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The evolution of religious tourism: Concept, segmentation and development of new identities



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ABSTRACT

The current paper aims to analyse the evolution of religious tourism and how the existing concepts, paradigms, and practices related to religious tourism have evolved and changed over time. The principal research methods used in this paper are: historical analysis, comparison, scoping, synthesising, and identifying research gaps. The paper reveals that the concept of religious tourism is gradually transforming and upgrading over the years, as well as it is going through a phase of segmentation, creation of new market niches, and developing new identities. The intensive growth of religious tourism in the global market, its complex structure, and its dynamic qualitative and quantitative changes require a postmodern and multidisciplinary approach and in-depth analysis of this type of tourism, whose previous development has been characterised by partial overlapping between elements of alternative and mass tourism. The current paper reinforces the theory of religious tourism.

1. Introduction

Religious tourism is one of the oldest forms of tourism (Rinschede, 1992), and represents a significant, evolving, growing, and increasingly diverse sector of the global tourism market (Sharpley, 2009). Common examples of religious travel and tourism include pilgrimages, retreats, conferences, seminars, and festivals (Stausberg, 2011). Religious tourism includes 'a range of spiritual sites and associated services, which are visited for both secular and religious reasons' (Raj, Griffin, & Blackwell, 2015, p. 105). But, religious tourism has not been only a call to spirituality, but also it's a major economic driver. Thus, the tourism industry has identified a new niche known as religious tourism.

Research interest in religious tourism is steadily increasing (Durán-Sánchez, Álvarez-García, del Río-Rama, & Oliveira, 2018). The current paper is not the single paper that reviews research in religious tourism (see for example Durán-Sánchez et al., 2018; Rashid, 2018), however, this is the first paper in literature that seeks to provide an integrative analysis of the issues presented as research objectives. The absence of such analysis in the existing literature was an important stimulus for conducting this study. It should be emphasised here that the current paper does not seek to provide a comprehensive systematic literature review on religious tourism, but it seeks to analyse the relevant literature that is directly and indirectly related to the title and aims of the paper. There are fourfold aims in this paper. First, it aims to review the evolution of the concepts of pilgrimage and religious tourism, emphasising similarities and differences between them, and later focuses only

on the consideration of religious tourism. Second, it aims to present the process of segmentation of religious tourism, the formation of new market niches and the development of new identities. Third, it aims to analyse religious tourism in the context of relations between mass and alternative tourism. Fourth, it seeks to identify research gaps and issues that require further investigation.

The paper is organised into eight main sections. The second section indicates the main research methods and the methodological process used to obtain the references. The third section analyses the earliest understanding of the concept. The fourth section presents the evolution of the concept and some new religious tourism theories. The fifth section points out the segmentation of religious tourism and creation of new market niches. The sixth section analyses the supply side and the division of religious resources. The seventh section discusses the religious tourism in the context of relations between mass and alternative tourism. The eighth section summarises the study, identifies research gaps and provides some potential guidance for future research.

2. Methodology

Data were collected in several stages. First, the keywords: 'religious tourism', 'religion', 'pilgrimage' and 'spiritual tourism', were used to search for documents related to the research aims. The second step involves identifying the most useful databases: Web of Science, Scopus, Google Scholar, ResearchGate and Academia.edu, which are considered as the main academic databases by researchers. Identified keywords in

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Table 1Search strategy. Source: Own elaboration.

Keywords	religious tourism, religion, pilgrimage, spiritual tourism	
Category	Title	
Disciplines	All	
Documents type	Journal article, books, book chapters	
Language	English	
Period time	Year of publication ≤2018	
First search	February 2019	
Last search	May 2020	
Identified documents	70 documents - at least one keyword included in the title	
	54 documents - only segments of the keywords (e.g. religious, spiritual, etc.) and/or no keywords included in the title	

the first phase were used to search for potential document titles in these databases. Likewise, during the search more studies have been collected that do not contain the keywords, but they are very closely related to the research topic and they are essential for explaining the concepts. Third, once the academic documents were selected, a database was developed. A total of 124 relevant documents were identified that were published from the time of \leq 2018. Hence, early papers before 1990 and studies after 1990, as well as recent research (\leq 2018) have been used to reinforce the theory of religious tourism. The studies tracking strategy by searching for terms is shown in Table 1.

Only relevant journal articles, books and book chapters in English language are analysed because they constitute best representative example of international academic activity. The search was run in May 2020 for the last time. If certain studies that are directly or indirectly related to the current research objectives are neglected, it was not done intentionally.

This paper is not based on empirical research, but on conceptual research. The current paper is based on the conceptual research methods proposed by Xin, Tribe, and Chambers (2013), such as historical analysis of concepts and defining concepts, comparing concepts, mapping the scope of concepts, synthesising concepts, and finding conceptual gaps. First, in order to understand a concept better, the current paper undertakes a historical analysis of the concepts, focusing on the evolution, origin, development and definitions of pilgrimage and religious tourism. Second, it seeks to compare the concepts of pilgrimage, religious tourism and spiritual tourism, to link them, but also to distinguish them. Third, this paper maps the scope of the concept of religious tourism, identifies a new market niches, and identifies the increasingly fuzzy boundaries and the overlaps between both concepts religious tourism as an alternative or mass tourism. Fourth, after reviewing a variety of multidisciplinary literature, the current paper seeks to synthesise the concept of religious tourism. Lastly, this paper seeks to identify conceptual gaps and issues that deserve further research. Thus, the current paper aims to adhere to the conceptual research protocols proposed by Xin et al. (2013).

3. Earliest understanding of the concept: pilgrimage or religious tourism?

Religion, as a research concept in science, existed before the 1990s. A number of concepts and theories were primarily developed by scholars in geography's literature (see Büttner, 1974; Isaac, 1962; Rinschede & Sievers, 1987; Sopher, 1981). During the early stage of concept development, literature was mainly focused on pilgrimage, 'ritual process', and experience (Cohen, 1979; MacCannell, 1973, 1976; Turner, 1969; Turner & Turner, 1978).

From a historical perspective, 'among the more striking manifestations of communitas are to be found the so-called millenarian religious movements, which arise among what Norman Cohn (1961) has called 'uprooted and desperate masses in town and countryside ... living on the margin of society' (i.e., structured society)' (Turner, 1969, p. 111).

Turner (1969) noted that 'many of these correspond pretty closely with those of millenarian movements: homogeneity, equality, anonymity, absence of property' (p. 111), and that 'such movements occur during phases of history that are in many respects 'homologous' to the liminal periods of important rituals in stable and repetitive societies, when major groups or social categories in those societies are passing from one cultural state to another' (Turner, 1969, p. 112). Mainly, Victor Turner proposed the concept of 'ritual process', where he claims that pilgrimages involve a phase of liminality. After a decade, Turner and Turner (1978) noted 'a tourist is half a pilgrim, if a pilgrim is half a tourist' (p. 20). There are evident links between tourism and pilgrimage in terms of both the journey and the experience of community.

MacCannell (1973) found that 'sightseeing is a form of ritual respect for society and that tourism absorbs some of the social functions of religion in the modern world' (p. 589). MacCannell (1973) has argued that modern tourists can be seen as secular pilgrims in quest of authenticity. Hence, he noticed that 'the motive behind a pilgrimage is similar to that behind a tour: both are quests for authentic experiences' (MacCannell, 1973, p. 593). According to his view 'staged authenticity' characterises the highly developed mass 'tourist space', from which there is no escape. A few years later, MacCannell (1976) claimed that religious tourists are considered 'pilgrims of modernity', choosing holy sites for reasons other than religious ones. But, he does not expressly discuss the problem of the cognitive structure of the tourist's world in contrast to that of the pilgrim. MacCannell has done some pioneering work in this field, but he was later criticised.

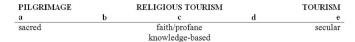
Cohen (1979) noted that 'neither of the opposing conceptions is universally valid, though each has contributed valuable insights into the motives, behaviour and experiences of some tourists. Different kinds of people may desire different modes of touristic experiences ... Phenomenologically distinct modes of touristic experiences are related to different types of relationships which obtain between a person and a variety of 'centres" (p. 180). Erik Cohen proposed five main modes of tourist experience: the Recreational Mode, the Diversionary Mode, the Experiential Mode, the Experimental Mode, and the Existential Mode. These modes represent the spectrum between the experiences of the tourist as the traveller in pursuit of 'mere' pleasure. Tourists travelling in the 'Existential Mode' are similar to pilgrims. Cohen (1979) claims that 'pilgrimages and modern tourism are thus predicated on different social conceptions of space and contrary views concerning the kind of destinations ... hence they involve movement in opposite directions: in pilgrimage from the periphery toward the cultural centre, in modern tourism, away from the cultural centre into the periphery' (p. 183).

Generally, in the period before 1990, some research ideas were incorporated on the basis of the relationship between pilgrimage and tourism. It seems that scholars have been debating more about pilgrimage and experience than about religious tourism as a special form of tourism. The researchers' debate in that field seems to have been slow and they are not ready to fully accept religion's significance in tourism.

4. Towards new approaches to the conceptualisation of religious tourism

In the early 1990s, new approaches and concepts of religious tourism emerged. The literature emphasises that religious travel is the first form of tourism (Favreau-Lilie, 1995). There is much evidence that religion is a motivation for activities related to tourism, as shown in the special issue of Annals of Tourism Research dedicated to the topic (see Nolan & Nolan, 1992; Rinschede, 1992; Smith, 1992).

Smith's (1992) continuum of travel placed pilgrims and tourists on two different sides on the basis of their experiences and motivations. Smith (1992) claims that 'between the extremities lie almost infinite possible sacred-secular combinations, with the central area (c) now generally termed religious tourism' (p. 4). According to Smith (1992), the Polish scholars (Jackowski in this issue) use the term knowledge-based tourism as a synonym for religious tourism (Fig. 1). According to



a. pious pilgrim;
 b. pilgrim>tourist;
 c. pilgrim=tourist;
 d. pilgrim<tourist;
 e. secular tourist

Fig. 1. The pilgrim-tourist path. Source: Smith, 1992.

Jackowski and Smith (1992), religious tourism is a relatively nascent term, used to define travel that is motivated largely by a search for spiritual knowledge.

Smith (1992) noted that 'the pilgrim-tourist path should ultimately be redefined as two parallel, interchangeable lanes, one of which is the secular knowledge-based route of Western science; the other, the sacred road of faith and belief. Then, every guest worldwide could travel either lane, or switch between them, depending on personal need or motivation, and as appropriate to time, place, and cultural circumstances' (p. 15). Smith (1992) concluded that tourists and pilgrims seek the same leisure, income, and sanction, as well, they share the same infrastructure. Based on Smith's claims it can be concluded that it's very difficult to distinguish between these two categories of travellers. As for the pilgrims, religion is the main factor for choosing the destination. But, tourists may perform pilgrimage even though the original motive would have been something else than related to the religion. Similar to conventional tourism, the motive can be pure recreation. So, the boundary between tourism and pilgrimage is blurred.

Pilgrims are one of the earliest types of tourists (Rinschede, 1992). Rinschede (1992) defined religious tourism as travels to religious and sacred sites that are motivated, at least partially, by religion. Rinschede (1992) says that 'religious tourism is closely connected with holiday and cultural tourism' (p. 52), noting that for the participants of organised pilgrimages, a free day is often planned in the program (e.g. pilgrims at Fátima visit the Atlantic coastline and attractive cultural cities). Gisbert Rinschede in the paper, which is part of a special issue of Annals of Tourism Research, dedicated to the topic in 1992, gives a brief systematic overview of the different forms of religious tourism: short-term religious tourism and long-term religious tourism. These two forms can be distinguished according to the criteria of length of stay, or rather, short-term without an overnight stay or long-term with overnight stay of at least one day. At the end of the paper, it is concluded that 'because of the increasing mobility of pilgrims, their spatial impact will probably change in the future. There will be less hotels or restaurants in the immediate vicinity of the religious sites and more in their surrounding cities and countryside' (Rinschede, 1992, p. 65).

On a theoretical level, the relationship between religion and tourism was presented by scholars Mary Lee Nolan and Sidney Nolan. They have noted, similar to previous claims that 'pious pilgrims on a quest for a religious experience may cross paths with secular tourists who seek to satisfy their curiosity about the holy place and, perhaps, about the pilgrims as well. Regardless of their motivations, all visitors to these attractions require some level of services, ranging from providing for the most basic of human needs, to full commercial development that rivals the most secular resort' (Nolan & Nolan, 1992, p. 69). In their article 'Religious sites as tourism attractions in Europe' they explain how pilgrimage sites of Europe have attracted a number of secular-oriented tourists, as well as extremely religious pilgrims. Visitors are mostly religious people who visit holy places as part of a holiday or religious trip, and it is conceptualised as different from a pilgrimage. Very pious, seriously prayerful and purely secular visitors exhibit different behaviours. There is no crystal-clear dichotomy between pilgrims and tourists, as many of them fall into the range of middle categories and as a result of that a highly complex matrix is created. Nolan and Nolan (1992) noted that 'especially festive pilgrimages involving folkloric expressions draw a highly mixed crowd of participants and visitors to many shrines' (p. 69). Notwithstanding that mass tourism can cause dramatic changes to small festive pilgrimages, there is no evidence to indicate that pilgrimage and tourism are incompatible (Nolan & Nolan, 1992). At the end, they concluded that 'there is a growing interest in a form of religiously oriented tourism that is emotionally satisfying ... thus, the integration of the traditional religious focus with secular interests becomes a missionary challenge' (Nolan & Nolan, 1992, p. 77). Later, Vukonić (1998) suggests that both phenomena (religion and tourism) may easily be brought together by the act of consumption which they have in common. In essence, the religious attribute does not take away, but confirms the fundamental features of tourism. Vukonić (1998) noted that 'pilgrimages and other similar travels are identified with the concept of religious (sacral) tourism, with, of course, the necessary accompanying explanations' (p. 84).

Generally, in the 1990s new concepts of religious tourism were introduced. In essence, the research dealt with the complex relationship between pilgrimage and tourism. As well, religious tourism is being analysed as an economic leverage for the local economy (Crain, 1996). All these issues provide a major contribution in achieving a better understanding of religious tourism concept.

Later, in the 2000s, many concepts and theories were developed in the literature (see Blackwell, 2007; Collins-Kreiner, 2010a; Olsen & Timothy, 2006; Sharpley, 2009; Stausberg, 2011, 2014; Tomasi, 2002; Vukonić, 2002; Woodward, 2004). The three concepts: pilgrimage, religious tourism, and spiritual tourism are used together in the scientific literature, although they mean different things. Analysis has focused on the differences and similarities between tourists and pilgrims, as well as on the differences among religious tourism, pilgrimage and spiritual tourism.

During this period, scholars have debated various themes on religious tourism and generally confirmed the claims of scholars from the 1990s. Religion and tourism are closely related (Stausberg, 2011). Vukonić (2002) noted that 'the relationship between religion, tourism, and economics is a convenient symbiosis' (p. 64). Religion is another marketable commodity or meaning system in today's consumer society (Olsen, 2003). There are three broader approaches in which researchers have considered the intersections of religion and tourism: the spatial approach (pilgrims and other tourists occupying the same space with different spatial behaviours), the historical approach (the relationship between religious forms of travel and tourism), and the cultural approach (pilgrimage and tourism as modern practices in a (post)modern world) (Bremer, 2005; quoted in; Olsen & Timothy, 2006). During this period, Olsen and Timothy (2006) indicated that there are numbers of journal articles and book chapters that are related to different aspects of tourism and religion, but the literature is still fragmented and lacks synthesis and holistic conceptualisation.

Some scholars re-actualised the concept of pilgrimage. The alternative view suggests that pilgrimage is a type of tourism (Olsen & Timothy, 2006; Ron, 2009). It is difficult to maintain the distinction between pilgrimage and tourism (Badone & Roseman, 2004). The boundaries between the concepts 'tourism' and 'pilgrimage', and 'tourist' and 'pilgrim' are blurring (Collins-Kreiner, 2010a). Many scientists are increasingly advocating the common nature of the two concepts, emphasising that these concepts are more related than different (e.g. Collins-Kreiner & Kliot, 2000; Digance, 2003; Shinde & Rizello, 2014). Motivations to travel to pilgrimage sites are diverse. Olsen and Timothy (2006) noted that "pilgrim' is a tourist (religious tourist) who is motivated by spiritual or religious factors' (p. 7). As well, they noticed that ' ... pilgrims and tourists are structurally and spatially the same or forms of one another ... '(Olsen & Timothy, 2006, p. 6). The concepts of pilgrimage and tourism sometimes overlap, as many pilgrims combine religious (primary) with secular (secondary) motives (e.g. Shinde, 2007).

Some scientists consider spiritual tourism as a kind of religious tourism. Spiritual tourism can be used as a synonym for religious tourism, but alternatively it can be used as a specific form of religious tourism, one that is more individual, more prone to connectedness, personal meaning, and quest, or it can refer to a travel process of

identity-work, voyages in search of meaningful experiences, not articulated in religious language (see the phenomenological portrait in Willson, McIntosh, & Zahra, 2013; quoted in; Stausberg, 2014). Fedele (2012) explains the term 'new pilgrims', i.e. spiritual tourists who visit traditional shrines for reasons different from those of traditional religious pilgrims. Kujawa (2017) says that 'spiritual tourism is prompted more by a desire for a spiritual experience and personal growth, rather than the devotional aspects prescribed by traditional religions and their motives for pilgrimages' (p. 193). The dissociation between modern spiritual pilgrims and traditional religiosity is evident in the new typologies of spiritual travel (see Norman, 2011, 2012). Stausberg (2014) says that 'spiritual/spirituality is semantically situated within and beyond the social realm of religion' (p. 355). On the other hand, some scientists have noticed that 'now the numinous yet palpable distinction between a 'religious' and 'spiritual' tourist emerges' (Cheer, Belhassen, & Kujawa, 2017, p. 253). As well, they proposed a conceptual framework for further scrutiny of spiritual tourism (see Cheer et al., 2017, for more detail).

Although religious tourism is often compared to pilgrimage and spiritual tourism, however, religious tourism has a broader understanding and meaning. The most appropriate term to name travels to religious sites is 'religious tourism' (Shinde & Rizello, 2014). Considerable debate exists regarding the meaning of religious tourism. According to some studies (e.g. Blackwell, 2007), religious tourism can be defined as visitation to certain tourism places where visitors have the opportunity to experience religious events or sites, or the products they induce, such as art, culture, traditions, and architecture (Heydari Chianeh, Del Chiappa, & Ghasemi, 2018). In addition to spiritual and religious reasons, tourists seek to visit the holy sites for other reasons such as cultural interest, curiosity, the quest for 'new meaning in life' (Collins-Kreiner, 2010b) or wholly non-religious goals (Griffin, 2007; Sharpley & Sundaram, 2005), and in many cases unaware of the religious significance of the place (Richards & Fernandes, 2007). For example, 93% of religious tourists visiting Italian sites are also interested in the cultural value of those sites (Petrillo, 2003; quoted in; Egresi & Kara, 2018). In general, religious tourism has a broader sociocultural significance. Different visitors take part in religious tourism, and they are interested not only in faith, but also in cultural heritage, artistic values and historical events on the site. Religious tourism empowers visitors to live through a religious ceremonies and rituals process, while also offering them the opportunity to purchase souvenirs of religious and other meaning.

Another very important feature is that religious tourism has undergone a process of segmentation and new sub-forms of religious tourism/tourists have emerged.

5. Segmentation of religious tourism and creation of new market niches

In the recent years, the scholars have begun to think about other forms of religious tourists, such as spiritual tourists (Stausberg, 2014; Willson et al., 2013), 'New Age' spiritual travellers (Aldred, 2002; Attix, 2002; Ivakhiv, 2003; Redden, 2005; Timothy & Conover, 2006), 'cyberpilgrims' (Digance, 2006). For example, Digance (2006) noted that 'cyberpilgrims too may routinely undertake certain rituals (e.g. making a cup of coffee, lighting a candle or incense, logging on only at a certain time of day, a prescribed order to visiting chat rooms, etc.) each time they use the Internet to 'do religion' online' (p. 44). It is evident that religious tourism has become a part of virtual reality.

Recently, religious tourism has developed into a much larger and segmented market and niches such as religious conferences and conventions, volunteer-oriented religious tourism, short-term mission travel and so on (see Ron, 2009). Mustonen (2006) noted that '... volunteer tourism can actually be viewed as a continuation of the traditional pilgrimage. Volunteers might be the new pilgrims of contemporary world, who represent traditional pilgrims in postmodernity'

(pp. 172-173). He initiated the idea that postmodernism can be a dimension where different types of tourism clash and transform into new types. In this regard, he noted that 'the convergence of traditional pilgrimage towards leisure tourism and the birth of volunteer tourism represent the blend of premodern and postmodern – a trend which was started by the help of modernity but finally occurred in postmodernity' (Mustonen, 2006, p. 160). As well, Mustonen (2006) claimed that 'contemporary volunteer tourism is a continuation, a kind of a rebirth of traditional pilgrimage, although the latter has never disappeared' (p. 174), but has also changed (Bleie, 2003; Singh, 2004). Volunteer tourism also includes pre-modern characteristics and similarities with the pilgrimage. Thus, while pilgrims seek enlightenment during their visit to the holy place, 'volunteer tourists follow their altruistic motives and reach their aspiration level in sacred liminoid' (Mustonen, 2006, p. 160). In general, the analysis shows that further empirical research on volunteer-oriented religious tourism is needed to expand our knowledge and understanding of this market niche.

Seyer and Müller (2011) emphasise that religious tourism does not only consist of pilgrimage and missionary travel, but there are twelve segments in the religious tourism market: pilgrimages, missionary, cruises, leisure/getaways, religious conferences/conventions, destinations/attractions, retreats/guesthouses, Christian camps, adventure/ active, volunteer vacations, student/youth, and family/intergenerational. The different segments of religious tourism that have been spotted by Stausberg (2011) include pilgrimages, conferences, seminars, retreats, and festivals. As well, McKercher (2016) proposed a six level taxonomy of tourism products, where religious travel is classified within the category 'Personal Quest', which refers to travel for more personal reasons associated with self development and/or learning, and includes pilgrimage (site and journey), sacred travel, religious (place and faith based), missionary safaris and spiritual retreats ('New Age' and traditional). Spiritual tourism as a retreat is defined as 'one of escape from the everyday, or of sacred time or ritual renewal' (Norman, 2012, p. 31). Spiritual retreats provide opportunities for personal development (Schutte & Dreyer, 2006), personal transformation and selfactualisation (Andriotis, 2009; Heintzman, 2013), restoration (Ouellette, Kaplan, & Kaplan, 2005), and so on. Bone (2013) has presented two spiritual retreat sites (Mana and Aio Wira) that reflect the niche spiritual retreat tourism industry of New Zealand, and which are established as quintessential and idyllic spiritual retreat sites within the market. Recently, Gill, Packer, and Ballantyne (2018) have applied the Attention Restoration Theory (ART) to examine the restorative outcomes of spiritual retreats for Christian clergy in Australia. Findings reveal that restoration was a key outcome, amongst other benefits. Their study has made a contribution to the niche area of religious tourism and restoration.

5.1. Route-based pilgrimage as an important market niche in religious tourism

There is a difference between taking a pilgrimage and route-based pilgrimage. Taking a pilgrimage does not have to follow a prescribed route and the pilgrims can travel directly to the holy sites (Boyd, 2018; Davidsson Bremborg, 2013). Opposite, in route-based pilgrimage the focus of the pilgrims is not on the destination but the routes (trails) or journey through cultural and natural landscapes (Boyd, 2018; Olsen, Trono, & Fidgeon, 2018), and the benefits are development/improvement of religious and cultural knowledge, as well as opportunities for socialisation, experience, experimentation, and associated learning (Trono & Castronuovo, 2018).

5.1.1. Pilgrimage routes

As much of the infrastructure around religious and pilgrimage sites developed (see Leppakari & Griffin, 2017; Shahshahani, 2009), pilgrimage routes leading to the holy places have also developed and they play a key role in the experiences of modern pilgrims and tourists who

walk along the routes (Boyd, 2018). The monks have been aware of the material benefits and spiritual aspects of these paths for a long time (Vernon, 1963). Timothy (2018) emphasises that almost every religion in the world includes elements of route-based pilgrimage. Religious pilgrimage routes are organic (Olsen et al., 2018) and they are characterised by a specific thematic concept, including tourist consumption (see Boyd, 2018; Timothy, 2018). Among the most famous are the Way of Saint James and the Via Francigena (Griffin & Raj, 2017; Timothy, 2018). Recent academic literature focuses on religious pilgrimage routes in different parts of the world, such as the pilgrimage routes from Central Europe and Scandinavia towards Jerusalem and Santiago de Compostela (Duda, 2018), the 'Appalachian Trail' (Redick, 2018), the pilgrimage along the 'Mormon Trail' (Olsen & Hill, 2018), the 'Himalayan Triptych' (Saul & Waterton, 2017), the pilgrimage routes in the 'Kii Mountain Range' (Jimura, 2016), the route of the 'Dnyaneshwar Palkhi' (Shinde, 2018), and so on. Although there are hundreds, if not thousands, of religious pilgrimage routes, Olsen et al. (2018) point out that there is still little research in academic literature. A recent book 'Religious pilgrimage routes and trails: sustainable development and management', edited by Daniel H. Olsen and Anna Trono, a definitive state-of-the-art volume, opened up issues related to local and regional development, environmental sustainability, heritage identity, and management. However, further empirical studies and multidisciplinary approaches are needed to conceptualise these complex issues.

5.1.2. Pilgrims/tourists along pilgrimage routes

The number of pilgrims along the pilgrimage routes is constantly increasing (Lois-González & Santos, 2015; Lois-González, Santos, & Romero, 2018; Oviedo, de Courcier, & Farias, 2014). In modern pilgrimage, not only religiously motivated pilgrims participate, but also cultural tourists, heritage tourists, and spiritual tourists (Olsen et al., 2018). Pilgrims and non-religious tourists coexist within the same ritualistic space (Lois-González & Santos, 2015), but, spiritual tourists and tourists do not always coexist harmoniously in the liminal journey (Redick, 2018). Some scholars claim that pilgrims at the end of the routes are transformed into tourists, and they adopt similar behaviors with the conventional tourists, even financially (Lois-González et al., 2018; Lois-González & Santos, 2015). Pilgrims' experience is not a homogeneous entity (Collins-Kreiner, 2010c). According to Boyd (2018), pilgrims' experience along the pilgrimage routes is diverse and include ' ... opportunity to reaffirm one's faith, taking an obligatory journey required of certain religions, walking in the footsteps of past pilgrims, celebrating the life of the individual associated with the trail or route, the chance for personal reflection, travel through different landscapes, and being able to escape from the routines of modern living' (p. 38). People with different motivation and experience participate in the route-based pilgrimage.

Walking along organic pilgrimage paths is a more authentic way of engaging in pilgrimage (Davidsson Bremborg, 2013; Egan, 2010; Slavin, 2003; Watson, 2006), unlike those involved in a secular pilgrimage experience (Boyd, 2018). It is a journey through 'slow territories'. Pilgrims seek the slow rhythms along pilgrimage routes related to rural and heritage landscapes. They are the creators of their journey and prepare it with the help of travel maps, guides, and information about the route and usually overnight stays in public hostels, small guesthouses, etc. The concern of pilgrims on the routes is one of the main characteristics of pilgrims during the journey. Historically, pilgrims have been responsible travellers without causing socio-cultural and environmental damage to local communities. Even today, it is a common feature for pilgrims who do not have an excessive impact on the environment that is favourable to the local community (see Shinde, 2018). The desire for an 'authentic pilgrimage route' (walking on the old pilgrimage paths) is one of the desires of pilgrims during the journey, although it can be ruined due to so much asphalt (Davidsson Bremborg, 2013), if the pilgrims walk along inorganic pilgrimage routes or deliberately designed for tourist use (Boyd, 2018), and from the excessive tourism pressure and the overcrowding on traditional routes (Frey, 1998; Lois-González et al., 2018). For instance, overcrowding or saturation is a phenomenon that can be seen on the route to Santiago, and becomes a serious problem for pilgrims who are mostly motivated by spirituality. As a consequence, roads diversification activities to Santiago were promoted (Lois-González et al., 2018). In the future development/management of pilgrimage paths, tourism officials and managers should take into account the specific non-reproducible resources (e.g. environmental, cultural, etc.) that are the subject to a potential threat from the growing number of tourists. As well, the environmental sustainability and/or sustainable development of religious pilgrimage routes deserve future attention from scholars.

Overall, religious tourists are in a quest for a new and different experience. As a consequence, new market niches have emerged in religious tourism. New market niches have also emerged as a result of different destinations, places, attractions, but also as a consequence of the wide range of suppliers, and the increasing number of travel agents that offer religious tourism and pilgrimage trips.

6. Supply-side analysis and division of religious resources

Scientists have used different approaches to analyse and divide religious tourism resources (see Mazumdar & Mazumdar, 2004; Nolan & Nolan, 1989, 1992; Shackley, 2001). The holy places and ceremonial events are one of the oldest religious travel destinations (Nolan & Nolan, 1992). Early studies emphasise that the 'universe' of religious tourism resources based on a comprehensive exploration of the Christian pilgrimage to Western Europe is conceptualised into three categories: pilgrimage shrines, religious tourist attractions (structures or sites of religious, historic and/or artistic significance), and religious festivals (Nolan & Nolan, 1989; quoted in; Nolan & Nolan, 1992). They noted that these resources are among the most complex attractions that attract visitors. Their approach is a useful means for analysing and examining religious tourism resources, but it does not provide a global picture of religious tourism resources. Later, Shackley (2001) gives a more comprehensive classification of religious tourism resources and divides them into eleven categories (Table 2).

Shackley's (2001) classification is useful for identifying the range of religious resources and places globally and geographically. Some of these places are specific centres of religious festivals and events (e.g. Shinde, 2010). As well, many of these places are linked to ancient pilgrimages trails and modern tourist routes, so these sacred places act as endpoints of pilgrimages, like for example, Santiago de Compostela and Jerusalem (Duda, 2018; Lois-González & Santos, 2015). In the recent relevant literature, various themes and issues related to pilgrimage foci (see Amaro, Antunes, & Henriques, 2018; Buzinde, Kalavar, Kohli, & Manuel-Navarrete, 2014; Thomas, White, & Samuel, 2018), sacred cities (e.g. Albayrak et al., 2018), detached temples/shrines (see Abbate & Di Nuovo, 2013; Tripathi, Choudhary, & Agrawal, 2010), and single nodal feature (e.g. Hughes, Bond, & Ballantyne, 2013), have been empirically examined and conceptualised by scientists. No analysis of religious tourism supply can be complete if consumer demand, motivations, and experiences for the religious tourism product are not acknowledged. Therefore, the aforementioned studies are useful for service suppliers, especially for understanding supply-side issues.

Secular pilgrimage places, today, are important resources that attract people for spiritual, morbid, and other secular reasons (Table 2). Dark tourism is conceptualised as a continuance of the 'Pilgrimage Life Cycle' (Collins-Kreiner, 2016), or as Stone (2006) says it includes '... spiritual journeys for the tourist who wishes to gaze upon real and recreated death' (p. 145). Dark places such as Auschwitz-Birkenau, Cambodia's 'Killing Fields', 'Gallipoli Battlefield', 'Robben Island' and many others, attract special attention as tourist attractions (see Stone, 2006). The modern practice of secular pilgrimage occurs outside of the main religious traditions (Digance, 2006). Nowadays, sacred places, churches, cathedrals, mosques, sacred architecture, pilgrimage routes

Table 2
Categorisation and division of religious resources. Source: Shackley, 2001.

Туре	Examples
Single nodal feature	Canterbury Cathedral (England), Emerald Buddha (Bangkok), Hagia Sophia (Istanbul)
Archaeological sites	Machu Picchu (Peru), Chichén Itzá (Mexico)
Burial sites	Père Lachaise (France), Highgate Cemetery (England), Catacombs (Rome), Pyramids (Giza)
Detached temples/shrines	Borobudur (Indonesia), Ankgor Wat (Cambodia), Amritsar (India), Fátima (Portugal), Medjugorje (Bosnia and Herzegovina)
Whole towns	Rome (Italy), Jerusalem (Israel), Assisi (Italy), Varanasi (India), Bethlehem (Palestine)
Shrine/temple complexes	Lalibela (Ethiopia), Potala (Tibet), St. Katherine's Monastery (Egypt)
'Earth energy' sites - 'New Age'	Nazca Lines (Peru), Glastonbury (England)
Sacred mountains	Uluru - Ayers Rock (Australia), Mount Everest (China-Nepal border), Tai Shan (China), Mount Athos (Greece), Mount Fuji (Japan), Mount Sinai (Egypt)
Sacred islands	Rapa Nui (Chile), Lindisfarne (England), Iona (Scotland), Mont- Saint-Michel (France)
Pilgrimage foci	Mecca (Saudi Arabia), Medina (Saudi Arabia), Mount Kailash (Tibet), Santiago de Compostela (Spain), Lourdes (France), Kumbh Mela (India)
Secular pilgrimage	Robben Island (South Africa), Gorée (Senegal), Holocaust Sites: Dachau (Germany) and Auschwitz-Birkenau (Poland), Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Japan), Masada (Israel)
Secular pilgrimage	

and so on, are now being seen as tourism resources that can be commodified and commercialised for tourists interested in historic places and cultural heritage.

Shackley's (2001) classification gives a wide range of religious tourism resources, but in some ways it neglects the division of religious resources according to different types of religions. Regarding this issue, later, Mazumdar and Mazumdar (2004) made a categorisation and division (although it is not exhaustive) of religious places/attractions and their components in different religions. Every religion is characterised by specific sacred cities, sacred structures, sacred burial sites, and sacred places in nature (Table 3).

For Christians, the most important holy places are Lourdes (France), Fátima (Portugal), Jasna Góra (Poland), St. Peter's Basilica (Vatican), the Basilica of St. Francis and St. Clare of Assisi (Italy), which attract millions of pilgrims and secular tourists. In Islam, the most sacred place is the Kaaba in Mecca (Saudi Arabia). Another most sacred city for Muslims is Jerusalem, which is also a sacred place for other religions such as Christianity and Judaism. On the other hand, Shiite Muslims believe that Karbala (Iraq) is one of the holiest places in the world. Sacred places like Tirupati, Mathura, and Ayodhya in India are among the most famous places for Hindu pilgrimage. Pagodas, stupas, chortens, and dagobas are important sacred structures in Buddhism. Some of the legendary places and sacred structures are Bodh Gaya and the Ajanta Caves in India, Sri Pada Mountain (Sri Lanka), Kyoto's Nishi Honganji Temple (Japan), and Shwedagon Pagoda in Myanmar (Burma) (Heidari, Yazdani, Saghafi, & Jalilvand, 2018). Within the sphere of religion, all these sacred places have a special meaning and attract pilgrims and tourists in a special way.

Overall, this section has attempted to construct a conceptual framework in which the supply of diverse religious resources may be located. It is evident that there is a diverse and fragmented set of religious

resources supply, which affects the consumer demand in religious tourism. The above analysis showed that religious tourism resources can be divided according to different criteria. Yet, no study in the literature provides an exhaustive categorisation and/or typology of religious tourism resources. Designing a detailed and exhaustive typology will lead not only to a better understanding of religious tourism supply, but also, lead to a better understanding of where to locate and explore religious tourism demand, consumption, motivations and experiences.

7. Religious tourism in the context of relations between mass and alternative tourism

Alternative tourism has been interpreted in different ways, for example, as polarised opposite and substitute for mass tourism (Weaver & Lawton, 2002). Alternative tourism leads to stronger socioeconomic and cultural structures, it empowers local communities and improves their material and psychological well-being (Weaver, 2014), and it attempts to secure a balance between economic growth and environmental protection (Hunter, 1997). On the other hand, Poon (1993) defines mass tourism as 'a phenomenon of large-scale packaging of standardised leisure services at fixed prices for sale to a mass clientele' (p. 32). The main quantitative element of mass tourism is the great number of tourists travelling long distance and who require overnight stays away from home (see Bramwell, 2004). Mass tourism is usually characterised by mass production and consumption (Vainikka, 2013). It is important to note that 'it is quite likely that in the same trip a consumer can move between different forms of tourism, so that they are engaging in mass tourism at one point in time and alternative tourism at another' (Cooper & Hall, 2008, p. 64). The current paper suggests a set of attributes and dimensions for determining religious tourism in the context of relations between mass and alternative tourism. Basically,

Table 3
Religion and sites: some examples. Source: Mazumdar & Mazumdar, 2004.

Sacred places	Religion						
	Hinduism	Judaism	Islam	Buddhism	Catholicism	Sikhism	
Sacred cities	Banaras, Mathura	Jerusalem	Mecca, Medina	Budh Gaya, Sarnath	Rome, Jerusalem	Amritsar	
Sacred structures	Roadside shrines, temples	Wailing Wall, synagogues	Mosques, roadside shrines	Temples, stupas, monasteries	Cathedrals, churches, monasteries, shrines	Golden Temple, gurudwaras	
Sacred burial sites	No burial sites	Tombs of religious personages	Tombs of religious personages	-	-	_	
Sacred places in nature	All of nature (esp. mountains, rivers, lakes)	Specific places made significant due to special events	Specific places made significant by special events	Mountains, rivers, lily ponds	Sites of healing waters/miracles/ visions of Virgin Mary (e.g. Lourdes)	-	

Table 4Religious tourism between mass and alternative tourism (expected relationships). Source: author.

Dimension of mass tourism	Religio	us tourism	Dimension of alternative tourism
Quick growth	1		Slow growth
Unsustainable, aggressive		✓	Sustainable, precaution
One dominant market		✓	Segmented market
High impact on economy	✓		Supplementary influence
High seasonal tourism		1	Non-seasonal tourism
High number (large group)	1	✓	Low number (single, small group)
High spatial concentration	✓	1	Dispersion of tourists
Low extent of authenticity		1	High extent of authenticity
Focused on landmarks		1	Focused on experiences
Craving for souvenirs	✓	1	Craving for knowledge
Loud, careless and passive		1	Quiet, caring and active
tourists			tourists

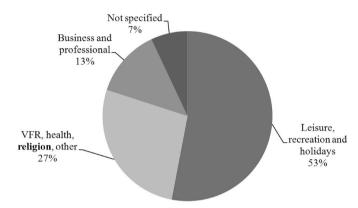


Fig. 2. Inbound tourism by purpose, 2016 (share). Source: own design based on data from the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO).

religious tourism is alternative tourism. But, it is also based on attributes and dimensions that are typical of mass tourism (Table 4).

Religious tourism is a fast-growing segment of the tourism industry (Fig. 2). This is a result of numerous factors including: increasing the tourists' desire to have knowledge of different religions; most tourist trips include a religious dimension and a visit to religious sites; the efforts of many recreational tourism destinations to incorporate religious journeys into their traditional offer by organising trips to sacred sites and so on. In tourism literature it is necessary to strengthen the meaning of the term religious tourism, despite the opposition of some scientists to link the terms industry and religion. It is obvious that religious tourism is orientating towards the mass market. Today, international religious tourism is a booming industry and tends to become a part of the globalisation.

According to UNWTO estimates, 300 to 330 million tourists visit the world's key religious sites every year, with approximately 600 million national and international religious voyages in the world, 40% of which take place in Europe and around half in Asia. From an economic point of view, 'one American source (a number of years ago) estimated religious tourism to be an \$18-billion global industry, stating that in North America alone, it is estimated at \$10 billion' (Griffin & Raj, 2017, p. 8). In 2014, the secular body called the ARC (Alliance of Religions and Conservation) published a list (although it is not exhaustive) of the most visited religious and pilgrimage sites in the world. For example, some of the most visited are: Ayyappan Saranam - 30 million pilgrims (Hindu-estimates for this vary with numbers up to 60 million being claimed); Kumbh Mela - 10 million pilgrims (takes place every three years, with some festivals attracting 10 million, and others 50, 60 or 70 million); Our Lady of Guadalupe, Mexico (20 million pilgrims); Western Wall, Jerusalem (6 million pilgrims); Hajj (3 million pilgrims); in

Europe: Jasna Góra monastery (5 million pilgrims), Fátima (4–5 million pilgrims), Lourdes (4 million pilgrims), and so on.

From another point of view, religious tourism has evolutionarily developed as an alternative form of tourism, and also today, its development is based on the attributes and dimensions that are characteristic of alternative tourism (Table 4). Nowadays, some sacred sites are included in the Green Pilgrimage Network. They are committed to promoting green, or environmentally friendly, pilgrimage (e.g. European Green Pilgrimage Network is a faith-led network of pilgrim places, pathways and cities in Europe). This is a kind of responsible travel and pilgrim sites become models of care for the environment. As well, pilgrimage routes are the driving force for sustainable development, especially in rural and/or marginal areas, which have seen an increase in 'slow' tourism (Trono & Castronuovo, 2018). Walking along organic pilgrimage routes is a slower form of travel, a way to escape the contemporary and fast-paced lifestyle, and an opportunity for pilgrims to get involved in the lifestyle of local communities (Howard, 2012), their gastronomy and culture (Lois-González et al., 2018). The perceptual dimension of the pilgrim differs from the practice of a conventional (mass) tourist based on rest, sunbathing and entertainment (Lois-González et al., 2018). Hence, the modern practice of pilgrims walking on organic trails is viewed as a form of slow tourism (Olsen et al., 2018), 'aware tourism - based on bilateral awareness' (Trono & Olsen, 2018, p. 253) between hosts and guests. Route-based pilgrimage tourism encourages local-global cross-cultural interaction, adds value to local communities and their economies, leads to improvements in national and international relations, and encourages sustainable development (Trono & Castronuovo, 2018). Therefore, tourism officials have invested in organic pilgrimage routes for tourism development (Olsen et al., 2018). In general, a route-based pilgrimage is a form of slow and sustainable tourism. It aims to improve the socio-cultural wellbeing, economic development, and quality of life of the local residents. It is a form of responsible tourism that strives to minimise the negative effects of tourism development on the environment, and at the same time, it attempts to ensure high quality and authentic experience for pilgrims. Thus, all the aforementioned features define religious tourism as an alternative form of tourism instead of mass tourism. The role of religious tourism as an alternative/specific form of tourism in the global tourism market has positive effects on the development of the regional cultures, strengthening the local traditions and cultures, extending the tourism season, and so on.

Religious tourism like a booming industry also has several negative effects: religion becomes commercialised, carrying capacity problems, loss of authenticity, the commodification of products related to pilgrimage (Boyd, 2018), commercialisation of local culture and the survival of local identity (Trono & Olsen, 2018), loss of biodiversity due to the strong impact on protected species caused by the pressures of religious tourism (Trombino & Trono, 2018), and so on. An increase in the number of tourists in the religious places may have an impact on sustainability, because they may increase their commoditisation and diminish the significance of religious sites (Wall & Mathieson, 2006). Olsen and Timothy (2006) noted that 'mass tourism to sites of religious significance has caused some structures to be closed owing to mismanagement and overuse' (p. 12). Overcrowding, insufficient services and infrastructure, accidental damage, crowding, theft of artefacts, vandalism, graffiti and so on, are common problems of managing religious buildings and sites (Woodward, 2004). Mass tourism almost completely 'occupies' Christian religious sites in many European countries, which affects their normal functioning (Cohen, 1998). These are issues that deserve more attention from scholars.

8. Conclusion and future research priorities

This paper is mainly based on theoretical argumentation. The evolution of religious tourism, its segmentation of market niches, and its position in the context of relations between mass and alternative

tourism are the key issues that were examined in this paper. The fundamental aim was to find continuity from pre-modern to postmodern times using religious tourism as a reference idea and concept. From a theoretical point of view, the current paper is of particular importance, especially in order to distinguish between concepts and the usage of new terms and phenomena in religious tourism.

Evolutionarily, religious tourism has established itself as a special form of tourism. Meanwhile, there is a process of segmentation and creation of new market niches such as: spiritual retreat, 'New Age' spiritual travel, volunteer-oriented religious tourism, faith-based cruise, religious conferences, Christian camps, etc. Hence, it can be argued that religious tourism is undergoing a transformation, and new concepts and identities have made a contribution to the 'rejuvenation' of religious tourism.

Religious tourism has expanded into a large and segmented market. From here, the question arises: is religious tourism a niche or a mainstream industry? Religious tourism is considered as an alternative/specific form of tourism, due to its socio-cultural impacts, its contribution to the local community, and sustainable development. On the other hand, the wealthy and heterogeneous supply of religious tourism resources and the intensive growth of consumer demand characterise it as one of the fastest-growing segments in the tourism industry. A large number of international religious tourists indicates it as mass tourism, the phenomenon of large-scale packaging and consumption. From a conceptual perspective, whether or not religious tourism is mass tourism depends on the type of the used definition. If a very extensive definition of religious tourism is used, it's possible to make a case that religious tourism is mass tourism.

In general, the previous development of the religious tourism has been characterised by a partial overlapping between elements of mass and alternative tourism. The rapid growth of religious tourism on the international market, its dynamic qualitative and quantitative changes require an in-depth analysis of this type of tourism in the future.

8.1. Identified research gap and critical issues that require examination

The first theme in the paper concerned debate about the evolution, concept, and definition of religious tourism. Undoubtedly, new definitions will be proposed, but this issue has no priority for future research. Issues about definitions are much less significant than the recognition of the importance of new religion-tourism relationship in modern societies. Understanding the visitors' motives and experiences is crucial to comprehend the concept of religious tourism in the contemporary society. The literature has been examining these experiences and motivations, with a focus on specific groups of visitors and case studies. However, there is a plethora of issues for future research. Although some recent studies claim that the motives are based on spirituality (Buzinde et al., 2014; Kruger & Saayman, 2016), religious belief (Wang, Chen, & Huang, 2016), however, from the literature review it can be concluded that except for religious reasons people visit places for other non-religious reasons, such as interest in nature and sport (Amaro et al., 2018), discovery and socialisation (Abbate & Di Nuovo, 2013), learning about diverse cultures/lifestyles, relaxation from everyday life burdens and social contacts (Choe, Blazey, & Mitas, 2015), interest in history (Gutic, Caie, & Clegg, 2010), recreational or cultural reasons (Nyaupane, Timothy, & Poudel, 2015). It is evident that religious tourists lose some specific values and identities that were a fundamental feature of religious tourism. Hence, the question arises: is there such a thing as religious tourists or are they conventional tourists with religious underpinning to their journeys, and in essence are they nonreligious tourists? The literature quite often includes religious tourism as a subcategory of cultural tourism. Does it mean that religious travel should be regarded as cultural? These are complex issues and provocation for scientists, which require further empirical research to conceptualise these issues.

Some future studies may examine the extent to which an interest in

(or desire) religion can play a role in the decision to visit religion sites. Whether motivation can shift between a religious, cultural and secular tourist, and how much the visitor may and/or may not be aware of it? The new research requires psychological analysis. To answer these questions, researchers will have to ask the visitors some other questions differently than the previous way. Such studies would contribute to a better understanding of the concept of religious tourism.

The religious tourists' experience is another important issue. The experiences of the visitors are multifaceted, but from the ten facets of experiences identified by Packer and Ballantyne (2016), spiritual and emotional experiences have received the most attention in religious tourism literature. For instance, recent research by Taheri (2016) identified the link between emotional connections and religious experience. Some future studies should pay more attention to transformative, sensory, and introspective facets of the experience (see Packer & Ballantyne, 2016). As well, some future empirical studies should answer what comes before the visit to sacred places (pre-experience phase and expectations) and what follows after the journey (post-experience phase, reflecting, re-visit).

The scientific literature (see Griffin & Raj, 2017; McKercher, 2016; Ron, 2009; Seyer & Müller, 2011; Stausberg, 2011) has identified several segments of religious tourism. The pilgrimage has received the most scrutiny by researchers. Future research might also focus on some segments of religious tourism that have been hitherto overlooked by researchers. The most prominent among them are: faith-based cruise, religious conferences, Christian camps, children/young and family segment, especially their motivations, affective and cognitive experiences. Therefore, detailed empirical studies are required, because without these studies we do not have a strong conceptualisation.

Lastly, religious tourism is a very complex concept and segment of the tourism industry, so a postmodern approach and multidisciplinary research are necessary in the future.

Declaration of competing interest

There is no potential conflict of interest and financial disclosure statement.

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