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Pilgrim's Motivations: A Theoretical Approach to Pilgrimage as a Peacebuilding Tool

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This paper will explore the relationship between pilgrimage and peacebuilding. Studies on peace refer to three dimensions: peace from a personal dimension and spiritual sphere; peace from a social dimension and; peace from an environmental dimension (Sánchez Sánchez & Fernández Herreira, 1996). The connection between pilgrimage and peacebuilding starts with the individual quest of pilgrims; however, can be explored in the other two dimensions. The experience of pilgrimage and the pilgrims' quest for inner peace can enhance a respectful attitude towards people and places. Through interviews and observation on two pilgrimage routes in Spain (the Camino de Santiago and Camino Ignaciano) the links between pilgrimage and peacebuilding are explored. Results show a strong connection between pilgrimage and inner peace and pilgrimage and social peace. This connection is not so strong in the case of the environmental dimension of peace.

Key Words: pilgrims' motivation, peacebuilding, spiritual tourism, intercultural dialogue, sustainability

Introduction

In this paper, the links between pilgrimage and peacebuilding are explored.

Conflict is an innate element of human nature. One can have internal conflict when struggling because of differences between what it is expected to do or to be and the actions that are undertaken. One can have external conflicts with relatives, friends or even with our boss or our political or religious leaders (Himes, 1980; Thomas, 1992). What is not inherent in human nature is knowing how to deal with conflict and the absence of justice and individual commitment. Where people meet, there are conflicts; conflict is unavoidable but violent resolution is not the only way to solve it (Banda i Tarradellas, 1991). As will be developed later, peace can be approached from different perspectives; it is related to concepts such as justice and ethics. In recent decades, several authors have studied how to introduce the concept of peace in fields such as education and research. It is mainly in the field of peace education that peace is approached from holistic perspectives that go beyond the idea of avoiding war. Following these theories, peace can be studied from three dimensions (see the likes of Reardon, 1988; Sánchez Sánchez & Fernández Herreira, 1996; Turay & English, 2008; Page, 2014):

- Peace from a personal dimension and the spiritual sphere
- Peace from a social dimension
- Peace from an environmental dimension

Exploring these theories, one of the main connections between pilgrimage and peace is the quest for inner peace or spirituality. Several authors have explored the relationship between pilgrimage and spirituality like Sharpley (2009), Olsen and Timothy (2006), Haq and Wong (2009) or Ron (2007) to mention a few. Taking the ideas of these authors, we could say that the quest for spirituality is close to the phenomenon of pilgrimage.

The connection between pilgrimage and peacebuilding starts with the individual quest of the pilgrim. However, it can be explored, as well, from other perspectives. Tourism is a vehicle for trust and goodwill, whereby related cultural understanding can change attitudes and build peace. Tourism's role in peacebuilding is also enacted through its contribution to poverty alleviation, cultural preservation and environmental conservation (Wohlmuther & Wintersteiner, 2014). Attitudes are especially important for pilgrims, the experience of pilgrimage and the pilgrims' quest for inner peace can enhance a respectful attitude towards people and places.

The main aim of this paper is to determine if the three dimensions of peace are present in pilgrims' attitudes. The three dimensions will be explored by analysing different pilgrims' experiences through direct and indirect sources of information. Pilgrims following two pilgrimages routes are analysed, the Camino de Santiago and the Camino Ignaciano. The research will explore:

- How spirituality is related to peacebuilding?
- What are the reasons to go on a pilgrimage?
- Can peacebuilding be considered as one of the motivations?
- Are pilgrims more aware after doing their pilgrimage?

There are few studies connecting pilgrimage and peacebuilding, especially expansive work which deals with the three dimensions proposed here. As Anderson (2004) states, there is no consensus on a conceptually clear definition to guide researchers in developing measurement procedures and indicators related to peace. Thus, the second aim of this paper is to propose and test a methodology based on the analysis of pilgrims' experiences.

The paper is divided into four sections, which follow this introduction. In the first section, the theoretical approach will be presented, exploring the connections between pilgrimage, religious tourism and peacebuilding. After the literature review, the methodology will be described as the questions asked to pilgrims derive from the different theoretical approaches presented. In the third section, the results and findings of the research are discussed. Finally, in the conclusion remarks, some reflections on the results, the limitations of the research and future research are going dealt with.

Pilgrimage and Peacebuilding

Several authors have approached the concept and the study of pilgrimage from different perspectives such as sociological, anthropological or theological. In recent years, the number of papers published combining the words 'pilgrimage', 'tourism', 'religion' and 'spirituality' have increased. For example, in the databases of Web of Science and Scopus, the number

of papers published linking the words 'pilgrimage and tourism' are 568 and 725 respectively, most of them being published in the last 10 years. If the search combines pilgrimage and spirituality the number of publications is reduced (116 and 166), and if the search is about pilgrimage and peace the numbers decrease further (68 and 105).

Regarding pilgrimage and tourism, the first publications were primarily under the lens of sociology, considering pilgrimage as a religious act. One of the first works exploring the different dimensions of pilgrimage was Turner and Turner's (1989) *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* that was inspired by the works of Durkheim (1912) and Eliade (1978). Following this publication, important works appeared by authors such as Nolan and Nolan (1989), Graburn (1989) and Cohen (1992).

Pilgrimages have been present in the history of humanity since its early beginnings, but it is relatively recently that the concept of pilgrimage has been associated with tourism. Tourism is considered a new phenomenon compared to pilgrimages (Santos Solla, 2006; Lanquar, 2007). Tourism is considered to have started with the Grand Tour (17th and 18th century) (Towner, 1985) or with the first organised travel by Thomas Cook (19th century) (Towner, 1991). It is not until the second half of the 20th century that the word tourism was connected to the word religion (Esteve Secall & González Ruiz, 2002).

Today, we find many different approaches in the literature regarding the connections between religious tourism and pilgrimage. Two main approaches can be found, those that consider religious tourism and pilgrimage as opposed realities and those that consider they are part of the same reality or, if not the same, they are part of a continuum of inseparable elements (Olsen & Timothy, 2006; Collins-Kreiner, 2010; Aulet & Hakobyan, 2011; Raj & Griffin, 2015).

The main argument for considering pilgrims as tourists is that they share the same features, as they need time to travel, economic resources and services and facilities. All pilgrims need to move, to sleep and to eat - the same as other tourists do (Jackowski & Smith, 1992; Rinschede, 1992; Vukonic, 1996; Poria *et al.*, 2003).

Authors that defend that pilgrimage and tourism are different realities argue that the fundamental differences are the main motivation and the intensity of experience (Blackwell, 2007; Ambrosio, 2015; Aulet, 2018). Authors like Cohen (1998) and Devereux (2003) stress the fact that pilgrimage requires deep motivations and sacrifice, the willingness to have a transcendental experience. In this model, authors consider tourism as a frivolous activity based on leisure and having fun.

The idea that pilgrimage is different from religious tourism is born in the 1960s in Europe, where the number of traditional pilgrimages decreased, mainly because of secularisation, and the number of tourists increased because of the tourism boom in many coastal areas of southern Europe (Esteve Secall & González Ruiz, 2002).

Authors agree on the difficulty of separating one concept from the other, as the typical basis for differentiating them is the intensity of the religious elements that characterise the trip. There is a 'natural link between pilgrimage and tourism and tourism and pilgrimage infrastructure and attractions' (Olsen *et al.*, 2018:2). According to Aulet (2012), pilgrimage consists of two main aspects: the spiritual ones (related to motivations) and the practical ones (related to issues like transport and accommodation). This triggers a complex network of effects that involve intense transformations at the level of the territory, society and the local economy. If pilgrims cannot be considered tourists because of the religious motivation of the trip, they still have similar social, environmental and economic consequences for territories to any other type of traveller.

In the recent decades, there has been an increasing interest in studying pilgrimages and pilgrims' motivations due to the revival of pilgrimages and their related experiences. According to Collins-Kreiner (2016), academic literature understands pilgrimage as a holistic phenomenon with religious and secular foundations. Authors have explored the connection of pilgrimage with themes in many disciplines or areas like memory and history (Asakawa, 2008; Greenia, 2014; McIntosh & Harman, 2017); health and wellbeing (Slavin, 2003; Rountree, 2006; Reisinger,

2013); sustainable development (El Hanandeh, 2013; Kato & Prozano, 2017; Olsen & Trono, 2018) or conflict and terrorism (Rashid & Robinson, 2015; Raj & Griffin, 2017); but very few have dealt with pilgrimage and peacebuilding (McIntosh & Harman, 2017).

In this line of discussion, peace can be understood, as a global or holistic concept that embraces internal and external dimensions. Galtung (1969) is one of the main authors in peace literature and, as he mentions, the word peace is very often used and abused. He refers to positive and negative peace. Negative peace is 'the absence of violence, absence of war' (Galtung, 1969:2). This perception is widely understood as the concept of peace. However, he refers, also, to positive peace, being 'the integration of human society' (Galtung, 1969:2). These are not two separate dimensions, but one is not possible without the other. Following Galtung's studies, other authors have expanded this idea. For example, Chenoweth (2017) states that peacebuilding should engage societies in conflict to use nonviolent tools by considering individuals as the main actors for a more peaceful environment.

Peacebuilding should seek to implement fundamental values in human beings. Strategies for peace must be constructed in two ways, with personal work (interiority) and with social work (solidarity) (Banda i Tarradellas, 1991). This entails accepting certain risk. According to Raco (2002), contemporary discourses use the language of fear and risk as discursive weapons to avoid alternative discourses or other forms of action; or, using Bauman's (2000) words, to control a terrified population.

The two concepts explored in this paper, pilgrimage and peace, should be understood from an integrative and transformative perspective and must be approached with a holistic vision of reality. The world cannot be understood without understanding the concept of interdependence. As stated by Panikkar, a philosopher defending the concept of interdependence, the world has become small but humankind has not grown big (Panikkar, 2010; Michaelides, 2016). There is nothing completely separate, and dualities do not exist (Pigem, 2007). Using this approach, and as

mentioned in the introduction, peace has three dimensions: an inner dimension, a social dimension and an environmental dimension. The relationship of these three dimensions with pilgrimage is now going to be explored.

The *first dimension* to explore is that of *inner peace*, which links with spirituality. Even in today's context, the spiritual aspect of peace has received less attention in education and research related to peace than other dimensions like the political or the social ones. This is highly important in the current situation about, we need to understand more deeply, the place which religion and spirituality play in individual and collective life (Danesh, 2006).

Panikkar (2004) states that if living without outer peace is difficult; living without inner peace is impossible. Many personalities have explored the dimension of inner peace and spirituality, like Gandhi, Mascaró, Thoreau, among others (Fleischman, 1997). Gandhi refers to the importance of wisdom:

which transcends and unites, wisdom which dwells in body and soul together and which, more by means of myth, of rite, of contemplation, than by scientific experiment, opens the doors to a life in which the individual is not lost in the cosmos and society but found in them (Gandhi and Gandhi, 1965:3).

Following Sharpley (2009) and Olsen and Timothy (2006), spiritual motivations are present in both religious and secular pilgrimage. Spirituality can be defined as:

experiencing a meaningful connection to our core selves, other humans, the world and / or greater power as expressed through our reflections, narratives and actions (Schulz, 2005:4).

This is related to several motivational theories. Spirituality refers to the highest part of Maslow's pyramid of needs; healthy people have met their basic needs: physiological, security, dedication, love, respect and self-esteem so that they feel motivated by tendencies that lead to self-realisation (Sánchez Sánchez & Herreira Fernández, 1996). Pigem (2015) states that self-realisation must be the key to human evolution and development and should be the key to our personal and collective lives. Among pilgrimage motivations, self-reflection, reflexivity and self-

development are also mentioned as key elements for pilgrims (Collins-Kreiner & Kliot, 2017). Kim *et al.* (2019) refer to the need for escape, relaxation, relation, knowledge, self-esteem as being among the push factors for motivating a pilgrimage. Blackwell (2007) applies Herzberg's two-factor theory of motivation based on hygiene factors and motivators for pilgrimage. She states that, while in some cases hygiene factors like austerity may cause dissatisfaction and demotivation; some perceive hardship and austerity as an integral part of the experience that offers an opportunity of personal growth and development of survival skills.

Today, it is widely accepted that the quest for spirituality is closely related to the research for well-being, understood as a multidimensional concept (Bimonte & Faralla, 2012), that also includes self-improvement and overcoming challenges, especially related to physical activities (Santos, 2002; Jirásek, 2011; Sachs, 2017; Eichberg *et al.*, 2017).

Pilgrimage is a physical journey that symbolises and reflects our journey in life. The need to set a spiritual goal in a physical search is common to all of humanity. Alzamora (2006) states that the way (the path) has always been related to spirit. One of the meanings of pilgrimage can be associated with the search for balance and harmony between soul and body. The term 'spiritual revolution' could perfectly describe contemporary western society, represented by the spiritual quest due to collective uncertainty (Sharpley and Jepson, 2011). The search for spirituality can also be described as a search for a harmonious or unified relationship with oneself, 'others' (including other people, animals, earth, nature) and / or God / higher power (Willson *et al.*, 2013:153).

This connects with the *second dimension* of peace presented in this study, the *social dimension*. Panikkar refers to two movements present in human beings, one is a centrifuge movement (from inside to outside) that refers to love; and the other one is a centripetal movement (from outside to inside) that refers to mediation (Panikkar, 2010). Peace education should have both an international and a domestic dimension, and should educate for peace and social justice between nation-states, but also, within societies, groups and families (Page, 2014).

The United Nations General Assembly has proclaimed the period from 2013 to 2022 as the International Decade for the Rapprochement of Cultures, to open a new framework for collective engagement in favour of peace. Some of the main topics to be addressed are the one related to intercultural and interreligious dialogue as vital for the development of deeper understanding among communities and cooperation for peace (UNESCO, 2019). According to UNESCO's Constitution,

peace must be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind (UNESCO, 1945).

Sharing the same vision, the Earth Charter (2012-2016) includes among its principles, social and economic justice (Chapter III) and democracy, nonviolence and peace (Chapter IV) (The Earth Charter International, n.d.).

Most of the official documents referring to peacebuilding mention the words intercultural and interreligious dialogue. According to Panikkar, the only solution to the challenges that our global society face must be constructed in collaboration between all traditions, religions, cultures and philosophies of the word (Boada, 2004).

Peace is not possible without interculturality. Cultural diversity and intercultural contact have become facts of modern life due to globalisation (UNESCO, 2009). Interculturality includes cognitive and affective domains; cognitive domains refer to the knowledge of one's own culture and the culture of others; while effective domains refer to having positive attitudes towards other cultures (including empathy, curiosity and respect) (Perry & Southwell, 2011; Demenchonok, 2014; Holmes, 2014).

Busch (2016) introduces the concept of intercultural sustainability of design to all efforts undertaken to ensure peaceful and constructive coexistence among cultures. Interaction among cultures must also be equitable. Referring to this, Panikkar (2004) states that intercultural dialogue is often based on a situation of supremacy or subordination. This happens also in tourism where human relations between residents and tourists are based, sometimes, on postcolonial philosophies (Palmer, 1994; Hall & Tucker, 2004).

Pilgrimage is a common phenomenon in most religious traditions, Christians, Jews and Muslims go to Jerusalem; Muslims travel to Mecca and Christians to Rome. Hindus visit the Ganges River and Buddhists Sarnath (Davies, 1988; Greenia, 2014; McIntosh & Harman, 2017; Olsen & Trono, 2018; McIntosh *et al.*, 2019; Collins-Kreiner, 2019). Blackwell (2007:36) states that:

pilgrimage sites are not so narrowly prescribed within the majority of world religions and can be part of the natural environment, like the river Ganges or the Himalayas, as part of the built environment, like temples and mosques.

As McIntosh and Harman (2017) state, although pilgrimage provides space for encounters to foster intercultural and interreligious dialogue, it has the potential to deliver much more, and this dimension should be further researched and studied. In their book, they provide a summary of the peace dimension of pilgrimage that includes reconciliation, justice, solidarity, unity, ending suffering, tolerance, healing, peace, equilibrium, compassion, gender and harmony.

Jimenez and Kloeze (2014:39) reveal that peace through tourism is not only about nurturing understanding, but it is also linked to poverty alleviation, conservation of heritage, safety and security of environment and sustainability. This connects with the *third dimension* of peace, *the natural or environmental dimension*.

Authors like Berger (1969), Tolle (2004) and Nasr (2007), to mention some, believe that the actual condition of pollution and climate change is the result of a spiritual crisis in human beings. This connects the first dimension of peace (spirituality) with the third one. Pope Francis, in his Encyclical *Laudato Si*, refers to the emergency of taking care of our common home, this is the earth (Pope Francesco, 2015). Nature is not seen any more as a resource but as the essential element of human life. Remembering the definition of spirituality provided above by Willson *et al.* (2013), spirituality is also about harmony with animals, Earth and nature.

The rupture of ecological balances, accelerated by current development models, gives rise to a pilgrimage whose sole purpose is to reconnect with nature and the

search for an inner harmony of human beings with it (Bagri *et al.*, 2009). Nature and the environment offer a sense of inner peace and tranquillity that would explain, also, the increasing number of (young) people engaging in pilgrimage routes such as the Camino de Santiago (Collins-Kreiner & Kliot, 2017). Fedele (2013) discusses new pilgrimages routes which are emerging based on ecofeminism, Goddess and New Age movements that have in common a deep relationship with nature.

Some studies have paid attention to the impacts of pilgrimage development on destinations (Shackley, 2006; Shinde, 2007; UNWTO, 2013; Aulet *et al.*, 2015; Kato & Prozano, 2017; Olsen & Trono, 2018; Olsen, 2019) but none have explored the awareness of pilgrims regarding sustainability issues.

Sharma *et al.* (2018) emphasised the idea that peace through tourism should engage poverty alleviation, international understanding, preservation of heritage, protection of the environment, and sustainability. In 2015, peace was included in the *Sustainable Development Goals* proposed by the United Nations, together with people, planet and prosperity, three other aspects that relate directly to tourism (Sustainable Development Goals Knowledge Platform, n.d.).

Peace operates at different levels, notably, peace within oneself and with others, peace with nature and peace with past and future generations (D'Amore, 2009). However, there is a difference between making efforts to maintain peace and being actively involved in the building of peace. Putting past debates aside, recent studies have shown that tourism has a role in both cases: it has the potential to contribute to building the foundations for peace as well as to act as a stabiliser of peace (Becken & Carmignani, 2016; Pratt & Liu, 2016). Why not consider pilgrimage as another form of tourism that can lead to peace?

Methodological Proposal

The aims of this paper is to present a methodological proposal and test it. To research the relationship between pilgrimage and peace, qualitative research has been developed based on two pilgrimage routes in Spain: the Camino de Santiago and the Camino Ignaciano. To collect data, 8 semi-structured interviews

were undertaken, 2 of the interviewed were coaches that accompanied groups of pilgrims, and 6 were pilgrims that travelled individually. Interviews were done between October and December 2019. It should be noted that those who accompany or organise pilgrimages have been pilgrims before, so they can contribute with their experience as pilgrims as well as explaining other pilgrims' experiences. Both coaches involved in the study are still in touch with some of the pilgrims they guided, so they can provide an insight into what happens after the pilgrimage experience.

The questions of the semi-structured interviews focused on the relationship that pilgrimage has with the three dimensions of peace explored in the literature.

- Regarding the *first dimension*, peace as a quest for spirituality, questions were related to the main motivations to go on a pilgrimage, previous experiences that the participants had, if they practised spiritual activities in their daily lives and how pilgrimage would affect them after the experience ended.
- The *second dimension* is associated with the relationship to others, especially regarding intercultural and interreligious dialogue. Questions addressed how pilgrims get in touch with other people from the same cultural background or other cultural and religious backgrounds.
- Finally, the *third dimension* connected pilgrimage with awareness regarding the environment. The first questions intended to connect pilgrimage and peace with the environment, nature and landscape. The aim was to explore if pilgrims became more aware of the importance of this third dimension and how they perceived the impacts of tourism activities in the destinations.

In November 2019 the author conducted a round table discussion on the topic of pilgrimage. In this round table, there were 5 participants: one representative of the Camino Ignaciano, one priest in charge of a sanctuary that organises pilgrimages, one CEO manager of a specialised pilgrimage travel agency, and 2 representatives of a Camino de Santiago Association in charge of a pilgrim hostel.

Added to these research tools, on-site observations have been carried out to collect opinions and experiences from different pilgrims. The observations were made in Montserrat. Montserrat is a sanctuary 60 kilometres from Barcelona (northeast of Spain). It is an important pilgrimage site as different pilgrimages routes start, end or go past here. In the case of those who follow the Camino de Santiago, Montserrat is one of the first stages for those coming from Catalonia or arriving through different Mediterranean paths, so, they are at the beginning of the pilgrimage. For those who follow the Camino Ignaciano, Montserrat is one of the last stages before arriving at Manresa, which is the ending point. Observation was carried out on several occasions between July 2019 and February 2020.

Finally, the author's experience has also been used. The author has participated in various pilgrimages and religious tourism visits, allowing her to interact with other pilgrims and to observe reactions and situations as they occur in religious sites.

Overview of Routes

Before analysing the results, a few notes on the two pilgrimages routes studied are presented, especially because there are meaningful differences between the two routes analysed. The pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela has been long analysed and studied from very different approaches, as revealed in the studies of Slavin (2003), Millán Vázquez de la Torre *et al.* (2010), Oviedo *et al.* (2014), Lois-González & Santos (2015), Antunes *et al.* (2017) and Kim *et al.* (2019), among others. On the other hand, the Camino Ignaciano is still awaiting academic exploration and research, few studies have been published in international and academic journals. An important paper is the research of Abad Galzacorta and Guereño Ómil (2016) about the needs and expectations of pilgrims.

The Camino de Santiago has become one of the greatest contemporary representations of pilgrimage routes. The cultural heritage along the different paths to Santiago is immensely rich and represents the birth of Romanesque art, the splendour and influence of monasteries and the evolution towards Gothic art. The Camino passes through five autonomous Communities and 166 cities and towns and includes more than 1,800

buildings of historical interest. According to Santos Solla (2006), this pilgrimage has become one of the most successful tourist products in Galicia, Spain, and even Europe. Chias (2003) and Huéscar Lerena *et al.* (2003) mention the Camino de Santiago as one of the star products in cultural tourism in Spain. This statement reaffirms that sometimes, as mentioned in the literature review, distinguishing between pilgrims, religious tourism or even tourists is difficult to do.

One element to highlight regarding this route is that the tradition of going to Santiago on a pilgrimage has not ceased over the years. The pilgrimage started around the Middle Ages and it has been irregular over time, but always present (Santos Solla, 2006). In 1987 it was declared to be a European Cultural Route by the Council of Europe, being the first itinerary of the project of European Cultural Routes. In 1993, it was inscribed in UNESCO's World Heritage List, emphasising that it is testimony to a considerable exchange of influences within a cultural area of the world (criteria II, IV and VI).

When it comes to numbers is difficult to establish the number of pilgrims following the many different paths. Santos Solla (2006) refers to 1.3 million tourists and 3 million hikers arriving at Santiago in a normal year. Official data are collected in the Oficina del Peregrino (Office for the Reception of Pilgrims). For these purposes, a person is considered a pilgrim when, following any of the traditional routes or walks for at least 100km. (200km on horseback or bicycle) maintaining the Christian sense. It has to be noted that the office only registers those pilgrims that ask for the pilgrim passport and the Compostela Certificate. This means that not all pilgrims (or tourists) are registered.

The Camino Ignaciano is a pilgrimage route that follows the path that Ignatius of Loyola travelled from his birthplace (Loyola, in the Basque Country) to the Holy Cave of Manresa (Catalonia). It is a 650-kilometre route that runs through five autonomous Communities (Basque Country, La Rioja, Navarra, Aragon and Catalonia), in a closed and unique itinerary, without variants, which can be covered in approximately 30 days. The proposal of this route as a structured pilgrimage is relatively new, as the project was born in 2011 when the Pilgrims' Office of the Camino Ignaciano was opened. The Camino Ignaciano

Table 1: Statistics from Camino de Santiago and Camino Ignaciano, 2019

Questions		Camino de Santiago	Camino Ignaciano
Number of pilgrims		138,791	356
Means of transport	On foot	93.10%	79.7%
	Bike	6.37%	7.0%
	Others	0.53%	13.3%
Motivation	Religious	55.33%	42.0%
	Cultural	11.08%	14.0%
	Spiritual	N.D.	32.0%
Origin of the pilgrims	National (Spain)	34.55%	11.0%
	International	65.45%	89.0%
Source: the author based on the Pilgrims' Office of Santiago and Camino Ignaciano			

offers a spiritual guide which runs parallel to the Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius.

It is important to mention that for this pilgrimage, the same facilities and services as the Camino de Santiago are used. The path that goes from Loyola to Manresa is the same, but pilgrims go in the opposite direction as the ones walking to Santiago. The Camino de Santiago pilgrimage goes from the east to the west; the Camino Ignaciano goes west to east.

As seen in Table 1, the number of pilgrims following the Camino de Santiago is 300 times higher than the number of pilgrims following the Camino Ignaciano, but if we compare other issues, many similarities can be appreciated.

Regarding this study, motivation is one of the most important topics. When asking about motivations, the Pilgrims' Office of Santiago considers as possible answers 'religious motivation', 'religious and cultural motivation' and 'cultural motivation'. The Ignatian Pilgrims' Office collects as possible answer 'religious motivation', 'cultural motivation', 'spiritual motivation' and 'sportive motivation'. It is important to remark that in the case of Santiago the option of spirituality is not contemplated, and this can be a reason for having a higher percentage of pilgrims with a religious motivation. The other reason, as mentioned above, is the fact that only those that want to have the pilgrim's passport register.

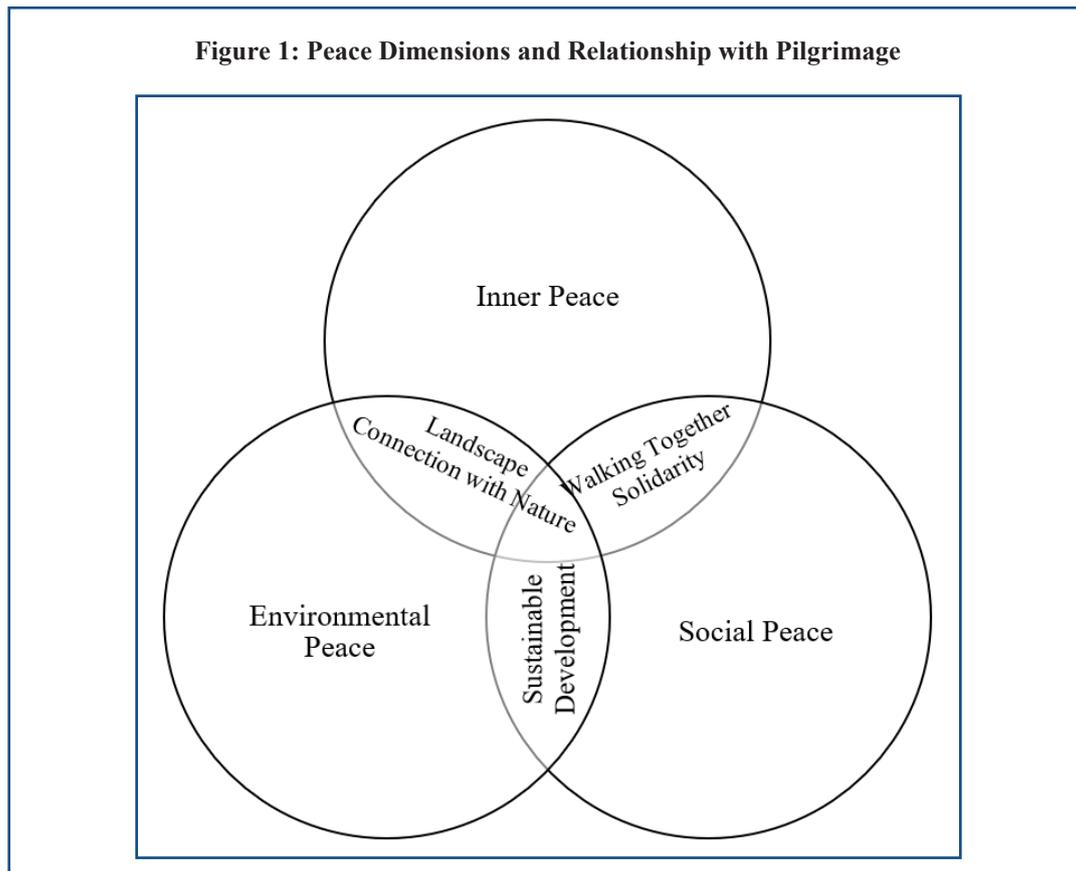
Regarding the path layout, there is a big difference between the Camino de Santiago and the Camino Ignaciano. The Camino de Santiago is not just one path, but there are as many paths as there are pilgrims (as suggested by Millán Vázquez de la Torre *et al.*, 2010). There are many different starting points and a great diversity of paths, but almost half of the pilgrims who register in the pilgrims' office followed the French Path. In 2019, 142 pilgrims began their Santiago pilgrimage in Catalonia (0.1%), passing through Montserrat.

In the case of the Camino Ignaciano, it is a single route, from Loyola to Manresa, and Montserrat is part of the route, meaning that all pilgrims arriving at Manresa have passed through Montserrat.

Findings and Results

Specific data from Montserrat have been collected for this research. In 2019, a total of 1224 pilgrims stayed in Montserrat, of which, 983 were following the Camino de Santiago, 199 the Camino Ignaciano and 42 were following other pilgrimages routes.

Figure 1 summarises the main findings of the research. Results show that the three dimensions of peace that were explored are related to each other when connected with the case of pilgrimage. The quest for inner peace is one of the main motivations for going on



a pilgrimage but once there, walking through spectacular landscapes and meeting other pilgrims foster the other dimensions of peace.

One of the first questions addressed to both the interviewees and the pilgrims refers to the distinction between tourists and pilgrims. None of the pilgrims considered themselves as tourists, all considered themselves to be pilgrims, because they shared a negative view of tourism as being something superficial and crowded. In contrast, there was a diversity of views among organisers and coaches. They consider those who go on organised pilgrimages, especially through travel agencies, as tourists.

The first of the dimensions explored is that of *inner peace* referring to spirituality or being at peace with oneself. Concerning this dimension, the results show that there is a clear link between the spiritual dimension of pilgrimage and inner peace. As presented in the literature review, the pursuit of spirituality is one of the push factors driving many pilgrims to begin their journey.

As we have seen in the official statistics about motivation, spiritual motivation is only recorded in the

data of the Camino Ignaciano and not for the Camino de Santiago. The difficulty of differentiating pilgrims from religious tourists has been referred to by many authors; it is sometimes complicated to distinguish between religiosity and spirituality. Religious practice and involvement in religious institutions are decreasing on the one hand, while on the other the search for spirituality is growing rapidly via a wide variety of beliefs and practices (such as Feng Shui, yoga, etc.) (Sharpley, 2009; Aulet, 2018). This is reflected in many of the interviewees' answers.

Most of the interviewees agree that spiritual motives are predominant in initiating the pilgrimage. While this answer has consensus among all respondents, it is also true that it is difficult to talk about spirituality and, above all, about spiritual experiences. Iriberry and Lowney (2015) refer to a call that encourages the beginning of a pilgrimage. Many of our pilgrims mentioned that they felt something inside that pushed them to go on the pilgrimage. They associate this with the quest for spirituality and personal growth.

In addition, most of the respondents agree on the importance of the spiritual component, but, many don't

agree on the importance of religion. Religious motivations are present in some cases, but not in all of them. Interviewee 3 states that religion involves a search for spirituality or contact with the transcendent and therefore, religious motivations also involve spiritual ones. In contrast, interviewee 5 says that in religious practices there are sometimes components that are not directly related to spirituality but rather to a certain custom or tradition.

Official statistics on pilgrims do not ask whether is the first time they have travelled on a pilgrimage. It is common to find pilgrims, especially in the case of the Camino de Santiago, for whom it is not their first time on pilgrimage. They have participated in other pilgrimages to other sites, or even they are repeat travellers on the pilgrimage to Santiago. One of the pilgrims interviewed stated, 'we are eternal pilgrims in this life'. For many, a pilgrimage is not 'once in a lifetime' but some feel the need to 'renew one's vows' either by undertaking the same pilgrimage or by undertaking others. In particular, those who travel in organised groups (those who considered themselves tourists) emphasise the fact of looking for new places to travel for pilgrimage.

When asked about what they consider spirituality to be, most answers related it to intangible aspects such as the search for the transcendent and contact with divinity. Others mention also that is related to personal growth and knowing oneself better. One of the pilgrims defines spirituality as 'being at peace with oneself'. Some of the interviewees also link spirituality to the balance between body and mind.

Most of the respondents practice spiritual activities regularly. Again, it is necessary to differentiate, at this point, between pilgrimages that are organised in a group and those that are undertaken individually. Among the participants in this study who organise pilgrimages, there are travel agencies and parishes. In both cases, apart from the journey itself, there are organised activities and practices related to spirituality. In the case of the parishes, these are related to Christian religious practices (attendance to Mass and prayers). Most of the participants already engage in some kind of spiritual practices in their daily life, but during the pilgrimage some of these practices are intensified. For example, they attend Mass every

Sunday but during the pilgrimage, they undertake various prayer related activities and perhaps Mass, every day.

Those who undertake pilgrimage individually also perform spiritual practices in their daily lives. These practices are diverse, moving from religious practices to other types of activities like meditation or yoga. People in charge of hostels and accommodation refer to the presence of pseudo-organised groups that also perform the pilgrimages with ritual practices like yoga, mindfulness or even activities related to shamanism and others.

In many cases, pilgrimage is seen as a kind of retreat, especially in the sense of deviating from everyday life and breaking routine. Many highlight the need to look for spaces and times for well-being, which are difficult to find in our 'stressed lives'. One of the respondents refers to the need 'to disconnect from the world to reconnect with oneself'.

The search for spirituality is one of the main reasons for going on a pilgrimage, and spiritual practices are strengthened during it. However, does the spiritual transformation last after finishing the pilgrimage? The only ones who can answer this question are those that already travelled on a pilgrimage or those that are in touch with former pilgrims (organisers and coaches). Most of them affirm that pilgrims maintain many of the spiritual practices they have performed during the pilgrimage, but with less intensity in their daily lives. Pilgrimage is not seen as an ending point but as a starting one, it helps participants to find the path to inner peace, but they must continue working (or walking) this path. Iriberry and Lowney collected opinions from different pilgrims and also refer to this:

life has brought me back to my work and the routines of family and friends, but I have preserved the beautiful spiritual change and peace I experienced on the pilgrimage (Iriberry and Lowney, 2015:68).

The next aspect to explore is the *interpersonal dimension*. How pilgrimage contributes to improving relations with others? From the perspective of peacebuilding, how it can contribute to intercultural and interreligious dialogue?

A first element to note here is the difference between those who travel in organised groups and those who travel individually. In organised groups, there are two possible cases, closed and open groups. Closed groups are those where the participants know each other or have some kind of relationship, and open groups are those where participants do not know each other when enrolling for the pilgrimage.

In general, those who travel in closed groups have less contact with people they do not know, in contrast with those who travel alone or in open groups. However, even open groups are usually composed of people from a similar cultural background who all share the same religious beliefs, as stated by one of the organisers.

As seen in the presented data, both routes have an important number of people coming from abroad, from different countries and continents. One of the things that some of the pilgrims travelling alone emphasise is that, despite travelling alone, especially in the case of the Camino de Santiago, they never feel alone because they meet other pilgrims during their journey. The organizers and those who welcome pilgrims refer to this climate of 'brotherhood and camaraderie' throughout the pilgrimage saying that relations intensify and that many times the pilgrims keep in touch with people they met during the journey long after finishing the pilgrimage.

One of the most mentioned aspects is solidarity with other pilgrims. Pilgrims become more aware of the importance of helping each other. One of the interviewees says,

I've rethought my day-to-day things, and I need to change some aspects of my life and be more supportive. Pilgrimage has transformed me into a better person.

Beyond that, in the studied pilgrimages, there is little contact with people of other religions. There are no studies on inter-religiosity in the pilgrimage routes analysed. One of the questions asked to pilgrims was whether they had met people from other religions along the way. They all answered no. Some mentioned that they have met people from other branches of the same religion (Christianity) but not from other religious traditions.

Two of the interviewees had previously been on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. In this case, when asked about the experience of inter-religious experience, they stated that sharing the same place with other pilgrims from very different religions generated in them a feeling of union and communion with all of humanity. One of the interviewees affirms that

walking in the footsteps of Jesus alongside Muslims and Jews has been an experience that has touched me deeply and reminded me of the great commandment of Jesus: you have to love others as I have loved you.

The author herself took part in a trip to Jerusalem with an interfaith group and after talking to different participants, this idea was further corroborated.

The most common opinion is that the pilgrimage experience helps pilgrims to be more aware of the need to be more tolerant. Having said that, two of the interviewees were reluctant to participate in pilgrimages with people from other religious traditions. They questioned the fact that a real dialogue could be reached.

Very little data have been collected in this study on how the experience has affected people after their pilgrimage. It was not possible to establish contact with former pilgrims or with the interviewees after finishing the pilgrimage. Iriberry and Lowney (2015) mention the example of Sara Avis who, after taking part in a pilgrimage joined the International Red Cross and was sent to serve in conflict areas in the Ukraine and in Syria.

The third dimension that is explored about peace relates to the **environment**. Referring to this dimension, Jauhari and Sanjeev (2010) mention aspects such as a long walk to climb a mountain, immersion in holy water, simple vegetarian food or patience with long queues and inconveniences. Questions related to this theme identified relationships with the immediate surroundings and with the environment but according to our results, the relationship with peace is hardly perceived by pilgrims.

Tourism is often considered to generate excessive impacts on the developing territory, especially in the field of the environment. Pilgrims who were interviewed were completing the pilgrimage on foot;

but the interviewees who organise pilgrimages combine different means of transport. During the observation period, it was noted that international pilgrims take planes to reach the starting point of the pilgrimage. Regarding data from the Pilgrims' Office of Santiago, the starting point for many pilgrims to Santiago is Sarria, 100 kilometres from Santiago. This means that many pilgrims take a plane to Santiago, then a bus to Sarria, from where they walk back to Santiago. This questions the sustainability of the pilgrimage in terms of individuals' carbon footprint (Agarwala *et al.*, 2019).

The experience of all those who undertake the pilgrimage on foot is that they feel closer to nature and the environment. In the words of one of the pilgrims:

walking in the middle of nature makes you feel closer to the creation of God.

Most pilgrims are aware that they make an impact on the places they visit and claim that they behave respectfully with nature and sites. One of the pilgrims states that

I always carry a plastic bag with me where I collect the waste I find along the way.

Many have also seen or become aware that in many places people throw rubbish along the way - 'this hurts the heart' says another of the interviewees.

Participants were asked about overcrowding. All pilgrims are aware or have heard of overcrowding, especially those following the Camino de Santiago. Some of them felt contradicted:

I know there are a lot of people but doing this pilgrimage is one of my dreams.

Most of them state that they try to behave respectfully and silently, especially when entering churches. All respondents in their answers referred to their behaviour regarding other pilgrims, but not about the environmental impacts that they may generate.

When asked if the pilgrimage experience makes them more aware of the environmental dimension and the need to be more environmentally friendly, answers were divided. Only half of the respondents confirmed that the experience of being in touch with nature and walking made them more aware of the need to preserve

the planet. Typically, these were those who had already taken part in some previous pilgrimage.

Conclusion

As seen in the literature review, pilgrimage is a complex phenomenon, not only difficult to define but also to study as it can be approached from many different perspectives. The research presented is a preliminary study based on qualitative data collected from different pilgrims, aiming to explore the connections between pilgrimage and peacebuilding.

Some studies are starting to address this issue (Singh, 2016; McIntosh & Harman, 2017; Raj & Griffin, 2017). The results obtained show that there is a connection between the two phenomena, pilgrimage and peacebuilding, but also that more research is needed. Present studies refer mainly to one of the dimensions of peace, but do not approach it from a holistic perspective. Regarding the three dimensions of peace observed, the one that has the closest connection with pilgrimage is inner peace or the search for spirituality, which, as seen in the literature review, is one of the elements that motivates participation in a pilgrimage. The connection with nature and environment is the least understood dimension, visiting and experiencing natural places provides an opportunity for engaging with the environment not only on a physical level but also on a deeper emotional level (Sharpley & Jepson, 2011).

The main contribution of this paper is to test a methodology and a questionnaire model that can be developed in future research. One of the limitations of the study is the fact that data have been collected in a relatively short period and they were focused on two pilgrimage routes of the Christian faith. Future studies should consider collecting data on other pilgrimage routes linked to other religious traditions and, above all, in multi-faith places such as Jerusalem where different pilgrims cohabit together.

Another limitation of this study is the difficulty of analysing how pilgrimage affects people after it has taken place and whether it promotes change. Quoting Iriberry and Lowney (2015), the pilgrim is transformed but when they return home, their environment remains the same.

The Earth Charter states that peace is the wholeness created by correct relationships with oneself, other persons, other cultures, other life, the Earth, and the larger whole of which all are a part (The Earth Charter International, n.d.). Peacebuilding is a historical process, it is not an episode, and should be the result of intergenerational creative work (Banda i Tarradellas, 1991). Peace is not an end in itself but a process (Aussems, 2016) and pilgrimage is a transformative experience that can help to promote a solid path where humanity can walk together for the development of peace.

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