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'Betwixt and Between:' Convergences between Tourist and Pilgrim Experiences on the *Via Francigena* in Rome and Lazio

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his/her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Abstract

The European Institute of Cultural Routes has recognized the *Via Francigena*, a network of medieval pilgrimage routes linking Canterbury to Rome, as a European Cultural Route in 1994. In the EU intention, cultural routes contribute to regional economic and socio-cultural regeneration through the promotion of a new kind of sustainable cultural tourism that caters to educated cultural seekers willing to walk. Simultaneously, the final destination of the *Via Francigena* is the Vatican, holy capital of Catholicism. The tensions ingrained in the dual character of the *Via Francigena* as a cultural and religious route call into question the meaning of the terms 'tourists' and 'pilgrims'.

A growing field of scholarship has conceptualized pilgrims and tourists as driven by motivations placed along a sacred-profane continuum. Building on this conceptual model, empirical research has to date focused on interactions between tourists and pilgrims at sacred sites to show that the polarization between the two categories is based on religious motivations. Notwithstanding their being privileged points of encounter between tourists and pilgrims, cultural routes have yet to be selected as case studies for the application and possibly the refinement of theories on the tourist-pilgrim continuum.

Using a mixed-methods approach that combines survey data, interviews with pilgrims and participant observation, this study extends the analysis of pilgrim/tourist interactions to pilgrimage routes in order to understand if the framework of cultural tourism enriches, or detracts from, pilgrims' experiences along the final section of the *Via Francigena*. The results challenge the notion that pilgrims are paradigmatically different from tourists. The implications of a more nuanced understanding of pilgrims and tourists are outlined for heritage professionals interested in the promotion of cultural routes as vehicles for local development in Lazio.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

There is a recent bloom of literature on the tourist-pilgrim dichotomy at pilgrimage destinations (Cassar and Munro 2016, Holderness 2009, MacCannell 1999, Nyaupane *et al.* 2015, Olsen and Timothy 2006, Rountree 2010, Smith 1992, Vandermootele 2009). These studies demonstrate that there is a shift towards postmodern understandings of pilgrims and tourists (Collins-Kreiner 2010), thereby challenging the argument that religious motive is the main differentiating factor between the two groups. Simultaneously, there has been a growing interest in gaining a new audience for sustainable tourism on cultural routes (Richards 2011). Several empirical studies have applied notions of a tourist-pilgrim continuum to investigate visits to sacred sites in China, Malta, Rome and Lumbini (Cassar and Munro 2016, Holderness 2009, Nyaupane *et al.*2015, Özkan 2013). However, no attempt has been made to interrogate the validity of these categories for understanding the experiences of pilgrims and tourists on long-distance cultural routes. As many cultural routes have links to religious histories, I view this as a missed opportunity for cultural heritage professionals focused on the regeneration of specific, geographic points along a travel route. Religious journeys that encourage movement through places instead of multiple day stopovers require different approaches in management, marketing and enhancement for sustainable cultural tourism.

This thesis contributes to the growing discourse on the pilgrim-tourist interrelationship through a sequential mixed-methods study that seeks to understand if the framework of cultural tourism enriches or detracts from pilgrim experiences on the final section of the *Via Francigena*, one of Europe's major cultural routes. Quantitative data from a 2016 report on pilgrim demographics and motivations will be used to establish who the *Via Francigena* attracts. Concepts emerging from the literature on the tourist-pilgrim duality (such as sacred space, landscape, religious tourism, heritage tourism, movement, motivations, modernization, materialism, "doing pilgrimage," solitude, and

community) will subsequently be utilized as framing arguments for the analysis of qualitative data gathered through on-site and online interviews with pilgrims, as well as through personal observations collected through my participation in an organized pilgrim walk from Formello, Lazio, to the Vatican State. The qualitative analysis of interviews and personal experience will be used to confirm or challenge the themes outlined in the literature review and empirical reports.

The thesis focuses on the 112 kilometers of the *Via Francigena's* descent from Viterbo into Rome, often known as the "final" section,[1] (see Figure 1). The *Via Francigena* is a medieval pilgrimage route running from Canterbury, England, across France, Switzerland, and Northern Italy, to Rome. It was particularly popular in medieval times for pilgrims to visit the tombs of the apostles Peter and Paul. The route also facilitated the exchange of ideas and goods between cultures through the interaction of international communities. After the middle ages, other pilgrimages subsumed *Via Francigena's* fame, and hence, the *Via Francigena* increasingly lost popularity and faded out of household knowledge completely by the 18th century.

Figure 1. Map of Via Francigena through Lazio (Source: Di Paulusburg)

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[1] The popular English website, "FrancigenaWays," often advertises for pilgrims to complete the "final" section as well as being referred to as such in interviews.

With the development of the European Association of the *Via Francigena* (EAVF) in 2001, there is a surge in encouragement by Italian institutions to see the revitalization of the *Via Francigena* as a cultural heritage route and thereby create potential tourism (EAVF 2016). The *Regione Lazio*, responsible for the management of the *Via Francigena* in the Lazio region, is concerned about the practical matters such as safety and marketing to neither dispute nor lead discourses on the meaning of the *Via Francigena* today to locals and pilgrims (Quilici 2012).

My current residence in Rome, Italy, has provided me the opportunity to closely observe the intersection between pilgrim and tourist arrivals into the urban center. Rome is the Catholic capital of the world because it encircles the Vatican State, home of the Holy See. Even before the construction of the Renaissance era Basilica of Saint Peter's, Rome was of Catholic importance (and Christian interest) because it housed the tombs of Saint Peter and Saint Paul. Historically, Rome's home region of Lazio was almost entirely made up of the Papal States, from the 8th century to immediately after modern day Italy's 1861 unification; the Holy See was stripped of the Papal States in 1870. Thus, Lazio is a region rich in religious narratives and Rome has been a center for pilgrim gatherings through the centuries.

However, only 35% of Europeans were reported Catholic in 2010, a steady drop from the 44% reported in 1910 (Pew Research Center 2011). Out of the world population, 15.6% identified as Catholic in 2010, with a majority of Catholics (39%) reporting from South America (Pew Research Center 2011). The most popular nationalities of foreign visitors to Rome are the French, German, American, English and Japanese (EBLT 2015). Excluding the French, it appears that most foreign visitors are from European countries with small Catholic communities. Hence, the majority of visitors to Rome are more likely to be less interested in its religious heritage than its cultural heritage. In fact, they visit the religious heritage for its cultural value.

This has all changed within the couple of decades, when the *Via Francigena* was recognized by the European Council of Europe as a "Cultural Route of the Council of Europe" in 1994, and as a "Major Cultural Route of the Council of Europe" in 2004, bringing with it a strong reminder of its Catholic significance. Although the *Via Francigena* has been promoted on religious media for the 2016 Jubilee year, little attention has been given to analysis of the experience of the route in points of tourism and cultural heritage as conflating with religion. Many affiliates with the *Via Francigena* assume that pilgrims are those with a religious purpose. The recent deconstruction of the notion of the pilgrim as solely interested in religious experiences shows a shift towards a postmodern approach to understanding pilgrimages. In the postmodern world of travel, the pilgrim and the tourist share similar experiences of place, from consuming a meal, to buying souvenirs and taking photos with a smartphone.

In establishing *Via Francigena* pilgrimage as a cultural heritage route, its religious aspects underscore the pilgrimage's meaning. For the reasons explained above, equal attention needs to be placed on the influences of non-secular experiences on secular perspectives and vice versa. The analysis on the points of convergence and difference in experiences and values between visitor groups on the spectrum of tourists and pilgrims undertaken in this thesis can provide new knowledge for further regeneration of the pilgrimage to promote sustainable tourism, which appeals to a diverse range of pilgrims regardless of what their religious affinity may be.

The quantitative and qualitative data illustrate that the majority of walkers on the *Via Francigena* identify as pilgrims regardless of religious belief. Furthermore, pilgrims who walk on the pilgrimage value cultural and religious heritage in Lazio but find that they are less likely to be interested in following tourist itineraries that detour from the *Via Francigena.* The results of the research serve as a testament to the assertion that inquiring into the convergences and differences of tourist-pilgrim participation in

non-secular spaces is important for cultural heritage professionals who wish to further enrich the experience of a pilgrimage for a wider range of individuals in relation to a specific zone.

The thesis unfolds as follows. Chapter 2 reviews the literature on the conceptualization of tourists and pilgrims, to demonstrate how pilgrims and tourists converge and differentiate in manners, action and philosophies, as visitors in sacred contexts. This analysis of the literature will attest to the fact that pilgrims are tourists due to economic and legal logistics, but challenges the notion that pilgrims should be regarded as tourists within the tourist industry. Chapter 3 justifies the methodological choices of using an explanatory sequential mixed-methods approach and charts out the data samples. Chapter 4 discusses the results of the survey analysis while Chapter 5 analyzes the interview data of the pilgrims' and author's experiences on the *Via Francigena* in Lazio. Chapter 6 concludes with suggestions for future ways in which to apply these ideas in sustainable cultural tourism.

2.4 Literature Review: The Tourist-Pilgrim Continuum

> It is possible to argue that the very act of engaging in the phenomenon of tourism is in itself an act of pilgrimage in which the 'faith' or 'doctrine' being reinforced is the notion of the holiday or trip as an escape, as a punctuation mark in a biography or as a *rite of passage*. (Knox 2014, 54).

Traditionally, pilgrims and tourists have been considered polar opposite types of visitors. The tourist-pilgrim dichotomy has been constructed primarily based on the difference in motives between the two categories. The term pilgrim connotes someone with the intention to make a religious journey (Coleman and Elsner 1995, 2). The pilgrimage is the path that the pilgrims follow to a destination rendered sacred according to their respective dogmas. The tourist refers to someone who makes a circuitous journey for hedonistic reasons, ultimately returning back to the origin of the starting place from wherever they departed (Olsen and Timothy 2006, 2).

Most scholars agree that a "tourist is half a pilgrim, if a pilgrim is half a tourist" (Turner and Turner 1978, 20). There is a historical affinity between pilgrimage and tourism. Digance (2006) states, "the medieval pilgrimage was the first example of medieval tourism" (36). Medieval pilgrimages were the first form of institutionalized religious tourism, which transformed into a powerful social movement. Consequently, since the 15th century, Digance (2006, 37) claims that motivations for pilgrims have changed from travel solely for religious proposes to become inclusive of sight-seeing and the quest for new experiences. Kaelber (2006) identifies a parallelism between tourism and pilgrimage through the similar ways in which they become commercialized. He argues that secular travel began when the medieval pilgrimage routes became too secularized leading to their ultimate profanation. Similarly, the densification of tourist sites today detracts from tourism that seeks authentic experiences, which in some essence be considered sacred experiences.

Pilgrimage and tourism, as modern day activities, have been defined to depend on three factors: sufficient disposable income, sufficient disposable time, and the social sanctions to travel (Smith 1992). On this basis, pilgrims are *de facto* tourists because they make use of existing tourism infrastructure,[2] use similar modes of transportation (MacCannell 1999, Olsen and Timothy 2006) and consume cultural tourism artifacts, like the buying of souvenirs (Lasusa 2007, Love and Sheldon 1998, Lury 1997, Roseman and Fife 2008). Bremer (2005) summarizes the three most popular approaches to studying pilgrimage and tourism: "the spatial approach (pilgrims and tourists occupying the same space with different spatial behaviors), the historical approach (the relationship between religious forms of travel and tourism), and the cultural approach (pilgrimage and tourism as modern practices in a (post)modern world" (as cited in Olsen and Timothy 2006, 3).

The dichotomy has recently been blurred by researchers, who have characterized a number of distinct categories, such as religious tourism and secular pilgrimages. Anthropologist Valene Smith specialized in tourism and brought into fruition the first notion of a tourist-pilgrim continuum of travel based on scholar Adler's discussion on the polarities of *sacred* and *profane* or secular (Adler 1989). See Figure 3 below.

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[2]This notion is sometimes complicated on the *Via Francigena* when people make use of religious, donation only accommodation. However, these accommodations are not always available along the route nor do all pilgrims choose to use them. In light of international pilgrims, those who are not from Western Europe, they have to use planes and trains, like tourists, to arrive at their departure point to begin the pilgrimage.
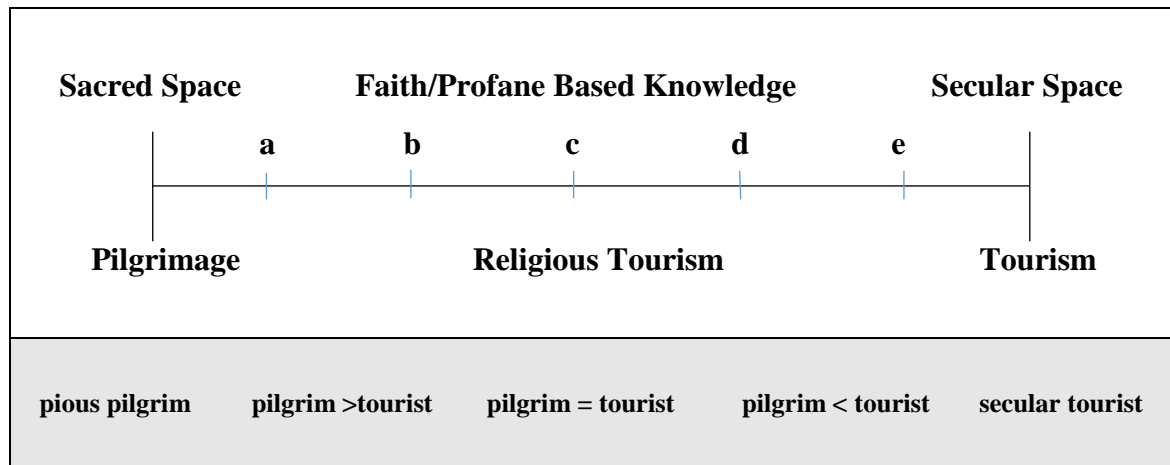
Figure 2. The Pilgrim-Tourist Path (Source: Smith, 1992).

The "Pilgrim-Tourist Path" acts on a scale of social difference, where the lack of one emphasizes the essence of the other. The center is deemed as "religious tourism" while each half is determined to be more or less tourist or pilgrim. Although Smith describes the scale as a "momentary interpretation of present day thought" with categories that are by no means immutable (Smith 1992, 4), the distinctions between pilgrim and tourist have been widely applied.

The Smith Continuum, as it is known, is the most cited and accepted notion of the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy. Ionel C.Alecu reinforced these categories in 2010 and emphasized that the differences between the two categories stem from the motivations. See Figure 4 below.

Pilgrimage		Religious Tourism		Tourism
I	II	III	IV	V
Belief is the fundamental motivation and we are dealing with a pious pilgrim.	Belief motivation is stronger than the tourism motivation and thus we are dealing with the majority of pilgrims.	Travelling has multiple motivations either equally powerful or complementary, tourists show the need for culture and also accumulating new experiences.	Cultural needs are interweaved with the needs for entertainment, and visiting religious sites is but a source of knowledge and active relaxation.	We are dealing with the usual tourism, where the motivation for relation and entertainment is predominant.
Belief		Culture		Entertainment

Figure 3. Motivation Continuum for Pilgrimage-Tourism (Source: Alecu, 2010).

Belief, culture and entertainment are real world examples of Adler's *sacred* and *profane* categories. Belief is strictly reserved for non-secular individuals and religious activities whilst entertainment is seen as purely for the secular realms. What Alecu fails to acknowledge is that oftentimes, pilgrimage or religious rituals can have ludic aspects that contribute to positive experiences and makes entertainment into something more deeply meaningful (Cassar and Munro 2016). In many cases, "causal tourists as well as pilgrims may also come to see themselves as engaging in activities that transcend purely self-indulgent leisure" (Coleman and Elsner 1992, 48). "Culture," again, resonates as a happy medium between the pilgrim and tourist experience.

Alecu's continuum is supported by the notion that every person who travels departs with a specific motivation in mind, meaning that the trip is predetermined to be a more secular or non-secular journey. Furthermore, Smith's and Alecu's language imply that travelers cannot grow and change in the midst of their journey.

Researchers have begun to realize the contingent roles of religiosity on a range of scales from corporal to institutional to geopolitical (Halloway and Valins 2002). The notion of 'blurring the lines' between tourist and pilgrim has resulted in a new term to describe the deconstruction of the differences of the canonical groups along the pilgrim-tourist continuum (Rountree 2010, 203). 'De-differentiation' refers to the indistinguishable natures of religious tourism and secular tourism (Bilu 1998, 13; Kong 2001, 227). The infinite distinctions that sprout up between sacred and secular have been referred to as the blurring of culturally constructed boundaries between pilgrimage and tourism (Davie 2010, 19-21).

Although most literature accepts pilgrims and tourists as bookends of the continuum with the in-between as space reserved for a variety of nuances, this has also been challenged recently.

Influenced by Vandemoortele's coining of the phrase, 'tourism as modern pilgrimage,' scholars have begun to ask if juxtaposing tourists and pilgrims as polarities is a necessary dichotomy (2009, 4). Vandemoortele reasons, "Instead of only justifying pilgrimage within a religious context, we must begin to use our new cultural and sociological landscape in order to define what pilgrimage is today."

Collins-Kreiner (2010) examines how recent literature on pilgrimage has shifted toward a post-modern approach, pointing out that religion as the core of pilgrimage is from an "old paradigm" (446). She posits that the old trends in pilgrim-tourism research are moving away from categorization of difference to highlighting similarities. Moreover, the methodologies for pilgrim-tourism research are shifting to focus more on the individual experiences, a postmodern approach. She writes, "visitor experience, whether we refer to it as pilgrimage or tourism, is in fact not homogenous and comprises of different types" (451).

Another dialogue is emerging from scholars who argue that the fascination with postmodern tourism has clouded the very nature of religions. Swatos and Tomasi (2002) have written a number of works that cross examine if there are quantitative differences between pilgrims and tourists. They empirically address issues such as how the tourist engages in a quest for pleasure, self-realization, and authenticity of experience as compared to the pilgrim's quest for illumination, physical or spiritual healing, or the touch of the divine.

> Theory seems to have worked well ahead of data. A relatively limited number of pilgrimage sites on the one hand, along with perhaps a greater interest in the modern/postmodern phenomenon of tourism have, in my view, skewed the field always from the religious elements in travel to pilgrimage sites. Sociology of religion has a contribution to make here, in opening up understands of religion-as-social-action that can move way from constructions of 'religion' that at times seem naively purist and quite at variance with 'lived experience'. (Swatos and Tomasi 2002, viii)

Holderness (2009, 342) has built on their work by arguing that interpretative models most often used in tourism studies are based on "secular, rational, aesthetic and materialist categories" that discredit the very basis of religions, belief. He reverses the concept that pilgrims are tourists because of their consumerist tendencies and instead argues that tourists are pilgrims. He claims that contemporary perceptions of experiences and patterns of behavior that "seem to suggest religion" are inextricable to their nature. The beliefs of participants—their motivations—are ignored in the scheme of tourism because their actions are similar to those typical to the scheme of consumerism. Thus religious visitors, pilgrims or tourists, are seen as "secularized extrapolations or projections of a vanished medieval belief-system."

Holderness' argument is important to consider, however, it contains within it the potentially limiting assumption that tourists lack more nuanced motivations for consumption. It is surprising considering that he even admits that what people "believe" has "profound implications for material culture" (342). Instead of arguing for a comprehension of religion, which would be difficult for non-believers, the categorization of tourist or pilgrims, based on belief, should continue to be deconstructed.

2.5 Moving Forward: Seeing Theory in Practice

Four case studies in the past decade have successfully challenged this notion of the tourist-pilgrim dichotomy of visitors to currently active pilgrimage destinations. All four studies strive to complicate Smith's continuum by problematizing the separation between 'secular' and 'religious', emphasizing instead the multifaceted overlaps between groups of visitors at sites of religious pilgrimage and cultural tourism.

Author Graham Holderness (2009), discussed briefly in the previous section, makes perhaps the most unique argument in "Rome: Multiversal City: The Material and the Immaterial in Religious

Tourism" (2009). His study focuses on Rome's double-decker tour buses. He outlines the different tours available which cater to a variety of tastes such as archeology, modern Rome and the history of Christianity. Each tour has its own itinerary, services and type of audiences.   Yet, strangely, the tours, he observes, "*all go around the same places*" (345, italics his). Working with a concept in Quantum physics that every possible outcome of an event does indeed happen in another universe, he illustrates that the tours act as separate universes but occupy the same place and even time with each other and even other groups such as pilgrims and hedonist tourists. Thus, the tourists on their selected tours perceive just a singular narrative from the many narratives of an area.

Holderness is concerned that in a city like Rome, "which displays excesses of both sacredness and secularity" (345), these tours will have consequences for the conservation of cultural heritage. He asks "how sacredness of place survives in a complex history like that of Rome (347)? He sees the tours as teaching simplistic, singular narratives instead of acting on the opportunity to educate Rome's multiversality. He posits that the tourist industry and tourism studies assume that there is a huge difference between medieval pilgrimage and modern tourism. He concludes by calling on scholars and professionals "to reverse the traditional secular analysis" and suggests that "perhaps the pilgrimage experience can provide a model of tourism, instead of the other way around" (343).

By contrast, authors Nyaupane, Timothy and Poudel in "Understanding Tourists in Religious Destinations" (2015) examine the multiplicities of visitors to a pilgrim destination who share a singular religious narrative. They examine the complex relationships between visitors of different faiths to the sacred site of Lumbini in Nepal. Lumbini is the birthplace of Buddha and considered one of the four pilgrimage destinations for practicing Buddhists. However, Lumbini has been gaining popularity in heritage tourism for Hindus and Christians. The authors aim to understand why visitors of different faiths go to Lumbini by utilizing social-distance theory. Social-distance theory is an empirical method

with which to measure individuals' closeness within and outside their social groups. The use social-distance theory expands on the socio-cultural meanings of the terms pilgrims, tourism, religious tourism and heritage tourism.

In terms of religiously identified visitors, the authors conclude that the social distance is small between different faiths in Lumbini. In terms of previous literature, they argue that "contrary to much of the tourism and pilgrimage literature, the terms 'tourists' and 'pilgrims' cannot be easily separated *based on faith*, as the majority of Buddhists visiting one of their most sacred sites identifies themselves either as tourists or both tourists and pilgrims" (Nyaupane *et al*. 2015, 352; italics mine). The authors find that religion is not the fundamental motivation to determine the identity of pilgrims.

Cuma Özkan (2013) is another author who questions the Western conceptualizations of, and interest in, pilgrimages of divergent histories. In "The Convergence or Divergence of Pilgrimage and Tourism in Modern China," Özkan argues that the separation of 'the secular' and 'the religious' is a consequence of Western knowledge. Özkan uses the modern (post Mao-China) pilgrimage practices to mountains in China as a case study. The author points out that once the Chinese state revitalized religion and promoted cultural and national entities, the government became responsible for the development of secular pilgrimages that "blur of the borders of the 'sacred' and 'profane'" for the visitors (125). Moreover, Özkan argues that pilgrimage and tourism should not be considered as "universally structured entities" because this confuses the understanding of these terms and their application "everywhere regardless of the social, political and economic conditions of the different places and times" (120). It is a good point and relevant not only to nations but the different regions of a landscape that a pilgrimage traverses.

Cassar and Munro (2016) in "Malta: A differentiated approach to the Pilgrim-Tourist Dichotomy," illustrate the enormous diversity of participants in different sites on the small island of Malta. They demonstrate that pilgrims of well-established religions like Roman Catholics and Protestants as well as New Religious Movement (NRM) pilgrims have sacred sites on the island from Saint Paul's shrine to his shipwreck, the Pauline Trail and to Malta's Neolithic sites. To cope with this diversity, the sites are considered more as cultural and educational sites than as religious ones, and therefore, they are more closely managed by the local tourism industry than by religious organizations.

The groups worship differently but engage in secular activities together or participate in each other's worship as a form of education. By de-differentiating the Malta visitors, the authors display a richness in visitor motivations while grounding their discussion in terms of visitor fulfillment. In preparation for their paper, Munro expanded Smith's Continuums and Alecu's Continuum by arguing that fulfillment should be the central factor to understanding pilgrims and tourists. They transition the continuum from asking about individuals' intentions (pre-journey) to considering what activities they actually partake in (the journey itself). See Figure 5. below.

Religious Tourism	Faith-Based Tourism		Cultural Tourism	Secular Pilgrimage	Conventional Tourism	Hedonistic Tourism
I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VI
The pious, ascetic and pure pilgrim. Faith is central. Self-centered in fulfillment (but possibly for the benefit of others as the ultimate goal).	The fulfillment for mainstream Roman Catholic pilgrims/ Protestant sacred travelers, lies in the engagement with their set of beliefs. Culture and leisure are important too.	The fulfillment of NRM faith – based visitors in the experiences of spirituality encountered in the Neolithic structures. The open-minded pursuit of new experiences is crucial, including interest in the Virgin Mary. Cultural and leisure are important too.	Fulfillment of cultural needs is the principal motive. Visits to religious sites may lead to a 'religious moment'. Leisure and recreation are valued too.	Fulfillment of emotional needs is the main priority, ranging from war monuments and battlefields to artistic performances. The level of fulfillment can be regarded as intense as in faith-based experiences.	General fulfillment in tourism with priorities in leisure and entertainment, with a small dose of interest in the holiday destination.	The extreme form of tourism self-entered for on benefit, such as found in the niche of well-being services, dance parties, etc. faith is not important and possible rejected.

Figure 4. Fulfilment Continuum for Pilgrimage-Tourism (Source: Cassar and Munro 2016).

Despite the fact that the continuum is personalized for the Malta case study, it shows that fulfillment can only truly be discovered during the journey. This paves the way for analyses on the sites that have sustainable pilgrim-tourist numbers. Faith and hedonism still act as conceptual bookends but they are less important in this context because the pilgrim-tourist positive experiences take priority in their labeling.

The authors conclude that Malta contains enough sites and events to gratify "fifty shades" of tourists (76). They argue that the Malta's "rich and enticing reality brings together pilgrims and tourists" and that the "religious/spiritual relatives intertwined with the island's cultural legacy and intangible heritage entice many to engage with them" (77). In consonance with the Lumbini and Özkan case studies, they conclude on a critical note that the defining line between pilgrim and tourist is often "too fine to distinguish" (77).

These case studies demonstrate that the tourist-pilgrim duality cannot be easily categorized nor deconstructed despite the application of the new theoretical concepts of social distance and fulfillment. Pilgrim and tourist will always be linked but they should not always be compared in a Venn-diagram fashion. Their deconstruction as counterparts is necessary in order to develop smart management plans for sustainable cultural tourism.

What literature lacks is information on long-distance walking pilgrims and cultural routes. The corporal experience of walking long distances naturally sets apart tourists and pilgrims regardless of belief. The very impact of walking on the physical body heightens a transformative experience for the 21st century walker who generally moves via modern transportation. The question remains, if religion is no longer a concrete standard to make a distinction between pilgrims and tourists, how can we analyze the two? The following chapter will discuss the methodology that lays out the framework for data collection to answer this question by inverting the current focus of scholarship on pilgrims-as-tourists to tourists-as-pilgrims. Socio-cultural and economic dimensions are therefore challenged to disrupt the pilgrim-tourist continuum as a linear path from one polar opposite to another and instead, realize its concentricity.

Chapter 3. Methodology of the Research

The Literature Review highlighted the changes in approaches to studying the pilgrim-tourist interrelationship. There is a shift in the paradigmatic analyses of the terms pilgrim and tourist, where their difference is not dependent on religious beliefs. Now, researchers are trying to find methods to study tourist and pilgrim interaction at sacred sites that show convergences instead of polarizing. Little literature has been written that looks at this dynamic in the context of cultural routes. This thesis project attempts to fill in these knowledge gaps on the final section of the *Via Francigena,* from Viterbo, Lazio to the Vatican State in Rome.

3.1 Research Questions

Situated in the gray area between secular and non-secular pilgrims, I explore five specific research questions. The first four questions are exploratory. The final question is more suggestive in order to provoke future research and encourage cultural heritage professionals to recognize the value in dedifferentiating tourists and pilgrims on the *Via Francigena.* The questions are:

1. How do pilgrims define their pilgrimages on the *Via Francigena*?
   a. What motivations drive the pilgrimages?
   b. What patterns exist between pilgrims' definitions of pilgrimage and their motivations?

2. In what ways do walking pilgrims define their experiences on the *Via Francigena*?

3. How do pilgrims perceive tourism on the *Via Francigena* in the region of Lazio?

4. Does the territory of Lazio facilitate positive points of convergence between pilgrims and tourists along the *Via Francigena*?

5. How might cultural heritage professionals deploy pilgrims' experiences of pilgrimages and tourism as well as recent scholarly literature to further enrich the region of Lazio?