Chapter 28

Religion and Spirituality in Tourism

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Clearing the Path

Systematic and comparative contributions to the mutual importance of religion/spirituality and tourism have been scarce (Vukonić, 1996; Bremer, 2005; Sharpley, 2009; Collins-Kreiner, 2010a; Norman, 2011; Stausberg, 2011). Efforts tended to be isolated, separated, based on single case studies and divided along regional lines and academic disciplines.

The emergence of a more coherent field of research was delayed by the persistence of some mental patterns. For many people, including scholars, tourism and faith/religion/spirituality are placed on opposite positions on their mental maps. For example, while faith/religion is thought to deal with ultimate concerns, tourism is often perceived as driven by matters of immediate interest; while religion relates to the other world and salvation, tourism is geared towards this-worldly pleasure; whereas religion belongs to the realm of the sacred, tourism incarnates the profane. In this scheme of things, travels motivated by religion can, by definition, not be classified as touristic. In order to speak about such travels one therefore reverts to terms like pilgrimage. Since tourism as such in this scheme cannot be religious, a tourist driven by religious motives is then styled as "pilgrim," even when undertaking trips beyond traditional pilgrimages. This bifurcated mental map, which a priori divides faith/religion/spirituality and tourism into two incompatible realms, is often judgmentally linked to anti-tourist perspectives, where tourism has an overwhelmingly negative connotation. It appears as if religion would risk losing its presumed purity when it encounters tourism. The tropes of authenticity and commercialization/commodification are routinely invoked in conceptualizing the tourism–religion encounters (MacCannell, 1976/1999; Xie, 2003; Bremer, 2004; Wall and Xie, 2005; Zhu, 2012), so that narratives of defilement of religion by tourism come easily in a hermeneutics of suspicion. To clear the ground for a renewed study of the religion/tourism interface one needs to liberate the agenda from such preconceptions in the light of

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more critical and nuanced understandings of both religion and tourism (Stausberg, 2011). In more recent scholarship, religion has been brought down to earth. For example, on this view religion is not per se averse to commercialism or entertainment, that it is not per se "authentic," and is not operative in nonspatial, nonmaterial, noneconomic terms. Tourism, on the other hand, cannot a priori be reduced to meaningless, superficial consumption, but has much to do with meaning-making and identity, social status, and relationships.

Religion is sometimes evoked as a causal factor for tourism. In one of the formative books of the field MacCannell (1976/1999) conceptualized tourism, which for him centers on sight-seeing, as a ritual amounting to "a collective striving for a transcendence" (MacCannell, 1976/1999: 13). He also drew connections to religion when calling to the sight a "sacred object" (1976/1999: 45) or when referring to the process of creation of attractions as "Sight Sacralization" (1976/1999: 43). On the one hand, this was intended as an analogy (sight/sacred object); on the other hand, the theory implied the narrative of a replacement of religion by tourism in modernity that amounted to an explanation of the importance of tourism for modern society. Another functionalist/religionist explanation of tourism was suggested by Graburn (1989) who argued that the sacred was the ultimate source of renewal, and that tourism as a "sacred journey" is a recurrent, extraordinary period of renewal necessary for the upkeep of ordinary society. These macrotheories are questionable in their basic assumptions and their empirical basis. Even Franklin's (2003) sociological textbook uses a religious vocabulary ("redemption," "devotion," "cult," "sacred") but does make his theoretical basis explicit. Accordingly, these studies did not contribute to the empirical study of the actual connections between religion and tourism. Similarly, interpretations of souvenirs in terms of sacredness (Gordon, 1986) are also speculative, whereas studies of the production, circulation, and use of religious objects as souvenirs are rare (Stausberg, 2011).

Religious Parameters of Traveling

Travel is a universal behavior, and most religious traditions have produced documents containing pronouncements on traveling, including pilgrimage, or they transmit values and have articulated prescriptions on travels that are also relevant for tourism (Timothy and Olsen, 2006). Religious or spiritual values can inform decision-making such as destination choice. Conservative Christians, for example, may wish to avoid places associated with what they consider immoral behavior. Conversely, tourism attuned to specific groups of Christians is an emerging force, often referred to as faith tourism or Christian travel (Stausberg, 2011). Different branches of religious traditions have produced different travel cultures and preferential patterns, sometimes in implicit or explicit distinction from each other. These formations of tourist sensibilities are not only informed by religious factors, but also by wider cultural forces such as Orientalism, Romanticism, or, more recently, postmodernism. Informed by Orientalism, Romanticism, and Protestant theological, aesthetical, and material normative traditions, Protestant tourists/pilgrims traveling to Israel, for example, show different behavioral patterns from Catholic or Orthodox tourists: often repulsed by the sensuality of Catholic and Orthodox places, emerging Protestant tourism developed a preference for sites that emphasized open spaces and panoramic views on the biblical landscape with traces of the natural past (such as olive gardens or ruins) rather than the presence of the Oriental other, be it Islam or Christian and Orthodox Christianity (Ron and Feldman, 2009). In recent years, "biblical food" has become an ingredient to authenticate the Holy Land experience of religious tourists (Ron and Timothy, 2013).

In religions like Islam, Judaism, Hinduism, and Jainism dietary prescriptions are relevant parameters for certain types of believers and for the travel and hospitality sector, insofar as it wishes to accommodate religious travelers. Muslim travelers are now increasingly catered for by offering halal meals and gender-separated swimming pool areas; similarly, hotels and spas offer Passover specials. By the 1880s Jewish resorts were established in the Catskill and Adirondack Mountains in the USA. Sometimes, society imposes discriminatory practices. Until the mid-twentieth century, for example, widespread anti-Semitism in countries such as Germany and the USA forced Jewish tourists into separate holiday-ghettos (Ioannides and Cohen Ioannides, 2004), known as "resort anti-Semitism." Still in the mid-1950s, according to the Anti-Defamation League, some 30% of hotels in the USA did not take in Jewish patrons; in the states of Maine, Vermont, and New Hampshire 56% of hotels would refuse to accommodate Jewish guests (Bajohr, 2003).

Not only does the hospitality sector positively or sometimes negatively deal with religious people, but some religious organizations, in particular Christian churches, pay attention to tourists and the phenomenon of tourism. Special churches are built for tourists, for example at seaside destinations, or ministers are sent for pastoral care among tourists (Stausberg, 2011). In contemporary Judaism, the Chabad Movement offers shelter and services to trekkers in South Asia and seeks to draw them into a religious lifestyle (Maoz and Bekerman, 2009). Moreover, religious organizational units such as parishes are actively involved in tourism; arranging for trips, seminars, study and exchange visits, pilgrimages, or participation in mass events such as papal visits is one of their activities. Last but not least, ministries are set up at travel hot spots such as airports; starting off along strictly confessional lines, they are turning increasingly multidenominational or interfaith (Stausberg, 2011).

In terms of motivations, intentions, purposes, or reasons – that is, intentional factors that explain why people tour and which routes they take or what places they visit – religion and spirituality constitute both push and pull factors. Besides pilgrimage-type tourism, there are other religious purposes that push people into traveling, such as professional and amateur missions (Wuthnow and Offutt, 2008), retreats, seeking counseling, education, healing, insight (revelation, mysticism), or other forms of experience including that of volunteering and social service in the name of religion or for a religious event. Religious sites such as cathedrals or performances such as dances, rituals (even funerals), and services or public events such as feasts and festivals, fairs and exhibitions, conferences, conventions, holiday camps, or mass spectacles such as the Catholic World Youth Days are pull factors for tourists (Stausberg, 2011).

Religious Sites

Religious sites range among the most important attractions throughout the world. Based on geographical position and complexity (single nodal feature versus whole towns, mountains, and islands), function (burial and pilgrimage), and other aspects Shackley (2001) has proposed a classification of sacred sites into 10 different categories. In fact, there is a great variety of religious sites that are visited by tourists and visitation not only occurs at the major churches, but also on more inconspicuous, secondary, or tertiary nuclei such as parish churches in the countryside (Stausberg, 2011). One important distinction is that between sites belonging to living religious communities and those originating from by now extinct religions. In the latter category, however, one also finds monuments that have been (re)appropriated by new groups of users such as new agers or pagans. Typically administered by state agencies

such as national trusts (and tourism bodies often also have an interest), the management of these sites faces a potential for conflict, for which Stonehenge in England is a well-known example (Blain and Wallis, 2007). Sometimes indigenous or ethnic groups are major stakeholders; their rights and claims can also conflict with those of other users such as climbers or park authorities in the case of mountains; for example, at Uluru, Australia, tensions have also emerged between new agers and indigenous people (Stausberg, 2011).

Public administration and the state are also major stakeholders in religious sites once they have attained a status as tourism attractions or once they are identified as having the potential to become attractions. In China the state has invested heavily in the restoration of Buddhist, Confucian, and Taoist religious sites to make them attractive for tourists and thereby to yield economic benefits for the region and towns where they are located; in this way, tourism has been a factor in the recent revival of religion in China (Oakes and Sutton, 2010), but the state faces the dilemma that the potential economic gain comes at the cost of endorsing practices officially condemned as superstitious or unscientific. Accordingly, there are persistent attempts to "manage faith" rather than banning it (Shepherd, 2013: 20). Religious leaders and communities have in general endorsed exposure to tourism and most tensions resulting from aggressive take-overs of religion are eventually overcome (see Sutton and Kang, 2010), even though this requires continuous effort. Governments and public administrations typically invest in religion-related tourism in the hope of deriving economic gains from this strategy, but this remains an assumption and expectation rather than a tested fact (Shinde, 2010; Fernandes et al., 2012).

Religious stakeholders are not always in agreement about the proper interpretation and use of their sites. While Christian congregations can feel disturbed by the presence of tourists, for example by being observed (Griffith, 2011), they are often welcoming or even regard this as part of their mission (della Dora, 2012). Chinese Buddhist monks are welcoming tourism as a potential venue to spread the Buddhist message and they manage to ignore the disturbances or intrusions caused by tourists because of their Buddhist mindset (Wong et al., 2013). Religious leaders and believers can also play the role of entrepreneurs who actively develop tourism to religious sites (Shinde, 2010). In other countries, like in Morocco, tourists are requested not to visit religious sites.

In the case of popular religious sites owned and used (and typically also managed) by religious organizations, a major management challenge is the finding of a balance between the needs and expectations of local participants and tourists so that the sites can function simultaneously as a religious and as a tourism space, where different groups of users find their interests respected. Issues include site conservation in the face of physical and social, exterior and interior visitor impacts, the control of visitor flows and behavior, marketing, planning special events, financing (including the notoriously contentious issue of entrance fees), and the education of visitors (Shackley, 2001; Olsen, 2006). Many visitors ascribe a specific aura to religious sites (Afferni et al., 2011; Shepherd, 2013), which is constitutive for their attractiveness and needs to be curated by managers for the site to remain sustainable. Many religious sites are officially branded as heritage sites (Stausberg, 2011); on the one hand this gives additional stature to these sites, on the other hand it frames their modus operandi (Shepherd, 2013).

Psychological typologies of visitors to religious sites are rare and specific to few sites (Francis et al., 2010). Typically, visits to religious sites are embedded in tours that also comprise visits to other attractions. Religious sites are visited by tourists belonging to a diversity of motivational categories for a variety of purposes ranging from time filling and relaxation

to convenient or scenic location, cultural and aesthetic interests, nostalgia, and search for identity, to religious motivations, for example a desire to meditate or pray or to attend a service. Often, the boundaries between these different interests are fluid. Religious people, for example, will most likely also appreciate the artworks in a church, or its scenic location, in addition to saying prayers, lighting a candle, or attending services. Enjoying the scenery or the landscape may be a nonreligious aesthetic experience, looked down upon as superficial by religious people, or it is embedded in a religious worldview, for example as an instance of the holiness of creation (della Dora, 2012). Religious activities at the sites can be perceived as a disturbance as they prevent visitors from moving around freely and appreciating the artworks, but they may also contribute to the attractiveness and authenticity of the visit experience (Griffith, 2011 for Australian cathedral visitors). In some cases they can trigger religious experiences among visitors (Kasim, 2011).

The fact that religious sites are visited during a trip does not turn it into an example of religious tourism. The latter term, which has been used in slightly different manners in the literature (Rinschede, 1992; Vukonić, 1996; Santos, 2003; Sena da Silveira, 2004; Mazza, 2007; Mu et al., 2007) should be reserved to such forms of tourism that are predominantly motived by explicit religious purposes. Religious tourism is an ideal-type for scholars but in practice most forms of religious tourism also have other purposes, such as socialization, education, or leisure. Moreover, the meanings of the term religious are contextual and data are semantics-laden. For example, very few visitors to the Chinese Buddhist temple complex of Wutai Shan, a United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) World Heritage Site, count as religious tourists in official statistics, but in fact most visitors intend to worship the Buddha in some way; while this would qualify as a religious activity in Western language and while only people who self-identify as religious would probably engage in acts of worship, in the Chinese context the situational performance of such acts is a traditional activity which does not have implications for the self-identification of people in terms of a religious identity (Shepherd, 2013).

Pilgrimages

Pilgrimages are the prototypical form of religious tourism. Given the conceptual dichotomies outlined above, pilgrimages are often not acknowledged as a form of tourism. In some cultural contexts, religious actors clearly reject this identification, and in the field one can observe how these categories are negotiated in the management of expectations and experiences, sometimes in combination with the rhetoric of authenticity: in some Christian discourses, authentic pilgrimages are tours on acknowledged religious routes to religious destinations and for religious purposes that deny the apparent touristic element in them. Pilgrimage routes are not only traveled for religious reasons; while we are lacking information for earlier periods, some recent studies indicate that religious purposes may not be the dominant motive among people using pilgrimage routes (Hoshino, 2007; Fernandes et al., 2012). On the pilgrimage route (*camino*) to Santiago de Compostela, the word *turingo*, a fusion of the words for tourist (*turista*) and pilgrim (*peregrine*), is used as a rather offensive term for those who are accused of misusing pilgrimage infrastructure such as hostels for cheap holidaymaking (Sepp, 2012). The presence of nonpilgrims helps pilgrims to assert their own role and identity; for tourists, the presence of pilgrims adds to the perceived authenticity and attractiveness of a destination. Rather than a dichotomy, in actual practice people sometimes travel by framing their trip as a pilgrimage, while this is not the case on other trips to the same destination.

Travelers can alternate and play with these roles during their trips. It is easily forgotten that there are diverse types of pilgrimage and tourism, and that pilgrims and tourists are aggregated categories that can turn out to be much less homogenous at closer look. Last but not least, tourism and pilgrimages are historical and thereby changing phenomena.

While there are some cases of conflict, where religious destinations have had to come to terms with the impact of increased tourism (Stausberg, 2011), research has consistently emphasized the blurred boundaries between pilgrimages and other forms of tourism (Reader, 1991; Campo, 1998; Swatos and Tomasi, 2002; Gladstone, 2005; Olsen and Timothy, 2006; Rodrígez del Alisal, 2007; Maoz and Bekerman, 2010; Stausberg, 2011). Collins-Kreiner (2010a: 161) speaks of a dedifferentiation and claims "it is practically impossible to draw clear boundaries around the category of travel or to differentiate pilgrims from tourists." Yet, as noted above, travelers make such distinctions, albeit strategically. Moreover, Collins-Kreiner's research also demonstrates that the blurring of boundaries does not obliterate the possibility of making distinctions between different groups of people and their respective travel behaviors, which correlate with their religious profiles (Collins-Kreiner, 2010a, 2010b). There are people who exclusively visit for religious reasons and only engage in ritual activities, while others do not engage in these activities at all, or only minimally, but instead engage in other activities such as touring the area, resting, eating, enjoying the views, or attending folklore performances; whereas the former are classified as pilgrims, the latter are referred to as heritage or cultural tourists; others travel out of curiosity. In the case of Jewish visitors to holy graves in Israel one finds several groups: those who called themselves pilgrims often also identified as ultra-orthodox apparently belonged to a lower social stratum compared to the cultural/heritage visitors, who referred to themselves as secular and tourists (Collins-Kreiner, 2010b). While this particular correlation should not be generalized prematurely, there clearly are relevant differences among people, which should not be blurred. Differences with regard to travel and on-site behavior comprise the selection of sites, the formation of itineraries, the timing of visits, length of stay, the range of activities engaged with both on the route and at the destination, the selection and activities of guides, the choice and characteristics of accommodation and food, the kind of information that is being sought, and the way this is done (Bar and Cohen-Hattab, 2003). Moreover, strongly religious or spirituality-based travelers are less affected by security concerns than other types of tourist (Collins-Kreiner et al., 2006).

In general, since the modern age, which is also the age of mass tourism, pilgrimages have seen a worldwide boom, and even though this is difficult or impossible to prove, there are reasons to suspect that the emergence of tourism and its facilities have contributed to this development (Stausberg, 2011). On the microlevel of single pilgrimage places, one can observe shifting behaviors and changes in transportation and infrastructure. Facilitation of access, for example, increases the number of visitors, sometimes dramatically; typically this makes the site more attractive to people who travel not, or not predominantly, for religious purposes, and the presence of many such people stimulates the opening of services to such tourists, for example restaurants and souvenir shops (which, of course, may also be patronized by people mainly traveling for religious reasons). Easier access also encourages shorter stays at the pilgrimage site (Shepherd, 2013). The tourism model of the package tour is used for the organization of pilgrimages, partly also by religious entrepreneurs (Shinde, 2010). The opening up of pilgrimage places to a greater spectrum of tourists during longer periods of the year results in social and ecological changes at these places (Shinde, 2003). High numbers of visitors to pilgrimage places in less wealthy nations typically result in environmental problems such as water pollution and deforestation and stress on services such as water supply,

transportation, the sewerage system, and waste disposal. As illustrated at a Hindu pilgrimage center, religious belief systems can result in effective denial of or indifference towards such problems; for example, believers appeal to the miraculous power of the deity as the way to resolve ecological problems or they respond by emphasizing the particular qualities of the sacred space. Moreover, pollution can also be interpreted in religious terms. Hindu religious authorities and priests emphasize the bodily, moral, and cosmic rather than the environmental dimensions of purity and pollution (Shinde, 2011). Another study from India confirms that the perception and evaluation of a religious site, here the environment of the annual Magh Mela festival in Northern India, which celebrates the confluence of the Ganges and Yamuna Rivers that holds a significant position in the Hindu religious geography, are influenced by religious activities, interests, orientations, and participation. While pilgrims evaluated the environment much more positively than other groups of stakeholders (businesspeople, boatmen, sweepers, police officers, student volunteers), the overall evaluation of the pilgrims and of local religious leaders was significantly influenced by their views of the quality of facilities such as water, toilets, electricity, roads, traffic control, and garbage pickup and their sense of support by their religious community (Ruback et al., 2008). Similar studies are called for that would compare the place perception among religious/spiritual and other tourists.

While pilgrimage is the prototypical form of religious tourism, in Western languages the term pilgrimage is also used outside of religious contexts. Metaphorical usages of the term in English are attested to from the sixteenth century (according to the *Oxford English Dictionary* online, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/143868?result=1&rskey=6vqlnD&). Such uses of the term are now quite widespread; there are also all sorts of "meccas." These terms point to the extraordinary importance of such places for specific groups characterized by shared interests (Stausberg, 2011). In scholarship, there is now a tradition of secular pilgrimage studies (Olsen and Timothy, 2006). Examples include dark tourism to disaster sites and war memorials and cemeteries, historical and nationalistic sites, literature tourism (sites connected to the lives and works of authors), celebrity and science fiction, but also sporting events, shopping malls, amusement parks, and Walt Disney World (Olsen and Timothy, 2006; Simone-Charteris and Boyd, 2010). The exact meaning and analytical purchase of the term pilgrimage in these studies remain unclear and ambiguous.

Spirituality and Spiritual Tourism

There is now increasingly talk about spiritual pilgrimages or spiritual tourism in general (Norman, 2011). This reflects the growing use of the adjective spiritual and the noun spirituality in contemporary language. Like religious/religion, the pair spiritual/spirituality is originally nonacademic vocabulary that has been adopted by scholarly use. Both pairs of terms are notoriously difficult to define, but in the case of spiritual/spirituality this difficulty is augmented since this pair explicitly or implicitly builds on religious/religion. In its dominant uses, as I observe them, spiritual/spirituality is semantically situated within and beyond the social realm of religion. The two varieties are not mutually exclusive. On the one hand, spirituality signifies a form of inward quality of religious ideas and orientation, similar to faith and piety, but more collective, deep, intense, or sincere, sometimes apparently marginal ("the Cistercian spirituality," "Quaker spirituality," "Aboriginal spirituality"). Experiencing this spirituality can be a motivating factor. On the other hand, the term is mainly used to refer to a set of phenomena that are related to modes of religiosity but which take a distance from religion. This distance can either be explicit or implicit. In the former variety, spiritual

is by definition non- or postreligious ("spiritual but not religious," or SBNR) in the sense that it criticizes, dissociates from, or even rejects organized religion; this has emerged as a form of self-identification among Westerners (Keller et al., 2013) and Westernized elites. In postcolonial situations, where religion is part of the colonial heritage, the term spirituality appears less compromised. In the second variety, spirituality refers to a set of ideas that one also can find in religious traditions but which also exist independently of them, including an emphasis and culture of the self, wholeness, holism and (inter)connectedness, meaning-, search/quest-, and experience-orientation, nontheistic cosmology, peacefulness/tolerance, and similar positive value commitments.

In the context of tourism, spirituality may accordingly mean different things. To begin with, it can point to values underlying tourism. Spiritual tourism can be used as a synonym for religious tourism, but alternatively it can be used as a specific form of religious tourism, one that is more individual, more prone to connectedness, personal meaning, and quest, or it can refer to a travel process of identity-work, voyages in search of meaningful experiences, not articulated in religious language (see the phenomenological portrait in Willson et al., 2013). Engaging in pilgrimages can be "part of a larger cultural focus on the accumulation of experiences combined with 'spiritual growth' " (Swatos, 2011: 37). Also wilderness and other forms of nature tourism can be prone to trigger experiences framed as spiritual (Frederickson and Anderson, 1999). Given that spirituality is often perceived as an open-ended exploration of journey, one can speculate about an elective affinity between spirituality and tourism (Sharpley, 2009), especially since self-development appears to be a core motive for many tourists (Pearce and Lee, 2005). Recreation can be meaningful re-creation (Norman, 2011).

The term spiritual tourism is also used for trips of active self-discovery to Asian religious sites or authorities such as ashrams, gurus, or pilgrimage destinations (Norman, 2011), for "re-centering" the self by way of immersion in presumably spiritually rich cultures (Willson, 2011), for the educational immersion in Buddhism through long-term stays in Dharamsala (Collins-Kreiner and Sagi, 2011), for the participation at traditional pilgrimages that are being adapted to SBNR agendas (Reader, 2007; Norman, 2011), or that are being subverted to feminist spirituality and thereby restored to their presumed original significance (Fedele, 2009), or for participation in ayahuasca sessions in the Amazonas (Holman, 2011). A study of an ashram in South India has shown that only a small proportion of visitors originally came for spiritual reasons, but this does not preclude the occurrence of serendipitous spiritual experiences among the nonseekers (Sharpley and Sundaram, 2005). Yoga tourism, which is often characterized by a search for spirituality, is an expanding niche within wellness tourism (Letho et al., 2006), which is a growing branch of tourism. An Australian study distinguishes between three varieties of wellness tourism: beauty spa, lifestyle resort, and spiritual retreat visitation, which differ in their sociodemographic profile and travel characteristics (Voigt et al., 2011). Australian wellness tourists are overwhelmingly female and travel alone. For them, transformation is a central theme and transcendence has emerged as a key factor. The spiritual retreat visitors typically engage in yoga, T'ai Chi, Reiki, or meditation techniques; demographically they are significantly higher educated than other groups of wellness tourists.

Conclusion

Just like nature and other spheres of reality, religion is a resource and a source of extraction for tourism. Religion and spirituality are driving forces in tourism, and the new mobility regime provided by tourism has in turn made religion more mobile. While sometimes per-

ceived as antagonists, as this chapter has demonstrated religion, spirituality, and tourism have in their shared history developed symbiotic relationships. Yet, to further develop research in this area, the mental barriers described at the outset need to be overcome. This would also open the way to a conversation and eventually also collaboration between scholars of religion and people from tourism studies. There are still many aspects of the religion/spirituality–tourism interface that have not been studied systematically and comparatively. The roles of guides as (inter)religious brokers, for example, remain virtually unstudied. So far, the overwhelming amount of work has focused on Western cultures, but religious tourism is widespread in economically less developed countries. This geographical limitation needs to be overcome. Moreover, most case studies are place-based rather than people-based. Important new directions in scholarship would be to develop multisited design or to follow people on their travels. It is often claimed that religious tourism would yield economic benefit and that tourism could contribute to greater religious tolerance; both assumptions remain to be tested empirically.

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