

2021

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Recommended Citation

Santos, Xose M. (2021) "The Way of St. James in Religious Tourism Research," *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage*: Vol. 9: Iss. 6, Article 11.

doi:<https://doi.org/10.21427/jx2k-hk69>

Available at: <https://arrow.tudublin.ie/ijrtp/vol9/iss6/11>

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Cover Page Footnote

This research was supported by the Chair of Camino de Santiago y de las Peregrinaciones of the University of Santiago de Compostela

The Way of St. James in Religious Tourism Research

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The Camino de Santiago as a tourist and cultural phenomenon has grown exponentially in recent decades. This route, of medieval origin, began to receive general attention in the second half of the 20th century. This interest manifested itself almost in parallel in two interconnected areas. On the one hand, there is the revival of traditional pilgrimages, i.e. on foot or by non-mechanised means of transport. On the other hand, the Way of St. James has become an object of attention in research, initially with a historical and artistic focus, but as time goes by, a tourist perspective is incorporated into the increasingly important field of relations between tourism and religion.

The value of this article, which is not strictly research, lies in the fact that it brings together and collates all scientific production, in book or journal article format, which deals with the relationship between tourism and the Pilgrims' Route to Santiago de Compostela. It is, therefore, a very useful tool for researchers who will find in one article a large volume of texts on this subject. From the methodological point of view, a search has been carried out which, in the case of books, has focused mainly on those publishers with specific collections of tourism studies. However, the greatest effort has been focused on journals, with the analysis of those with the highest impact factor. Although tourism journals have occupied a relevant place in this research, we have also analysed others, including those related to religious studies, geography or sociology. The final result is materialised in an appendix which includes the complete record, including the DOI or url for better location, of 180 texts. The content of these texts allows us to verify the international relevance of the Way of St. James in tourism and religious studies and the transversality and complexity of the Jacobean phenomenon.

Key Words: Camino de Santiago, journals, books, bibliography, research

Introduction

The Way of St. James, otherwise known as the Camino de Santiago, and all that surrounds this phenomenon has been the object, in the last three decades, of considerable attention, ranging from pure media outputs to the academic. From the research point of view, the richness emanating from this itinerary serves as a focus of interest for numerous professionals who analyse the Camino de Santiago from different angles. History, art, landscapes, social relations, religiosity, economy or urban development along the ways are some of the aspects that have been studied the most. But also there is a solid literature related to tourism, a complex activity, typical of contemporary times, which has become one of the most relevant in today's world.

1993 is usually cited as the starting point for the recovery of the traditional pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, and although nuanced, this is true. During much of

the 20th century, and before that date, it is possible to find mass events in Santiago, as well as government programs that promote, for example, the opening of accommodation along the route. However, these actions are fundamentally limited to the holy years and the use of modern modes of transportation. Only a few people who were studious or curious about the enormous relevance that this phenomenon had held in Europe, especially in the Middle Ages, began to delve into the timeless value of this itinerary. Thus, through research and the re-creation of traditional pilgrimages, the groundwork was being laid for a solid recovery of the Jacobean phenomenon.

In different parts of Europe and the United States in the second half of the 20th century, small groups of people began to emerge and contribute to strengthening the knowledge of the Camino de Santiago, recovering the traditional routes and rites, and even living the experience of walking to Santiago. Then, in 1993 almost one hundred

thousand pilgrims arrived in Santiago on foot, this fact cannot be valued only for the success of the promotional campaigns which led to this figure. Behind this number there is the long and arduous work of many people, some already grouped around the associations of friends of the Camino, and other such institutions. Among the latter, the most visible are the Council of Europe, which in 1987 recognised the value of the Camino in relation to the construction and identity of the continent, and UNESCO with their declaration of the city of Santiago de Compostela first and then the Camino de Santiago as an important element of World Heritage.

Following the success which was reached in 1993, continuity in the massive arrival of pilgrims led to numerous reflections related to the idea of how a medieval itinerary, initially of a religious nature, could acquire such momentum in a historical moment like the present, characterised by the complexity of the world and in which religion is an increasingly less widespread practice. Moreover, it seemed inevitable to link the pilgrimage to Santiago with tourism, a phenomenon that is characteristic of the most advanced contemporary societies. On some occasions we witnessed mistrust of this linkage to the extent that the pilgrimage is understood as a journey to a sacred place motivated exclusively by faith. In other words, it has nothing to do with tourism, which, while this always involves movement, was understood to be motivated by hedonistic reasons that have little to do with religion.

However, whether from an academic or empirical point of view, the relationship between pilgrimage and tourism seemed more and more obvious: the Camino de Santiago can be described as a good example of the direct connection that this itinerary maintains with the tourism sector. The 1993 Holy Year, in addition to other circumstances, based part of its success on a promotional campaign and the design of activities typical of any major event, including the creation of a mascot. The progressive incorporation of the hotel and hospitality sector and tourist services in general only served to highlight the strength of the tourist side of the Way of St. James. Also, the inclusion, in the Galician case, of a large part of the public management of the Way in the Galician Tourism Board, made clear the touristic perspective of the Jacobean phenomenon in which the Church also participates, for example through the sale of souvenirs or the supply of accommodation.

This reality, which is not exclusive to the Camino de Santiago, was also seen from very early on by scholars. The pilgrimages to Santiago had been of interest mainly to medievalists who, from a historical perspective, analysed the cultural value of the route and its contributions to the construction of the idea of Europe. Alongside this dominant literature, whose paradigm is the work of Vázquez de Parga, Lacarra and Uría (1948), published just before the middle of the 20th century, we find some lighter, but equally valuable examples, aimed at a wider public and which include tourist and historical-artistic references. This would be the case of Elías Valiño, among others, an eminent figure of contemporary Jacobean culture and author of academic works, such as his own doctoral thesis¹, and of popularisation, as well as a prominent activist in the recovery of the pilgrimage.

Nevertheless, the reflections and research that connect the tourist and religious phenomena did not begin until somewhat later. Part of this delay lies in the previously mentioned consideration of a different nature, which was understood to exist, between tourism and pilgrimage. This collision can be seen in Román López y López's Guide (1915), originally written for English-speaking customers in 1911 (*Through Galicia to Santiago de Compostela*), whose Spanish title is *Santiago de Compostela. Guía del peregrino y turista*. Another interesting example is the article by Lasserre (1930) which, from an academic perspective, and in the French case of Lourdes, tries to highlight the difference between the tourist and pilgrim, even if the latter makes use of tourist services. Some decades later, Dupront (1967) continued his efforts to highlight the characteristics that separate one from the other, although he pointed out that in a global framework both phenomena fall within the scope of human migrations. And, in any case, Dupront (1967) also points out that pilgrimage attracts tourism and that the Catholic Church itself discovered mass tourism.

It was only a few years after the publication of Dupront's article (1967) that Turner's text appeared in 1973 and was followed by Turner and Turner in 1978, in which the similarities between tourism and pilgrimage became clearer and clearer. This debate, with different points of view, was enriched by contributions from authors such as Theilmann (1987) and Eade (1992) or, more contemporarily, Collins-Kreiner (2010), among other

1 Valiño E (1964-65) *Camino de Santiago, el Cebrero: de Villafranca del Bierzo a Triacastela: estudio histórico-jurídico*. Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca. <https://doi.org/10.36576/summa.7887>

specialists, who in different research studies deepened and assumed these connections, thus consolidating a line of research on tourism and pilgrimages. The visibility of this orientation is manifested in the appearance of an academic journal that explicitly combines tourism and pilgrimage: the *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage*. There are even those who speak of pilgrimages as one of the oldest, if not the oldest, forms of tourism (Esteve Secall, 2002). However, there are still suspicions about the porosity between the two concepts, as shown in an article by Palmer, Begley and Coe (2012).

On the other side of these interesting theoretical considerations, research focuses on the practice in some of the most significant European sacred spaces, such as Lourdes or Fatima. However, the volume of walkers on the routes to Santiago places this group of routes at the backbone of many of the studies. The Way of St. James appears as the focus of research that discovers or reinforces some interesting lines: the adaptation of old itineraries to the new motivations and needs that guide contemporary life; the creation of a new heritage category, cultural itineraries, which contribute to peace and inter-cultural dialogue; or the different manifestations of religiosity expressed in cultural practices such as tourism, among others.

From an academic perspective, the final result of the relations between tourism and religion has been the multiplication of research and publications that try to explain and understand the complexity of these links, their consequences, the meaning of sacred spaces for tourism or the connections between travel and the well-being of populations in all their dimensions. Authors such as Collins- Kreiner (2020) or Durán Sánchez *et al.* (2018, 2019) analyse the vast volume of academic texts that in recent years have paid attention to the phenomenon of religious tourism. In this context, the Camino de Santiago, as one of the clearest manifestations of these relationships, will occupy a central place as an object of research, as we can see in the results of this work.

Methodology

The original aim of this work is to make a compilation of all academic publications that focus on the tourist component of the Camino de Santiago. However, this clear line presents many nuances that sometimes complicate the selection process for the texts. Before entering into the description of the search through

publishers and journals, it is necessary to define those topics and types of publications that were included in the searches carried out. It may be easier to start with those that were excluded.

In terms of content, only those texts in which the Camino de Santiago, or the Jacobean phenomenon, appeared as the central object of research from a tourist perspective were evaluated. This implies that works of a general nature that, from different approaches such as history or art, analyse various aspects of the Camino were excluded. This group could include classical authors with a great knowledge of Jacobean culture, such as Paolo Caucci, Robert Plötz, Yves Bottineau or Adeline Rucquoi. However, the choice between inclusion and exclusion is not always easy. Interesting works such as Frey's (1998) or Sánchez and Hesp's (2016) generated many doubts as to whether or not they should be included. In the end, we opted to reference them, even though we are aware that their contents do not always fit our objectives. The decision was based on subjective criteria considering their usefulness to help understand the tourist gaze on the pilgrimage to Santiago.

Despite their obvious connection with tourism, the numerous guidebooks on the Camino were also not the object of our attention. There are many, from the oldest, dating back to the beginning of the 20th century, to those appearing more and more frequently in the 1980s, and they cover multiple proposals, some of a general nature and others focused on specific territories. It is sometimes difficult to classify certain texts in which traditions, histories and descriptions of the route are mixed, as is the case of Stone's work (1927). Our interest lies in those works that focus on the analysis and academic study of the Camino de Santiago as a contemporary tourist phenomenon and for that reason we consider that the tourist guides of the Jacobean routes have a very different function to the one we intend with this work.

Also excluded was any bibliography that analyses the phenomenon of pilgrimage, in general, in relation to tourism. As we have already said, this is a topic that has become more relevant in recent years. In many of the articles or book chapters that address this issue, the Camino de Santiago is often used as an example. However, it is not the central focus of the paper, hence the decision taken; only when there is a broad approach to the example is the text included in our selection. Likewise, works that deal with the city of Santiago were not considered because

we do not want to repeat the mistake of confusing the route with the final destination. However, we did take into account those works that approach the impact of the pilgrimage or, more specifically, the holy years on the city of Santiago de Compostela.

After this filtering, what remains are those texts in which tourism and the Camino de Santiago, including the final destination, are the central focus of the research. Even so, the search was not easy. Regardless of the difficulties generated by the exclusions mentioned previously, we found some works that were much more ambiguous in their content than we would have liked. This is the case, for example, in those that analyse religious tourism and pilgrimage in general, but whose main or outstanding case is Santiago. In these texts we had to assess whether the representativeness of the Camino de Santiago was sufficient to select it. On other occasions, the tourist perspective is combined with others of a different nature, such as the religious perspective, which made us doubt whether that article or that chapter is really consistent with our objectives. An example would be the paper by Roszak (2020) which reflects on the religious character of the Camino but which is included in a monographic issue of the journal *Religions* entitled *Faith in Spiritual and Heritage Tourism*.

A second set of difficulties stemmed from the type of academic publications on which to focus our efforts. It was clear to us that the priority would be journals as the most widespread and relevant means of knowledge transfer. The choice of the most appropriate ones is another issue that we will leave for a later stage. Alongside journals are books and book chapters, a much more complex format to identify. This is because, unlike journals, which are controlled by a limited number of publishers and universities, in the case of books, in addition to the different corporations, there are a large number of public institutions (e.g. provincial councils in the case of Spain) and private institutions (e.g. foundations) that publish a multiplicity of works that are difficult to access. Although quantitatively the volume of books is smaller, the search was more complicated, despite the fact that the research channels were narrowed down considerably.

In addition to journals and books, academic production offers other alternatives to present results in other formats. Unfortunately, the channels of access are much more limited, for example doctoral theses, master's theses or dissertations. We managed to locate some research papers

defended at the time in universities in many parts of the world and from different doctoral programs, from masters or from degrees, addressing the Camino de Santiago in its tourist perspective². All this grey literature is of great interest although not always available for consultation. Undoubtedly, and in the Spanish case, doctoral theses are the easiest documents to track down thanks to the Teseo database³. The problem caused by this exclusion is partly compensated by the fact that PhD theses and, to a lesser extent, Master's theses, are usually fully or partially published as books or articles. In fact, we have identified some texts in this sense, as well as others that come from research projects.

Finally, with regard to the format of publications, those derived from conferences and seminars were also excluded. These types of meetings began to develop mainly from the 1980s onwards and multiplied in the following decade with a wide variety of approaches, from those organised by associations of *Friends of the Way* or associations of Jacobean studies to others of a disciplinary nature, such as sociology or geography. Their large number and their geographical and thematic dispersion make a systematic search very difficult. Moreover, published proceedings do not always exist and, if they do, their availability can be very limited⁴. Fortunately, it is becoming increasingly common for the most valuable contributions to appear in journals. For example, the *International Journal of Religious Tourism*

2 These are some examples:

Morales Urrutia XA (2017) *Las rutas turísticas culturales como factor para el desarrollo de las áreas rurales. Análisis comparado del Camino de Santiago (Galicia-España) y el sistema Vial Andino (Ecuador)*. Doctoral Thesis-USC.

Marqués Pereira MN (2014) *Sistemas de informação geográfica e realidade aumentada em turismo: Guia interativo do Caminho Português de Santiago em Barcelos*. Doctoral Thesis-USC.

Carneiro S (2003) *Rumo a Santiago de Compostela: os sentidos de uma moderna peregrinação*. Doctoral Thesis-UFRJ (Rio de Janeiro).

Hori I (2011) *Estudio comparativo sobre el Camino de Santiago y el Camino de Kumano*. Master's Thesis-USC.

Nadais C (2010) *O turismo e os territórios da espiritualidade. Os Caminhos de Santiago em Portugal*. Master's Thesis-University of Coimbra.

3 <https://www.educacion.gob.es/teseo/irgestionarconsulta.do>

4 One example of proceedings is: Gómez Ullate M, Ochoa Siguencia L, Álvarez García J, del Río Rama MC and Ochoa Daderska R (2017) *Cultural management and governance for European pilgrimage routes, religious tourism and thermal tourism*. Czestochowa: Publishing House of the Research and Innovation in Education Institute.

and Pilgrimage draws heavily on the papers presented at its annual conferences. On an annual basis, or even more regularly, we have scientific meetings on geography, anthropology, economics, and even some specific ones on tourism, in which there are contributions on tourism and the Way of St. James. In this way, we managed to locate some texts although they were not included, mainly due to the difficulty of accessing them, since they are often part of proceedings books which are not widely disseminated. The main exception was the inclusion in the final list of texts on tourism that formed part of the publication of the International Geography Conference on the Way of St. James and the territory, held in 1993. This is because they are the first texts on tourism and the Pilgrims' Route to Santiago de Compostela. We also found other contributions derived from scientific meetings in different fields, geography, sociology, anthropology, etc., although, as indicated, they were not included in this study.

At this point, and having an understanding of the exclusion (and therefore inclusion) criteria, it is necessary to specify the search process, starting with the journals. Given the international dimension achieved by the Camino de Santiago, it would be unreasonable to focus only on those published in Spain. We were therefore steered towards a choice of the most widespread and prestigious journals. For this we had two options related to the most authoritative indicators, Scopus and the Journal Citation Report in its tourism subfields. The first of these indexes, Scopus, includes 153 journals in the Tourism, Leisure and Hospitality Management ranking, so we opted for the 56 that appear under the umbrella of Hospitality, Leisure, Sport and Tourism in JCR, which is considered a more restrictive indicator.

Before starting the search among JCR-indexed journals, we decided to begin the process with the *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage*, as it is the only journal specialising in tourism and religion. The results were surprising, as a significant volume of articles emerged with very diverse authorship in terms of geographical origin, subject matter and academic background of the authors responsible for the texts. Next, and in a descending order from quartile 1 to 4, we worked on each of the JCR journals following a method that consisted of a search using keywords such as Compostela, Galicia, Pilgrimage, Camino, Jacobean, etc. From the total number of indexed journals, those specialising in sport were excluded after verifying,

through their contents, that their orientation does not allow for the inclusion of texts such as those we were looking for.

Once the review of the most prestigious international tourism journals had been completed, we repeated the process with Spanish journals, selecting those with the widest dissemination and the best considered in impact factor. In this case, their number was much smaller, although they also contributed to enriching the database. As the English and Spanish language offer (referring to the Spanish case) had been covered, we considered it interesting to include other languages spoken in countries with a long tradition of pilgrimage to Santiago. Specifically Portuguese, French and Italian. In the first case, the volume of periodical publications is small, so the search was quick. In France, the academic publishing market is more traditional and we did not find any journals specialising in tourism. Finally, in Italy, we focused our efforts on a journal centred on tourism and culture in which religion and cultural itineraries are a frequent part of its contents.

With the searches in tourism journals, which totalled just over 30, we already had a significant volume of articles. Moreover, the multidisciplinary nature of these publications is connected to the varied academic backgrounds of the authors; economics, business, sociology, geography, communication, and cultural studies are all represented in the selected texts. However, we went a step further, this time linked to our own training as geographers. We know that from this discipline many efforts were devoted to the study of tourism, as shown by the high presence of these professionals in tourism journals. However, in certain countries such as Spain, Portugal and, above all, France, the traditional structure of journals is still very much alive. In other words, to a large extent, they are still more generalist publications linked to university institutions. For this reason, we selected the most important journals in each of the three countries to proceed, following the same methodology, to search for articles on tourism and the Way of Saint James.

Still in the field of journals we were missing four further steps that would serve to complement the information. The first was to look at religious journals. Aware of the relevance that the Camino de Santiago holds in international literature, we understood that it would not be strange that in academic journals specialising in

religious subjects there was content close to the focus of our objective. Once again, we selected those publications closest to the interests of this research that were included in the above-mentioned indexes. We did not find any specific category in JCR, but we did find one in Scopus under Religious Studies.. Under this heading we found a total of 537 journals which is an unrealistic number for this research. Considering the specificity of many of the titles, which are far from our interests (e.g. New Testament Studies, Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World, etc.), we selected those journals that were in higher impact positions and which referred to social or general content, such as Religions or Religious Studies.

The second step in this final stage was to carry out a search through Google Scholar by entering key words and terms. Although many of the results were already known, we also accessed new articles that had not appeared before. In addition to journals, some books and publications emerged that had not been visible until then.

We then went on to the third and penultimate step, which consisted of reviewing the bibliography of 30 articles. Specifically, the 10 oldest, the 10 most recent and another 10 for the intermediate period were selected. In this way, it was possible to access more local references or references located in lesser-known publications.

Finally, as a fourth and final step, other articles were added to the database which, due to our specialisation, were known but scattered in other general or very specialised publications. In this last step, we also added some journals published in Galicia which are linked to different fields of knowledge but which focus on topics related to socio-economic and humanistic disciplines. This group included journals such as *Sémata*, *Minius*, *Revista Galega de Economía* or *Ad Limina*, which is specifically oriented towards research on the Pilgrim's Way to Santiago de Compostela and pilgrimages.

Articles constitute the bulk of this work. Without considering individual searches, such as those carried out using Google Scholar, a total of more than one hundred journals were reviewed, from which a total of 143 articles published in 50 journals were selected, the most prolific being the *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage*, which accounts for slightly more than 20% of the total number of articles. The rest are dispersed in such a way that 85% of the journals published only 1 or 2 articles on the Camino de Santiago.

Alongside journals, books or book chapters make up the core of this project. As we have already pointed out, the book format is much less popular at the moment and so the process of finding books was much more difficult. The main criterion was to work through publishers with specific tourism collections, such as Routledge or Síntesis, in the case of Spain. In this process, we only found one case with a specific line of publications on religious tourism, the British based publisher CABI. This forced us to seek alternative routes that basically followed the same three final steps that we explained for the case of the journals: the use of Google Scholar, a bibliographic review under the same conditions as those mentioned for the journals, and the personal knowledge we had of the subject.

A final problem with books lay in knowing how to compile a file for each text. It is common for books to be no more than a compilation of chapters by different authors. In the case that a book has a unit in which all of its chapters deal with tourism and the Camino de Santiago, what was cited was the whole book and not its parts. However, when only some parts of the book meet the objectives of our work, only those pages are referenced.

Results

As stated, from an academic point of view, the Camino de Santiago was the object of attention long before the boom of contemporary pilgrimages in 1993. However, what was of interest at that time, in the mid-twentieth century, was its historical and artistic value, not only as a religious phenomenon in the strictest sense, but also a cultural one. This is manifested in the production of research works as well as the revival of pilgrimages which, in addition to the religious spirit, sought to recreate a tradition of singular value for Europe, often recovering the symbols of the walkers of other centuries. A large part of this movement can also be linked to medieval studies. In fact, the intellectual interest that arose around the Jacobean world was largely inspired by medievalists, not necessarily Galician or Spanish, but from different countries such as France or the United States.

The work of these pioneers was vital to understanding what happened from 1993 onwards. This is because their work, in addition to their contributions in terms of knowledge, gave rise to the return of pilgrims with a historical awareness of the event they were carrying out and, consequently, of material actions for the recovery of

the routes. Often these people interested in the Jacobean world organised themselves into associations that focused their efforts on study and research, also working on the preservation of pilgrimage routes, traditions and, finally, on the dissemination of the phenomenon in all its facets.

However, linking the emerging phenomenon of pilgrimages with tourism, in its practical and theoretical facets, is quite a different matter. We have already mentioned how, from the 1970s onwards, academic circles began to discuss the connections between tourism, religion and pilgrimage. Nevertheless, we still do not find specific references to tourism and the routes that lead to Santiago, which continue to be analysed fundamentally from a historical and artistic perspective. In fact, it was not until the 1990s that we began to see these connections with tourism in an obvious way, albeit with nuances. For example, the oldest text cited in this article is from 1990 and appears in the journal *Estudios Turísticos* (Tourist Studies) published by the Spanish ministry responsible for this activity. Despite the general title of the publication, the content of Mariñas Otero's work (1990) on the Camino refers to art and culture, and excludes tourism aspects.

From a more strictly tourist perspective, the oldest texts we cite are from 1993, when, taking advantage of the event of the Holy Year and its great popularity, a multitude of scientific meetings were organised. From the publication of the results of one of these conferences, a small group of papers specifically linking tourism and the Pilgrim's Way appear in the book of proceedings. We are referring to the geography conference on the Pilgrims' Roads to Santiago and the territory (de Torres Luna, Pérez Alberti & Lois González, 1993), which includes tourism as a sub-theme for the first time. To be precise, there are 5 papers on the topic in this volume. However, the lack of references in the research, which often occurred due to the difficulties of accessing international bibliographies, means that in some of these articles the Camino de Santiago was only an excuse to talk about other subjects, although, in other cases, there is an effort to consider the pilgrimages to Santiago as an opportunity to strengthen tourism and create a new and appealing offer. A year later, Blanco and Garrido (1994) published a small book containing statistics on the influx of tourists to Santiago during the Holy Year, which, for the first time, provided an approximate profile of visitors to the city, including pilgrims, in addition to the figures from the Pilgrims' Office.

With this background and growing debates on tourism and religion, the relevance of the Jacobean phenomenon was becoming increasingly more interesting as an object of research, which is reflected in the progressive multiplication of studies. Thus, in 1997 Murray and Graham, and Graham and Murray published two articles in which the Way of St. James and tourism are connected, despite the contradictions and conflicts that may arise from this relationship. Of the two, the one by Murray and Graham (1997) is particularly significant because it appeared in the journal *Tourism Management*, which is still considered today to be one of the most prestigious international journals in tourism studies. But despite this growing interest, there are still very few examples that we can cite from the 1990s. Among them is the article by Santos (1999) in the *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Geografía*, the journal with the largest readership among this professional group; or the book edited by Álvarez Sousa (1999), which provides specific reflections and data on the pilgrimage to Santiago with a clear tourism component.

The consolidation of the Jacobean phenomenon has meant that since the year 2000 what were previously almost anecdotes have been multiplying, although it is true that the real boom would come from 2010 onwards. We found more and more texts, especially articles, either in journals specialising in tourism or in others linked to professional groups in which tourism is an object of interest. The final result of this search was the incorporation of a total of 180 citations, of which approximately 80% are articles, 15% book chapters and 5% books.

Analysis

As already mentioned, the only exception to these two formats (journals and books) is represented by the papers presented at the *International Geographical Congress on the Way of St. James and the Territory*. Its pioneering nature in the treatment of the relationship between tourism and pilgrimage to Santiago led us to add, as an exception, the proceedings of this international meeting held in Santiago in 1993, recorded as book chapters. A working paper from the University of Santiago de Compostela was also incorporated and included among the books. In terms of authorship, almost 200 different contributors were counted. In reality, there are more, since the book format corresponds, in most cases, to works by compendium, which would increase the number even more.

Quantifying this interest, we observe that slightly less than 3% of the texts correspond to the five-year period 2000-04. For the previous period, i.e. from 1990 to 1999, this value is almost 7%. It is somewhat higher because several texts correspond to the proceedings of the International Geographical Conference on the Way of St. James and the Territory, held in 1993, which was referenced in an exceptional way. In any case, for the period 1990-2004 there is a specific profile in which books or journals not specialised in tourism are quite prominent. Even so, we already find the first texts in high impact journals such as *Tourism Management*, *Tourism Geographies* or *Tourism Recreation Research*.

From the following five years onwards, the scientific production on the Camino de Santiago and tourism multiplied. 8% of the cases were produced in the period 2005-2009, almost 20% of the total in the following quinquennium (five years) and nearly 50% for the years from 2015 to 2019. This trend continues in such a way that in 2020 alone, plus the first months of 2021, over 13% of the total publications referenced in this article were produced. Even if we select the years 2019, 2020 and the first months of 2021 we have just over 30% of the total, which gives us an idea of the momentum and strength that the Camino de Santiago has as an object of tourism research in recent years, which also manifests the richness of approaches and internationalisation more clearly.

Some further consideration needs to be given with respect to the texts included in this study to reaffirm not only the quantitative importance of the tourist perspective of the Camino, but also the internationalisation of the phenomenon and the qualitative value it possesses as a paradigmatic example of various aspects of contemporary culture. On the first point, internationalisation, the geographical origin of the authors of the texts is varied. Although in many cases we can only be guided by certain characteristics that give us clues but do not guarantee the place of origin (such as surname, university or place of work), we can observe great diversity. It is true that if we look at the most repeated authorships, such as Pereiro, Lopez, Lois or Santos, we can see that they are linked to Galician universities. Especially in recent years, the popularity acquired by the Camino in Portuguese and, in some cases, Brazilian research is noticeable. The rest of the texts cover, in terms of authorship, very diverse origins ranging from the United States to Bulgaria, Poland, Korea and Sweden.

Likewise, the publishers are very varied and include, whether books or chapters of books, or articles, some of the most prestigious in the academic world. For example, in the field of books, we find texts in Springer, Routledge and CABI, all three of which have a great reputation in the scientific production of tourism. If we refer to articles, we again note the presence of research in some of the journals with the highest impact in the most widely recognised classifications, such as *Annals of Tourism Research* or *Tourism Management*, as well as others of a less sectoral nature. However, it is necessary to highlight the *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage* which, especially in recent years, has in the Camino de Santiago one of the most representative topics, with 30 articles between the first volume of 2013 and the last number consulted in 2021.

We also wanted to look at the background of the people who wrote the texts, although the results were rather ambiguous due to the fact that this information does not always appear and, when it does, it often only indicates the university department to which the researcher belongs. In any case, we observed a great transversality, typical of publications in tourism, with a great deal of activity on the part of geography, economics, sociology, anthropology and cultural studies, among others.

As already noted, many of the texts appear in journals or in high-impact factor publications, in some cases the most reputable in their respective fields. Another characteristic, which to some extent has already been mentioned, is that English is the language most used in the texts: 62% for journals, 36.6% for books and 58.3% for book chapters. The rest corresponds mainly to Spanish (25% for journals) and, to a lesser extent, Portuguese, Galician or French. Some texts in languages such as Hungarian, Polish and Bulgarian were found but were not included because it was difficult to identify the content. In German, one book was cited because of the connections of its content with the objectives of this work.

In terms of journals, 57.8% are tourism journals, including the *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage*; 13.5% are geography journals and a slightly lower volume corresponds to religious studies. Finally, just over 16% are journals in other fields such as economics, communication or marketing. As for books and book chapters, we observe a very transversal character and a relatively large presence of publishers

and texts also written in Galician. This is especially important in the earliest books, when the Jacobean phenomenon had not yet reached its current dimensions, but the first reflections were starting to emerge and were often expressed in works supported by the Galician government.

In short, and as a summary of the main results obtained, we can highlight the abundant scientific production on the relationship between tourism and the pilgrimage to Santiago. This richness and diversity is mainly manifested in academic journals, where we found 140 articles published mainly in tourism journals, but also in religion and other social disciplines. In addition, it should be noted that these are often journals with high impact factors, with a wide circulation, predominately in English and with authors of varied academic backgrounds and geographical origins. In the monographic book format, the offer is more limited, but this is not the case for book chapters, where the presence of texts on tourism and the Pilgrims' Route to Santiago is notable in specialised collections of prestigious publishers.

Conclusions

The extensive literature review carried out in this work allows us to conclude that the success of the Way of St. James as a pilgrimage route linked to contemporary times cannot only be measured in terms of walkers or economic and social impact. Its study as a tourist phenomenon related to new offers, for example with cultural itineraries, or with the current needs of the market, shows the relevance acquired. It can be asserted that the Jacobean routes have notably enriched tourism research by proving to be a means of innovation in the practice and management of tourism activity.

It was not by chance that the Way of St. James was named by the Council of Europe as the first European Cultural Itinerary and that UNESCO declared it a World Heritage Site. These recognitions boosted its academic interest and also served as inspiration for the recovery

or development of other routes. At the same time, the success of the Camino de Santiago served to increasingly highlight the links between tourism and religion, both of which are in a continuous process of adaptation, fluidly connecting to the complexities of postmodern societies.

The results obtained in this research show that the Camino de Santiago generates great interest in the world of tourism, which analyses this phenomenon from its many sides, from very diverse disciplinary perspectives and from varied academic traditions. The high volume of contributions does not exhaust the subject. In fact, we note that the number of publications has increased the most in recent years. Although they were not included, we are aware of new texts that are in the process of being released and that confirm many of the above characteristics in terms of subject matter (diverse), edition (of impact) or origin of the research (global).

Finally, a few brief reflections on COVID-19 are unavoidable. As with many other activities, the pandemic substantially affected pilgrimages and not even the celebration of the Holy Year in 2021 is succeeding in attracting pilgrims due, in the first place, to restrictions on mobility. The moderate relaxation of the restrictive measures that took place in the second half of 2020 boosted the numbers, although far from the expected figures. From an academic point of view, we can already find some reflections, quoted in this research, which are only prospective with a validity that will depend on the course of events. We must pay attention to the medium term, which is when we will be able to assess the underlying trends that will undoubtedly alter the current tourism model, which also reflects social changes. The ability of the Way of St. James to adapt to the new context will be crucial to understand the future. In the same way, our ability, as academics of the Jacobean phenomenon in its tourist perspective, will play an important role in analysing the transformations of this route as a process connected with the society that will emerge after having experienced a situation unprecedented in the times of mass tourism.

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