

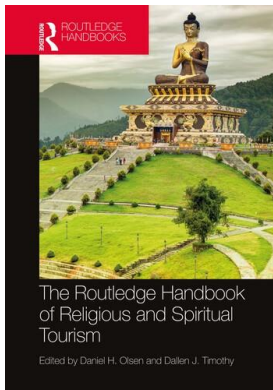
This article was downloaded by: 10.2.97.136

On: 20 Mar 2023

Access details: *subscription number*

Publisher: *Routledge*

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The Routledge Handbook of Religious and Spiritual Tourism

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Publication details

<https://test.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9780429201011-19>

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Published online on: 30 Jul 2021

How to cite :- Darius Liutikas. 30 Jul 2021, *Travel motivations of pilgrims, religious tourists, and spirituality seekers from: The Routledge Handbook of Religious and Spiritual Tourism* Routledge
Accessed on: 20 Mar 2023

<https://test.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9780429201011-19>

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TRAVEL MOTIVATIONS OF PILGRIMS, RELIGIOUS TOURISTS, AND SPIRITUALITY SEEKERS

Darius Liutikas

Introduction

Pilgrims' motivations have long been of interest to scholars of religious tourism and pilgrimage. Many cultural influences cause people to undertake pilgrimages, and there are as many motives for pilgrimage as there are spiritual or religious needs (Davidson & Gitlitz 2002). There are many theories of motivation and social action that can help explore the phenomenon of pilgrimage. Different social and motivational theories and classifications of pilgrims are presented here to identify the main motivating factors behind people's decisions to undertake a religious journey. The term 'motivation' refers to factors that activate, direct, and sustain goal-directed behavior (Nevid 2013). Motivation is an inner state of an individual that helps satisfy both psychological and physiological needs. Motives are the wants or needs that drive behavior and explain why we humans do what we do (Nevid 2013).

Various forces can influence motivations and their strength. Cultural and social factors include pilgrims' cultural traditions, social classes, societal role and status, familial influence, and that of other reference groups. Personal factors include age and stage in the life cycle, financial situation, occupation, level of personal mobility, beliefs and attitudes, and political leanings (e.g. conservatism or liberalism), dependency or autonomy, risk avoidance or acceptance, adaptability, and ability to endure difficulties also play an important role. The desire to reinforce and express values and identity may cultivate strong and deep desires to undertake a religious journey.

This chapter has three purposes. First, it introduces concepts and approaches to understanding travelers' motivations. Second, it elucidates the motives associated with religious-oriented travel and the complex process of how spirituality and religion are integrated into the everyday lives of people. Third, it presents a different way of seeing travelers' motives in relation to sacred places and challenges the ordinary use of terms such as 'pilgrim' and 'religious tourist'. Such limited terminologies and binary conceptual assumptions about the crossover between religious sites and their visitors have so far been insufficient. The typology outlined herein will help remedy that problem.

Motivations

Raj, Griffin, and Blackwell (2015) divided motivational theories into content and process theories. The content perspective focuses on what motivates people and seeks to identify and explain relevant variables. Process theories highlight the actual process of motivation to identify the relationship between dynamic variables, such as values and expectations, which influence individual motivation and decision-making.

Researchers generally agree that people select their travel destinations according to different push-and-pull factors (Crompton 1979; Dann 1981; Iso-Ahola 1982; Mansfeld 1992; Yoon & Uysal 2005). As regards pilgrimage, travelers are pushed by internal and emotional motives and pulled by external factors, such as the importance of a certain pilgrimage destination. Push and pull factors might be both independent and interdependent. Mannell and Iso-Ahola (1987) and Krippendorf (1987) suggest that travel is motivated by the desire to escape from the normative environment and that travelers' motives and behavior are markedly self-oriented (Hudson 1999).

A destination's image and enticement develop through many means, including media, social media, stories, and cultural traditions. The image and desirability of a pilgrimage destination may derive from all of these, as well as through religious and family traditions, faith-filled stories, and notoriety of miraculous healings or spiritual manifestations. Together, these create dreams and expectations, ideas and perceptions that people hold of a particular place (Liutikas 2013). Thus, the destination image is built upon a set of functional and valuistic expectations. Certain narratives are created of this image before the journey through the internet and social media, books, brochures, newspaper and magazine articles, television, public presentations, and stories told by friends and family members. They also form during the journey through personal experiences, encounters and observations, stories told by local people and guides, brochures and booklets, postcards, interpretive markers at the sites, souvenirs, and interactions with other travelers. After the journey, the image continues to evolve through souvenirs, memorabilia, entrance tickets and other mementos, photographs, personal diaries, social media narratives, travel stories shared by co-travelers, and travel group discussions and meetings.

Scholars have analyzed the motives of religious travelers at great length. This has resulted in various motivation-based classifications of pilgrims. Some authors examine the religious and spiritual dimensions of pilgrimage, emphasizing people's desires to experience transcendence or to have a personal encounter with the divine or other life-changing experience (Cohen 1992; Digance 2003; Stausberg 2011; Turner 1973; Turner & Turner 1978; Vukonić 1996). In most cases, people go on pilgrimages with the expectation that their lives will be changed.

Numerous studies analyze pilgrimage characteristics in particular religions. These include, among others, motivations for pilgrimages among Christians (Eade & Sallnow 1991; Maddrell, Della Dora, Scafi & Walton 2015; Nolan & Nolan 1989; Ron & Timothy 2019; Timothy & Ron 2019), Muslims (Din 1989; Haq & Jackson 2009; Raj 2012; Zamani-Farahani, Carboni, Perelli & Torabi Farsani 2019), Jews (Cahaner & Mansfeld 2012; Collins-Kreiner 2007, 2010, 2019), Buddhists (de Silva 2016; Hall 2006a), and Hindus (Bhardwaj 1983; Reddy 2014; Singh 2006). There have also been studies that delve into the motives of travelers who visit specific religious attractions, such as monasteries and cathedrals, and participate in religious activities such as festivals (Blackwell 2007; Lupu, Brochado & Stoleriu 2019; Rodrigues & McIntosh 2014).

Despite worship and self-improvement being consistent underlying motives, faith-based motivations may vary between different religions. Roman Catholics undertake pilgrimage for penance, to seek forgiveness. Their pilgrimages also entail worship and spiritual renewal, pursuing blessings, and demonstrating gratitude to the God (Liutikas 2012; Ron & Timothy 2019). According to Raj (2012), one of the main reasons Muslims go on pilgrimage is to pray and participate in rituals at Islam's holiest sites in Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem. The effectiveness and rewards of ritual worship (*salaah*) at these auspicious localities are magnified exponentially. Bhardwaj (1983) defines two broad categories of motives in Hindu pilgrimage. The first category relates to a commitment or vow to the deity whose blessing is essential for the solution of a traveler's problems. The second is learning religious merit. Collins-Kreiner (2010) suggests that Jewish pilgrimage often entails praying, swearing oaths, making requests, and placing notes (supplications) between the stones of the Western Wall in Jerusalem, as well as honoring the faith by visiting sites of historical value (Ioannides & Cohen Ioannides 2004).

As already noted, some pilgrims travel to gain a specific benefit, for example, forgiveness for sins, recovery from an illness or to find a solution to personal problems (Morinis 1992; Smith 1992; Tomasi 2002; Turner 1973). Davidson and Gitlitz (2002) identify additional benefits, including improved fertility, finding love, good fortune, or better grades in school. The power of healing and blessings in pilgrimage comes from the increased faith in times of spiritual intensity.

Pilgrimage motives are sometimes part of a social action or collective behavior (Locher 2001). In some cultures, pilgrimage is a cultural-religious obligation or a rite of passage (Turner & Turner 1978). Cultural or family traditions also encourage pilgrimage. Personal pilgrimages, which often have deep spiritual meaning, may include visiting ancestors' graves, familial heritage localities, and places related to personal identity (Timothy 2008).

Winkelman and Dubisch (2005) suggest that for some individuals, pilgrimage is a self-transforming experience or a tool for social healing particularly through emotional connections and broader community bonding, or even a means of empowerment against church hierarchy or dominant value orientations. Turner and Turner (1978) discuss the importance of *communitas* in pilgrimage—a sense of commonalty and solidarity with other pilgrims who, together, share a common purpose regardless of life's challenges and opportunities at home. Pilgrimage in Turnerian thinking is a liminal rite of passage; it is anti-structural and transformative (Turner & Turner 1978). However, Turnerian *communitas* has been challenged by many authors. Eade and Sallnow (1991) introduce pilgrimage as an arena for competing discourses and conflict rather than intragroup solidarity. Coleman and Elsner (1995) argue that *communitas* is overly idealistic and not very achievable because many pilgrimages involve intra-group and intergroup conflict and are liable to be controlled by temporal powers (Coleman & Elsner 1995: 202).

Olsen (2013) analyzes differences in religious tourists' motivations according to the spatial characteristics of pilgrim destinations. He outlines a scalar difference in the motivations and experiential expectations of people who travel to religious points (e.g. cathedrals), utilize religious lines (pilgrimage trails, e.g. the Camino de Santiago), and visit religious areas (e.g. the Holy Land).

Likewise, religious tourism and pilgrimage have essentially become enveloped within broader tourism landscapes, tourism infrastructures, and tourism management regimes. Thus, pilgrimage nowadays resembles many other forms of tourism and may be motivated by more traditional manifestations of tourism (Ron & Timothy 2019). Religious tourists of every

kind visit other natural or cultural attractions en route or in the area of the sacred destination (Rinschede 1992). Motives in general depend on time, place, traditions, social structure, individual interests, and various other circumstances (Swatos & Tomasi 2002; Timothy & Olsen 2006).

Variations in the range of motivations depend on the types of pilgrimage: individual, family, or communal; short distance or long distance (Rinschede 1992); special time for traveling or any time of year; walking pilgrimages or public transportation-based pilgrimages.

Demographic variations can also influence people's motivations. Gender, age, education, social class, and denominational adherence create common variations in motivation. For example, women report desiring religious experiences more than men do (Beit-Hallahmi & Argyle 1997), and women constitute a disproportionately higher number of pilgrims in many faiths (Notermans 2016; Rinschede 1992). Youth tend to participate more in mass religious gatherings, such as World Youth Days in the Catholic Church (Ron & Timothy 2019). The implications of education vary in different countries. Some educated individuals are more active in some aspects of religion (Beit-Hallahmi & Argyle 1997), whereas some educated persons are less inclined to visit sacred sites for spiritual reasons (Rinschede 1992). Social class can affect a person's choice of shrines to visit, but some research shows social standing being irrelevant to the composition of the markets for some sacrosanct localities (Liutikas 2012). There is a lack of research on denominational membership and pilgrim motivations; however, church communities often organize pilgrimages for their members, so active adherents have more exposure to travel opportunities.

Finally, some 'pilgrimages' do not relate directly to religion per se. 'Secular pilgrims' see their journey as one of a cultural, educational or nostalgic quest: a sightseeing trip, an adventure, an escape, a learning opportunity, a chance to make friends or experience certain pleasures denied them at home (Ambrosio 2007; Clift & Clift 1996; Coleman & Elsner 1995; Digance 2003; Hall 2006b; Liutikas 2012; Tomasi 2002). Likewise, some religious tourists are motivated by interests in religious architecture and art rather than their faith or a sacred site's inherent spirit of place. Various kinds of visitors attend religious events (e.g. meeting the Pope in their own country or participating in an extraordinary religious celebration).

Dark tourism is associated with sites of death, disaster, and depravity (Lennon & Foley 2000). Pilgrimages to cemeteries, tombs of saints, or other places associated with death have existed since people began to travel. Seaton and Lennon (2004) identify two main motives for dark 'pilgrimage' visits: *Schadenfreude*, meaning pleasure in viewing the misfortune of others, and contemplating death, which means accepting or confronting death. Recent studies (e.g. Olsen & Korstanje 2019) examine dark tourism through the new lens of pilgrimage.

One current research trend is the impact of values on tourists' motivations. Many studies seek to understand the role of personal and societal values in people's motivations and travel decisions (Crick-Furman & Prentice 2000; Jewell & Crotts 2001; Mehmetoglu et al. 2010; Woosnam, McElroy & van Winckle 2009). General findings suggest that people travel to certain events and destinations, or avoid them entirely, because of the personal and social values they espouse (Liutikas 2014). The process of valuing involves three steps: choosing values, prizing values, and acting on values (Raths et al. 1978). The value must be chosen freely, and the choice must consider the consequences of the alternative. The person must be happy with the choice, and the choice enhances the emotional and spiritual development of the individual. Finally, values are the major priorities that a person chooses to act on. The person wants to act repeatedly to affirm the choice (Palispis 1995). This notion of values-based action is pertinent to religious travel motives.

The journey as an expression of values and identity

In recent years, scholars have come to realize that certain pilgrimage motives increase people's need for spiritual quests. The relationships between personal values and tourism have been assessed in many studies (e.g. Crick-Furman & Prentice 2000; Miller 2003; Pizam & Calantone 1987; Watkins & Gnoth 2005, 2011a, 2011b). Coleman and Elsner (1995: 214) suggest that if the sacred is in some respects an embodiment and representation of societal ideals, pilgrimage takes new forms that go far beyond standard religious practices. Morinis (1992: 4) defined pilgrimages as journeys undertaken to a place or state that embodies a valued ideal. According to Morinis (1992: ix), pilgrimage is a movement towards aspirational ideals that cannot be realized at home, and therefore, pilgrimage becomes a values-based endeavor that mingles the sacrum and the profanum.

The changing conception of spirituality also influences the notion of values-based journeys. The spirituality revolution (Tacey 2004) includes a complex labyrinth of ideas that might be understood broadly as 'spiritual'. Yamin (2008) defines social and personal identity as a consciousness of one's own and others' perceptions of individuality. From this perspective, identity is related to the representation of one's values, personal experiences, memories, and intelligence.

Values-rich journeys may be described variously, including pilgrimage, spiritual travel, personal heritage tourism, holistic tourism, and valuistic journeys (Liutikas 2012; Morinis 1992; Norman 2011; Smith 2003, Smith & Kelly 2006; Timothy 1997). However, in all of these conceptualizations, the motivations for traveling are related to the construction or manifestation of personal and/or social identity and self-fulfillment.

Liutikas (2012) defines a valuistic journey as an expression of valuistic ideals, as well as a confirmation and manifestation of identity. The main element of such journeys becomes a valuistic motive. These quests help develop or change one's personal or social identity. The inner disposition and motivation of the valuistic pilgrim become the main factor distinguishing this pilgrimage from a normative recreational journey. Valuistic travel can help people evaluate their existential selves and values, and their outlook on the world. Values-rich journeys may include both traditional religious notions of pilgrimage and secular (unrelated to religion) pilgrimage experiences. The values fostered by valuistic quests can embody national, cultural, or other collective ideals or the unique values of an individual.

Traditional religious pilgrimages played an important role in European religious and cultural life during the Middle Ages (Webb 2001, 2002). The officially declared motive of pilgrims was to venerate the relics of saints (e.g. the cult of St. James in Santiago de Compostela and St. Thomas Becket in Canterbury). Some pilgrims traveled to saints' tombs to heal their own or family members' health maladies, while others were compelled to undertake a pilgrimage as penance for their sins.

The primary 'official' motives of contemporary Catholic pilgrimage are seeking the God's grace and good health, expressing gratitude to Jesus or the Virgin Mary, and spiritual growth and renewal (Liutikas 2012). Confessions and penance are still typical elements of a religious pilgrimage. For example, most of the major pilgrimage places in Lithuania are visited during indulgence feasts—church festivals geared toward penance.

In addition to receiving spiritual benefits, many pilgrims also desire to leave something of themselves in sacred places (Ron & Timothy 2019). To leave their mark, add meaning, and become physically a part of a sacrosanct space, pilgrims sometimes leave written prayers, offerings and small gifts, votive amulets, symbols of devotion, and inscriptions of gratitude on tiles or in walls cracks. In Catholicism, this physical act becomes part of the repentance

process as Catholics metaphorically leave their sins behind. Gratitude is expressed in other ways as well. In the simplest form, candles are lit, with the flames symbolizing the pilgrims' presence, their aspirations to improve their lives, and expressions of a desire to have their wishes come true. Donating money is also a common and simple ritual at sacred locales.

Secular pilgrimages also have spiritual and valuistic connotations (Clift & Clift 1996; Hall 2006b). Most destinations and activities associated with secular pilgrimage include veneration in the areas of nationalism (patriotism), music, sports, and individual self-deification (Margry 2008). For secular pilgrims, a journey may involve certain rituals, a search for something beyond oneself, a quest for identity, or spirituality in a very broad and abstract sense (Liutikas 2014). Most secular pilgrimage destinations include patriotic monuments (could be international, national, personal, symbolic) and certain events (e.g. sport events, concerts, and exhibitions). Sport fans flying national flags, wearing team paraphernalia, waving banners and slogans, and chanting praises for a team share many similarities with religious pilgrimage rituals and for some, these activities might be described as spiritually moving. Secular pilgrimages also include fan visits to the tombs or former homes of famous celebrities, communion with nature on hiking trails, personal identity-seeking quests, meeting with esteemed mentors, or attending events that are significant for personal or social identity-formation.

Valuistic journeys express personal values and the unique identity of an individual. According to Sharpley and Stone (2012), well-being and happiness are important manifestations of spirituality. Certain experiences during the journey may be a source of happiness (Sharpley & Stone 2012: 5). Manifestations of values and identity include socially engaged action (Liutikas 2017), which may enhance self-actualization that leads to an improved quality of life.

Visiting certain destinations often strengthens the values that drive pilgrims to travel. Changes in personal identity emerge out of the interplay between social circumstances and events during the journey and the way the individual responds to them. An argument with a fellow traveler or the unique experience at a sacrosanct destination can induce changes in a pilgrim's value orientation or identity. Other people learn to accept pilgrims as they wish to be accepted. During such journeys, social consciousness and self-identity are concretized as participants' self-esteem develops.

Overarching motives

Religious travelers' motives are diverse and complex. However, a core set of motives can be identified. Research into values-rich journeys suggests that participation in pilgrimages is based upon personal and social values and identities, as well as individual perceptions. Three different conceptualizations of religious travel can be identified: (1) a search for, or manifestation of, religious values and identity; (2) partly religious or non-religious motivations; and (3) practical motivations. These concepts provide a framework for understanding specific travel motives. This values-based framework allows us to distinguish seven groups of travel motives: (1) pure religious and spiritual motives, (2) ritual-oriented motives, (3) family or community traditions, (4) a desire for inward changes and new social relations, (5) a desire to understand religion, (6) holiday travel (leisure time, sightseeing), and (7) seeking other objectives (Table 16.1).

The first group of motives entails a desire to strengthen or renew a personal relationship with deity. These motives reflect pilgrims' wish to ask for the God's grace, health, or other blessings, or to express gratitude, to participate in religious feasts and rituals, to fulfill

Table 16.1 Comparison of pilgrims' and religious tourists' motives

| <i>Travel conception</i> | <i>Motives</i> | <i>Pilgrims</i> | <i>Religious tourists</i> | <i>Description</i> |
|--|--|--|---------------------------|---|
| Pilgrimage journey based on seeking religious values and identity (2/3 of all travelers) | Pure religious and spiritual motives | Asking for divine grace, health, blessing, expressing gratitude, participation in religious feasts and rituals, fulfilling religious obligations, visiting sacred sites, spiritual search, and renewal | | The objectives of journey are exclusively religious, which most of all expresses religious values |
| | Performing the ritual | Important values of the journey: carrying out specific rituals or ordinances, satisfaction after the objective has been achieved, penance manifesting through physical difficulties and weariness | | The journey is understood as a ritual (e.g. foot pilgrimage), which requires physical effort. After the objective has been achieved, there is a sense of satisfaction |
| | Family's or community's tradition | Annual or other visiting of pilgrimage place within a set time frame. Nostalgic feelings and wish to meet friends or relatives | | The journey is understood as a possibility to meet family members, friends, or community members who share the same values and identities |
| | Potential for inner changes and new social relations | The main motive of the journey is spiritual search and self-renewal. Possibility to change the self or community. Seeking changes in daily life after returning home | | The journey aims to change one's personal life or social life, new social relations are important |

(Continued)

| <i>Travel conception</i> | <i>Motives</i> | <i>Pilgrims</i> | <i>Religious tourists</i> | <i>Description</i> |
|--|--|-----------------|---|---|
| Pilgrimage journey motivated by religious and non-religious motivations (1/3 of all travelers) | Potential to understand religion, curiosity Pilgrimage journey as a new form of holiday travel – good leisure time, sightseeing | | Observation of religious feast and ritual, acquaintance with religious architecture and traditions, education about religious heritage Motives include spending leisure time. Important values related to the journey: new impressions, new landscapes, new natural and cultural environments, relaxation, rest from mundane routines, and possibility to express one's self | The objectives of the journey are religious education, curiosity to experience what happens at religious festivals or events, visiting religious conferences The journey is understood in a similar way as a cultural tourist journey, a way of spending leisure time, seeking new impressions, new possibilities for expression |
| Practical motivations | Traveling as the instrument seeking other objectives | | | Motives for visiting a sacred site include financial incentives (trade, driving a bus, guiding a group, and pick-pocketing), accompanying pilgrims with serious illnesses. The journey lacks spirituality, motivated only by economic benefits or helping others |

religious obligations (e.g. hajj), to visit sacred sites, or simply to seek spiritual renewal. Pilgrimage is a purely religious act in which the priority is communion with the God; prayer is the most common activity derived from this motivation.

The second group of motives—ritual-oriented pilgrimages—derives satisfaction from achieving a specific objective. Frey (1998) noted the desire of footpath-based pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela to earn special indulgences associated with Holy Years. She also identified such motives as the fulfillment of vows, prayer for others, reflection and meditation, expiation of one's own or others' sins, or demonstration of faith (Frey 1998: 32).

The third group of motives relates to satisfying family and cultural traditions of visiting pilgrimage sites within a normative timeframe (e.g. annually, every second year, every fifth year). Pilgrims may attend annual religious festivals as feasts of indulgence. Part of their motive may also be the chance to meet family members and friends or to enjoy time with other members of their religious community. A value that is shared by the whole family can also be a reason for undertaking such a journey. Some couples go on pilgrimages to celebrate an anniversary or honeymoon. Nostalgia inspires some visits as people may relive their pilgrimage experiences from their youth. Often, pilgrims travel to religious feasts that occur at their place of birth. Usually, this journey provides an opportunity to spend more time with family members.

The fourth group motivates pilgrims and non-pilgrim religious tourists. The potential for inward change and new social relations motivates many people. Frey (1998: 32) and others identify mid-life and faith crises as reasons for hiking the Camino de Santiago. Developing social relations and satisfying social needs are important both for pilgrims and other tourists. Such journeys help build a sense of *communitas*, thereby helping realize people's aspirations for social inclusion. Group pilgrimages renew and create social relationships and a sense of security. Immersion within a social network helps create an emotional link to the broader community (e.g. all Catholics or all Muslims).

Many religious tourists are motivated by a mix of religious and non-religious variables. Some people within this category seek to understand religion and its rituals. They want to learn about a specific faith and its practices (Cohen 2006; Swatos & Tomasi 2002). Cohen (2006) denoted that these kinds of journeys may be related to the development of a religious identity through intellectual and spiritual explorations by participating in religious rituals and following pilgrim trails.

The sixth set of motives is much less connected to faith and spirituality. Instead, these take the form of general tourism, including leisure tourism and cultural tourism. In this case, participants see pilgrimage as a form of holiday-making, having a good time, relaxing and sightseeing. These people choose a pilgrimage journey to diversify their holiday or weekend experiences. When participating in organized pilgrimages, these travelers could be defined as 'pseudo pilgrims' or 'self-styled pilgrims' (Liutikas 2012). Even if part of a pilgrimage group, pseudo pilgrims are not typically motivated by faith; instead, they don a tourist identity. The choice to participate in a pilgrimage might be determined by its lower price, which is often the case compared to other foreign package tours. Or, participants may be looking for social contacts and a safe group to travel with. Pilgrimage packages also often include visits to other famous cultural and natural attractions in pilgrimage destinations.

The last group of motives is fairly abstract but relates to visiting pilgrimage destinations for non-tourism and non-pilgrimage purposes. Even in the Middle Ages, traders, thieves, pickpockets, and prostitutes traveled pilgrimage routes. Likewise, the servants frequently accompanied nobility during their pilgrimages, even if the servants themselves were not believers. So, in addition to trade, driving a bus, guiding a group, and even stealing from

attendees, motives in this category can include accompanying close friends and family members, such as the elderly or those with disabilities or illnesses.

Pilgrim motives are not fixed and stable. Frey (1998) indicates that some pilgrims formulate or change their motives after a journey begins. Rarely is there only one reason for a journey, even if one major motive drives the choice to travel. This section confirms that faith is not the only driver of religious tourism and pilgrimages.

Traveler types

There is no homogeneous pilgrim type. As already noted, a wide range of motives drive people to visit sacred places. Pilgrimage sites vary a great deal in importance, from small shrines that attract the faithful from the immediate area to world famous places visited by believers and non-believers from many countries. Pilgrimage also involves different sized groups, from individual travelers to mass gatherings. However, travelers' identities and the distinction between religious and secular motivations are commonly used to classify religious or spiritual travelers.

Personal or social identity is the foundation of values-rich journeys. Travel offers opportunities for the construction and manifestation of identity. Perceptions of oneself and others are fluid and dynamic. Therefore, where people go and what motivates them, reveals who they are to others and to themselves. The connection between identity and travel motives in the current period of rapid global change is important.

Traveling to pilgrimage destinations is an indicator of religious identity. Religious identity means people's ways of relating to religion, how strongly they feel about their faith, and how they choose to demonstrate their beliefs during their daily lives or during travel (Liutikas 2015). The main way of expressing religious identity is participating in religious services, events, or feasts, performing rituals, and being obedient to the words of gods, prophets, and religious leaders. Some believers participate in the activities of religious communities, whereas others exhibit their identity in public or private discussions, by reading and quoting scriptures, using religious symbols (e.g. crosses, religious souvenirs), or a combination of these.

Different types of pilgrims may be identified based on their identities and motivations (Collins-Kreiner 2010; Morinis 1992). Scholars have identified three types of faith-associated travelers: devout religious pilgrims on one end of the spectrum, secular tourists on the other hand, and religious tourists in between (Santos 2003; Stoddard 1997). Smith (1992) identified two additional subtypes: religious tourists who are more pilgrims and less tourists and religious tourists who are more tourists than pilgrims. Collins-Kreiner (2010) highlights how Jewish pilgrimage attractions appeal to diverse visitors, ranging from secular to spiritual. She identifies pure pilgrims, pilgrim-tourists (religious visitors), traditional believers, and secular visitors.

As involvement is a common variable to understand types of leisure activities (Funk & Bruun 2007), it is also an important variable in religious tourism (Edgell 2006). Religious involvement may be in public settings (e.g. frequency of church attendance or participation in public religious rituals, events, and pilgrimages) or in private (e.g. frequency of private prayer, frequency of reading scriptures, and other holy writs). Individuals who are more involved with religion demonstrate increased participation in pilgrimages.

From a faith perspective, considering motivations and values, 12 types of travelers may be identified, ranging from religious to secular, and from low levels of religious identity and involvement to high levels of religious identity and involvement (Table 16.2). Starting from

Table 16.2 Types of religion-related travelers

| Religious motivation | Travelers types | High religious identity and involvement |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| | (1) Committed pilgrims | Intensely involved with religion. Has a deep religious experience. Religion is the primary reason for the journey. |
| | (2) Pure pilgrims | Know the religious goal of the trip, manifest religious values and identity. |
| | (3) Religious visitors | Take the opportunity to visit a sacred place while visiting a destination for other reasons. The holy place is related to their religious identity and values. |
| | (4) Spiritual questors (seekers) | Seek the spiritual goal and religious experience. Is happy having a deep religious experience. |
| | (5) Ritualists | Special reasons related to a particular ritual or foot pilgrimage. Ritual becomes more important than religious beliefs. |
| | (6) Social pilgrims | <i>Communitas</i> seekers. Still the faith element is stronger than leisure motivation. |
| | (7) Purposeful religious tourists | The need for cultural learning and accumulation of new experiences. Participates in some religious rituals and activities. |
| | (8) Curiosity wanderers | Curiosity as a break from the routine of everyday life. Religious motivation and involvement are quite weak. |
| | (9) Sightseeing cultural tourists | Religious attractions are only a part of the visit. Religion is used for recreational purposes. Sightseeing pilgrimage plays a part of entertainment and relaxation. |
| | (10) Incidental travelers | Usually accompanies other travelers. Destination is determined by co-travelers. |
| | (11) Beneficials | Provide services for pilgrims. Take the opportunity to receive tangible or intangible benefits not related to religion. |
| Secular motivation | (12) Anti-pilgrims | Purposes oppose religious values. Motives include criminal activities, such as stealing, pickpocketing, robbing, cheating, selling drugs, prostituting themselves, or enacting acts of terror. |

the first, each type reflects a decreasing level of personal involvement and greater distance from religious values and identity (Liutikas 2021).

Committed pilgrims

Some individuals are intensely involved with religion, including clergy (priests and members of religious orders); recent converts, especially those who experienced sudden and dramatic conversions; fundamentalists, or people who demonstrate extreme commitment; people who have had intense religious experiences (e.g. mystical experiences, ecstasy) and those with psychological disorders or mental health issues (Beit-Hallahmi & Argyle 1997). For them, pilgrimage is an important component of their emotional well-being and intense religious life.

Pure pilgrims

These people's spiritual journeys are based on religious and faith-filled motives. Prayer and meditation, communication about religious topics, and questions about the meaning of life underscore their motives. They are typically involved in religious communities, regularly attend religious services, and participate in faith-related social events. They manifest strong religious values and identity during pilgrimages.

Religious visitors

These pilgrims take the opportunity to visit a pilgrimage place while visiting a destination for other purposes. Their primary goal of the trip might be business, participation in a conference or seminar, or attending a cultural event. They see such trips as an opportunity to visit a nearby sacred site, which is connected to their religious identity and values. Some religious visitors are repeat visitors from the neighboring area. They may have moderate or high levels of religious identity and involvement.

Spiritual questors (seekers)

Sometimes a pilgrim's journey may serve to renew a religious identity or to strengthen it. The rites performed at pilgrimage sites or the spirit of the place itself enables identity development. It may even bring about a real religious conversion. Spiritual seekers may be involved in a formal faith community; they are generally believers and practice a religious creed, but they seek to refresh their testimonies or desire to change their spiritual lives by undertaking a pilgrimage.

Ritualists

Schnell and Pali (2013) emphasize how some pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela perform personal rituals. The meaning-making potential of the ritual may reveal transformative experiences. Life-transforming experiences are the core elements of both traditional and more contemporary forms of pilgrimage (Winkelman & Dubisch 2005). Pilgrimage in this case is the ritual of transformation during which new insights are given and deeper understanding is attained.

Social pilgrims

For these pilgrims, the most important aspect of the journey is *communitas* and socialization with other pilgrims. Most of these travelers are traditional, largely cultural, believers. The journey provides an opportunity to spend time with family members, friends, or other like-minded people who share similar values and identities. These pilgrims seek security and conformity in a stable social environment. They sometimes choose their journey for non-faith reasons, such as social prestige or lifestyle affirmation.

Purposeful religious tourists

For this cohort, religious education or appreciating tangible and intangible heritage is the primary motive for visiting sacrosanct places. By visiting, they learn about religious traditions, architecture, and art, feasts, and rituals. They want knowledge and new experiences, which sometimes entails them participating in sacred rituals and activities. They may or may not be affiliated with any particular religion in their daily lives.

Curious wanderers

These visitors mainly want to see for themselves the happenings at a sacred site. They are curious and interested and may want to get away from the grinds of everyday life. The visit, therefore, may be a way of diversifying their leisure pursuits. The pilgrimage path or destination can stimulate their imagination and help in their search for self-development, although visiting a consecrated locality may be a spontaneous decision. The level of religious identity is low.

Sightseeing cultural tourists

Sacred sites are only part of the travel itinerary. Religious involvement and religious identity in relation to the visited locality are weak. Sightseeing, relaxation, recreational pursuits, and other secular interests are the primary activities. Sightseeing tourists do not travel for religious or pilgrimage reasons, but given that sacred sites appear on their itineraries, they may end up having a religious or spiritual experience.

Incidental travelers

These people visit under uncontrolled circumstances; the decision to visit a holy place was made by somebody else connected to the incidental guest. They usually accompany others—friends, business partners, or family members with serious illnesses or disabilities. A locality might be only a quick stopover on the way to a different destination, or part of a business trip. The religious identity and involvement of these travelers are very low in relation to the locality being visited, although they might choose to participate in certain activities at the destination.

Beneficials

These people visit pilgrimage locales as part of their job, rather than for purposes of spiritual or intellectual edification. These are service providers, which are especially important

during religious festivals. They are drivers, guides, food service providers, security guards, and devotional leaders. They may also be politicians and government officials, who seek attention in the public eye. Advertisers and promoters of various products or religious dogmas also visit pilgrimage places.

Anti-pilgrims

This type of ‘visitor’ is usually unwelcome and a nuisance for pilgrims and site managers. Their purpose for going to a hallowed place is to oppose its religious values and take advantage of the 11 types of visitors described above. They may protest against religion or ridicule the faithful. Or, more commonly, their motives include criminal activities such as stealing, pickpocketing, robbing, cheating, selling drugs, prostituting themselves, or enacting acts of terror.

Conclusions

This chapter reviews the multitudinous motivations of faith-based or spiritually motivated travel. Many scholars and studies have emphasized a wide range of motivations, including but not limited to spirituality, life transformation, and community solidarity and social belongingness. The strength of the motivation in expressing values and identities, the level of religious identity and involvement, and attitude towards the destination are three key elements of socio-psychological motives for participating in pilgrimage journeys.

The chapter highlights two main motivational trends. First, pilgrims’ attitudes and inner dispositions push them to visit a certain destination. Second, the destination’s image pulls the visitor toward it. Collective behavior theories stress people’s personal identification with pilgrimage places and events, and current thinking suggests a strong connection between people’s values and their motivation to undertake a pilgrimage. The main element of values-rich (valuistic) journeys is a valuistic motive, which is related to one’s personal and/or social identity and self-fulfillment. Values-induced journeys are prized, esteemed, desired and enjoyed by pilgrims.

Values influence a person’s motives, behaviors, and attitudes. However, not all motives of religious site visitors are related to religion. Some forms of travel that crossover with faith are motivated by sightseeing, adventure, education, relaxation, or intragroup socialization. On the contrary, secular pilgrimages may be spiritual or valuistic. In the classic sense, visiting becomes a beacon of one’s values system and what a person deems most meaningful.

Religious identity and religious involvement are key components in distinguishing different types of religion-associated travelers. This chapter presents 12 types of travelers based upon their closeness or distance from religious beliefs, practices and motives. These include committed pilgrims, pure pilgrims, religious visitors, spiritual seekers, ritualists, social pilgrims, purposeful religious tourists, curiosity seekers, sightseeing cultural tourists, incidental travelers, beneficials, and anti-pilgrims. This classification is based upon the wide array of motives that drive people to visit places of religious or spiritual importance.

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