Motivations of pilgrims on the Portuguese Inner Way to Santiago de Compostela

Carlos Gomes
University of Trás-os-Montes and Alto Douro, Portugal, cjgomes@utad.pt

Nieves Losada
University of Trás-os-Montes and Alto Douro, Portugal, nlosada@utad.pt

Xerardo Pereiro
University of Trás-os-Montes and Alto Douro, Portugal, xperez@utad.pt

Motivations of pilgrims on the Portuguese Inner Way to Santiago de Compostela[1]

Carlos Gomes
Nieves Losada
Xerardo Pereiro

University of Trás-os-Montes and Alto Douro, Portugal
nlosada@utad.pt
cjgomes@utad.pt
xperez@utad.pt

Undertaking the way to Santiago today is characterised by being multi-motivational, not only attending to religious motivations (Amaro *et al*., 2018; Lois-González and Santos, 2014). In fact, the differences between the pilgrim and the tourist are increasingly smaller, because both travellers are motivated by the experience of realising the way and are looking for the same type of services (Amaro *et al*., 2018; Collins-Kreiner in Lois-González and Santos, 2014). The objective of this study is to make a comparison between the motivations of the Portuguese touripilgrims (Pereiro, 2017) and the foreign touripilgrims on the Portuguese Inner Way of Santiago de Compostela (PIWSC) and other pilgrims on other ways to Santiago. As was indicated by Amaro *et al.* (2018), there are differences between the motivations of pilgrims according to their nationality, but in our work, other variables include social action like the option for a less travelled way; an experience closer to traditional pilgrimages; an option based only on religious motivations or on tourist motivations; or landscape variables (mentioned repeatedly in interviews). The PIWSC crosses the portuguese municipalities of Viseu, Castro Daire, Lamego, Peso da Régua, Santa Marta de Penaguião, Vila Real, Vila Pouca de Aguiar and Chaves. As a methodological strategy, anthropological field work was chosen – with the use of participant observation – as a central research strategy, complemented with open and structured interviews, as well as audio-visual research, net-ethnography and documentary analysis. This conjugation of research techniques, as well as the use of field diary, audio recorder and photography - as instruments of registration, provided an understanding of the object of study. With the results obtained, it was realised that there is a constant dialogue and tension between heritage, tourist and religious interests. There is also evidence of a motivation for less mass-pilgrimage ways (Pereiro, 2017) - as is the case of PIWSC. So, it was possible to assess a set of communication strategies to be directed to the different profiles of touripilgrims according to nationality, given the lack of promotional strategies existing in the PIWSC, as evidenced in other less-travelled / primitive ways (as noted by Martín, 2014).

Key Words: Portuguese Inner Way of Santiago de Compostela; touripilgrims; motivations; promotion; touripilgrims profiles

Introduction

The 210 kilometre pilgrimage route on which this research was developed, the Portuguese Inner Way of Santiago de Compostela (PIWSC), crosses - in the Portuguese territory - the municipalities of Viseu, Castro Daire, Lamego, Peso da Régua, Santa Marta de Penaguião, Vila Real, Vila Pouca de Aguiar and Chaves. When crossing the border, between Portugal and Galicia, this route joins the Silver Route until Santiago de Compostela - a further 187 kilometres. In Galicia the route crosses small towns like Verin and Ourense and others such as Cea or Silleda. This is a two-way route. In the south - north direction it leads us to Santiago de Compostela and in the opposite

direction leads us to Fatima (Portugal). This religious and pilgrimage route is ancient in historical terms and nowadays is being revitalised, due to it's importance for cultural heritage, thus, it is in a process of patrimonialisation whereby it acquires more and more tourist attention (Pereiro, 2017).

First of all, this work focuses on the study of motivations, social practices and assimilated experiences by the touripilgrims. This research – like Collins-Kreiner's 2018 study - emphasises the aspect of subjectivity between touripilgrims. We use the term touripilgrims because this research focuses on cultural routes based on post-secular pilgrimage (Blom, Nilsson & Santos, 2015) while also in constant dialogue with religion, spirituality, materiality, sociability and tourism (Hernández Ramírez, 2015).

Second, cross-cultural and ethno marketing strategies will be proposed, since cross-cultural studies have widely addressed differences in travel behaviour and tourism motivation (Li, 2014) while culture associated with nationality is one of the most important factors in explaining human behaviour, also having a significant consideration for marketers (Lee & Sparks, 2007; Özdemir & Yolal, 2016). We advance that this historic way has been reinvented by the various agents involved in putting local in the global arena. In order to do so, new thematic narratives have been created that resonate with the touripilgrimage and new secular spirituality. This process also has a political, technical, economic, social and cultural basis in the use of a master symbol such as The Ways to Santiago de Compostela.

Literature review

The study of tourist motivation is an unavoidable subject for those who want to understand the behaviour of tourists. Although at the beginning of modern tourism the motivations for tourism were educational, cultural, religious, health, political and diplomatic, nowadays, the motivations of tourists are much more complex and diversified (Pereiro and Fernandes, 2018). The academic perspectives of tourism motivations are multiple and varied from a disciplinary point of view but in our view, there are two broad types of perspectives: a) the psychological-social ones that emphasise the psychological mechanisms to make trips (García-Mas, 2005); b) the socio-anthropological ones, that focus more on the social, cultural, economic and political conditions that in contemporary societies favour and promote tourist trips (Pereiro and Fernandes, 2018).

The psychological-social perspectives conceive and see the factors intrinsic to tourists and their psychological motivational mechanisms as analysed by Plog (1974, 1977, 2001, 2002, 2016) and other authors: personality, satisfaction of needs, curiosity, gratification, interest in the new. According to Plog (1974) allocentric people (extroverted, self-confident, adventurous and curious) have motivations to travel to new and different destinations, with few tourists, seeking the sensation of discovery and little-known cultures. Psychocentric people are motivated by familiar destinations, more familiar activities and atmospheres (idem). Smith (1990) applied the Plog model in seven countries (France, Japan, United Kingdom, Germany, Switzerland, Singapore and Hong Kong) but the results did not prove the theory that associated personality types lead to preferential motivations in the choice of tourist destinations. He considered it as a psychograph of static categories that does not correspond to the dynamic reality and the great diversity of tourists.

In 1982, Isso-Ahola, identified the dichotomy of evasion (escape) / discovery (search) to explain tourist motivations, which he considers intrinsic and strictly psychological, that is, an internal factor that drives the individual to leisure, novelty, routine change and reduction of stress. The motives are for him cognitive representations of future psychological states, the benefits of escape and search. We could say that the tourist leaves behind their personal and interpersonal problems. The search provides tourists with a personal and interpersonal psychological reward.

Pearce (1988) created a hierarchy of tourist travel needs, inspired by Maslow. Maslow's *Needs Hierarchy Theory*, Pearce's *Travel Career Ladder*, the '*Push and Pull*' theory and the *Functional Theory of Attitudes* are the main theories in travel motivation. Maslow´s theory is based on a hierarchy of needs to explain individual's behaviour. Maslow (1954) indicated that individuals are motivated to do something in order to satisfy their different levels of needs. Based on Maslow´s theory, Pearce identified five levels of needs to explain travel motivation: physiological, safety, social, esteem, and self-actualisation. The theory of 'push' and 'pull' factors was developed by Crompton (1979) and Dann (in Crompton, 1979) in tourist studies. These authors established a connection between 'push' factors (the desire / need to travel), and 'pull' factors (destination choice). Moreover, Pyo *et al*. (1989), Uysal and Jurowski, (1994), Oh *et al*. (1995), Baloglu & Uysal (1996), Kim & Lee (2002), Klenosky (2002), McIntosh & Thyne (2005), have demonstrated

that there is a relationship between both dimensions of motivation. The relationship between 'push' and 'pull' factors has important implications from the point of view of destination promotion.

According to Dann (1977, 1981) there are two basic tourist motivations: anomie and self-development. These leverage the desire to transcend the sense of solitude of everyday life, the need for recognition and status bestowed by the journey. To this author there are two motivational forces: a) push, which drives the tourist to travel - an internal factor that identifies the needs of the tourist; b) pull, which is an external force - attributes of the destinations that attract the visitor in their choice.

Crompton and McKay (1997) refer to seven push factors:

1) the desire for novelty;

2) the desire for socialisation;

3) the desire for prestige, status and reputation;

4) the desire for rest and relaxation;

5) interest in education and intellectual enrichment;

6) strengthening family ties with relatives;

7) regression or desire to rediscover a behaviour of youth or childhood.

Fakeye and Crompton (1991) have identified six pull factors or attract tourists:

1) social opportunities and attractions;

2) natural and cultural attractions;

3) accommodation and transportation;

4) the food and the degree of sympathy;

5) physical amenities and recreational activities;

6) The bars and the evening entertainment.

So, the two types of motivational forces are interdependent and interrelated and should not be neglected. The Functional theory of attitudes of Katz (1960) was adapted for tourism by Fodness (1994) who developed a scale to measure tourist motivation based on 5 dimensions: knowledge function, utilitarian function (minimisation of punishment), social-adjustive function, value-expressive function and utilitarian function (reward maximisation).

Therefore, from the anthropo-sociological perspective, tourist motivations express the search for a 'place', for 'self' and, also, for 'other'. These three motivational dimensions are conditioned by values and imaginaries that move and mobilise the tourism system (Amirou,

2007). In addition to partial disciplinary views, in this second type of perspective, the general typologies of tourism motivations can be of four types (McIntosh, 1955):

1) Physical: relaxation, sports, health;

2) Cultural: to know other countries, cultural habits, arts, history;

3) Interpersonal: finding other people, visiting friends and family, breaking the routine;

4) Status and prestige: to be recognised, appreciated, reputation.

According to Murphy (1985: 10) the general tourist motivations are:

1) Physical: Physical recovery of the body, appearance (eg, tanning), rest;

2) Cultural: Desire to know and learn about different places and people;

3) Social: associated with the acquisition of status and social prestige;

4) Imaginary or fantastic: related to the imaginary of the tourist about what they will see, do and consume in the tourist destination. When the imaginary of destiny coincides with the wishes of the tourist the motivations enter a negotiating game.

In turn, Montaner-Montejano (1991: 45) presents another general typology:

1) Physical: rest, sport, recreation, relax, well-being, health;

2) Cultural: to know other cultures and countries;

3) Social: Meet new people, visit friends or family;

4) To change routines and spaces: to break the monotony, to look for new landscapes;

5) Status and prestige: personal development, business, congresses, education, recognition;

6) Fun, for playful motives.

However, travel motivation evolves through the different stages of life-cycle (Collins and Tisdell, 2002a, 2002b, Cooper *et al.*, 2007). So, travel motivation is determined by sociodemographic variables such as: age, gender, socioeconomic level. Also, cultural factors explain travel behaviour and tourist motivation (Li, 2014). In short, nowadays, there is a multi-tourist motivation that permeates tourist practices and behaviours. We intend to highlight that the tourist motivations respond not only to psychological factors but also to: a) social problems derived from modern and contemporary societies, such

as anomie, stress, social pressure or social alienation; b) economic problems affecting the income capacity and available time of potential tourists; c) cultural problems and identity inescapable in the communication and intercultural approach of tourism practices (Pereiro & Fernandes, 2018).

When considering tourism and pilgrim experiences and motivations, pilgrimage is a symbolic ritual, a rite of passage with a metaphoric frame, a journey to a holy place (Fernández, 1974). Pilgrimages can be analysed from three perspectives: a) a functionalist perspective as a form of social cohesion and connection with the sacred; b) a performative perspective in the vein of Turner (1974) or; c) a dialectic perspective as a political field of dispute, discourse and meaning (Eade & Sallnow, 2000). From this last perspective we cannot separate pilgrimages from their social, cultural, historical, economic and political contexts. The journey can also be a fully tourism experience. For Amirou (2007), tourism is a secular form of pilgrimage, the journey to a holy place is considered a primordium of tourism.

Nowadays, pilgrimage in the most religious sense, in contact with tourism, is redefined and converted into a complex and polysemic social phenomenon (Álvarez Sousa, 1999). Many pilgrimages have become a tourist product and tourism implies emotions like those of pilgrimage (Pereiro, 2017). It is considered that both are a social practice of identities with connection between past and present (Augé, 2003). According to Pereiro (2017), tourism reconfigures the sacred in its relation to pilgrimage and creates a different category of experience which can be called touripilgrimage. In other words, pilgrimage has become a more spiritual, polysemic and multi-motivational social practice and not just a religious practice. Similar to Pereiro (2017), Collins-Kreiner (2018) also argues that the concept of pilgrimage must be holistically defined so that it can include and accommodate not only the traditional and religious concept but also secular and modern journeys.

For Singul (1999), there are five main motivations for walking the ways of Santiago de Compostela: a) traditional religious (devotion); b) cultural (medieval art, history); c) ecological (contemplation and enjoyment of the landscape and the natural environment); d) spiritual and ecumenic; e) personal (meditation on one's life). It seems that the search for spiritual growth, the need for time to reflect on possible decision-making and changes in way of life are motivations that have gained ground relative to religious motivations (Oviedo, Courcier & Farias, 2014). Briefly, there is a convergence between tourism, religion and pilgrimage in contemporary society. Far from societies becoming more secular and secular according to the social theories of secularisation (Berger, 2016), there are coexisting social and secular, religious and secular discourses and practices (Berger, 2016). In this social context, tourism does not only presents a commercial bias, but it integrates sacred and profane elements of which it is imbued and cannot neglect the fact that tourists do not abandon the sacred senses of their travels. There is a lot of religion in tourism and there is a lot of tourism in pilgrimages (Pereiro, 2017). On the other hand, motivations are also very diverse and, at the same time, impregnated with personal and social senses, as shown by Kurrat (2018).

Figure 1: Route of the Inner Portuguese Way to Santiago de Compostela

Authorized source: http://www.cpisantiago.pt/

Methodology

As a methodological strategy, anthropological field work was chosen – with the use of participant observation - complemented with open and structured interviews, as well as digital research and documentary analysis (Mead, 1987; Kenzin, 1997; Lutkehaus, 2008). This conjugation of research techniques, as well as the use of field diary, audio recorder and photography - as instruments of registration, provided an understanding of the object of study. We applied a structured interview script to touripilgrims, to social agents on the Portuguese Inner Way to Santiago de Compostela, to tourism agents, politicians and business people. As we walked the steps along the way, we were able to have a personal experience that could be analysed theoretically in the context of a self-anthropology and that allowed us to discover how the touripilgrims live the experience of the trip in the PIWSC (Galani-Moutafi, 2000).

An ethnography on the way and in movement was made by the researchers that walked the way during the fieldwork research (Ingold & Vergunst, 2008). Also, a reflexive anthropology was applied to the methodology and techniques. The research began in January 2018, with readings and bibliographical analyses on the subject. The fieldwork on the PIWSC started in May and continued in stages until September. In the fieldwork, it was possible to observe and reflect on the experiences of walking the PIWSC. It also facilitated the undertaking of 27 interviews and to note various technical and maintenance aspects and services along this way. During the field work, a quantitative analysis was carried out. As the material was being collected, transcription of interviews and the creation and separation of data into categories began. Then, in a more in-depth way, the contents of interviews, observations and field records were submitted to a categorical content analysis (Guerra, 2006).

Results

The qualitative and quantitative knowledge of this research focuses not only on the motivations of the touripilgrims but contributes to the general knowledge of this route (see Figure 1). Contrary to what is indicated on the map, the PIWSC does not start in Viseu, but in Farminhão. Thus, the first fieldwork, in May, began in Farminhão and the reference point is a riding centre that exists nearby. After about 19 km we reached the city of Viseu. In 2017, only seven touripilgrims started the way in Farminhão, most start in Viseu. The second stage brings us from Viseu to Almargem (17 km) and the third stage from Almargem to Ribolhos (about 25 km). This stage mostly travels through forests, crosses small streams and passes in relatively isolated villages; it has very long climbs, (some being 5 km in length) and is always rising. The fourth stage (about 21km) is from Ribolhos to Bigorne - here is the highest point of PIWSC, about 1,009 meters; crossing mountain villages, the route increases in altitude in the Montemuro mountain range. The fifth stage (and the last of this first foray into the field) travels from Bigorne to Lamego, which is about 18km. At this stage the signs are confused, some of the yellow arrows inside the villages are painted white and others are barely visible.

The second phase of fieldwork and walking the PIWSC, were in June, and led us from Lamego to Bertelo (Santa Marta de Penaguião) - the sixth stage of about 27 km. This stage, in the Douro valley, crosses the Douro river in the city of Peso da Régua. Then it gradually starts to rise until Bertelo. From Bertelo to Vila Real, the seventh stage is about 12 km and is quite challenging to do.

The eighth stage is from Vila Real to Parada de Aguiar (Vila Pouca de Aguiar) (about 27 km) and the ninth stage from Parada de Aguiar to Vidago is about 23 km - these stages were covered in the third foray into the field.

To finish, we did the tenth stage from Vidago to Chaves which is about 20 km and then the eleventh stage that connects Chaves to Verin. This last one has a length of 26 km and crosses the international border between Portugal and Galicia (Spain) at the village of Vilarelho da Raia. Again, we note that in the small town of Verin the arrows disappear.
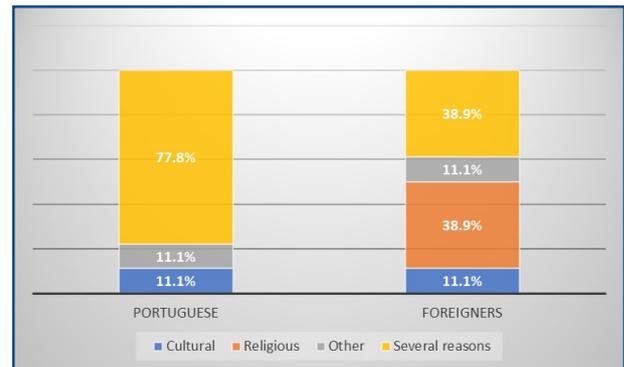
In the following section we describe the profile of the sample quantitatively. We refer to the biographical, numerical and contextualising elements about the interviewees for this work.

Regarding the profile of the sample of this work, as can be seen in Table 1, the average age of the 27(N) interviewees for this work was 48 years. 33.3% were Portuguese and 66.7% were from other countries. Of the 9 Portuguese interviewees, 3 were women and 6 were men; 4 of the 18 international informants were women and 14 were men. Overall, 3 respondents were German, 2 Italian, 2 Spanish, 2 Brazilian, 2 Irish, 2 Czech, 1 American, 1 Dutch, 1 UK, 1 Slovak and 1 Russian.

Table 1: Profile of the sample

		Avg.	N	%
Age		48		
Nationality	Portuguese		9	33,3%
	Other		18	66,7%
Motivation	Cultural		3	11,1%
	Religious		7	25,9%
	Sports		0	0,0%
	Other		3	11,1%
	Several reasons		14	51,9%
Number of times in the PIWSC	First time		18	66,7%
	Two		6	22,2%
	Three		2	7,4%
	More than three		1	3,7%
Signage		3		
Route		3		
Places of interest	Many		10	37,0%
	Few		7	25,9%
	Satisfactory		10	37,0%
Quality of the environment		4		
Preservation of cultural heritage		4		
Accommodation		3		
Catering and gastronomy		3		
Complementary cultural offer		3		
Tourist offices		3		
Stores		3		
Cleaning and maintenance of the way		3		
Security		3		
Hospitality		4		

Figure 2 : Motivation on PIWSC

Source: self-elaboration

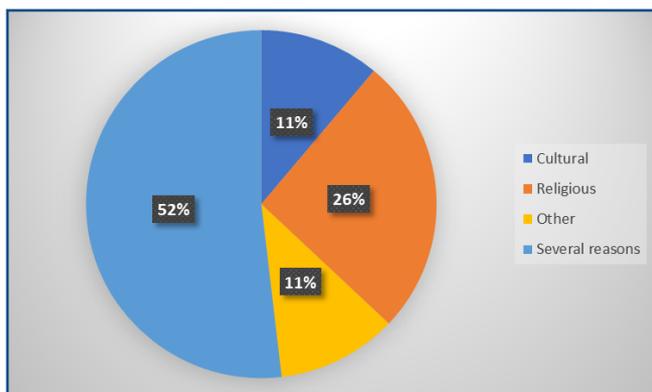**Figure 3: Motivation by nationality**

Source: self-elaboration

As a composite, we are dealing with a multi-motivational touripilgrim (51.9%) or one who walks on religious grounds exclusively (25.9%), who makes the journey for the first time in most cases (66.7%). The interviewed toupilgrims show overall satisfaction and consider that there are many places of interest along the way (74%). As for the most outstanding attributes of this way, the interviewees indicated quality of the environment, preservation of the cultural heritage and hospitality. The aspects with less emphasis are signage of the sections, the route, accommodation, catering and gastronomy, the complementary cultural offer, tourist offices, convenience stores, cleaning and maintenance of the way and security.

Looking to Figure 2, we can see that most of the touripilgrims interviewed for this study walked the PIWSC for a number of reasons (52%), double the percentage of those who did so for purely religious reasons (26%). The touripilgrims who walked this way only for cultural reasons comprise 11% of the sample. Thus, we can propose that the PIWSC touripilgrim is multi-motivational, as supported by Amaro *et al*. (2018) and Lois-González and Santos (2014).

In Figure 3 we can see that the motivations vary according to nationality, in line with what was reported by Amaro *et al*. in 2018. Thus, the Portuguese respondents indicated a greater propensity for several reasons / motivations for performing the PIWSC (77.8%); while other nationalities indicated a balance between 'several reasons' and 'religious motivation' among their main reasons.

Our qualitative analysis of touripilgrim motivations, compares the vision and perception of interviewees with our observations and self analyses when we did the PIWSC; we find that motivations are multiple. In

undertaking this research it was possible to learn from all the actors and to relate feelings, memories and experiences with our own experience in the execution of the way. Pereiro (2017) noted, that both the Portuguese touripilgrims on the PIWSC, and international travellers had multiple motivations. The reasons for choosing this way was best expressed in interviews and conversations with the touripilgrims. For the Portuguese the main forces were personal curiosity, the recommendation of friends, the proximity to their place of residence, the difference compared to other roads in Santiago (Pereiro, 2017).

International touripilgrim interviewees identified that one of the main motivations for undertaking the PIWSC, was the fact that it is a less requested way –

> *for being less known and less travelled* (female, 52 years old)

or

> *my desire was to walk off the known routes, seeking more solitude* (male, 47(a) years old).

Among the international interviewees a main motivation is the fact that they have already travelled the other routes to Santiago

> *Because I already did the other ones* (male, 68 years old).

> *I already did the other Portuguese ways* (female, 37 years old).

In relation to religious motivations, we encountered cases like this one

> *I had read many stories of people who did the way, but few with religious feeling, to understand that those ways were made by people ... a long time* [ago] *that were looking for grace or thanks ... and that the final destiny was meeting with the tomb of an apostle of Christ. It was to be in a sacred place, to be close to something a time* [with] *Jesus. My objective was to turn my faith around, overcoming all the difficulties, not only physical. What I would like to change in my life I did not know, but I wanted to try* (male, 47 years old).

We noted that the PIWSC has some touripilgrims that did it alone and most of the interviewees did the way on foot:

> *The soul goes by foot. On foot is much more relaxing. And has more opportunities to meet / speak to someone and to take nice photos* (male, 67 years old).

And some of them associate doing the way on foot to an original pilgrimage

> *I always walk, as the original pilgrims did* (male, 54 years old).

Most of the touripilgrims interviewed in this investigation poins out that poor signposting is one of the major problems of dissatisfaction and induces moments of anxiety in the touripilgrims:

> *exceptionally poor waymarking in Portugal. Half the time I wasn't sure whether I was on the right track at all. I frequently had to cut across country to the Estrada Nacional 2 to re-orient myself and start again* (male, 54 years old).

This problem of signalling may in the future - and because much of the information about the ways of Santiago is obtained through the testimonies of other pilgrims - negatively influence the motivations of those who are thinking about doing so. Most of them refer to and emphasise that the landscapes of this way plays a determining role in their motivations:

> *landscapes taken from a movie* (male, 68 years old),

or;

> *the countryside, especially on the Portuguese side. The Douro Valley is spectacular* (male, 54 years old),

or;

> *Great scenery on the Portuguese side, too much asphalt on the Spanish side* (male, 47(b) years old).

One of them, quite enthusiastically, points out that 'the beauty of PIWSC' (female, 52 years old) was the main motivation.

Discussion and Conclusion

The Portuguese Inner Way of Santiago de Compostela stands out not only for the unique characteristics of inland Portugal, but also allows us to identify components of subjective diversity. We can conclude that the multi-motivations for touripilgrimage on the PIWSC are of two types: a) the secular type, motivated by desire to escape, recovery by change, the necessity of communication, cultural knowledge and prestige; b) the religious-spiritual type influenced by sacred motivations, spiritual purification, seeking God, fulfilling a vow or promise (Pereiro, 2017). The first type is conditioned by perceptions of the influence of touripilgrimage on the quality of life of the touripilgrim and in their happiness and well-being. The second type of motivation can be understood as an end

or a means to obtain something eminently symbolic, that is, through a physical effort we recover spiritually - physical effort acts as a therapeutic mechanism for the spirit, for emotional balance. This therapeutic mechanism is associated with reflexivity - a result of the act of walking – as materialised through contact with nature, religion and new forms of spirituality. Some of these factors are welcomed and invigorated as a strategy of defence and abstraction of a certain social malaise that we live in today (Krippendorf, 2003).

In short, those who embark on this journey take the opportunity to think about the world and the current situation and end up defining small changes to be implemented in their short-term attitude. Gradually, the traditional pilgrimage to Santiago is giving place to an increasingly consistent tourist pilgrimage (Álvarez-Sousa, 1999:41; Bauman, 2003). This change makes the touripilgrims look for a human and spiritual realisation, a moral revaluation of the person, a new cult of health and the body, in addition to an exotic experience in the proximity of nature and cultural diversity. The proximity to nature noted in this study, finds scientific support in what was mentioned in Eppig (2018). The ecological habits and motivations mentioned by the touripilgrims on the PIWSC could be, like Eppig (2018: 58) said, the link to restoring our connection to the natural world as an important component of the pilgrimage experience.

This experience acts as a liminal space in an incremental ritual to put our lives in order and be born again in symbolic terms (Pereiro, 2017). The PIWSC is an inland journey through the interior of Portugal and Galicia, a new reinvention of the tradition that presents itself as an alternative heritage to other pilgrimage routes to Santiago, when some are 'massified' and saturated as is the case of the so-called French Way to Santiago (Pereiro, 2017:16). The multiple voices of the touripilgrims note a new social status upon their return and some bodily, emotional and mental memories that present the possibilities of alternative tourism enriched from spiritual, educational, personal and social perspectives. We realise that this historic way has been reinvented for the various agents involved. This process has a political, technical, economic, social and cultural basis. In order to do so, new thematic narratives have been created that resonate with the touripilgrimage and a new secular spirituality. In addition, its transformation and current conversion into a tourism product now extends its initial Christian and Catholic religious sense to new spiritual and tourist polysemous senses (Steill & Carneiro, 2011, Berger, 2016).

It is interesting to note (as highlighted also by Pereiro, 2017), that from the point of view of local development, the PIWSC is an opportunity to diversify the tourist offer and for touripilgrims this way may represent an alternative and a kind of exemplar in the re-motivation of touripilgrims of other ways to Santiago who want to experience diversity and interiority

Author Biographies

Carlos Gomes holds a BSc Degree in Social Work and MSc in Social Work – Territory and Development from University of Trás-os-Montes and Alto Douro. He studied anthropology for three years at the University of Coimbra. He collaborates in the GEOARPAD project 'Cultural Heritage of the Euro-region Galicia-Northern Portugal: Valuation and Innovation' in the sub-project: 'Portuguese Inner Way to Santiago de Compostela' at CETRAD – UTAD.

Nieves Losada holds a PhD in Tourism from the University of Vigo (Galicia, Spain) and is a post-doctoral researcher at University of Trás-os-Montes and Alto Douro (Portugal). She has worked on senior tourism motivations and barriers to travel in Spain. Her current research interests include destination image and travellers' behaviour.

Xerardo Pereiro holds a European PhD in Social Anthropology from the University of Santiago de Compostela (Galicia – Spain) and another International PhD in Tourism from the University of La Laguna (Canarias - Spain). He is an assistant teacher of anthropology (by ISCTE- Lisbon) and cultural tourism in UTAD (Portugal). He conducts research into the anthropology of tourism and cultural heritage in CETRAD (Centre for Transdiciplinary Development Studies, https://www.cetrad.utad.pt/) of UTAD. He has done fieldwork research in Asturias and Galicia (Spain), Portugal and Panama –about indigenous guna tourism-. He is the Head of Tourism First Degree Course of UTAD, and he was visitor teacher in the universities of Vigo, Coruña, Santiago de Compostela, Pablo Olavide (Seville), Salamanca, Panamá, 'Universidade Nova de Lisboa', Costa Rica, UNICAMP (Brazil) and others. He was awarded the 1994 Vicente Risco Award of Social Anthropology and Social Sciences, 2007 FITUR in research tourism and 2011 Sol-Meliá - University of Balears Islands Awards for Tourism Research. Nowadays he is doing research on the Portuguese Inner Way of Pilgrimage to

Santiago de Compostela and about Tourism in de Douro Region. Web of Curricula: http://www.degois.pt/visualizador/curriculum.jsp?key=1093500028276373

Bibliography

Álvarez-Sousa A (dir.) (1999) *Homo peregrinus*. Vigo: Xerais.

Amaro S, Antunes A and Henriques C (2018) A closer look to Santiago de Compostela´s pilgrims through the lens of motivations. *Tourism Management* 64: 271-280.

Amirou R (2007) *Imaginário turístico e sociabilidades de viagem*. Vila Nova de Gaia: Estratégias Criativas – APTUR.

Baloglu S and Uysal M (1996) Market segments of push and pull motivations: a canonical correlation approach. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management* 8(3): 32-38.

Bauman Z (2003) De peregrino a turista, o una breve historia de la identidad. In: Hall S and Du Gay P (eds) *Cuestiones de identidad cultural*. Buenos Aires: Amorrortu, 40-59.

Berger P (2016) *Los numerosos altares de la modernidad*. Salamanca: Sígueme.

Blom Th, Nilsson M and Santos X (2015) The way to Santiago beyond Santiago. Fisterra and the pilgrimage´s post-secular meaning. *European Journal of Tourism Research* 12: 133-146.

Collins D and Tisdell C (2002a) Age-related lifecycles: purpose variations. *Annals of Tourism Research* 29(3): 801-18.

Collins D and Tisdell C (2002b) Gender and differences in Travel Life Cycles. *Journal of Travel Resarch* 41: 133-43.

Collins-Kreiner, N (2018) Pilgrimage-Tourism: Common Themes in Different Religions. *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage* 6(1): 8-17.

Cooper C, Fletcher J, Fyall A, Gilbert D and Wanhill S (2007) *El Turismo: teoría y práctica*. Madrid: Síntesis.

Crompton J (1979) Motivations for pleasure vacation. *Annals of Tourism Research* 6(4): 408-24.

Crompton J and Mackay S (1997) Motives of attending festival events. *Annals of Tourism Research* 24(2): 425-439.

Dann G (1977) Anomie, Ego-enhancement and Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 4(4): 184-194.

Dann G (1981) Tourism motivation and appraisal. *Annals of Tourism Research* 9(2): 187-219.

Eade J and Sallnow M (eds) (2000) *Contesting the Sacred. The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage*. London: Routledge.

Eppig, P L (2018) Ecology of Pilgrimage: Building Socio-Ecological Community on the Way. *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage* 6(2): 50-58.

Fakeye P and Crompton J (1991) Image differences between prospective, first-time, and repeat visitors to the Lower Rio Grande Valley. *Journal of travel research* 30(2): 10-16.

Fernández J (1974) The Mission of Metaphor in Expressive Culture. *Current Anthropology* 15(2): 119-145.

Fodness D (1994) Measuring tourist motivation. *Annals of Tourism Research* 21(3): 555-581.

Galani-Moutafi V (2000) The self and the other: Traveller, ethnographer, tourist. *Annals of tourism Research* 27(1): 203-224.

García-Mas A and García-Mas A (2005) *La Mente del Viajero. Características psicológicas de viajeros y turistas*. Madrid: Thomson.

Guerra I (2006) *Pesquisa Qualitativa e Análise de conteúdos: sentido e formas de uso*. Lisboa: Principia.

Hernández Ramírez J (2015) La ruta turística como estrategia de producción de la diferencia territorial. In Actas IX Jornadas de Patrimonio Histórico y Cultural de la provincia de Sevilla. Itinerarios y rutas culturales. Sevilla,Casa de la Provincia – Diputación de Sevilla, 111-127.

Ingold T and Vergunst J L (eds.) (2008) *Ways of Walking. Ethnography and Practice on Foot*. Aldershot: Asghate.

Kenzin N (1997) *Interpretative Ethnography. Ethnographic Practices for the 21st Century*. London: Sage.

Kim S and Lee C (2002) Push and pull relationships. *Annals of Tourism Research* 29(1): 257-260.

Klenosky D (2002) The 'pull' of tourism destinations: a means-end investigation. *Journal of Travel Research* 40: 385-395.

Krippendorf J (2003) *Sociologia do Turismo. Para uma nova compreensão do lazer e das viagens*. São Paulo: Aleph.

Kurrat C (2018) Biographical motivations of pilgrims on the Camino de Santiago, in Book of Abstracts 10th Annual International Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage (IRTP) Conference, 27th-30th June 2018. Santiago de Compostela, University of Santiago de Compostela, p. 37 (see also, paper by Kurrat in this Issue).

Lee S and Sparks B (2007) Cultural influences on travel lifestyle: A comparison of Korean Australians and Koreans in Korea. *Tourism Management* 28: 505-518.

Li M (2014) Cross-cultural tourist research: a meta-analysis. *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Research* 38(1): 40-77.

Lois-González R and Santos X (2014) Tourism and pilgrims on their way to Santiago. Motives, caminos and final destinations. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 13 (2): 149-164.

Lutkehaus N (2008) *Margaret Mead. The Making of an American Icon*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

McIntosh A and Thyne M (2005) Understanding tourist behavior using Means-end chain theory. *Annals of Tourism Research* 32(1): 259-262.

Martín C (2014) El Camino de Santiago Primitivo a su paso por Asturias. Estudio de una ruta cultural desde la perspectiva turística. *Cuadernos de Turismo* 33: 233-249.

Maslow A (1954) *Motivation and personality*. New York: Harper & Row.

Mead M (1987) *Experiencias personales y científicas de una antropóloga*. Barcelona: Paidós.

Montaner-Montejano J (1991) *Estructura del mercado turístico*. Madrid: Síntesis.

Murphy P (1985) *Tourism. A Community Approach*. London: Methwen.

Oh H, Uysal M and Weaver P (1995) Product bundles and market segments based on travel motivations: a canonical correlation approach. *International Journal of Hospitality Management* 14(2): 123-37.

Oviedo L, De Courcier S and Farias M (2014) Rise of Pilgrims on the Camino to Santiago: Sign of Change or Religious Revival? *Review of Religious Research* 56(3): 433-442.

Özdemir C and Yolal M (2017) Cross-cultural tourist behavior: An examination of tourists' behavior in guided tours. *Tourism and Hospitality Research* 17(3): 314-324.

Pearce P (1988) *The Ulysses Factor: Evaluating Visitors in Tourist Settings*. New York: Springer-Verlag.

Pereiro X (2017) Turiperegrinos portugueses no Caminho Português Interior de Santiago de Compostela. *Revista Turismo & Desenvolvimento* 27/28: 413-423.

Pereiro X and Fernandes F (2018) *Antropologia e Turismo: Teorias, métodos e praxis*. Tenerife: PASOS, RTPC.

Plog S (1974) Why destination areas rise and fall in popularity. *The Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly* 4: 55-58.

Plog S (1977) Why destination areas fall and rise in popularity. In Kelly E and Edward M (eds) *Domestic and International Tourism*. Massachusetts: Wellesley.

Plog S (2001) Why destination areas rise and fall in popularity. *Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly* 42(3): 13-24.

Plog S (2002) The power of psychographics and the concept of venturesomeness. *Journal of Travel Research* 40: 244-251.

Plog S (2016) Travel personality types. Available at: http://besttripchoices.com/travel-personalities/

Pyo S, Mihalik B and Uysal M (1989) Attraction attributes and motivations: a canonical correlation analysis. *Annals of Tourism Research* 16(2): 277-282.

Singul F (1999) *O Caminho de Santiago: a peregrinação ocidental na Idade Média.* Rio de Janeiro: Editorial da UERJ.

Smith S (1990) A test of Plog's allocentric/psychocentric model: evidence from seven nations. *Journal of Travel Research* 28(4): 40-43.

Snepenger D, King J, Marshall E and Uysal M (2006) Modeling Iso-Ahola's Motivation Theory in the Tourism Context. *Journal of Travel Research* 45: 140-149.

Steil C and Carneiro S (org.) (2011) *Caminhos de Santiago no Brasil. Interfaces entre turismo e religião*. Rio de Janeiro: Contracapa Livraria.

Turner V (1974) *O processo ritual: estrutura e antiestrutura*. Petrópolis: Vozes.

Uysal M and Jurowski C (1994) Testing the push and pull factors. *Annals of Tourism Research* 21(4): 844-846.

Wu C (2003) An exploratory study of taiwanese seniors´ travel motivations and travel behaviour. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Kansas State University.