

A Review of the State of Recent Santiago de Compostela Tourism Research (2016–2020)

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Abstract: As the issue of tourism is fundamentally connected with the modern incarnation of the pilgrimage routes to Santiago, this meta-analysis of research studies addressing pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela utilizes Cohen’s typology of tourism (as adapted by Uriely, Yonay and Simchai). This survey of recent research (published between 2016 and 2020) suggests that this phenomenon is still much under-researched. Few studies have been published recently and even fewer that have generated recent data. Earlier it was thought that this phenomenon was taken as a sign of resurging religiosity and more recently as an illustration of spiritual Bauman-style “post-secularist” pilgrimage. This review suggests that pilgrimage travel to Santiago might well yield richer research data if probed from a less dichotomous perspective, focusing more on the variety of the populations on the multiple routes to Santiago and from additional research angles, as religious tourism, as therapy and as recreation.

Keywords: Santiago de Compostela, Camino de Santiago, pilgrimages, religious tourism, tourism motivations.

Despite the passage of time, Santiago de Compostela remains extremely popular as a pilgrimage site among various categories of visitors from all over the world; and has become a less privileged and more broadly accessible pursuit (Rinschede, 1992). It is no longer just a pilgrimage site, either, having become a site heavily visited by tourists not particularly or not at all religious (Oviedo et al., 2013; Schnell, Pali, 2013; Coleman, 2015; Amaro et al., 2018). Margry (2008) has characterized the latter as performing “secular pilgrimages”. Frey has shown that many of the “secular pilgrims” are all about the journey as

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opposed to the destination (Frey, 2000). In this one can see Bauman's notion of modern (Western) life as pilgrimage and that modernity has given "it a new prominence and a seminally novel twist" (Bauman, 2013, p. 19). There are also the issues of lifestyle and consumable fashion that the prospect of journeying to Santiago for a pilgrimage presents to those attracted by such.

Inherent in capitalizing on Bauman's "twist" is the individual's financial wherewithal conjoined with transport and accommodation facilities that are available for one to pursue life as a pilgrimage, as a lifestyle choice or to embrace it as fast fashion. As Gomes et al. (2019, p. 33) have indicated, "push and pull factors" are involved herein. There is the attraction of Santiago and the means and ease of getting there for the individual, as well. Another factor is that medically "most individuals possess the necessary cardiovascular fitness to walk the various Camino routes, although some will walk it more slowly than others" (Harris, 2019, p. 86) facilitating the increasing numbers of people (100,000+ people annually since 2006) walking to Santiago (with 347,578 having accomplished the journey in 2019) (*El Sepulcro del Apóstol...*, n.d.).

Owing to the COVID-19 induced restrictions and the steep declines in the numbers of pilgrims traveling overland to Santiago (Mróz, 2021) as well as the fears concerning how things along the routes may change (López, Lois González, 2020), this review of recent research was conducted so as to better facilitate future comparisons between recent pre-COVID-19 conducted research and research that follows it.

Research on pilgrimage travel to Santiago has yielded rich and interesting data and has added much to our understanding of this phenomenon, but (based on this author's review) the overarching characteristic of such research might well be the dichotomous nature of it. Research conducted by Nilsson and Tesfahuney has led them to posit that "still we live in the age of faith" (Nilsson, Tesfahuney, 2016, p. 3). In contrast, research by Blom et al. (2016) highlight the post-secular nature of Santiago pilgrimage travel with the evidence that many pilgrims are not ending their pilgrimages in Santiago, but are continuing to the sea, to Fisterra, the western-most point of Europe.¹ Nilsson and Tesfahuney's (2016) study was based on 53 interviewed respondents and Blom et al.'s (2016) study – on 26. Other research has also explored the issue from a religious perspective (Chemin, 2011; Challenger, 2014; 2020; Farias et al., 2019; Roszak, 2019), of whether pilgrimage participants are driven more by Christian belief or are more secularized.

¹ According to Blom et al. (2016, p. 140), "the primary reasons for undertaking the journey to Fisterra are individual spiritual longings".

Most of the accomplished studies reviewed for this article were based on relatively small samples and usually quantitative in nature. The author of this review, consequently (and purposely), decided to use a framework on tourism to widen the scope of this review of recent research into pilgrimage travel to Santiago beyond the dichotomous perspective of issues pertaining to Christian belief and secularized spirituality. The framework of Cohen's *Phenomenology of Tourist Experiences* (1979) is used herein to better review the notion of "multiple modernities" (Eisenstadt, 2000) which, based on this review, seems very much in evidence with regard to pilgrimage tourism to Santiago.

The selection of studies will be addressed in the next section; followed by a comparison of these studies from a perspective of tourism. Subsequently (based on this review), aspects of what has been little or less investigated by recent research with regard to pilgrimage tourism to Santiago de Compostela will be highlighted. This review will conclude with suggestions for further research.

Short History of Pilgrimage to Santiago

The issue of pilgrimage tourism to Santiago is reminiscent of the issue of Spain, in general. The "pull" factor of sand, sea and sun is strong, but "the first tourist wave which flooded the beaches of Spain in the 1970s and 1980s was stimulated" not just by the above, but also by "the relatively low price of the Spanish tourist product" (Maiztegui-Oñate, Bertolín, 2005, p. 195). Regarding pilgrimages to Santiago, in the past a sea route to the northwest coast of Spain, was used during medieval times to limit the danger and difficulty of going overland (Kempe, 1438/1954; Goodman, 2002). Walking to Santiago has regained the currency of medieval times as the ease of getting to Santiago has also increased. Now, 20% (as of 2019) of those going to Santiago (on foot, by bicycle/horse/wheelchair) come from outside of Europe (70,464 in 2019) with 277,114 – from Europe (*El Sepulcro del Apóstol...*, n.d.).

Significant development of the routes to Santiago has facilitated a substantial increase in the number of pilgrims traversing them as well as people not only motivated by religious purposes to embark on them. Spain, "[i]n the 1960s, mainly offered the famous »sun and sea« tourism" (Moscarelli et al., 2020, p. 9). Several important developments followed to spur other regions of Spain to seek their own such revenue streams. In 1965, while Manuel Fraga Iribarne was Spain's minister of tourism (1962–1969), the cathedral in Santiago began its certificate plan to confer on walkers a certificate for those who walked at least 300 km (Pack, 2010). In 1990, Fraga became president of the Galician region of Spain (home to Santiago) and from that office became "the first to back the Way of St. James as a potential tourist resource for Spain" (Moscarelli et al., 2020, p. 9).

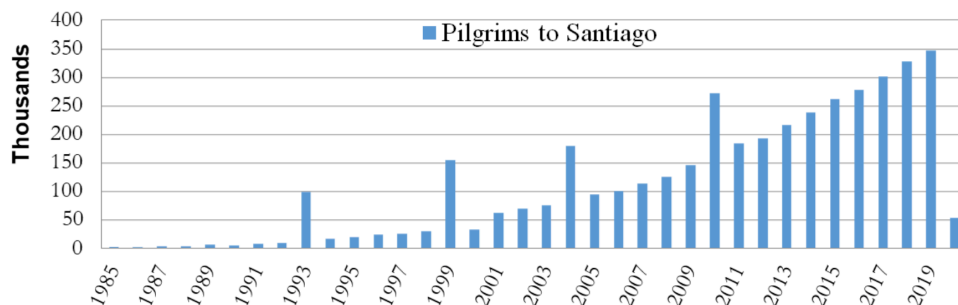


Figure 1. Pilgrim certificates issued by year (Holy Years: 1993, 1999, 2004, 2010). Source: (*El Sepulcro del Apóstol...*, n.d.).

“The tourism dimension tends to have a well-defined birth year, i.e. the Holy Jacobean Year of 1993” when the Day of Saint James fell on a Sunday (Lopez, González, 2020, p. 17). During that year, 99,436 pilgrims journeyed overland to Santiago. During the previous Holy Year in 1987, the number of pilgrims was 2,905 (*El Sepulcro del Apóstol...*, n.d.). Typically, there is a large Christian “pull” factor enticing faithful Christians to make a pilgrimage to Santiago during Holy Years (Figure 1).

The anatomy of pilgrimage

According to Cohen (1974), tourism can be defined by the following characteristics: voluntary, non-recurrent, novelty-seeking, temporary traveling or sojourning. Some would argue that pilgrimage travel would fall under this definition, as well (Collins-Kreiner, 2016). Some others posit that pilgrimage was the first form of tourism (Timothy, Olsen, 2006). The fact that both pilgrimages, beach holidays and the visit of an agnostic to Notre Dame de Paris belong to the category of tourism is justified, but this does not change the fact that they are quite distinct at the same time. By way of comparison to illustrate the point, if accommodation in Mecca was offered for free to many people around the world (and if the limitations on non-Muslims were lifted) how many non-Muslims would take the opportunity? Turner (1973, p. 201) refers to the “»catchment area« as a metaphor for the geographical area from which the majority of pilgrims are drawn” and remarks that Mecca is a larger “draw” than any Christian pilgrimage site owing to the multiplicity of the latter.

Inherent herein is the notion of “the center out there” so that a religious individual focused on their own society can still travel abroad, in a way, to visit home. This is how Turner sees a pilgrimage as a religious journey. Of course, many non-religious Muslims might also be tempted by such an offer of a free trip (if one was offered) suggesting that Mecca can trigger a pull factor for pious and

non-pious Muslims; in a manner similar to how religious and non-religious Christians can be tempted to make a pilgrimage to Santiago. (Europeans make up the great preponderance – 78.2% of those who participate in overland travel to the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela,² while citizens of the 49 Muslim majority states in the world³ accounted for just .003% (1,058) of the pilgrims to Santiago over the course of 2019.) (*El Sepulcro del Apóstol...*, n.d.).

Methodology

An advanced search on Google Scholar was made (December, 12 2020) and returned 972 articles published between 2016 and 2020 (inclusive) including the words “Santiago de Compostela” and either the word “tourism” or “pilgrimage”. Each was accessed as to whether the articles were focused on Santiago or happened to just mention Santiago and then whether they included new research data. Most articles were deemed not specifically relevant (as they addressed tourism in Santiago, in general, focused on such issues as length of stays for visitors, architectural issues, history, etc.) or they referred to religious tourism in general (articles focused on Jerusalem, Mecca, Lourdes, Canterbury, etc. with only passing references to Santiago by way of comparison), or tourism not connected to pilgrimages. Only articles offering new research data based on surveys and/or interviews conducted by the article’s author(s) were selected for this review. An additional, more limited, review was made to try to locate any studies, likewise filtered as above, that had been published between 12 December and the end of 2020.

Theoretical Framework Employed

This review analysis of recent research on Santiago pilgrimage travel uses Cohen’s *Phenomenology of Tourist Experiences*, which was delineated into a typology of five parts. Cohen’s “point of departure was a tourist’s fundamental world-view, and specifically, his adherence to, or quest for a “spiritual centre” (Cohen, 1979, p. 193). Lengkeek (2001) proposed his own more expansive typology of tourism in direct response to Cohen (his article subtitled “Rethinking Cohen’s Modes of Tourist Experience”), accusing Cohen of not being broad enough. Such criticism, in part, owes something to the dividing aspect that Cohen’s typology employs, utilizing Turner’s (1973) notion of “the centre out there”.⁴

² Of the top twenty pilgrim nationalities, none come from Africa or the Middle East and the only Asia nationality is South Korean.

³ *Muslim Majority Countries*, <https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/muslim-majority-countries>

⁴ For additional detail, see (Turner, Turner, 1978).

Cohen's tourism typology utilizes this central religious-based precept of Turner. While modern forms of tourism may be seen as an outgrowth of religious tourism, the modern varieties are more varied. Consequently, one could posit (especially in Europe, that is perceived by some as increasingly secular) that Cohen's framework on tourism borrowing on a religious-based framework could be deemed by some as not universal enough to be applicable to tourists around the world. The analysis that follows here does not make such claims to universality, but Cohen's typology of tourist motivations, acknowledging the cultural and religious history of Europe, can be particularly useful as a tool⁵ to apply to the issue of individuals' overland journeys to Santiago as both pilgrimage and tourism are therein conjoined.

"In the functionalist view, recreational tourism ["recharging of one's own batteries" – B.K.] is chiefly caused by the »push« of the tourist's own society, not by the particular »pull« of any place" (Cohen, 1979, p. 185). Diversionary tourists are out just for fun for the sake of fun are likewise pushed. These tourists may not be fundamentally alienated from the centre of their societies or culture, whereas on the other side of Cohen's divide are the "Experiential, Experimental, and Existential modes of tourism" (Cohen, 1979, p. 185).

In these modes, individuals may be alienated from the spiritual centre of their own society, "who have either lost their »centre« [fleeing romantic break-ups, deaths in one's family, loss of employment, etc. – B.K.] and travel in the experiential or experimental mode, or adhere to a new »elective« one outside their society" (Cohen, 1979, p. 197). In contrast, "the traditional religious pilgrimage is a sacred journey to a centre which, though geographically »ex-centric« is still the centre of the pilgrim's religion; it is the charismatic centre from which the pilgrim's life derives meaning, the spiritual centre of his society" (Cohen, 1979, p. 190). A tourist's fundamental world view, from this perspective, determines how one should categorize a particular form of touristic behavior.

Christians may walk to Santiago (as Muslims may travel to Mecca) for purposes of religious devotion. Other people who are Christians (to return to Cohen's categories from above), but who are alienated from the faith of their upbringing/culture may journey to the center (or a center) of their religion for spiritual, but not religious reasons (post-secular motivations for Christians; journeying as "an individual search for existential anchorage, meaning and fulfillment in life") (Nilsson, Tesfahuney, 2016, p. 22).

⁵ According to the authors who used Cohen's typology for a qualitative study of 38 Israeli backpackers, "Cohen's work is important in sensitizing social scientists to the variety of motivations and meanings associated with tourist experiences" (Uriely et al., 2002, p. 526).

It is not uncommon for non-practicing Catholics to still wish to visit *the* center of their faith (Rome and/or Jerusalem) or *a* center of their faith (Santiago, Fatima, Lourdes, etc.). Non-Catholic Christians may be similarly drawn to centers of their Christian faith even if they are spiritually inclined, but not necessarily religious (i.e. alienated from their faith). Individuals who are neither spiritually inclined (“post-secular” individuals), nor pious Christians (i.e. not motivated by religion) may travel to religious centers, as well. This latter group could be categorized as those traveling for recreational or diversionary purposes (i.e. secular motivation).

Lengkeek (2001) as well as Uriely et al. (2002) found some faults with Cohen’s typology and proposed alternatives, the former with his own typology and the latter just adding two aspects to Cohen’s framework. These additions made by Uriely et al. were not of their own design, but taken from Cohen himself, which Cohen (1979) mentioned (“humanists” and “dualists”), but did not emphasize in his article first introducing his typology in 1979 (Uriely et al., 2002). Table 1 displays Cohen’s typology of Tourism Experience Modes (1979) as adapted by Uriely et al. (2002).

Table 1.

Cohen’s experience modes: routine living and motivation attitudes

		Tourism motivation	
		Mere pleasure	Profound experiences
Attitude toward daily life	Alien	Diversionary	Experiential Experimental Existential
	Meaningful	Recreational	Humanists (dualists/pluralists)

Source: (Uriely et al., 2002).

Not every European who ventures abroad to seriously learn about a place does so because they feel alienated from the society into which they were born. Cohen characterizes such tourists as *Humanists*; whereas tourists who go, for example, to India to spend time in religious ashrams could be better classified as being in either the *Experimental* or *Experiential* categories (Uriely et al., 2002). The additional type of *Dualists* (or *Pluralists*) refers to individuals who might fall into two (or more) categories or might on a journey migrate from one category to another. Strong religious pilgrims (Muslims outside of Saudi Arabia and Christians making pilgrimages to centers such as Jerusalem, Fatima, Santiago de Compostela, etc.) could also be classified herein as *Dualists* (or *Pluralists*). Extremely devout religious pilgrims share similarities with tourists who have embraced the existential mode and “the center out there”, but for tourists this is a choice. For religious pilgrims,

in general, they would be better classified as *Dualists* (or *Pluralists*); being content and “at home” in their home society as well as in a center (or centers) of their faith abroad.

Results

Below is a review of the published research that has addressed the issues of Santiago pilgrimage travel recently (2016–2020); addressing Santiago pilgrimages as various forms of tourist behavior. The details of who was included in each sample, the nature of the research and the date of the research has also been included (Table 2) to highlight that most recent research is relying on not so recent data, has sampled small populations and has been qualitative in nature.

Table 2.

Research studies on Santiago pilgrimages published between 2016 and 2020

Author(s) and date of publication	Data age	Sample size	Sample details	Pilgrim route	Specific methods
Kurrat and Heiser (2020)	2019	256 M: 102; F: 154	31.6% repeaters; 37.4% shortest-distance pilgrims	Various routes <u>Travel type:</u> 66.1% in small groups	18-item exploratory questionnaire (in Spanish, English, and German) distributed to pilgrims who had a tattoo made in the tattoo studio in Santiago
Casais and Sousa (2020)	2015 and 2017	“around 50 pilgrims”; no exact number given; 100% Portuguese	100% repeaters (no first time pilgrims)	Portuguese inner route <u>Travel type:</u> Organized group travel	Ethnographic observation of pilgrim-to-pilgrim interaction between purists & non-purists. Walking done over various weekends
Kotze and McKay (2020)	2012–2014	23 F: (mid 40s – early 50s) M: (mid 50s – early 60s)	vast majority were first timers; most did more than 300 km	Most did Northern or French routes. <u>Travel type:</u> All solo travelers	Explorative case study method; semi-structured questionnaires and a snowball approach
Gomes et al. (2019)	2018	27 M: 20, F: 7; 12 nationalities	33% repeaters; average age: 48	Portuguese inner route <u>Travel type:</u> no data	Qualitative interviews; open and structured
Vieira (2019)	no data given	32 100% Portuguese	Average number of repeated pilgrimages: 2.41; age: 16–52	Various routes <u>Travel type:</u> Organized group travel	Qualitative interviews; Semi-structured (conducted up to 2 years after the pilgrimages)
Silva et al. (2019)	no data given	633 no data given on pilgrim domiciles	Stratified by generations: Millennials (59.1%) Generation X (31.9%) Baby Boomers (9%)	No route data <u>Travel type:</u> no data	Quantitative survey of 60 attributes to compare tourist motivations to visit 3 sites: Jerusalem, Santiago, Fatima

Pereiro (2019a)	2016 and 2017	32 100% Portuguese F: 8; M: 24	70% repeaters	Portuguese inner route <u>Travel type:</u> Small group travelers	Qualitative interviews conducted after respondents' pilgrimages
Farias et al. (2019)	2010–2012	360 of which 290 were Christians, 70 atheists (from 29 countries)	58.3% pilgrims with possibly much free time: students, retired unemployed and teachers; average age: 38.2	Northern route High average estimation of walking days: 27.46 <u>Travel type:</u> no data	Quantitative survey, 27-item questionnaire (in English, French, Spanish, German, and Portuguese)
Kurrat (2019)	2010	30 “mostly German pilgrims” (no other data given)	100% first time walkers	Various routes <u>Travel type:</u> All solo travelers (walking at least 250 km)	Qualitative narrative interviews; respondents chosen to represent different types of pilgrims (7 types were discovered)
Amaro et al. (2017)	2015	1,140 45 nationalities M: 56.6%; F: 43.4%	52.5% repeaters (20% more than 4 times); average age: 48	Various routes <u>Travel type:</u> no data	Quantitative online survey; links to the 25-item questionnaire posted on pilgrim groups' pages
Nilsson and Tesfahuney (2016)	2012	53 F: 28; M: 25 all non-Spanish	Age range: 7–71	French route (most popular) <u>Travel type:</u> solo and small group travelers	Qualitative narrative interviews; respondents were selected outside a budget hostel very near to Santiago
Fabio et al. (2016)	2010	40 9 nationalities		Portuguese inner route <u>Travel type:</u> 4 solo travelers, others in small groups	Qualitative interviews; unstructured (in Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and English)

Source: Author's own study.

Based on the studies from Table 2, multiple conclusions could be drawn regarding many aspects of pilgrimage travel to Santiago de Compostela. Amaro et al. (2018, p. 271), based on the results of their study, conclude that “pilgrims are mostly motivated by spiritual aspects, by wanting new experiences and for the nature and sports experience”. Nilsson (2016, p. 34) concluded that “today, most visitors to Santiago de Compostela are not motivated by the religious motives”.⁶ The study by Silva et al. (2019, p. 66), in contrast, highlighted three motivating factors: “1) faith, 2) personal enrichment and 3) calling”, leading them to conclude that “this means that the motivations for visiting Jerusalem, Fatima, and Santiago de Compostela are more religious and sacred than secular”. Pereiro, in his extended abstract in English (2019b, p. 616), of his study published in Spanish,

⁶ Nilsson (2016, p. 34) refers to the research he co-authored earlier – (Nilsson, Tesfahuney, 2016, pp. 18–30).

stated that tourist/pilgrims are motivated by multi-motivations “of two types: a) secular (those of desire of escape, recovery by the change, the necessity of communication, the cultural knowledge and the prestige); b) religious-spiritual (sacred motivations, spiritual purification, God seekers, fulfill a vow or promise)”. Most studies, including the ones quoted above, also acknowledged the limitations.

Using the modified version of Cohen’s typology of tourism (as explained above) can be useful herein, as it has a broader perspective. In addition, surveying recent research on Santiago pilgrimages may in itself be less useful than utilizing a framework that will highlight what has been studied in this way. From this perspective (with tourist motivations divided into those alienated from one’s society [*Diversionary, Experimental, Experiential, Existential*] and those who are not alienated [*Recreational, Humanists and Dualists-Pluralists*], interpretation of the data from the studies above (Table 1) will now follow.

Twenty percent of the 1,140 respondents of the online questionnaire by Amaro et al. (2018) indicated that they had completed at least four pilgrimages to Santiago. The average number of journeys for pilgrims from this study was 2.69 suggesting at least, that perhaps a significant number of the respondents from this study had completed more than 4 pilgrimages or that some had accomplished significantly a higher number of journeys. Kurrat and Heiser’s (2020) study, like many of the studies herein reviewed, also included many pilgrimage repeaters: 31.6% of the 256 sampled had done at least one previous pilgrimage and the average for the entire sample was 3.6 pilgrimages (with one individual having made 18 journeys to Santiago). The average number of pilgrim journeys made by the 32 respondents in the smaller Vieira (2019) study was 2.41 with one respondent having made 12 pilgrimages.

Pilgrims probably cannot be classified as just sampling a new experience if they do it many times. These multiple journey pilgrims could be religious (*Dualists-Pluralists*), *Recreational* tourists or *Existential tourists* (those who are so alienated from their own societies and have sort of adopted/gravitated toward a center outside of their own society). To ascertain which of the above might be most correct, additional data is needed. Some studies collected such (many other studies either did not collect them or did not include them in the articles). Vieira’s (2019) study indicated that the respondents employed certain strategies to complete the difficult journey; and some respondents mentioned that praying was part of such, indicating that some of the repeaters were repeating journeys for religious reasons. But it cannot be definitively said, as this study (like almost all of the above studies) did not identify the specific characteristics of the repeaters.

Individuals who were first timers to Santiago might well be classified as *Recreational, Experiential* or *Humanist* tourists. One of the respondents from the re-

search by Gomes et al. (2019, p. 37) characterized as the motivation for her pilgrimage “the beauty of PIWSC [Portuguese Inner Way to Santiago]”. The motivations of the male South African respondents in Kotze and McKay’s (2020, p. 1,002) study could be easily categorized as *Recreational* in nature owing to the data garnered by the researchers: “The men said that they had undertaken the journey for adventure and the recreational attributes associated with such a long hiking trail”. As Moulin-Stožek (2019, p. 30) remarked, “many people do it because it is fun”.

If such pilgrims to Santiago return many times, they might be classified as an *Existential* tourist (who has adopted a center outside their home society); whereas a *Humanist* (being more content with their own society) is only likely to return to Santiago if they are religious. Kotze and McKay’s (2020, p. 997) study’s female participants (as well as the men sampled) were not religious, but in contrast to the men they were not *Recreational*. These women communicated that a pilgrimage for them was “a cathartic experience after having lived through a traumatic event”.⁷ These women could possibly be described as either *Experimental* (alienated from their society) or *Humanists* (not alienated, but interested in new experience for the value of a new experience). The difference herein is that the *Experimental* tourist may be perhaps more likely to return again.

A person who treats a pilgrimage not as an experiment (testing if it might be “for them”), could be seen to be an onlooker only (for the experience, *Experiential*): for example, one of the respondents in the Nilsson and Tesfahuney study is “quoted as saying that he chose to do a pilgrimage walk for »curiosity«” (Nilsson, 2016, p. 33). A *Diversionary* Tourist would be similar to the latter, but without much “curiosity” and more just for the fun of doing something or doing something other than what gives such a person stress. An example of such could be another of Nilsson and Tesfahuney’s (2016) respondents who “stated that the reason for her pilgrimage was to have »a moment of peace and time for reflection«” (Nilsson, 2016, p. 29).

Religious pilgrims could be *Dualists* (or *Pluralists*) and would be such respondents as the one in Nilsson’s (2016, p. 30) who “stated that »the sacred story is important for me because I believe in Jesus and Christianity«”. Such religious believers may well “feel at home” outside their own society since their journey is to *the* center or *a* center of their religious faith and it is this which separates pilgrims

⁷ Interestingly, research by Brumec (2021; 2022) and Brumec et al. (2022) show that participating in a pilgrimage walk to Santiago can almost be likened to a traumatic event itself; in that such an experience is comparable to other examples of “exceptional human experience” (EHE) such as a near-death encounter that inclines one to change their behavior after the event.

who are religious from those who are not because religious pilgrims are not as likely to be seeking an escape from their current societal life as “spiritual” but not religious pilgrims (who may be searching for direction, a new start, a change from their current norms).

Discussion

Farias et al.’s (2019) study heavily consisted of people with much free time on their hands (students: 32.3%; retired: 6.0%; unemployed: 4.7%; plus teachers: 15.3% = totaling 58.3% of their sample). This may lead one to wonder whether there might be significant differences regarding motivations for populations that have plenty of time for a pilgrimage journey and those that may have far more limited time for such. In addition, all the studies reviewed herein indicated people by nationalities. Gomes et al.’s (2019) study had 27 respondents, but 9 were from one country (Portugal), with the remaining 18 from 11 different countries (often just one person from each country) and 9 were repeaters. The questions left unanswered herein would be whether the Portuguese “locals” were all the repeaters or whether the other nationalities actually resided in their home countries or were residents of Portugal. Likewise, this study indicated that 26% of its respondents journeyed for “purely religious reasons” and indicated that 26% of the respondents were female, but did not address whether any (or all) of the women were motivated by religion (Gomes et al., 2019).

Other variables not much addressed include the issue of distance as a differentiating factor among pilgrims. In 2009, 26,202 pilgrims started in Sarria in Spain which was 17.96% of all pilgrims. By 2019, those starting from Sarria grew very much both in number (96,124) and in percentage terms (27.66%). In contrast, the second most popular route between 2009 and 2019 (from Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port) is far longer in length, 780 km from Santiago. Yet, between 2009 and 2019, while Sarria (one of the shortest routes) has grown substantially, the second most popular route has only grown in numbers (from 15,826 to 33,197), but not in percentage terms (10.84% to 9.55%) (*El Sepulcro del Apóstol...*, n.d.).

In addition, some pilgrims travel individually or with partners or with friends. Others can book tours through multiple tour companies in Spain and travel as part of a dedicated group (and without having to carry their bags while walking).

Other remaining questions: Who are those who are seeking to put in the minimum effort to say that they have completed a pilgrimage? Are these people Post-Modern Pilgrims “who will do almost anything not to lose connection with the experience of life”? (Sweet, 2000, p. 31). And – as regards the population that have chosen to accomplish a route under far more arduous conditions – do they

have different characteristics? Do populations by distance and/or repetition vary by age, occupation (those with more or less free time), gender, by level or lack of religious devotion? Do pilgrims own homes in their home society, do they vote or participate in their home community society? In other words, are they content in their home society or are they seeking new directions in their lives? Do people travel to just see what is going on somewhere else? Do they want to experience it firsthand by joining in, too? Does it become a regular habit for them (and if so, is it because of “the pull” of a distant place or “the push” from the society in which they may feel alienated from, or just because it is recreational/fun)?

Other avenues of research should be explored further, such as the psychological state of pilgrims to Santiago and pilgrimage journeys as therapy. A number of the respondents in the studies reviewed indicated that they suffered biographical triggers (a death in the family, a relationship break-up, etc). Likewise, one could use Eade and Sallnow’s (1991) idea of using dedifferentiation (researching pilgrimage and tourism without differentiation), *but without negating religious aspects* (such as Liro’s 2020 study of visitors’ motivations and behaviors at Polish pilgrimage centers). If pilgrimage and other tourism is to be researched without distinction, then when conducting tourism research, it would be wise to investigate religious aspects, as well (especially with how popular religious tourism has become). Other aspects that might merit exploratory research would be pilgrimage from recreational perspectives: as a “nature challenge activity” (Davidson, Stebbins, 2011), for example, or in the case of Santiago: as a “Pilgrimage Nature Challenge Activity” – PNCA⁸ (based on the issue of challenging oneself to attempt a semi-arduous physical activity for the sense of accomplishing it).

Conclusion

All of the studies reviewed herein have added much to our understanding of pilgrimage travel to Santiago. The data yielded by numerous articles reviewed herein has been rich, but (on the basis of this author’s review) have not addressed many aspects of the phenomenon of pilgrimage travel to Santiago; an endeavor as popular now as it was in medieval times but for many more reasons. Cohen’s *Phenomenology of Tourist Experiences* (1979) illustrates the fact that the experiences of those who travel to Santiago are quite varied. In many respects, the dichotomous (religious or non-religious/but spiritual) perspective of much of the research reviewed herein has yielded a narrower focus. The wider perspective provided by Cohen’s framework indicates that there is much data still to be extracted from the diverse populations that chose to journey overland to Santiago.

⁸ A term presented by the author of this article.

Many questions regarding the multifaceted nature of pilgrimage travel/tourism (who is doing what and how often) on the many different routes (of different lengths and levels of difficulty) to Santiago remain unanswered or under-researched. As a result, not much can be generalized about Santiago pilgrimages (other than that motivations vary or that Christian pilgrims or non-religious/spiritual secular pilgrims may or may not be in the ascendancy). Broad generalizations about Santiago say very little about what specific populations do and what the reasons for it might be.

This review analysis, utilizing Cohen's framework, suggests that more lines of research on specific sub-populations of Santiago pilgrims is warranted; such as, for example, the bountiful research performed by Kurrat and Heiser (2020) on pilgrims getting tattoos after their journeys. For such pilgrims, a quest for a new "spiritual" centre (Cohen, 1979) is rather different from those pilgrims who journey for recreation or just for the experience or treat a pilgrimage as an experiment. In addition, such a quest (as in the case of the pilgrims getting tattoos) may be more of a quest than spiritual nature.

A tourist's fundamental world view, from the perspective of Cohen's framework, can be useful to determine how one should categorize a particular form of tourist behavior, and research on pilgrimage travel to Santiago could benefit from using such a wider framework.

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Przegląd stanu nowych badań nad turystyką do Santiago de Compostela (2016–2020)

Streszczenie: Ponieważ zagadnienie turystyki jest zasadniczo związane ze współczesnym wcieleniem szlaków pielgrzymkowych do Santiago, niniejsza metaanaliza badań dotyczących pielgrzymek do Santiago de Compostela wykorzystuje typologię turystyki Cohena (zaadaptowaną przez Uriely'ego, Yonaya i Simchaia). Przegląd najnowszych badań (opublikowanych w latach 2016–2020) sugeruje, że zjawisko to jest nadal niedostatecznie zbadane. Niewiele badań zostało opublikowanych w ostatnim czasie, a jeszcze mniej takich, które wygenerowały nowe dane. Wcześniej uważano, że zjawisko to jest znakiem odradzającej się religijności, ale ostatnio postrzega się je jako ilustrację duchowego pielgrzymowania postsekularystycznego w stylu Baumana. Niniejszy przegląd sugeruje, że podróże pielgrzymkowe do Santiago mogą przynieść bogatsze dane badawcze, jeśli będą ujmowane z mniej dychotomicznej perspektywy, skupiając się bardziej na różnorodności populacji na wielu trasach do Santiago i z dodatkowych perspektyw badawczych, jako turystyka religijna, jako terapia i rekreacja.

Słowa kluczowe: Santiago de Compostela, Camino de Santiago, pielgrzymki, turystyka religijna, motywacje turystyczne.