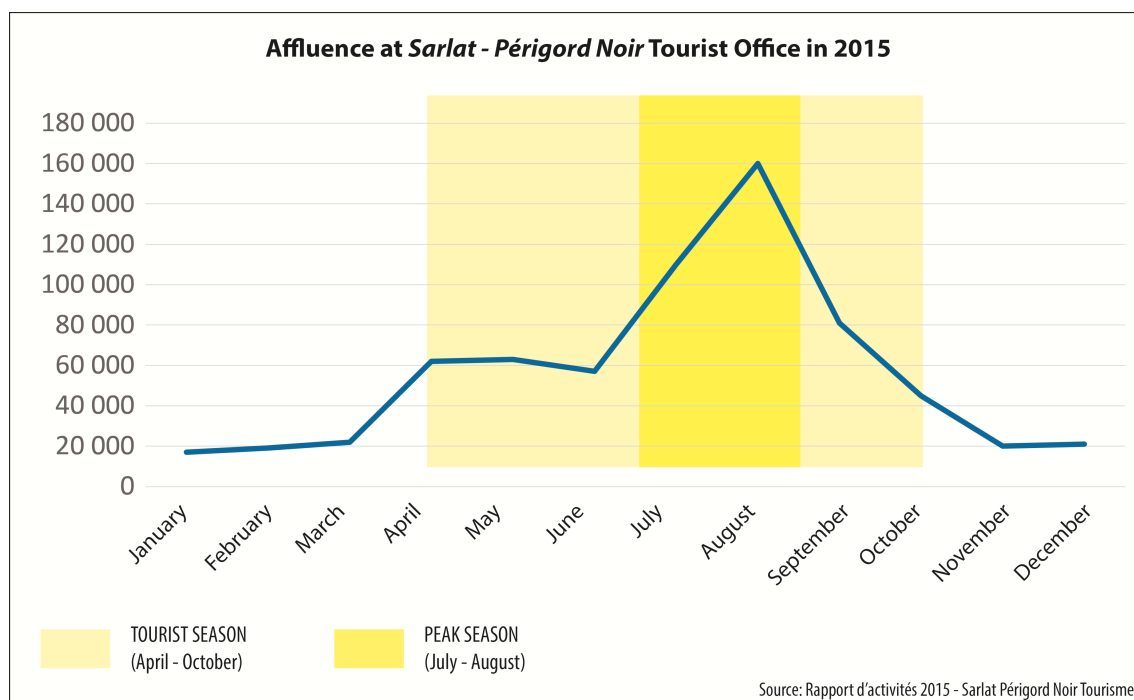

Figure 3: Affluence at *"Sarlat – Périgord Noir"* Tourist Office in 2015

Source: Rapport d'activités 2015 – Sarlat Périgord Noir Tourisme

INHABITANTS CO-PRESENT IN THE CITY ACCORDING TO THE SEASON

(More) tourists
Street artists
Street sellers
+
Tourists
«Touristic» storekeepers
+
Permanent residents
Secondary residents
Storekeepers

summer
spring
winter
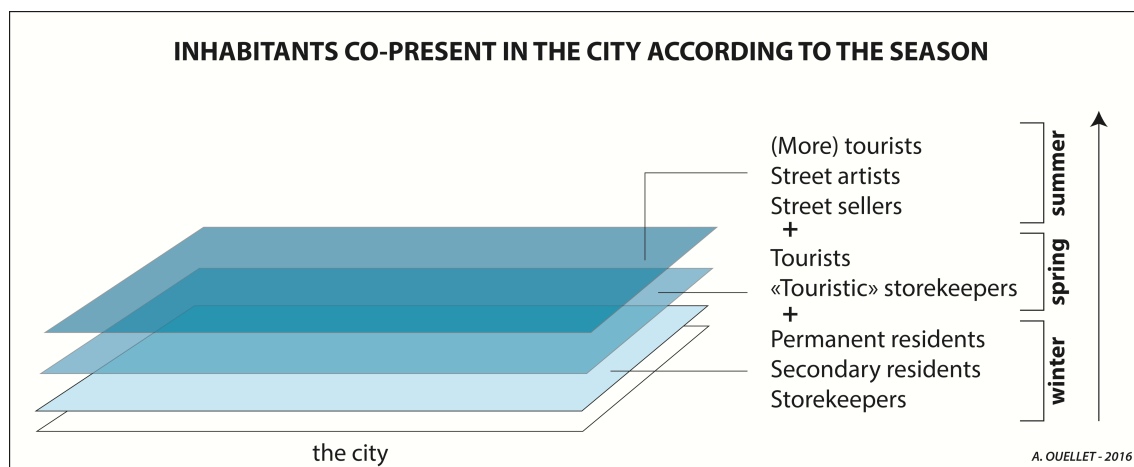
the city

A. OUELLET - 2016

Figure 4: Inhabitants co-present in the city according to the season
Source: A. Ouellet, 2016

2.2 Methodology

Our willingness to question the relation to space of individuals and the co-presence of a multiplicity of inhabitants in a same place led us to conceive a methodological framework, which can address a vast range of concepts and notions. We mainly conducted interviews and non-participating observation sessions.

A total of 62 interviews were conducted with tourists, permanent residents, second-home residents and seasonal workers. As many researchers (e.g. Hatt, Deletraz, Clarimont & Vlès, 2011; Simon, 2010) already demonstrated, it is difficult to conduct lengthy interviews with tourists at the time of their stay. We therefore conducted short interviews (from fifteen minutes to more than one hour) with tourists. With all the other inhabitants, we chose semi-structured interviews, which lasted between one hour to two and a half hours. The interviews focused mainly on the way the respondents perceive and represent the city, as well as on their practices. We also wanted to know what relationship they had with tourists, if they changed their habits according to the intensity of the tourist presence. We asked respondents about their profession and for Sarlat's residents, their place of residence, duration of stay, if they own or rent their housing. In order to guarantee anonymity, the names of all the interviewees were replaced by pseudonyms. Although this issue of anonymity arises in any research, the reasons why it arises differ according to the context. While researchers working on sensitive subjects (e.g. illicit activities) need to anonymize their sources, our choice is partly due to the fact that lots of people know each other within the city under study.

Positioning ourselves in a qualitative approach, we tried to achieve data saturation (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The sample of people surveyed was conformed as the investigation proceeded. We asked to our first interviewees to refer other people to us. At the outset, we contacted all of them, but in the course of the fieldwork we were careful to vary the characteristics related to age, gender, socio-economic profile. Nonetheless, this group is not a statistically representative sample. Table 1 and Figure 5 summarize the characteristics of the inhabitants encountered.

Since we made the assumption that the seasonal nature of tourism in Sarlat has a strong impact on the city and the lives of its inhabitants, we conducted the interviews at different times throughout the year, in winter and summer 2015 and spring 2016.

Concerning the observation, our process was essentially direct observation (non-participating). Sessions were scheduled to observe over a period of time (30 minutes) the interactions between individuals, their position in space, their body attitude. Several locations were key to those observations. Some of them were public spaces: squares, streets, parks and other private places opened to the public ("Établissement recevant du public" (ERP) according to the French legal language) as well as cafés or bars. These observation sessions were conducted at different times of the year (high, low, and shoulder season).

Moreover, spending several weeks in Sarlat for this fieldwork also allowed us to observe the daily sharing of space and to experience it ourselves over the seasons. For example, we ourselves have been trapped in human traffic jams in the summer, and we also have walked through the entire historic city without seing anybody on some winter mornings. In addition to the formal interviews, we talked informally with some residents and storekeepers, which enabled us to enrich the discursive material obtained during the semi-structured interviews.

3. An integrative concept of capital to understand how tourists and residents share public space

As mentioned previously, two major factors affecting the sharing of space have been identified: on the one hand the socio-cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1979, 1980) and on the other hand the "indigenous capital" (Retière, 1994, 2003). Although other more personal elements must be taken into account, these two types of capital appeared to be crucial to understand the space sharing mechanism in small heritagized and touristified cities.

3.1 Socio-cultural capital

Throughout the course of the interviews, the socio-cultural capital has emerged as a recurrent topic, primarily through the issue of cultural distance and social distance.

Analysis of the interviews with tourists and residents allowed us to state that the inhabitants are generally more inclined to share space with people socially close and/or culturally close to them. For example, residents with high cultural capital will more easily tolerate the presence of tourists if they have the same cultural background (e.g. the same interest for history, heritage, architecture, etc.).

To assess the interviewees' level of socio-cultural capital, we combined two sets of data: a few concrete elements that determine the belonging to a specific social class or group (profession, place of residence, level of studies, if the interviewee owns or rents his/her house in Sarlat, duration of stay) with elements that derive from the interpretation of the person's discourse and reveal his/her own evaluation of his/her and other people's socio-cultural status. We took into account, for example, what the locals themselves told us about their cultural tastes, habits and conducts and what they said about those of tourists. It is then a question of apprehending the discourse of the inhabitants in an "assertoric dimension" (Passeron, 1995), i.e. to give more importance to what they express and perceive than to the bare facts.

3.1.1 Mirror of self

For permanent residents, the question of socio-cultural capital can also be approached through the self-image that the tourist presence portrays. Françoise Cavaillé, in her work on the experience of expropriation, emphasized that "appropriate space essentially functions as a social mirror, a symbolic mirror" (Cavaillé, 1999, p.18). We can take the reflection a step further by stating that sharing space will be more easily accepted if the individuals present contribute to reflect a self-image that is positive and rewarding. Hence the ones that are most bothered by the presence of tourists conveying an image that does not correspond to what they yearn for are mainly the permanent residents with higher socio-cultural capital. Through the presence of tourists, what is at stake is the image of the city, and therefore their own image through the mirror effect.

According to me, the city should try to attract more tourists who appreciate beautiful stones, architecture, history... we have a real treasure here. I think it is better having fewer tourists, but tourists who know why they are here, not only to see a clown's street show or eat an ice cream… (Yvette, permanent resident).

Nevertheless, we point out that this socio-cultural capital is fundamentally related to social representations. It basically refers to the way one assesses an individual's economic and social status through the perception and analysis of his/her "body hexis". The following excerpt from the interview, conducted with Jacques, illustrates it very well:

In general I like tourists. Except (...) sometimes you have some ... paunchy men with open shirts (…) there are some who behave not very... yes really open shirts, paunchy, flip-flops... A look somewhat neglected (…) (Jacques, permanent resident).

It is also interesting to note that these elements, far from being specific to the town studied, have been observed in very different contexts. Michel Pinçon and Monique Pinçon-Charlot mention in "Les Ghettos du Gotha" what was considered by the inhabitants of the neighborhood as a "degradation" of the Champs-Élysées (Paris) in the 1980s, underlying that "the perception of social hierarchies involves the perception of how the body is carried" (Pinçon & Pinçon-Charlot, 2007, p.121).

3.1.2 The distinction that operates through seasonality

Many writings attest to the globalization of tourism, the latter affecting almost the entire world today (e.g. Coëffé, Pébarthe & Violier, 2007; Knowles, Djamantis & El-Mourhabi, 2004; Sacareau, Taunay & Peyvel, 2015). Although, originally, tourism was an activity reserved for a certain elite, it no longer has this distinctive character. Nevertheless, the will of individuals to distinguish themselves remains and is expressed in other ways. The forms of tourism grouped under the name "off the beaten track" (e.g. Gravari-Barbas & Delaplace, 2015; Maitland & Newman, 2009; Pappalepore, Maitland & Smith, 2014) can be one of them. We hypothesize that for some tourists their ability to avoid both the "mass" and the tourists with a lower socio-cultural capital, thanks to the temporality of the tourist stays, corresponds to this kind of distinction. Thus, some tourists have explained to us that they try, as far as possible, to travel "out of season" to avoid certain "types" of tourists.

In summer there are too many people and in August it is the worst ... .you see plenty of people and, how can I put it ... well, the typical tourists! Flip-flops and flower shorts ... Really now that we can avoid them, we do it! (Marcelle, tourist).

Being able to travel off-season makes it possible to avoid having to share the space with individuals with less social and cultural capital (or at least considered as such). However, our intention is not to assert that this is the only criterion affecting the choice of when to go on vacation. Economic criteria should also be considered, as well as a stress that can be generated by the strong tourist influx during the summer months.
It is also interesting to note that the individuals better endowed with capitals (social, cultural but also, and mainly, economic) are those who can most easily avoid other tourists if their presence is considered too annoying, as discussed above.

3.2 The "indigenous capital": when being a local is an asset

Through their study examining the practice of hunting, Michel Bozon and Jean-Claude Chamboredon (1979, 1980) highlighted the role of "indigenousness" in the appropriation of space. In this perspective, being a native of the place is considered as an asset. Jean-Noël Retière (1994) calls up again this idea as part of his work on the industrious town of Lanester, in Brittany, this time in a capitalistic form. In this context of labor, "indigenousness" overcomes deficit to a cultural or social capital. This "autochthonous" factor appeared to us as another strong marker that can be understood through the duration of residence, the level of involvement in community life and the attachment to the place.

3.2.1 Attachment to place metaphors

While some geographers have been very critical of the use of the metaphor of "enracinement" (rootedness) denouncing an overvaluation of the sedentary lifestyle (Retaillé, 2009, 2011; Stock, 2006), we have seen during the past few years a reversal of paradigm where mobility would be synonymous with modernity and openness to the world. As Bernard Debarbieux (2014) shows, the shift from a massive use of the metaphor of "enracinement" (rootedness) to "ancrage" (anchor)[12] reveals this change of paradigm and a certain injunction to mobility, which is now happening. Following Debarbieux (ibid.) we propose, instead of replacing rootedness by anchor, to mobilize three metaphors of relationship to place: "enracinement" (rootedness), "ancrage" (anchor) and "amarrage" (mooring)[13] (Debarbieux, 2014, p.76), in order to refine the characterization of different types of attachment.

Through the interviews, it became clear that the "true Sarladais" constituted a well-identified fringe of the local population. In addition to the length of residence and involvement in the life of the community, the "realest" inhabitants would be those who were born there (and possibly their parents as well). For those who are not natives of the place, the need to stand out from the natives or "rooted" is very present. It can be understood in two ways, which are related. Most often it appears as a need to distinguish themselves from the latter, considered as archaic. It is also sometimes approached ironically, highlighting the rejection suffered and the difficulty to integrate this closed circle. As an example, the remarks of a permanent resident of Sarlat when asked if he would accept to do an interview for this study: "I do not know what I could tell you! I'm just a tourist here! I've only been here for 15 years ...". When we asked him to explain himself, he added: "When your parents and grandparents are not buried in the cemetery, people make you feel that you are not really from here ...".

Some residents reported the influence of these "real Sarladais" on the city.

I feel as a "Sarladais" yes ... On the other hand I am not Sarladais like the real Sarladais are... anyway for the old Sarladian families they are the only ones who can be considered Sarladais. They really own the city, it's their city. (Jacques, permanent resident).

I don't know if you've noticed, but for 10,000 people you have a Rotary Club, a Lion's Club and other clubs ... that's huge. For 10,000 inhabitants this is huge. And it is also because Sarlat (…) there was a bishopric ... so it is a whole cycle ... there is a bourgeoisie that has been there for a very long time. People who kept themselves to themselves... and who continue to do so… (Charles, permanent resident).

In this sense, we consider that the metaphor of rootedness remains efficient to grasp the attachment to place of certain individuals. Rootedness would therefore be the metaphor for the deepest attachment, the rooted ones being the most segregative group. It is almost impossible to become rooted. Roots are passed on by filiation and one can choose to claim them, or not. However, all the residents born in Sarlat do not consider themselves and/or claim to be rooted.

The anchor metaphor refers to a temporality longer than the mooring one. As far as our study is concerned, the anchored inhabitants would be those for whom the city is their main place of attachment. Permanent residents who are not rooted can then be considered anchored. This anchor may be experienced in different ways and belongs to each individual. Some residents who have settled in the past few years may feel more anchored than others who have spent most of their lives in Sarlat. In this area, there are no fixed rules determining the degree of anchorage. However, anchor is distinguished from mooring in the sense that the place it refers to is the main attachment location. Mooring would rather refer to a brief stopover. We may consider (and exceptions do exist) that attachment to place for tourists refers to mooring, whereas for permanent residents it refers to anchor or rootedness according to the criteria outlined above.

Second-home residents, a designation that groups together individuals with the least homogeneous situations, are therefore the most difficult to associate with a type of attachment to place. For some, the second home may be the family home, which they inherited and can thus be deeply attached to, as well as to the city. In some cases, one can speak of rooted people, whereas the relationship to their main place of living will be more likely to refer to anchor. For others, the secondary residence may be considered only as a "pied-à-terre", a temporary home among others. In this case, the fastener may be more of the mooring. For the majority of the second-home residents we encountered, the situation oscillates between these two extremes and the link between the individual and the city is close to anchor.

We feel at home here. When we come back and approach the city, we recognize the landscapes ... here we come home. We can say that we have two homes. Even if we do not spend much time here ... we still have our habits, our landmarks ... it is home! (Victor, second-home resident).

3.2.2 Dynamics of attraction / repulsion

While proximity, in a logic of social and cultural distance, was correlated with the acceptance of shared space, it does not hold true for the "indigenous capital". Attraction / repulsion dynamics are at stake and being close in a continuum of attachment to place does not mean that "space sharing" will be facilitated. If some researchers (e.g. Bussi, 2003; Morice & Violier, 2009) have already shown that the inhabitants most resistant to the tourist development of their place of residence were second-home residents or newly settled permanent residents, we also found that permanent residents who consider themselves to be rooted accept the sharing of their living space more easily with tourists than with these same "neo-residents" or second-home residents.

Temporality and seasonality are central elements of understanding. Time spent on site by residents plays a major role depending mainly on the duration and the period of the year when they dwell in the city. Sharing space with the tourists can be experienced by residents as a source of tension if they are only present for a short time and in peak tourist season. Second-home residents are, in this way, generally less willing to share space with (many) tourists.

We can only come three weeks in August...so it is for sure that we would like to enjoy a little more. Three weeks is a short time and this is when the city is unbearable! I imagine that you have already heard that?! We are seriously thinking about selling the house to buy elsewhere where it will be quiet...I mean the goal is not to leave Paris to find only Parisians here! (Sandrine, second-home resident).

Conversely, permanent residents can deal more easily with the presence of tourists. Although sometimes seen as cumbersome, it is considered temporary and timely throughout the year. In this way, permanent residents accept or tolerate the sometimes overwhelming presence of tourists during summertime knowing that, as a counterpart, the winter will be very quiet. So they manage their "space sharing" with tourists through a kind of "annual balancing":

Well yes sometimes it is a bit annoying... but what is it? Two months out of the year and even, it is really from July 14 to August 15 when it's really intense. (...) Even if it is inconvenient, removing tourists, the city, the people, how would they make a living? We need tourists, whether we like it or not. (Nicolas, permanent resident).

We can hypothesize that permanent residents consider the co-presence in a longer temporality, seeing the benefits for their city on a medium or long term basis. In contrast, second-home residents manage their shared space more in the short term or even in the immediacy.

3.3 Complementarity of capitals?

While we have identified two different forms of capital, it is important to consider the links between them. Interested in cases of promotion of heritage (but where the tourism dimension is negligible), Vincent Veschambre wrote: "(in) our different case studies, we identified some forms of alliances between local people, who inherited a form of "identity capital" but who lack a number of other capitals (cultural, social...) and newcomers who bring their resources but seek anchoring and local recognition" (Veschambre, 2009, p.143). However, the findings in Sarlat differ from that situation.

We hypothesize that the tourism dynamic at work in the case under consideration has an impact on the construction of the relationships between rooted people and newcomers. By allowing local people to get economical benefits, among other things (to value the place, the identity of residents by the mirror effect mentioned above), tourists may, by their mere presence, lead to conflict and/or related tensions. This situation seems to be common in the context of tourism. Among others, the works of Hazel Tucker (1999) on the village of Göreme (Turkey), located in the center of the National Park of the same name, a World Heritage Site, perfectly describes the tension between "real Goremeli" and residents from nearby villages or other areas who settled following the beginnings of tourism development in the village. Thus, it's possible to assume that tourism development plays a major role in the transformations of the socio-spatial relationships.

Sharing space with tourists can be considered an ideal situation for those with a strong "indigenous capital". Tourists allow "their" city to stay dynamic and make profits without too much disruption, since they stay only a few days. But the problems come when the "guests" want to stay longer and seek to settle (Roques, 2011). They become more of a threat since the sharing of space that could be tolerated as temporary should then become permanent. Moreover, for those benefiting economically from tourism, sharing space means a possible sharing of economic benefits. Many of our interlocutors have expressed difficulty for storekeepers considered as "outsiders" to settle and be accepted by the "natives", as Laura explains:

"When a new trader, not from here, arrives, for sure it will be difficult to integrate because there is always someone who will put a spoke in the wheels…real Sarladais have a weird mentality!" (Laura, permanent resident).

It's still a small town here, I would say quite a big village... dominated by a few large families with few major networks. It's pretty closed. If you want to do business here, you have to enter a network, if you don't, you cannot do business… (Charles, permanent resident).

We can consider that people with a significant "indigenous capital" will be those for whom "space sharing" will be more sensitive. For them, it is closely linked to economic interests, non-native traders then constituting the figure-type of those with whom it is most difficult to share space.

Yet, it would be mistaken to believe that the economic aspect is the only one to take into account. For many residents, the only contact with tourists happens in less than desirable conditions (when attempting to make their way through the crowd, being stuck in traffic jams, etc.). On the other hand, people working in contact with tourists, even as employees, can develop some empathy, as Frédérique, who works in a hotel explained very well:

It's nice when you work in the hotel industry to have the prospect of these tourists, because when you walk in Sarlat and you're surrounded by a lot of people it's just a crowd, but when you see people who fall in love with this region who say, "Oh it's so great! I want to come back!" and tell me "Today I saw this, I saw that ..." and are truly amazed by this place, it's nice to see that they enjoy, they discover this beauty... there it's 'one on one', it's not a crowd (Frédérique, permanent resident).

Understanding the acceptability of "space sharing" in a tourist city through the polymorphic notion of capital makes it possible, among other things, to avoid considering tourists as a homogeneous mass and to avoid opposing them, as a group, to that formed by the local population, equally perceived as a uniform block.

Conclusion

The capacity of action of inhabitants depends largely on the capital they are endowed with as individuals. Whether economic, social or cultural capitals have often been put forward, the "indigenous capital" must also be considered. A cross-analysis allows a better understanding of people's strategies facing tourism development of their living area in a particular spatial context: the small city. Nevertheless, if we assume that Sarlat, being a small town where the acquaintanceship is very strong, creates a context that reinforces the importance of "indigenous capital", it would be interesting to conduct a similar research in another cultural context or simply in a larger city. Such a study would test the correlation between the socio-spatial context of the investigation and the importance of these specific types of capital.

More generally, as noted among others by Rémy Knafou, "city and tourism have been constituted historically in two distinct fields" (Knafou, 2007, p.7), studies on tourism sometimes tend to apprehend it as an off-ground activity, detached from the society in which it develops. In addition, it is then easy to consider the tourist "status" as a fixed identity, being a tourist removing any other social characteristic to individuals. Thus, we postulate that the input brought by the various types of capitals makes it possible to (re)establish the dialogue between tourism studies and social geography. The use of the notion of capital joins the project of social geography to grasp the spatial dimension of social reality.

Table 1: List of interviewees

| Type of inhabitants	Occupation	Number of respondents
Permanent residents	Executives and higher intellectual professions	3
	Craftsmen, traders, business owners	9
	Employees	5
	Labor workers	1
	Street artists	1
	Retired	6
Second-home residents	Executives and higher intellectual professions	2
	Employees	1
	Retired	1
Seasonal workers	Employees	1
	Street artists	1
Tourists	Executives and higher intellectual professions	9
	Craftsmen, traders, business owners	3
	Employees	8
	Labor workers	5
	Retired	6

Source: A. Ouellet, 2016
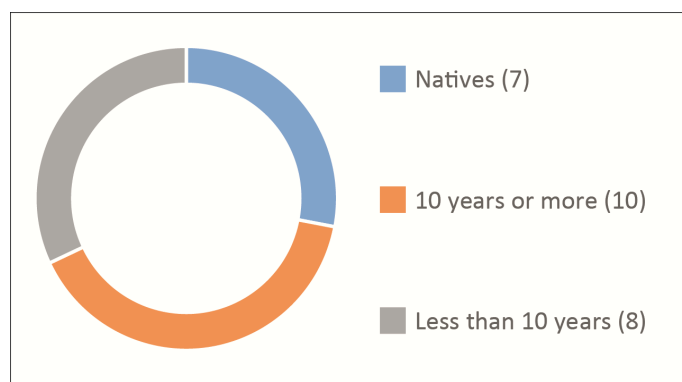
Figure 5: Length of residence of permanent residents
Source: A. Ouellet, 2016

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[1] The Citizens' Association Venessia.com organized a symbolic funeral to attract public opinion on the city's museification. This event has been recorded by many media around the world. For example : The Teleprah
http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/italy/6568754/Venice-stages-its-own-funeral-to-mourn-its-population-decline-60000-and-falling.html), The New York Times (http://www.nytimes.com/2009/11/15/world/europe/15venice.html), La presse (http://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/insolite/200911/16/01-922053-les-funerailles-de-venise-mises-en-scene.php). Last access 04/03/2017.

[2] Reported, among others, by Reuters, http://www.reuters.com/article/us-spain-tourism-idUSKCN0YL0EZ. Last access 04/03/2017.

[3] These are two examples. As Johannes Novy and Claire Colomb (2017) noted in the introduction to the book "Protest and Resistance to the Tourist City", such demonstrations of residents exasperated by mass tourism in their city are quite numerous. The authors

[4] All the translations from French are by the Author.

[5] As Bernard Debarbieux explains, "there is no English equivalent to the French phrase "haut lieu", which designates a place erected as the symbol of a system of social values" (Debarbieux, 1993, p.5).

[6] The definition of the "small town" is neither obvious nor consensual. As several researchers have already noted, a small town can be considered as such only in a comparative relation with other types of urban units (e.g. Bell & Jayne, 2009). We specify that we use the term "small town" to refer to a city with between 3,000 and 20,000 inhabitants, according to the "Association des Petites Villes de France" (http://www.apvf.asso.fr/).

[7] We chose here to talk about socio-cultural capital. Indeed, whether it is social capital or cultural capital, both have appeared to us to be highly interwoven, in such a way that it is almost impossible to treat them separately. In accordance with Bourdieu's thought, economic capital can't be totally excluded. Also, on the basis of the scheme proposed by Bourdieu in Raisons pratiques (1996, p.21), we can consider a continuum from individuals with both high cultural and global capital (as a cumulation of all forms of capital (economic, social, cultural, symbolic)) (top left quadrant) to those with low capital (cultural and global one's) (quarter bottom right).

[8] Jean-Noël Retière used, at first, the French expression "capital social d'autochtonie" (1994, p. 209) and then simplified it by "capital d'autochtonie" (2003, p.122).

[9] "Prehistoric Sites and Decorative Caves of the Vézère Valley".

[10] The Malraux Act is a major law in France concerning the protection of urban areas, the first to protect not only isolated monuments but entire old neighborhoods.

[11] Interview with Mr Bouahlem Rekkas, Director of the Sarlat - Périgord Noir Tourist Office (March 2015).

[12] Or "anchorage"; see Debarbieux (2014).

[13] We use the English translation of these expressions in the rest of the text.