

Transnational Pilgrimage Routes as Enablers of Rural Regeneration.

Evidence from the H2020 Project rurAllure

Pilgrimage has lately experienced a resurgence worldwide, with a multiplication of historic and contemporary pilgrimage routes being developed. Besides being a spiritual practice, pilgrimage can contribute to several EU objectives regarding cultural heritage-led development and environmental protection. Being linked to slow tourism, pilgrimage was particularly appreciated in the aftermath of the Covid-19 pandemic. These routes are traversed by thousands of people each year, mobilising substantial resources and boosting economic development opportunities. They also strengthen territorial identity in less-developed rural areas, which suffer from depopulation and youth drain. Drawing on evidence from six pilgrimage routes involved in the H2020 project rurAllure, this paper highlights the multi-stakeholder collaboration (government, church, private and third sector) at multiple scales (local, regional, national and transnational) that guarantees their success as enablers of rural regeneration.

Le vie di pellegrinaggio transnazionali come fattori di rigenerazione rurale. Testimonianze dal progetto H2020 rurAllure

Il pellegrinaggio sta vivendo ultimamente una rinascita a livello mondiale, con una moltiplicazione degli itinerari storici e contemporanei. Oltre a essere una pratica spirituale, il pellegrinaggio può contribuire a diversi obiettivi dell'UE in materia di sviluppo del patrimonio culturale e di tutela dell'ambiente, poiché legato al turismo lento, particolarmente apprezzato all'indomani della pandemia Covid-19. Le vie di pellegrinaggio sono attraversate da migliaia di persone ogni anno e mobilitano ingenti risorse, favorendo le opportunità di sviluppo economico e il rafforzamento dell'identità territoriale nelle aree rurali meno sviluppate, che soffrono di spopolamento e fuga dei giovani. Basandosi sulle testimonianze di sei itinerari di pellegrinaggio coinvolti nel progetto H2020 rurAllure, questo articolo evidenzia la collaborazione tra più soggetti (governo, Chiesa, settore privato e terzo settore) a più scale (locale, regionale, nazionale e transnazionale), necessaria a garantire il loro successo come fattori di rigenerazione rurale.

Keywords: pilgrimage, rural regeneration, slow tourism, territorial identity, cultural heritage

Parole chiave: pellegrinaggio, rigenerazione rurale, turismo lento, identità territoriale, patrimonio culturale

University of Bologna (Rimini Campus), Department for Life Quality Studies, Centre for Advanced Studies in Tourism (CAST)
– marialaura.gasparin3@unibo.it

1. Introduction

Pilgrimage has played a crucial role in all major religions for millennia (Collins-Kreiner, 2016), implying a journey for religious reasons towards a sacred place (Smith, 1992). In medieval Europe, a vast network of Christian pilgrim's paths connected the continent, with the three main destinations being Jerusalem, Rome, and Santiago de Compostela (the so-called *peregrinationes maiores*). This mobility contributed to forge a feeling of belonging to a single culture and civilisation that was reinforced by the presence of supranational hospitality structures along the routes provided by different confraternities (Caucci von Saucken, 2014).

According to Collins-Kreiner (2016), pilgrimage is currently in a phase of rejuvenation, losing some of its original features while acquiring new ones. The multiplication of historical and contemporary routes being developed and the demand for this type of experience, both with religious and broader spiritual motivations, testifies that pilgrimage constitutes «as much a phenomenon of Europe's future as of its past» (Bowman, Johannsen and Ohrvik, 2020, p. 439). These transnational trails contribute to rural regeneration by connecting mainly rural towns and small municipalities into a more comprehensive network leveraging their natural and cultural heritage (De Luca and others, 2021). The heritagisation of European pilgrimage routes



(Bowman, Johannsen and Ohrvik, 2020) can generate economic and social benefits for the rural areas traversed, including employment opportunities and services for citizens, avoiding the rural exodus.

The European Union (EU) has been at the forefront of implementing several policies and funded projects to stimulate culture-led rural development processes (i.e. Horizon Europe). Despite its limited competencies in terms of culture and tourism, the EU's role in supporting member states and incentivising the creation of transnational cooperation networks (Littoz-Monnet, 2013) is significant. The rurAllure project (<https://rurallure.eu/>; last access: 16.IX.2024), in which the author is involved, is a testament to this, aiming to foster cultural cooperation and sustainable tourism development in the proximity of European historic pilgrimage routes, spreading the benefits of pilgrimage to rural areas nearby by improving collaboration among stakeholders. Funded by the EU's Horizon 2020 Coordination and Support Action, under the call H2020-SC6-TRANSFORMATIONS-2020 (grant agreement n. 101004887), it was a three-year project (January 2021-December 2023) involving 16 partners from seven countries (Hungary, Italy, Norway, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, and Spain) and six pilgrimage routes: the Way of St. James, Via Francigena, Via Romea Germanica, Romea Strata, St. Olav Ways and Mary's Way.

Through the lenses of the rurAllure's experience, this paper aims to shed light on the complex multi-stakeholder collaboration at multiple scales needed to enable pilgrimage routes' role as catalysts for rural regeneration. While the multi-scale governance of pilgrimage routes has been little explored in the literature (Santos and Olleros-Rodríguez, 2023), the need for a shared governance framework and policy alignment among the territories involved in these routes has already been recognised as one of the main obstacles hindering their local development potential (Gasparini and Mariotti, 2024). This research intends to answer the following questions: In which ways do transnational pilgrimage routes enable rural regeneration processes? Which actors are involved, and which strategies do they use?

The paper first discusses territorial identity and rural regeneration in relation to pilgrimage routes. It continues with a brief analysis of some of the existing policies and strategies promoting rural regeneration through pilgrimage routes, slow tourism, and cultural heritage-led development at the EU and country levels. Taking the pilgrimage routes that are part of rurAllure as a case study, it analyses the rural regeneration processes they have enabled,

the actors involved, and strategies adopted. Finally, the main results are discussed, and considerations for future research are highlighted.

2. Territorial identity, rural regeneration, and pilgrimage routes

Territorial identity can be understood as a bottom-up process by which local communities actively decide which resources are worth enhancing to achieve local development (Banini and Pollice, 2015). Similar to *active territoriality* (Dematteis and Governa, 2005) and the approach that conceives the territory as a collective project (Leloup, Moyart and Pecqueur, 2005), identity is not seen as stable and fixed (Banini, 2017), attached to a legacy inherited from the past, but instead as forward-looking, concerned with the future potential of the places and its inhabitants.

The presence of ancient pilgrimage routes has shaped the landscape of the territories traversed, leaving behind a rich cultural heritage, including tangible (churches, shrines, monasteries, pilgrims' hostels, and hospitals) and intangible elements (symbols, social practices, traditions), contributing to building the identity of those places (Banini, 2017). It is not just a reflection of the distinctive local culture but also a part of a transnationally shared heritage. Therefore, pilgrimage routes provide an added territorial value (Dematteis, 2001), reinforcing local identity and fostering a sense of belonging to a shared cultural identity as part of a larger project.

In this context, pilgrimage routes can create socio-cultural and economic opportunities for a rebirth of rural areas, one of these opportunities being slow tourism. This form of slow mobility (mainly on foot or by bike) entails an experience with a low environmental impact, in which the focus is placed on the journey rather than the destination and the relationships established between the traveller and the territory (Cisani and Rabbiosi, 2023; Moscarelli, 2021). The «walking paths tourism» (*turismo dei cammini*), as defined by Baiocchetti and Zanolin (2022), encompasses several types of tourism practices, from slow rural tourism to cultural and religious tourism, all highly desirable experiences in the aftermath of the Covid-19 pandemic for its psycho-physical and transformational benefits.

The broader framework of «territorial regeneration» can be helpful in that it refers to a transformational approach intended to enhance or revitalize natural and social systems (Sarkar, Kotler and Foglia, 2023) in less-developed rural areas physi-

cally distant from urban centres, therefore considered marginal or peripheral (Pileri and Moscarelli, 2021). Besides the physical distance, «relational remoteness» is also a cause of marginalization, referred to as the lack of socio-economic and political connections (Moscarelli, 2021). In this context, Pileri and Moscarelli (2021) proposed the concept of «line-based slow tourism projects», developed along natural or anthropic lines, able to connect core and peripheries, transcending administrative borders and policy fragmentation, generating cooperation opportunities across different territories. Indeed, this is the case of pilgrimage routes, cycling lanes or abandoned railways (greenways) that bring together small, rural towns with larger cities, giving centrality to the route (Lois González and Lopez, 2021) rather than to single destinations.

Along the same lines, Azzari and Dallari (2019) proposed the larger framework of Supranational Local Systems (SLoS) to encompass transnational cultural routes (including pilgrimage) and their trans-scalar aptitude. For these scholars, transnational cultural routes are spontaneous projects born at the local level, with a strong territorial identity given by being part of an ancient itinerary but then embedded in the international context, thanks to supranational bodies such as the Council of Europe (CoE). The trans-scalar dimension is crucial, as the local nodes of these networks are constantly in relation with other scales, «from local to national, regional to global, but also local-local, national-national» (Banini, 2011, p. 20, my translation). For these characteristics, cultural routes (in particular pilgrimage routes) have been considered linear territorial systems (Azzari and Dallari, 2019).

3. Policy framework relevant to pilgrimage routes

The EU has implemented several policies and funding mechanisms to stimulate rural regeneration, intensified after the Covid-19 pandemic through the *NextGenerationEU* recovery funds. In terms of tourism and culture, the EU's competencies are limited to complementing the actions of member states, with initiatives mainly directed at setting priorities and fostering integration through the creation of transnational networks (Litzo-Monnet, 2013). Conversely, rural development policies may present more potential to support pilgrimage routes, and the LEADER programme has been its cornerstone since the early Eighties. Several projects have been financed under this programme in recent years to stimulate cooperation along pilgrimage routes led by Local Action Groups (LAGs)

from different regions and countries. Additionally, the *Long-term Vision for the EU's rural areas up to 2040*, launched by the European Commission (EC) in 2021, aims at giving more centrality to rural areas and can act as a general framework for pilgrimage routes.

Another key priority for the EU is territorial cohesion, which it promotes through the Interreg programme and the EU macro-regional strategies. These initiatives have already identified cultural routes as levers for regional development (i.e., the RO-UTES4U programme). In terms of research and innovation, the Horizon Europe (former H2020) programme has been a strong supporter of socio-economic development opportunities in rural and remote areas, using culture as a driver. Many past and present projects, including Ruritage, Textour, and rurAllure, have incorporated cases of pilgrimage and cultural routes, demonstrating the EU's commitment to this area.

Regarding the institutional framework for pilgrimage routes, the CoE launched in 1987 the European Cultural Routes Programme as a means to foster transnational cooperation through culture. For this programme, the concept of cultural routes is not limited to religious routes but encompasses all expressions of culture, including arts and crafts, architecture, landscape, history, and civilizations that are shared by at least three European countries (<https://www.coe.int/en/web/cultural-routes>; last accessed: 29.VII.2023).

As part of rurAllure, a policy analysis was performed, explicitly targeting policies concerning pilgrimage and walking routes. References were found under tourism, culture, and rural development policies, although the situation changed from one country to another (for a detailed review, see <https://rurallure.eu/rurallure-policy-brief/>; last accessed: 16.IX.2024). In the seven countries involved in rurAllure, pilgrimage is not the sole subject of public policies. However, it is part of cultural or tourism policies in most cases, with a few exemptions where pilgrimage is considered a phenomenon contributing to several policy areas, such as the case of the Norwegian National Strategy on Pilgrimage, launched in 2012. Another example is the Galicia region in Spain, where public legislation on pilgrimage is the most advanced in Europe, merging cultural policies into tourist ones.

Regarding the Italian case, several regions have enacted laws on pilgrimage and walking routes (Tuscany, Lazio, Veneto, etc.), and others have developed tourist promotion initiatives around the routes (i.e. Emilia-Romagna). However, there has yet to be a framework law to organize the governan-



ce of walking routes at the national level. Still, a proposal for such a law is currently being evaluated by the Ministry of Culture. At the same time, the Ministry of Tourism has included pilgrimage routes in the Tourism Strategic Plan 2023–2027 under the cultural tourism theme and launched an online catalogue to promote Italian religious routes given the upcoming Holy Year in 2025.

4. Rural regeneration processes through transnational pilgrimage routes: the case of rurAllure

The rurAllure project provides an interesting case study to analyse the rural regeneration processes that pilgrimage routes can trigger. In response to a Coordination and Support Action from the H2020 programme, one of its main goals is to foster networking, policy dialogue, and mutual learning among stakeholders and develop an ecosystem of pilgrimage routes as sustainable transnational cultural and economic assets. Through different examples of the routes involved in the project, we can see the various strategies and actors involved at different scales that are aimed at harnessing the rural regeneration potential of these linear territorial systems.

4.1. Rural regeneration strategies

As evidenced above, the approach to developing and promoting pilgrimage routes changes considerably due to the administrative organisation of the countries traversed by the routes. While some have centralised models at the national level (i.e. Norway), others delegate decision-making power to the regions (i.e. Spain and Italy), making coordination across borders more difficult. What is common to all routes is that the positive effects generated by the presence of pilgrims and their impacts on local economies are felt almost exclusively in the places located directly along the paths. At the same time, adjacent rural areas become passive witnesses of the flow of pilgrims.

Thanks to rurAllure, which developed detours from the main route to expose the pilgrims to «off the beaten path» heritage sites, this «weak point» – the impact remaining only along the route – was transformed into an opportunity to enrich the pilgrims' experience and spread the benefits to wider rural areas. The project created a geo-localised open platform (<https://ways.rurallure.eu/european-pilgrimage-routes>; last accessed: 16.IX.2024) with a corresponding mobile application to map rural venues and heritage sites. The platform shows different distances to the main pilgrimage paths. It in-



Fig. 1. RurAllure six pilgrimage routes and their heritage focus.
Source: rurAllure project deliverables (<https://rurallure.eu/project/deliverables/>; last accessed: 16.IX.2024).

cludes a directory of relevant stakeholders active in the promotion of culture and tourism: public authorities, tourism stakeholders, and cultural and creative industries. To assess the potential of the proposed innovation, four pilot areas (specific stretches along the routes) have been identified, each featuring a particular type of heritage (figure 1): *a*) literary heritage on the St. James Ways; *b*) thermal and water-related heritage on the three Ways to Rome (Via Francigena, Via Romea Germanica and Romea Strata); *c*) ethnographic heritage on the St. Olav Ways; *d*) natural heritage on the Mary's Way.

The overall results have been the identification of more than 8,000 points of interest close to the six pilgrimage routes, the creation of over 100 detours to explore the areas near the routes, and the recording of almost 50 audio narratives that allow pilgrims to learn more about the theme proposed and the territory crossed. In addition to the value of the technological platform as a logistic tool to plan the trip and connect with fellow pilgrims, a key outcome has been to work with the stakeholders in each pilot area to identify the heritage elements and co-create the narratives to be featured.

In addition, to understand the willingness to take a detour and spend a few hours or days exploring the surrounding territory, questionnaires were distributed, both to en-route pilgrims (mainly in person) and pilgrims in the planning phase of their trip (online). The results suggest a fair degree of flexibility to adjust the planned schedule (both for en-route and pilgrims to-be). This flexibility might correspond to the motivations expressed in the questionnaire to undertake the journey, which included enjoying the landscape and getting to know the cultural heritage of the places along the route. A further interesting aspect that emerged is that there can be different points of entry and exit to the routes, not strictly limited to the official departure/arrival destinations, confirming the journey's value as an experience in itself and providing the opportunity to target a different type of pilgrim.

4.2. Networks of actors

Cultural routes certified by the CoE (as is the case of most routes from rurAllure) must be supported by a European network with legal status, such as an association or federation of associations. Their internal structure is usually similar, formed by a president and a board of directors, a general assembly, a scientific committee, and a secretariat. However, their governance model varies in terms of the degree of centralisation in decision-making, type of members, etc. In all cases, various stakeholders

are involved as full members or partners, including public authorities, non-profit organisations, cultural associations, religious institutions, tourism promotion bodies, and service providers.

Besides the crucial role of the associations managing pilgrimage routes in engaging local actors and stimulating development opportunities, the local communities are the ones that take ownership of the project and contribute to its concrete implementation. For instance, in Argenta (Italy), one of rurAllure's pilot areas, even if the municipality is not a formal member of the Via Romea Germanica Association, the Argenta Ecomuseum and the Tourist Information Office develop tourism products in connection with the route, taking part of the regional initiative *Cammini Emilia-Romagna* (Gasparini and Mariotti, forthcoming).

The Camino de Santiago is taken as a role model by most pilgrimage routes as one of the most developed projects. Being policymaking a regional competence in Spain, the Galician governance model is the one acting as a benchmark, led by the regional government (Xunta de Galicia), the Galician Tourism Agency, the Ministry of Cultural Heritage, and the S.A. de Xestión do Plan Xacobeo (a public company under the tutelage of the Galician Tourism Agency). This governance framework is completed by the Catholic church, who grants the *Compostela* or certificate of arrival to Santiago, the Associations of Friends of the St. James Ways, with 37 associations in Galicia alone, and the Associations of Municipalities along the Way, which are instrumental for the protection, management and promotion of the pilgrimage route.

The St. Olav Ways leading to King Olav Haraldson's tomb in Trondheim (Norway) are following in the footsteps of Santiago. Having launched the national strategy on pilgrimage in 2012 as a joint initiative of five ministries (Environment, Culture, Industry, Agriculture and Local Government), the Ministry of Culture set up the National Pilgrims Centre to implement it, together with six Regional Pilgrim Centres along the main path (*Gudbrandsdalsleden*). This top-down approach, consistent with the centralised policymaking powers in Norway, is now being counterbalanced by local stakeholders' interest in setting up new regional pilgrim centres across the other eight ways leading to Trondheim. The coordination across the Nordic countries involved in the ways (Finland, Denmark, Sweden and Norway) is the duty of the European Association for the Cultural Routes of St. Olav Ways (ACSOW).

On the other hand, the valorisation of Mary's Way has been led mainly by religious associations and volunteers to connect traditional Marian shri-



nes in Central and Eastern Europe that have attracted worshippers for centuries. The pilgrimage routes form a cross on the map, connecting Mariazell (Austria) with Șumuleu Ciuc (Romania) and Częstochowa (Poland) with Međugorje (Bosnia and Herzegovina). The Way of Mary Association was founded in Hungary in 2006 and later joined forces with similar associations in the countries traversed, dedicated to promoting pilgrimage. The value of cooperation was also recognised by the three associations managing the pilgrimage routes leading to Rome (Via Francigena, Via Romea Germanica and Romea Strata), which signed a Memorandum of Understanding in 2021, mainly due to the upcoming Holy Year in Rome, to develop joint projects and knowledge exchange in their Italian stretches.

5. Discussion and conclusions

As we have seen through the rurAllure case study, transnational pilgrimage routes can trigger regenerative processes in rural areas by leveraging their cultural and natural heritage and shared identity elements related to these ancient paths (De Luca and others, 2021). The rurAllure methodology to promote cultural and natural heritage sites located nearby the main routes has the potential to be replicated in other stretches of the same routes and transferred to other pilgrimage routes, spreading the benefits of the pilgrimage phenomenon to wider rural areas. Beyond technological innovation, one of the primary outcomes of rurAllure has been to strengthen partnerships among local actors in each pilot area. Public authorities, service providers, LAGs, rural museums, and heritage sites have identified a new way of conceiving rural development, converging interests towards a shared development vision along the pilgrimage routes and their surroundings.

Through the examples from the six pilgrimage routes, we could also understand the complex networks of actors that form these routes and their internal and external cooperation strategies to contribute to local development through trans-scalar and multi-stakeholder cooperation. It is clear that to function, these routes necessarily have to put in dialogue different geographical scales (from local to transnational and vice versa) but also generate local-local connections (between towns belonging to the same path) or between cross-border regions (Banini, 2011). While this has excellent potential for territorial cohesion and rural regeneration, in line with the EU policy priorities, it is also one of the main challenges they face, as administrative and policy fragmentation occurs among the

territories involved (Baiocchetti and Zanolin, 2022; Gasparini and Mariotti, 2024), preventing these routes from having an effective influence in the places traversed (Mariotti, 2012).

The rurAllure approach to tackle this challenge has been to strengthen the existing cooperation among members of the same route and across European pilgrimage routes to achieve higher levels of coordination among actors at various scales, responding to the aims of the Coordination and Support Action of the H2020 programme. Coordination and collaboration regard not only administrative bodies and policymakers but also the wide range of actors involved in pilgrimage routes, including but not limited to cultural associations, service providers, religious institutions, and non-profit organisations, each with different but complementary objectives to develop pilgrimage routes (Gasparini and Mariotti, 2024). One of the project's key outcomes has been the launch of the European Cooperation Network along Pilgrimage Routes, with the primary goal of advocating for relevant policies at all levels to favour coordination among actors at the Pan-European level.

The concepts proposed in recent literature that have been discussed in this paper, such as Supranational Local Systems (Azzari and Dallari, 2019) and line-based slow tourism projects (Pileri and Moscarelli, 2021), have helped capture the complexity of these «linear territorial systems» (Azzari and Dallari, 2019) while leveraging on the capabilities they offer to increase social cohesion and reduce marginality and inequality between urban and rural areas (Moscarelli, 2021). They start from a local, endogenous development approach but consider the relations created across towns and cities by being part of a larger territorial project (Leloup, Moyart and Pecqueur, 2005), which is the case of transnational pilgrimage routes. To this end, the role of supranational actors (namely the CoE and the EU) must be acknowledged, as well as the critical role of the associations managing and promoting transnational pilgrimage routes, which are meant to act as the orchestrators of the several players involved at different scales, stimulating local development and transnational cooperation. To the extent that they manage to *jump across scales* (Dematteis and Governà, 2005), creating collaborative networks, the policy fragmentation among the several territories crossed by the routes could be overcome.

A final consideration is how these historic pilgrimage routes can promote a renewed feeling of a shared European identity. While some cherish them as tools to promote intercultural dialogue, contributing to a geopolitical reconstruction of Euro-

pe (Azzari and Dallari, 2019), especially in current times, others are more sceptical, arguing that culture is instrumentalised to foster unity in times of perceived crisis and fragmentation (Chemin, 2016). Notwithstanding these arguments, the examples shared in this study, most notably the *Camino de Santiago*, have demonstrated that these historic pilgrimage routes are well suited to give new life to a European identity, building from the values of tolerance, respect, freedom of movement and solidarity as proposed in the Santiago de Compostela Declaration, but as constantly evolving values, being redefined by the modern pilgrims while acquiring contemporary features and identities (Collins-Kreiner, 2016).

Further academic research on cultural and pilgrimage routes is needed, as the theoretical concepts discussed in this study are novel and in a state of evolution, with the potential to contribute through future studies to their further refinement. In this regard, incorporating notions of neo-endogenous development applied to rural areas, where pilgrimage routes combine endogenous resources with external support from exogenous actors, could be a promising avenue for future research.

Riferimenti bibliografici e sitografici

Azzari Margherita and Fiorella Dallari (2019), *Le Vie Romee dell'Europa e del Mediterraneo di viandanti, pellegrini e mercanti. Le strade dell'identità europea nelle pratiche contemporanee*, in Franco Salvatori (Ed.), *L'apporto della Geografia tra rivoluzioni e riforme. Atti del XXXII Congresso Geografico Italiano (Rome, 2017)*, A.Ge.I, pp. 935-944.

Baiocchetti Giovanni and Giacomo Zanolin (2022), *Il turismo dei cammini come opportunità per lo sviluppo locale nell'Italia minore: il caso di San Benedetto*, in Luisa Spagnoli (Ed.), *Itinerari per la rigenerazione territoriale. Tra sviluppi reticolari e sostenibili*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, pp. 193-201.

Banini Tiziana (2011), *Introduzione alle identità territoriali*, in Tiziana Banini (Ed.), *Mosaici identitari: Dagli italiani a Vancouver alla kreppe islandese*, Rome, Nuova Cultura, pp. 9-25.

Banini Tiziana and Fabio Pollice (2015), *Territorial Identity as a Strategic Resource for the Development of Rural Areas*, in «Semestrare di Studi e Ricerche di Geografia», 1, pp. 7-16.

Banini Tiziana (2017), *Proposing a Theoretical Framework for Local Territorial Identities: Concepts, Questions and Pitfalls*, in «Territorial Identity and Development», 2, 2, pp. 16-23.

Bowman Marion, Dirk Johannsen and Ane Ohrvik (2020), *Reframing Pilgrimage in Northern Europe: Introduction to the Special Issue*, in «Numen», 67, 5-6, pp. 439-452.

Caucci von Saucken Paolo (2014), *Roma, Santiago, Gerusalemme: complessità, unità e integrazione delle peregrinationes maiores*, in Anna Trono, Marco Leo Imperiale and Giuseppe Marella (Eds.), *In viaggio verso Gerusalemme: culture, economie e territori*, Galatina (LE), Mario Congelo, pp. 3-10.

Chemin J. Eduardo (2016), *Re-inventing Europe: The Case of the Camino de Santiago de Compostela as European Heritage and the Political and Economic Discourses of Cultural Unity*, in «International Journal of Tourism Anthropology», 5, 1-2, pp. 24-46.

Cisani Margherita and Chiara Rabbiosi (2023), *Exploring Tourism 'Slow' Mobilities*, in Lucio Biasiori, Federico Mazzini and Chiara Rabbiosi (Eds.), *Reimagining Mobilities across the Humanities*, London, Routledge, pp. 156-169.

Collins-Kreiner Noga (2016), *The Lifecycle of Concepts: The Case of 'Pilgrimage Tourism'*, in «Tourism Geographies», 18, 3, pp. 322-334.

Council of Europe (1987), *The Santiago de Compostela Declaration*, <https://rm.coe.int/16806f57d6> (last accessed: 16.IX.2024).

De Luca Claudia, Javier López-Murcia, Elisa Conticelli, Angela Santangelo, Michele Perello and Simona Tondelli (2021), *Participatory Process for Regenerating Rural Areas through Heritage-Led Plans: The RURITAGE Community-Based Methodology*, in «Sustainability», 13, 9, 5212.

Dematteis Giuseppe (2001), *Per una geografia della territorialità attiva e dei valori territoriali*, in Paola Bonora (Ed.), *SLoT. Quaderno 1. Appunti, discussioni, bibliografie*, Bologna, Baskerville, pp. 11-30.

Dematteis Giuseppe and Francesca Governa (Eds.) (2005), *Territorialità, sviluppo locale, sostenibilità: Il modello SLoT*, Milan, FrancoAngeli.

Gasparini Maria Laura and Alessia Mariotti (2024), *Multi-Stakeholder Governance for Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Routes in Europe*, in Kiran A. Shinde and Joseph M. Cheer (Eds.), *A Research Agenda for Religious Tourism*, Cheltenham, Edward Elgar, pp. 39-56.

Gasparini Maria Laura and Alessia Mariotti (forthcoming), *Negotiating between Slow Mobility and Heritagisation: Multi-Stakeholder's Perceptions, Uses and Perspective Views over Heritage Landscape*, in «Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana».

Leloup Fabienne, Laurence Moyart and Bernard Pecqueur (2005), *La gouvernance territoriale comme nouveau mode de coordination territoriale ?*, in «Géographie, Économie, Société», 7, 4, pp. 321-331.

Littoz-Monnet Annabelle (2013), *Cultural Networks as Vectors of European Integration*, in Richard McMahon (Ed.), *Post-Identity? Culture and European Integration*, London, Routledge, pp. 161-175.

Lois González Ruben Camilo and Lucrezia Lopez (2021), *The Singularity of the Camino de Santiago as a Contemporary Tourism Case*, in Paolo Pileri and Rossella Moscarelli (Eds.), *Cycling & Walking for Regional Development*, Cham, Springer, pp. 221-233.

Mariotti Alessia (2012), *Local System, Networks and International Competitiveness: from Cultural Heritage to Cultural Routes*, in «Almatourism», 3, 5, pp. 81-95.

Moscarelli Rossella (2021), *Cooperazione amministrativa e turismo lento: come il progetto di un cammino può ridurre la marginalità e le disegualianze territoriali*, in «Folio», 38, pp. 54-63.

Pileri Paolo and Rossella Moscarelli (2021), *From Slow Tourism to Slow Travel: An Idea for Marginal Regions*, in Paolo Pileri and Rossella Moscarelli (Eds.), *Cycling & Walking for Regional Development*, Cham, Springer, pp. 3-16.

Santos Xosé M. and Jorge Ollerós-Rodríguez (2023), *The Multiple Scales in the Governance of the Way of Saint James*, in Dino Bozonelos and Moira Polyxeni (Eds.), *The Politics of Religious Tourism*, Wallingford (UK), CABI, pp. 118-130.

Sarkar Christian, Philip Kodler and Enrico Foglia (2023), *Sustainability, Resilience, Regeneration – What's the Difference?*, <https://www.regenerationjournal.org/sustainability-resilience-regeneration-whats-the-difference/> (last accessed: 16.IX.2024).

Smith Valene L. (1992), *Introduction: The quest in quest*, in «Annals of Tourism Research», 17, 1, pp. 1-17.

<https://www.coe.int/en/web/cultural-routes> (last accessed: 29.VII.2023).

<https://rurallure.eu/> (last accessed: 16.IX.2024).

<https://rurallure.eu/project/deliverables/> (last accessed: 16.IX.2024).

<https://rurallure.eu/rurallure-policy-brief/> (last accessed: 16.IX.2024).

<https://ways.rurallure.eu/european-pilgrimage-routes/> (last accessed: 16.IX.2024).

