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Literature Review

The role of cultural practitioners in managing memories of disputed territories

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Part 3 of 4: Memory and Cultural Heritage:
From Reconciliation and Peace Building to Pilgrimage and Tourism
- Weronika Czyżewska-Poncyljusz, Umber bin Ibad, Joanna Wawrzyniak

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The second half of this review connects a wealth of literature and research on memory and cultural heritage with peace building and reconciliation. Through various examples, the discussion below explores the role of art-based educational programs and socially engaged cultural practices, particularly at community level, in addressing the trauma of conflict and providing alternative narratives about the past as well as the future.

A growing literature on art, performance and commemoration at heritage sites around the globe provides important hints on how memory activism can be understood in the field of cultural practices (e.g. Kennedy and Graefenstein 2019; Bieberstein and Evren 2016; Liedeke and Smelik 2013; Till 2007). In particular place-based and site-specific cultural interventions are of interest for the management of memories of 'disputed territories'. In the course of artistic practices, sites of dissonant heritage might be transformed to bring attention to forgotten pasts and injustices, to help to overcome trauma, or to challenge dominant regimes of memory 'by creating spaces that revisit historical social relations and imagine new possibilities' (Till 2007, 104), but they also might contribute to developing conflicts and divisions. Drawing on these insights, this part of the literature review surveys three strands of literature in order to look for cultural practices that might overcome antagonism and one-sidedness of memory practices, strategies, and forms: i) literature on reconciliation and peace building; ii) literature on heritage and reconciliation; iii) literature on diasporas, pilgrimages and tourism.

Reconciliation and peace building

Literature about conflict and conflict resolution is an academic discipline in itself. Despite the links between culture, identity and conflict, art and culture have traditionally been viewed as a soft area of peacebuilding and reconciliation efforts and have been underutilized in these fields. Since the 1990s, we observe an increased importance of the cultural dimension in conflict and

conflict transformation. 'Culture of peace' is a widely recognized field within conflict transformation (Boulding 2000). This different positioning of culture in 'peace studies' is connected with the recognition of a new type of conflict that Jay Rothman and Marie L. Olsen (2001) defined in detail as 'identity-based, ethno-political conflict' which has escaped the traditional resource and interest-based resolution methods:

> The overt focus on resources or power politics in dealing with identity-based conflicts have merely tended to exacerbate or prolong the struggle, independent of whether or not the conflicts in question involved issues of resources and other tangible interests. This points to the fact that there is an urgent need for cooperation and multilateralism and for globally agreed, shared policies that integrate culture into peace-building strategies and programs (Preis and Mustea 2013).

This approach is present also in reconciliation studies in which reconciliation goes beyond resolution to refer not just to the political arrangements to resolve differences and hostile action but to the psychological process whereby understanding and tolerance lead to readiness to live together in a new framework of peace and well-being (Whittaker 2002).

Most up to date literature on conflict transformation through culture is being published in the form of reports and analysis prepared under the programs run by international organizations (UN, EU, Council of Europe), research institutes and NGO's. The great value in them is the fact that they focus very much on specific study cases from around the world and provide concrete recommendations for practitioners but also researchers from different fields (e.g. *Salzburg Global Seminar Report* 2014; Preis and Mustea 2013; *Changing The Story Report* 2017-18; *The Right to Art and Culture* 2013-16; *Culture and Conflict* 2012-2013; *Joint Research Institute for International Peace and Culture* 2011). The most recent of these, *The Art of Peace* report, based on an evidence review and country case studies by the University of West Scotland, assesses the value of culture in post-conflict recovery (Baily 2019). *Changing The Story* is an ongoing research project which brings together researchers and practitioners and documents the effects of their collaboration online.[1]

[1]See https://changingthestory.leeds.ac.uk/about/.

The research base on the contribution of culture to conflict resolution and post-conflict recovery is growing (Cohen 2005; Zelizer 2003; Naidu-Silverman 2015; Preis and Stanca Mustea 2013; Premaratna and Bleiker 2016). Art is becoming an increasingly important way to articulate issues surrounding war and conflict and, in its positive aspect, reconciliation. We can make a distinction between individual works by artists and cultural activities involving art, on the one hand, artistic programs engaging communities, on the other. Both are present and vital for the process of reconciliation, but on different levels. Artists are the voices of some of the most marginalized groups within societies: they mirror the social, cultural and political realities of their time and propose new and alternate imaginings for the future (Naidu-Silverman 2015). Kiki Fukushima (2011) notes that artistic productions, especially those brought in by international actors to a conflict zone, may allow people to feel that they are still part of a global community and that there are others who are interested and concerned about their situation. The academic evidence base has a particular focus on the therapeutic use of the arts in post-conflict contexts (Wise, Stephanie and Nash 2012) and its role in reconciliation and strengthening civil society (Cohen 2005; Naidu-Silverman 2015; Shank and Schirch 2008). Given the hopelessness, despair and trauma that come with violent conflict, art and cultural activities may present a temporary outlet from the actual situation, serving as an avenue for coping and imagining alternate scenarios to the reality of conflict (Naidu-Silverman 2015).

Cultural activities that engage the community in artistic and performance endeavors go deeper and are vital part of long-lasting transformation within the community. Cultural practices are believed to be important among communities just after traumatic conflicts but also and even more so in long term perspective of transformative development of the conflicted regions. John Paul Lederach (2005) observes that people in post-conflict milieus seldom use language to analyze conflict; instead, they use various metaphors and images to make sense of the reality of violence and their experiences. According to Stephanie Wise and Emily Nash (2012), the use of metaphor – such as ritual, drama, writing, movement and storytelling– in trauma recovery, enables trauma survivors to engage with their experiences of trauma while creating enough distance from the traumatic event, to prevent retraumatization. Several scholars (Cohen 2003; Fortier 2008; Cohen and Yalen 2004; Daly and Sarkin 2007) argue that one of the most important roles of art in post-conflict societies is its ability to restore

victims' capacities to participate in reconciliation processes, access their emotions and begin their individual healing processes. It is only through creative acts that are responsive and adaptive to survivors' needs that survivors of conflict can make new meanings and create new languages to understand their reality (Cohen and Yale, 2004; Lederach 2005). Further literature exists on particular cases of artists involvement in different communities recovering from conflicts. Cleveland in his book *Art & Upheaval: Artists at Work on the World's Front Lines* (Cleveland 2008) gathers and documents the efforts of artists involved in reconciliation and peace in conflict areas throughout the world. Sandoval and Fukushima have written on the upstream and preventative potential of culture (Sandoval 2016, 205; Fukushima and Kiki 2011). Also, the benefits of culture for neutralising the attraction of violent extremism and raising awareness about the effects of stigma and racism are recognized by scholars (Cockburn 2012; Sonn, Quayle, Belanji and Baker 2015).

Alternate narratives about the past and future

Examining the role of cultural practices in the processes of reconciliation and peace building researchers recognize that the most profound impact culture has through its ability to provide alternate narratives about the past and future. As the process of reconciliation proceeds, there is wide agreement that the successful outcome requires the formation of a new common outlook on the past. Once there is a shared and acknowledged perception of the past, both parties take a significant step towards achieving reconciliation (Bar-Tal 2009). Reconciliation implies that both parties not just get to know, but truly acknowledge what happened in the past (Gardner Feldman 1999; Hayes 1998; Norval 1999). This acknowledgement implies recognizing that there are two narratives of the conflict (Norval 1999; Salomon 2004). This is an important factor because the collective memories of each party's own past underpin the continuation of the conflict and obstruct peacemaking (Bar-Tal 2007). Reconciliation necessitates changing these societal beliefs about the past by learning about the rival group's collective memory and admitting one's own past misdeeds and responsibility for the outbreak and maintenance of the conflict. Through the process of negotiation about collective memories, in which one's own past is critically revised and synchronized with that of the other

group, a new narrative emerges. Often, however, preoccupation with the past requires more than a new narrative. Conflict grievances must not only be known, but also truly acknowledged by the rival society (Norval 1999). Some researchers have gone even further by asserting that collective acknowledgement of the past is not enough and that reconciliation must ultimately lead to a collective healing and forgiveness for the adversary's misdeeds (Staub 2000).

Within the existing research literature on forgiveness, there are many models of how people forgive. There are also many clinical models of how to help people forgive (Worthington 2006). Of great interest are interventions to promote forgiveness and reconciliation at the societal level (Staub 2006). Of special importance in promoting reconciliation are 'people to people' activities that bring together 'ordinary society members' from both sides to meet and/or work together on various projects that all aim at solidifying the reconciliation (Gawerc 2006). Building toward social reconciliation is a long and complex process, requiring attention to many different aspects and issues. Staub (2006) identifies four avenues to healing: truth, justice, creation of a shared history, and contact with out-group members. Kim, Kollontai and Hoyland (2008) point out that one of the most important issues is establishing a shared identity between the two aggrieved or separated parties. This complex undertaking involves an analysis of current identities— both as they are narrated within a community and to those outside the community—as well as adjudicating the different versions of history maintained by each party. Moreover, the purpose of a shared identity is not just to create a common past, but also to provide a platform for a different future.

Researchers working from a peace education perspective bring to the discussion the concept of 'sites of conscience': places of memory such as historic sites, place-based museums or memorials which provide safe spaces to remember and preserve even the most traumatic memories and at the same time enable their visitors to make connections between the past and related contemporary human rights issues (see the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience). This represents a response to critical reflection about conventional 'landscapes of remembrance', including their exclusionary or xenophobic rather than inclusionary cultural politics. Herborn and Hutchinson (2014) focus in their research on exploring the extent to which alternative grassroots 'sites of conscience' may offer far more life-affirming lessons about transcending destructive conflicts than official war memorial sites and museums do. Of

particular importance are the ideas and contributions of feminist peace educators, peace researchers and peace activists, such as Elise Boulding, Betty Reardon and Cynthia Cockburn. What is given most attention in this strand of critical inquiry are crucial questions of how to better resist militarizing assumptions about the future, including exploring nonviolent examples and potentials for creating peace cultures (Boulding 1990, 2000; Reardon and Cabezudo 2002; Cockburn 2012).

Arts-based development education and transformative learning

Cultural practitioners are often educators. Educational academics and practitioners across a range of cultural and political contexts examine the links between reconciliation and pedagogy, putting forward the notion that reconciliation projects should be regarded as public pedagogical interventions, with much to offer to wider theories of learning (Alhuwalhia et al., 2012). Challenging the contemporary and dominant 'security-first' and 'liberal peace' model of peacebuilding, researchers outline the role and potential of education to contribute to a more sustainable peacebuilding model (Novelli, Cardozo, Smith 2015). The work of Nancy Fraser (1995, 2005), Johan Galtung (1976, 1990) and John Paul Lederach (1995, 1997), among others, explores what sustainable peacebuilding might look like in post-conflict environments.

Fraser characterized two types of remedies to social injustices including 'affirmative remedies', which correct outcomes without changing structural frameworks or the status quo; and 'transformative remedies', correcting outcomes by restructuring the underlying generative framework (Fraser 199, 82, 86). Education that could also be applied through cultural practices can effectively contribute to what Fraser termed a 'transformative remedy'. This transformative emphasis is closely connected to the notion of 'sustainable peacebuilding', or what Galtung (1975, in Smith et al, 2011, 12–13) identified as building a positive peace, defined as 'the absence of structural violence, the presence of social justice and the conditions to eliminate the causes of violence'.

John Paul Lederach's work has brought to this discussion the concept of the moral imagination, which could be simply defined as the ability to be grounded in the real world and at the same time to be able to imagine a better world. According to this concept there are four

essential elements for peacebuilding. First, there is the notion that we are all interdependent, and that change can be achieved through the recognition that the quality of our life is dependent on the quality of the life of others, including our enemies. Second, there is paradoxical curiosity that mobilizes the imagination: a type of curiosity that is creative and inquisitive and goes beyond the dualities that are highlighted during periods of conflict. For groups to live and work together in the pursuit of peace, they need to move beyond the divisions of self and other, differences and similarities (Lederach 2005). Scholars (see Fortier 2008; Preis and Stanca Mustea 2013; Seidl-Fox and Sridhar 2014) note that art and cultural activities can nurture this curiosity by providing platforms for the celebration of cultural diversity and intercultural exchange. Third, peacebuilding must provide space for the creative act, that is to say that it must itself become an art form, which lets us create that which does not yet exist, and, along with creativity and imagination, gives birth to new possibilities. Finally, there is the willingness to take risks, to step into the unknown without guarantees of success or even safety.

Many of these required capacities for reconciliation can be nourished, revitalized, and restored through aesthetic experiences, complex phenomena that Cohen and Yalen (2019) define as a profound and pleasurable transaction between a human being and certain cultural and artistic forms. They may arise when a person steps into the role of creator, composer, audience, participant, or performer.

In development studies researchers seem to take the same direction. Development has come to be regarded as a technical process, to be directed by ‘experts’, and dominated by economics. Clammer, however, argues that it is an art, one that involves a continuous balancing act between preserving existing cultural and biological diversity, drawing upon them and their component parts in the attempt to conceive of better and more humane and sustainable futures, and developing the quality of culture itself as the actual content of our everyday lifeworlds (Clammer 2014). In this quest there is a direct link to the concept of transformative learning (O’Sullivan 1999) which is directed at nurturing fundamental change: first in the individual learner and then as a result in the wider society. This educational strategies are grouped around the three main themes of peace, social justice and diversity (both social and

biological); the main goal is to give learners a planetary vision as well as a local one and nurturing of creativity rather than stuffing with 'facts'(Clammer 2014).

The volume *Culturally Relevant Arts Education for Social Justice: A Way Out of No Way,* presenting texts by different authors, discusses methodologies for linking the arts and social justice issues which have direct relevance to development education as they are potential models for a transformative pedagogy (Hanley, Noblit, Sheppard and Barone 2013). Bell and Desai (see also Stein and Faigin 2015) sought to connect arts with social justice pedagogy. They argued that: "The arts can help us remember, imagine, create, and transform the practices that sustain oppression as it endures across history and locality" (Bell and Desai 2011, 288). Bell, Desai and Irani have also written on storytelling for social justice as a means of developing counter narratives that challenge the normalizing or hegemonic stories of the dominant communities, deconstruct the self-interested assumptions of those majority discourses, and allow the experiences of minorities to emerge as the valid stuff of stories (Bell, Desai and Irani 2013, 15). On film in the context of social justice education and teaching the power of representation, personal agency and responsibility (Anderson 2013). Arts have been researched also in the context of social inclusion in education (e.g. Chappell and Chappell 2016).

Theatre for social change

There is a growing number of publications on global performance practices viewed through the lens of peacebuilding. This work emerges from the field of applied theatre, playback, theatre for development, and theatre of the oppressed, and increasingly focuses on collaboration between researchers and practitioners. The focus here is on assisting communities in using theatre as a method for pursuing social justice, and in helping individuals learn new tools for potential transformation. These techniques are derived from Boal's pioneering work and have been developed in quite radical directions by performance artists such as Guillermo Gómez-Peña, Roberto Sifuentes and Coco Fusco (Gómez-Peña and Sifuentes 2011) who have developed detailed pedagogies for addressing issues of cross-cultural communication and deconstructing hegemonic attitudes to race, gender and colonialism. Among the key studies in

the field there is James Thompson's prolific work on applied theatre in the context of conflict (Thompson 2005; Thompson 2009; Thompson et al. 2014).

Among the most comprehensive publications in the field of peace building performance is two-volume anthology entitled *Acting Together: Performance and Creative Transformation of Conflict* published in the framework of Acting Together Project run by Brandies University. It describes peacebuilding performances in regions beset by violence and internal conflicts. The first volume focuses on the role of theatre and ritual play in both the midst and in the aftermath of direct violence. The second volume emphasizes the transformative power of performance in regions fractured by 'subtler' forms of structural violence and social exclusion.

Transitional justice and the role of art and civil society

Transitional justice is a rapidly emerging interdisciplinary field of study focusing on processes dealing with past human rights violations and the transition to a more peaceful and democratic state. Part of huge literature produced by researchers and practitioners concerns with civil society and the role of arts in the process of transitional justice and conflict transformation. The volume *The Art of Transitional Justice* (Rush, Peter, Simić 2014) examines the relationship between transitional justice and its associated practices of art (theatre, literature, photography and film). The volume brings to bear the insights from scholars, civil society groups, and art practitioners, as well as interdisciplinary collaborations. Another volume, *Transitional Justice, Culture and Society: Beyond Outreach* (Ramierz-Barat 2014) provides an overview of the contribution of NGOs and civil society more broadly to efforts to achieve transitional justice around the world. Among Transnational Justice literature there is also a focus on the building of memorials and recapturing public spaces to create social dialogue. Judy Barsalou and Victoria Baxter (2007) and Louis Bickford (2014) argue that architectural memorials, museums and commemorative activities are indispensable educational initiatives to establish the record beyond denial and prevent repetition.

Reconciliation and forgiveness through culture from the psychological point of view

Literature in the field of peace psychology tends to focus on the development of forgiveness from individual perspective. The position that stands out among most books on the subject is *Forgiveness and Reconciliation Psychological Pathways to Conflict Transformation and Peace Building* edited by Kalayjian and Paloutzian **(**2010), which gives readers access to the intersecting psychological and social processes involved as they affect all participants in conflict. Of particular interest for studying the role of culture and art in reconciliation is the chapter by Hagitte Gal-Ed on the potential contribution of art to peace (Gal-Ed 2010). Inspired by the concept of dialogue proposed by Martin Buber and his healing through meeting approach (Buber-Agassi 1999), she focuses in her research on a conceptual framework for developing a new modality in practicing art therapy and education for peace (Gal-Ed 2000). Other peace psychologists recognize that cultural interpretations and processes modulate harm and the healing of self (Sandage ans Williamson 2005) and that forgiveness involves positively taking the role of another and exercising empathy (McCullough et al. 2003; Wade & Worthington 2005). But there is a lack of research examining concrete cultural practices and their role in this process. Very helpful here is the volume edited by Seedat, Suffla and Christie (2017), which explores different forms of community engagement for peace through the arts.

Heritage and reconciliation

Parallel insights to the peacebuilding and reconciliation literature can be found in the field of heritage studies, which, in addition to its expertise in preservation and conversation, has developed in recent years a growing interest in the role of cultural heritage in post-conflict societies. Inspired by work in decolonization, communication, actor network theory, emotion and affect, or hauntology studies (Harrison 2012; Smith 2006), and using concepts like ‘healing heritage’, ‘shared heritage’, ‘heritage as space of conversation’ (Giblin 2012; Harrison 2004; Ashley 2007), critical heritages studies intersects with memory studies in many respects. However, the burgeoning literature on the role of heritage in post-conflict societies does not bring an equivocal picture on what type of heritage management is decisive in peace building and reconciliation, while it is widely recognized that heritage sites might become a mnemonic resource for both intercultural dialogue and for renewal of conflicts (e.g. Giblin 2014; Labadi

2019; Lehrer 2010). Although most recent policy documents by international heritage experts recommend forms of heritage management that give space for expressing diverse memories, assuming that 'dissonance can empower de-naturalization of heritage, foster critical thinking and create opportunities for intense intercultural mediation' (Kisić 2017, 31), this goal is often only superficially addressed; and what is more, as Lähdesmäki (2019, 46) argues, the policy language often recreates or even reinforcers essentialist distinctions between diverse social and cultural groups. Therefore, scholars studying critical heritage interventions claim that bottom-top rather than top-bottom engagement might lead to better results and they examine closely the successes and failures of cultural practitioners and the effects of their work on communities they work with (Lehrer 2010). These discussions address the various meanings of responsible curating. As Lehrer and Milton (2011) argue 'difficult knowledge' should not be easily disambiguated by linear narratives of recovery and truth. The goal is rather to set in motion ongoing conversations that give spaces for uncertainties, understanding and empathy.

A useful typology of diverse cultural heritage practices was recently proposed by Andersen, Timm Knudsen and Kølvraa (2019) who identified their four main modalities: repression, removal, reframing, and re-emergence. Repression denotes the rejection of heritage but at the same time, also its 'lingering existence'. Removal means active elimination of the unwanted heritage. Reframing changes the meaning of what is being presented, depoliticizing and commodifying heritage. Re-emergence is 'a lost opportunity from the past that returns to offer itself for creating alternative futures'. With re-emergence 'pluriverse epistemologies, entangled materialities and communal efforts' overcome the trap of identity politics by 'giving rise to activism and responsibility often afforded by affects, moods and atmospheres' (Timm Knudsen 2019). Conceived on a continuum rather than as mutually exclusive, these four modalities are organized along two axes, the first one relating to the complexity of social imagination from binary to hybrid, and the other to the political intensity generated by the reproduction of a socio-political order or its rupture and change (Kølvraa 2019).

While in critical heritage studies, provocative artistic and curatorial interventions at heritage sites are tools for expression of conflicting, alternative, mutivocal, dialogical or agonist memories, the considerable concern of sociological and psychological approach to heritage site relates to the sustainability of heritage site effects on their publics. Again, results are

inconclusive. For instance, the survey of visitors of the Museum of Memory and Human Rights in Santiago de Chile found that although its exhibition enlarges knowledge and evokes emotions among its visitors, and even alters their political views towards more supportive to democracy, most changes in political beliefs peter out with time (Balcells, Palanza, Voytas 2018). In another study psychologists (Bilewicz and Wójcik 2017) observed secondary traumatic stress disorder among high school visitors of the Auschwitz-Birkenau memorial museum. Their study also showed an emphatic reaction toward the victims was still associated with stress one month after the visit. On the whole, some museums are effective 'sites of persuasion' contributing to cosmopolitan human rights discourse (e.g. Apsel and Sodaro 2020), some are open for a dialogue (Cercel 2018), many remain sites of national self-centrism (Weiser 2017).

Beyond secular memory activism: pilgrimages and tourism

The literature discussed above mainly refers to peace building, reconciliation and heritage efforts that activate memories at the intersection of various types of secular expert discourses in post-conflict societies. However, religion is also worth considering as an important framework of memory activism, especially that in all countries covered by DisTerrMem project it plays an important role in shaping both the cultural memories and the sense of territorial belonging. The literature on diasporas and pilgrimages to the sacred sites gives significant insights on these issues (Ibad 2018; Margry 2008; Karla 2007).

To start with literature on diaspora and its relation to territory, it is driven by several contradicting ideas. On the one hand, authors like Bhabha (2004) shifted attention towards the de-territorialization, understanding diaspora culture as a 'third space'. Similarly, Appadurai's (1990) work on globalization and localization considers diasporas as participating in hybrid realities of the larger globalizing processes. On the other hand, however, Appadurai also acknowledges the discourses of homogenization that are used by the nationalist forces in order to have a better control of the minorities in ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, finanscapes and ideoscapes. Other authors, like Dahinden (2005; 2009; 2010) call for taking the 'nation' in trans-nationalism seriously, pointing out that nation-state and ethnic categories still

play a major role in shaping the contemporary world, particularly under contemporary conditions of globalization which have created cultural, social, local and national backlashes. Koinova (2010, 148) argues that by filtering international pressures for democratization, diasporas use the universalist creed of liberalism instrumentally in order to increase their political clout with Western governments while simultaneously pursuing nationalist projects related to their country of origin. With regard to the particular South Asian context, researchers argued for the cosmopolitan tendencies in the diasporic Sikh culture (Sian 2013). Anjela Gera Roy observes that the Sikh diaspora has been able to mobilize a transnational narrative of Sikhi [Sikhism] particularly after 1984 (Roy 2016, 73). Conversely, literature on Pakistani diaspora shows it as largely concerned with the concept of Islamic Umma and with all other concerns, sacred and profane, subsumed within the globalized imaginings of Muslim diaspora (e.g. Donnan 1995; Werbner 2002). Despite dissonant histories, Muslim and Sikh diasporas have shown spaces for mutual interaction at the borders of Pakistan and India with the access to the sacred spaces in the Pakistani controlled region.

Given all these tendencies and tensions, diasporas' pilgrimages to the sacred sites in the land of origin need to be understood as multivalent cultural practices worth studying because they might either escalate the memory conflicts at a global scale or to retain the power to heal the wounds of traumatic memories.

Victor and Edith Turner (2011 [1978]), who opened up ways to understand pilgrimage, especially in Christian context, outlined three modes for understanding pilgrimage by identifying three types of *communitas*: i) pilgrims moving away from the everyday life to have the spontaneity of interrelatedness in order to celebrate common humanity through the emergence of the integral person from multiple *personae* that may be understood as *liminoid communitas*; ii) normative *communitas* representing the attempt to control pilgrims and pilgrimage shrines using the model of "the structured ritual system"; iii) and the *ideological communitas* working as the remembering the tributes of the communitas experience in the form of a utopian blue-print for the reformation of society. Turners' work has been contested in various ways. For instance, Eade and Sallnow (1991) pay special attention to the dynamics of power relations during the sacred journeys. They claim that

Pilgrimage is above all an arena for competing religious and secular discourses, for both the official co-optation and non-official recovery of religious meanings, for conflict between orthodoxies, sects, and confessional groups, for drives towards consensus and communitas, and for counter movements towards separateness and division (Eade and Sallnow 1991, 2-3).

They further suggest the methodology for exploring the pilgrimage in the triad of 'person', 'place' and 'text'.

Further important discussion relates to the blurred lines between pilgrimage and tourism (Aulet and Vidal 2018; Bandyopadhay, Moris, Chick 2008; Olsen 2003). Nolan and Nolan (1992) suggest that 'at a well-visited shrine, visitors on any given day may represent a gradient from very pious and seriously prayerful, to purely secular and basically uninformed about the religious meaning of the place' (cited after Raj and Griffin 2015, 9). Badone and Roseman (2004) emphasize the need to understand sacred and profane from a postcolonial perspective. Instead of emphasizing binaries, they suggest that the journeys intersect both sacred and profane. The growing literature on tourism might also enrich studies of memory activism at religious heritage sites, especially following MacCannell's (1992,1) broad view of tourism as 'not just an aggregate of merely commercial activities', but as 'an ideological framing of history, nature, and tradition; a framing that has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own needs.' At the same time, tourism is still a tool in the hands of the states to disseminate shared cultural identities among their citizens (Bandyopadhyay 2006; Graburn 1997). On the whole, there is a need to understand further the aspects of religious tourism in the context of national and religious ideology of the state, capitalist policies, diasporic engagement, local agencies and the contradictions inherent to those processes that may end up increasing an antagonistic rather than a multi-perspectivist and agonistic sensibility in post-conflict societies.