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Heritage Tourism as Secular Pilgrimage

Jennifer de Freitas

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Abstract

HERITAGE TOURISM AS SECULAR PILGRIMAGE

by Jennifer de Freitas

This thesis sets out to improve our understanding of heritage tourism by articulating this type of tourism with what is known about pilgrimage as a social process. A critical discussion of Victor Turner's contribution to the field of pilgrimage studies establishes a theoretical frame for this discussion. The longstanding relationship between pilgrimage and religion is stripped away, redrawing pilgrimage as a multi-levelled social process. The historical and discursive connections between heritage tourism and pilgrimage are established. The exploration of the problematic that heritage tourism is a form of secular pilgrimage ends with an instrumental case study of The Pointe-du-Moulin Historical Park. The spatial and interpretive strategies of the park are discussed as a social drama, using Kenneth Burke's Pentad as an analytical tool.

For Julián, Nicolás, and Rodolfo

HERITAGE TOURISM AS SECULAR PILGRIMAGE
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Chapter 1

KEY TERMS AND METHODOLOGY

I. Introduction

This thesis sets out to improve the understanding of heritage tourism by articulating this type of tourism with what is known about pilgrimage as a social process. I believe that looking at the distinctive aspects of heritage tourism as a form of pilgrimage is a useful speculative instrument with rich implicative power. My interest in heritage tourism developed out of my professional practice in graphic design. In 1993 I participated in the creation of an interpretation centre on the site of a seventeenth-century fishing seigneury at Pabos in the Gaspé, Québec. This experience took me into the back regions of heritage tourism and the preservation and diffusion of material culture in Québec. The award winning interpretation centre is the architectural manifestation of a government mandate for heritage sites in Québec to "lay facts on the land".[1] The huge semi-transparent exhibition panels function as a didactic filter on the landscape (see photo appendix A).

I was struck by the effectiveness of the interpretive machinery in the legitimation and location of historical narrative at this particular site and I began to look for other examples of this phenomena in Québec and farther afield, geographically and conceptually. The search for a more sustained argument led me to investigate heritage policy, the different historical roots of tourism, and the theoretical models of tourism, in different classes and course work during my years in the Communication Studies program at Concordia University.

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In this chapter I begin by establishing working definitions of the key terms of this interdisciplinary discussion, and then turn to a discussion of my methodology—a complex mixture of professional experience and academic interest. The analytical terms associated with Kenneth Burke's theory of Dramatism will be introduced and linked to Victor Turner's theoretical framework of social drama.

The organization of this thesis in some ways parallels my actual experience. My original interest in a specific heritage site developed into a theoretical and historical investigation of larger, overlapping fields. Chapters two and three can be seen as theoretical interruptions, reflecting my quest for a class, a generalization, an existing theory to understand the process of legitimation and location of historical narratives at heritage interpretation centres. In chapter two a critical discussion of Victor Turner's contribution to the understanding of pilgrimage as a social drama establishes a theoretical framework for the thesis. Turner's idealization of religious experience is peeled away to reveal the secular aspects of pilgrimage, through an analysis of the key concepts of pilgrimage as a social process: motive, communitas, liminality, and ritual topography. Pilgrimage is redrawn as a multi-levelled social process deeply connected to the secular realm.

In chapter three the relationship between pilgrimage and heritage tourism is established through a discussion of the ways in which the original key concepts of pilgrimage resonate in the field of tourism. The historical and discursive connections between the two are established. The speculative model which develops is articulated in the title of the thesis: "Heritage Tourism as Secular Pilgrimage."

The exploration of this problematic ends with the instrumental case study in chapter four. A case study advances our understanding of the hypothesis in terms of depth, context, and detail (Stake:237). The role of this case study is to refine the concept of heritage tourism as secular pilgrimage, to provide further insights into

the activity of heritage tourism, to explore the ramifications of this hypothesis, and to indicate areas for further speculation. Admittedly, the choice of a single instrumental case study is often simply a reflection of the interests of the researcher. In order to avoid the pitfalls of instrumental case studies, in particular the tendency to overgeneralize, my approach to the case study centres around the specific features of the site itself. The analysis of Pointe-du-Moulin illustrates the specific qualities and emerging thematic concerns of the site, while advancing our understanding of heritage tourism as secular pilgrimage.

II. Key Terms

The interdisciplinary quality of this thesis calls upon conceptual terminology from the fields of communication studies, religious studies, cultural studies, rhetoric, and geography. Ritual, pilgrimage, tourism, heritage, landscape: these terms are contingent and contested, but in this section I will attempt to pin them down, if only momentarily for the purposes of this discussion.

Ritual

Although 'ritual' remains a contested expression, the importance of ritual as a social process has been recognized in all of the areas of study implicated in this thesis. In his 1975 essay, "A cultural approach to communication" James Carey argues for a model of communication which recognizes the importance of ritual, in order to break the stranglehold of the transmission model on communication studies in America. Although both models arguably descend from religious tradition, the difference between the transmission and the ritual model result in differ-

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ent forms of social order:

> If the archetypal case under a transmission view is the extension of mes-
> sages across geography for the purpose of control, the archetypal case
> under a ritual view is the sacred ceremony which draws persons together
> in fellowship and commonality. (Carey 1975:6)

The transmission model creates order through hegemony, the ritual model creates or maintains order through solidarity. Both appear to leave little room for challenge, dissent, or change.

Carey's call for change has had a profound influence on communication studies, however, his understanding of ritual is problematic. James Ettema respectfully suggests that Carey's conception of ritual is "in fact at odds with the theoretical position that presumably generated it" (Ettema 1990:310). Ultimately Carey claims that ritual "changes very little, and yet is intrinsically satisfying; it performs few functions yet is habitually consumed" (Carey1975:8). Granted that ritual may express a common vision, control action, and maintain order, it is just as likely to provide scope for complex, self-interested, contradictory, evasive, or dissenting action. The research projects of anthropologists such as Gerd Baumann (1992) and M.J. Sallnow (1981) investigate the tension between unity and continuity on one hand and contradiction and discontinuity on the other in many rituals in numerous cultural contexts. They conclude that rituals may be involved in the maintenance of two conflicting established social patterns, or may serve specific political interests and undermine others. Their contribution recognizes the socio-political aspects of ritual and reclaims ritual as a locus of transformation.

Anthropologists continue to discuss and debate the definition of ritual. Although some have argued that ritual can never be satisfactorily defined, there is consensus that one condition of ritual is that people expect there to be rules, even

though the rules may be consciously ignored, contested or made up along the way. David Parkin argues that the second condition of ritual is that the rules are fundamentally made up of physical action. Movement, rather than language is the principle feature of ritual. "Even silent prayer depends on bodily and directional postures" (Parkin 1992:18). Large scale mass-mediated rituals constructed by professionals are also organized by rules for portraying action (see Deegan 1989 and Ettema 1990). Through movement, participants express abstract ideas about their world, and also affect their world.

Ritual, in this instrumental view, is important work that is carried out for a purpose, and not in fact something that "changes very little, and . . . performs a few functions" (Carey 1975:8). It can be differentiated from custom or tradition by the public attention paid to it. Unlike both custom, which is only noticed when mistakes are made, and personal routines, which may follow a private pattern, ritual is *meant* to be noticed. It is not simply a personal performance, but one which infers a public. Thus, ritual is formulaic spatiality publicly performed by groups of people who are conscious of its imperative nature (Parkin 1992:18). This definition of ritual will be favoured in my argument.

Pilgrimage

Pilgrimage is a ritual that incorporates geographic distance as an important factor. The theoretical research on the nature of pilgrimage is inspired by the writings of Emile Durkheim and Mircea Eliade, and indebted to the contributions of Victor Turner. Turner's model of "social drama" as a paradigm for social action is enriched by the paradox of ritual as a vehicle for both stability and change simultaneously. According to Turner social drama exhibits four characteristic phases: "breach" in which authority is challenged; "crisis", in which antagonism becomes

visible; "redress", in which adjustment mechanisms are activated; and "reintegration" or "separation", in which redressive measures either succeed or fail. These phases are not in themselves rituals, but may involve any number of ritualized activities (Ettema 1990:311). This thesis turns on Turner's contribution to the understanding and articulation of pilgrimage as a social drama in the development of my hypothesis that heritage tourism is a form of secular pilgrimage and in the organization of the case study in chapter four.

The key concepts of pilgrimage elaborated by Turner are communitas, liminality, ludic behaviour, and the paradox of the "centre out there". Briefly, the terms and their relevance to this thesis are as follows:

1. "Communitas" is a sense of unmediated, spontaneous communion between participants during a pilgrimage. Turner claims that it emerges through liminality, a transitional period where status is in flux.

2. Pilgrimage is a "liminoid" (rather than "liminal") activity, a *voluntary*, secular, transitory experience. The differentiation between liminal and liminoid introduces the concepts of agency and the secular into ritual.

3. "Ludic", or playful, aspects of ritual are brought together with the most solemn aspects through liminality. The liminal phase reintegrates what modernity has separated into the distinct spheres of leisure and work—entertainment and education.

4. "Ritual topography" is mapped in two ways: (a) Spirituality is gained by pilgrims approaching the centre. Embedded in this idea is a sense of materiality, and of practice which is essential to understanding the power of physical dis-location, and the preoccupation with the "actual" site. (b) Typically, pilgrimage centres are excentric to socio-political centres in the west. Remoteness is a theoretically significant fact and centre/periphery power relations are played out in the

tension between distance and proximity. The paradox of "the centre out there" involves the movement from, and transformation of a specific site to a symbolic place, as reflected in the tension between the authentic and the typical.

Turner's theories of communitas, liminality, ludic behaviour and ritual topography imply a monolithic, spiritual experience by his claim to universality and his absolute demarcation of the sacred and secular realms. In chapter two these claims are considered against the post-modern claim that there are many different centres of knowledge, initiative and power, and the re-evaluation of pre-viously oppositional categories, such as work and leisure, and sacred and secular. Pilgrimage is redrawn as a multi-levelled social process deeply connected to the secular realm.

Tourism

Tourism is a difficult concept to define because it is so ubiquitous. As Trinh T. Minh-ha puts it: "One among some fifty million globe-trotters, the traveller maintains his difference mostly by despising others like himself" (Minh-ha 1994:22). The familiar often resists definition, because it means defining ourselves.

Most research into tourism is informed by a condescending attitude towards the tourist experience. It is often described as superficial, banal, or even despicable, and compared negatively with travel. For example, Claude Lévi-Strauss, a self-described 'traveller', laments the polluting effects of tourism on the 'elite' activity of travel:

> The perfumes of the tropics and the pristine freshness of human beings
> have been corrupted by a busyness with dubious implications, which
> mortifies our desires and dooms us to acquire only contaminated memo-
> ries (Lévi-Straus quoted in Rojek 1993:173).

His use of terms such as "corruption", "mistrust" and "contamination" vilify the tourist experience. More common is the attitude found in Anne Tyler's novel *The Accidental Tourist* which implies that the tourist industry is preoccupied with the elimination of risk and adventure:

> Their concern was to pretend they had never left home. What hotels in Madrid boasted king-sized Beautyrest mattresses? What restaurants in Tokyo offered Sweet'n'Low? Did Amsterdam have a McDonald's? Did Mexico City have a Taco Bell? Did anyplace in Rome serve Chef Boyardee ravioli? Other travellers hoped to discover distinctive local wines; Macon's readers searched for pasteurized and homogenized milk. (Tyler 1985:12)

Tyler's portrait of the tourist industry as banalizing travel through planned itineraries, insurance, and reassurance, relies on the same two-tier model of travel-tourism as Lévis-Straus, where travel is an elite activity associated with "distinctive local wines" and tourism is a "pasteurized and homogenized" experience.

This attitude is at odds with my professional experience as a graphic designer. I am often involved in the design of wayfinding and informational graphics at tourist sites, including interpretation centres and museums. Behind the creation of these centres are teams of professional archeologists, historians, architects, writers, and designers committed to providing an entertaining and, more importantly, educational experience. Every interpretation centre is designed to meet the criteria of a specific mandate—often generated in conjunction with the ministry of culture. For example, at Pabos, a heritage site in the Gaspé the dual mandate of the centre is to describe the way of life at a seventeenth-century fishing seigneury and to demonstrate the existence of "a permanent and organized community" on the site at the time of the British conquest (LeMoyne et al 1991:np). This mandate is a

precise echo from the 1978 *Cultural Development Policy for Québec* which claims that a language policy for Québec is the natural path for the progress of the nation, a path which is "more than traditional it is historic . . . the product of a permanent and organized social group." (Ministère d'état au développement culturel 1978:30) The architectural and interpretive program is consistent with a much larger mandate of the government for the advancement of a nationalist ideology.

The engaged attitudes of some tourists I have witnessed at heritage sites indicates that they both understand and approve of this mandate. Furthermore, my own personal enjoyment of these centres—informed by both professional and academic experience, and infused with a sense of curiosity about the place where I live—is neither banal nor superficial. The authority of my experience informs my analysis of both the literature and the site. The recuperation of the term 'tourism' is essential to this argument, and will proceed through the lens of pilgrimage.

This thesis argues that heritage tourism is a vigorous social process by exploring both the material and the discursive connections between pilgrimage and heritage tourism. The material connection between the two is most clearly articulated in spatial arrangements and constraints on movement and direction at the site and in the infrastructure of the circuitous journey. An analysis of the discourse around tourism reveals the mostly negative connotations associated with the term, but also reveals a vocabulary common to ritual and pilgrimage. Pilgrimage is a term often used, both genuinely and ironically, in relation to tourist activities.

The discursive environment (both academic and popular) of tourism is loaded with religious terminology. From tourist brochures for Graceland to Dean MacCannell's articulation of site sacralization at tourist sites the vocabulary of rit-

ual and pilgrimage is pervasive. Although tourists are often perceived as dupes of mass marketing, despised at their destination and upon their return home, they are occasionally portrayed as pilgrims on a spiritual quest, or as some Quixotic combination of the two. The popular discourse around natural attractions and eco-tourism is a case in point. The Grand Canyon, Niagara Falls, and the rain forests of Costa Rica have all been described as "cathedrals" (Robbins 1997:84). However, the most outrageous example of pilgrimage discourse in secular culture is the enormously popular trek to Graceland, the home of The King, Elvis Presley. For many of the thousands of tourists who visit Graceland every day it is "the hallowed shrine of a distinctly American saint" (Robbins 1997:84). Some visitors claim to have visions, epiphanies, and miraculous cures at the site. In many ways this site is apposite to the idea of *praesentia* at early Christian shrines which were sites where contact could be made with a resident saint who was associated with the site through birth, death, or burial. The shrines were considered the meeting point between heaven and earth and a pilgrimage was considered a visit to a specific person (Brown 1981:50).

The designation of the roots of tourism in one period or another is a factor which has an outcome on how tourism and tourists are perceived. For many scholars, such as John Urry and Chris Rojek, the rise of mass tourism is traced back to the industrial revolution and the creation of the separate spheres of work and leisure, giving rise to preoccupations with consumption and production. Others, such as Dean MacCannell and Ian Reader, consider tourism as a search for authenticity; a modern extension of pilgrimage.

The process of pilgrimage and of tourism both imply a change in status, fully recognized only upon the return home. In pilgrimage this may be a spiritual, personal transformation, or an elevation of their religious status, embodied in a relic.

For tourists this transformation may be signified by the acquisition of souvenirs. Between these two extremes are questions about the motive, the form, and the value of their experiences. The question arises: *How is this transformation encouraged, expressed and commodified?*

Heritage

Heritage tourism involves tourists travelling to specific locations to experience first-hand a moment in history. In this way heritage tourism and pilgrimage share the implications about the power of place.

'Heritage' has recently picked up negative connotations of superficiality from its association with tourism. The combination of entertainment and education found at many heritage sites is closely related to the ludic behaviour during the liminal phase of pilgrimage. However, this is often perceived as a consumer oriented blend of fantasy and reality. As Chris Rojek declares:

> This is very evident in the planning and commercial development of heritage sites. 'Reality' is 'convened' by the use of two methods: (1) the employment of actors and stage sets to reenact the past; (2) the design of tableaux, in which holography, soundtracks, trick lighting and other special effects 'transport' the visitor back in time. (Rojek 1993:147)

For Rojek, the heritage experience is a "trick." For others heritage tourism stands accused of producing a false, misleading or at the least, superficial, image of the past. Heritage sites are criticized for promoting a mythical idyl of harmony, a romanticized and glorious past. By emphasizing one historic period over all others, and one perspective (usually that of the dominant class), heritage sites function as self-contained narratives, which create a myth of seamless, uncontested history.

The claim made by MacCannell and others that tourists are easily satisfied

by staged authenticity is problematized by heritage sites (MacCannell 1989:55). The articulation between the unique attributes of the site and the staging, or interpretive strategies of the official centres is complex. Questions about interpretation, the typical or the actual, and authenticity are elided by the overwhelming authority of the actual site (e.g. Washington slept here). Practices of interpretation, research, education and pleasure are entwined around the actual sites—the 'natural' equivalent of historical reenactments, or lived history. At heritage sites the land itself—the landscape—is recognized as having historicized, cultural meaning. The questions arise: *What is the role of the tourist in the legitimation of heritage? In what ways does the actual site contribute to that legitimation process?*

Another important aspect of heritage sites is their relationship to processes of official governmental identification and recognition. Although many specific sites may be of importance to the cultural heritage of certain social groups, this thesis will concentrate on heritage as an official governmental response to cultural preservation. Current literature in the field of museum studies makes a pertinent contribution to understanding the role of the state in the construction of authenticity and legitimacy at heritage sites. Museum exhibitions are considered "contested arenas, settings in which different parties dispute both the control of the exhibitions and assertions of identity made in and experienced through visual displays" (Karp 1991:279). In the essay "Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship" Carol Duncan considers museums as sites of secular ritual. She argues that "like ceremonial structures of the past, by fulfilling its declared purpose as a a museum (preserving and displaying objects) it also carries out broad, sometimes less obvious political and ideological tasks" (Duncan, Carol 1991:90). Museums have been regarded from within the nation as evidence of political virtue, and from without as "a sign of political virtue and national identity—of

being recognizably a member of the civilized community of modern, liberal nations" (Duncan, Carol 1991:91). Museums function within the instrumental model of ritual as performed for purpose and audience.

The term 'heritage' has long been used in relation to the unofficial, and increasingly official, preservation of architectural works, monuments, and archaeological sites. 'Natural heritage' applies to gardens, parks, landscapes, and other apparently natural formations. However, even this category is actually based on a cultural component, such as the combined works of nature and man found in historic gardens, or in the placing of boundaries and markers around wilderness parks. More recently it has become associated with a broader concept of 'cultural heritage', including immaterial forms such as distinctive ways of life, literature, and folklore.

In the case study in chapter four a brief history of the development and expansion of heritage policy in Québec contextualizes the discussion of the Pointe-du-Moulin Historical Park. The expanding concept of heritage parallels the growth of cultural nationalism in Québec. Heritage must be considered a contested arena with material consequences in the cultural, social, and political domains. Susan Pitchford and others have argued that in a post-colonial situation heritage tourism may be a useful strategy in the recuperation of history, culture, and political power (Pitchford 1994). I do not argue that Québec is a post-colonial society; however it is a society in the process of recuperating, reclaiming, and redrawing its history. Pointe-du-Moulin is considered as a contested site against a backdrop of emerging nationalism. This thesis does not attempt to answer any specific question about the shape of the cognitive map of Québec (which is clearly still in progress, if not always in progress), nor position itself against the specif-

ic history of the secularization of Québécois society, but rather, reveals a relation-
ship between pilgrimage, heritage, tourism, and landscape or place.

Landscape and Place

The concept of landscape has come to be recognized as a complex social con-
struct which is constantly remade by forces of power and dissent. Although land-
scape is essentially a visual concept it operates as a conceptual tool:

> The spatial consequences of combined social and economic power sug-
> gests that landscape is the major cultural product of our time. Our cog-
> nitive maps, aesthetic forms, and ideologies reflect the multiple shifts
> and contrasting patterns of growth and decline that shapes the land-
> scape. (Zukin 1991:16-22)

As Sharon Zukin indicates above, a landscape is not a transparent representation
of space, but rather a complex and mobile social construct which expresses cultur-
al values and behaviour. Landscape painting began in the fourteenth century as a
clearly symbolic, or typical, rather than actual, or mimetic, practice and remains a
consistent representation of *and* imposition of visual order. The term 'landscape'
suggests an inclusive social reality. We hear of the landscape of capitalism, the
financial landscape, the suburban landscape. We have catalogues of symbolic
landscapes such as "Main Street U.S.A.", or "The New England Village" that we
call upon in public discourse (Meinig 1979:165). Zukin points out that although
these landscapes "were constructed sequentially, on different scales, they now
coexist in space and time" (Zukin 1991:17). Landscapes are culturally produced
models of environmental ideals but they are not confined to their specific spatial
or temporal origins. Furthermore they reproduce and diffuse these ideals both
physically and through representational strategies. The mobility of modernity,

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including tourism, involves not only shifting from one landscape to the next, it implies a power to remake the landscape itself, either physically as tourist attractions, or more to the point, by investing the view with new meaning. Once invested with meaning they become symbolic landscapes.

Symbolic landscapes can be assumed to carry certain meanings for certain groups of people; they can represent national institutions (e.g. Parliament Hill), or events of historic importance (e.g. The Plains of Abraham) and they have the power to evoke certain qualities associated with place. Although 'place' remains a term in flux, in this case 'place' can be considered as the source or origin of symbolic landscapes. They maintain their physical presence even as they are reproduced in the form of symbolic landscapes in postcards, guide books, films, etc.

> Place involves meaning for the people who build it, or live in it, or visit it, or study it. This is why it is so close to notions of territoriality (*territoralité*) and landscape (*paysage*), in the sense that there is a special, usually emotional link between people and place—the latter being understood as a concrete and very specific area. (Berdoulay 1989:125)

'Place' is understood to be derived from the use in classical rhetoric of locus (*lieu*, place) to designate "the proper location of things [within an argument] and, consequently, what induces their movement towards it" (Berdoulay 1989:125). *Hic locus est*, "Here is the Place," is the inscription celebrating the arrival at pilgrimage shrines throughout Europe, and is also, for thousands of tourists, the ritual response to the refrain "Are we *there* yet?" In this model, movement (*sens*) and meaning (*sens*) are linked etymologically. Thus 'place' involves a meaningful portion of geographic space. The ritual topography of pilgrimage based on the tension between distance and proximity is congruent with this definition. Place, like pilgrimage, operates in both the material and symbolic realm. It simultaneously

refers to a geographic location or territory as inscribed on a map and a cultural artifact of social conflict and cohesion.

III. Methodology

Participant Observation

The methodology I employ is based on a complex mixture of professional experience and academic interest in interpretation centres in Québec. My familiarity with the subject comes, as mentioned, from working as a graphic designer at numerous heritage sites, a process which took me to many interpretation centres as a consultant or as a researcher. My initial encounter with Pointe-du-Moulin was actually as a visitor on a picnic with guests from out of town. On subsequent visits I had other roles to play. In my capacity as a graphic designer I have visited the site in search of inexpensive graphic solutions to communication design problems. I made two visits to the site as part of my original research for this project. Finally, in the late fall, before they closed for the season, I revisited the site as documentary photographer, creating a bank of images to use as inspiration during the months of writing this thesis (see photo appendix B). The constant thread running throughout is my experience as a visitor, albeit informed by various academic and professional requirements. Although the emphasis in the discussion of Pointe-du-Moulin is on interpretive strategies and spatial arrangements, the authority of my experience runs through my interpretation of both the literature and the site.

Implicit in this process is the role of the visitor as constructed, but not determined by the narrative and by the spatial organization of the site. Based on the understanding of ritual as a potential site of transformation these organizational strategies will be framed as constraints on meaning rather than determinants of

meaning. Meaning is constantly created, negotiated, and contested. Reality is not independent of nor expressed in spatial organization, ritual, or any other phenomena to which we assign meaning.[2]

In order to contemplate the narrative strategies and spatial arrangements at Pointe-du-Moulin a balance must be struck between structuralist and actor oriented approaches.[3] Structuralist analysis subordinates actors to the workings of the system, while actor oriented approaches stress practice, meaning and motive at the expense of social or historical factors. By positioning the interpretation centre as a constraint on meaning we recognize the material, social and historical conditions of production and transformation of meaning.

The case study in chapter four involves a rhetorical evaluation of the rituals performed at a popular interpretation centre in Québec—Pointe du Moulin. It will illustrate the relationship between pilgrimage, heritage tourism, and the construction of a sense of place, embodied in a symbolic landscape—the windmill.

Dramatism

I will consider these ideas through the lens of pilgrimage and the framework of Dramatism developed by Kenneth Burke. The literature of pilgrimage and tourism provide us with a general model of ritual in terms of separation, limen and reaggregation. Dramatism provides a method of analysis which responds to the problematic of structure/actor in terms which support Turner's model of social drama: breach, crisis, redress, reintegration or separation.

Burke consistently returns to a concern with the form of drama as a ritual for purification, and as a response to a situation. He describes the terms of the pentad as transcendental rather than formal. Furthermore, he suggests that " . . . the analysis of language rather than the analysis of reality" is the primary concern of

Dramatism (Burke 1969:317). This emphasis on understanding motive through material practice is useful to understanding the material quality of pilgrimage and tourism.

Kenneth Burke's Pentad is an analytical tool which promotes a more detailed analysis of the specific activities involved in the social drama. Burke's concern with the form of drama as a ritual for purification, as the response to a situation, or with the rhetorical aspect of ritual is reflected in this thesis. In *A Grammar of Motives* Burke claims that in any rounded statement of motives the following terms will be universally applied:

> . . . you must have some word that names the *act* (names what took
> place, in thought or deed), and another that names the *scene* (the back-
> ground to the act, the situation in which it occurred); also you must indi-
> cate what person or what kind of person (*agent*) performed the act, what
> means or instruments he used (*agency*) and the purpose. . . .
> (Burke 1969:xv)

Burke's project in the *Grammar* is to "inquire into the internal relationships which the five terms bear to one another, considering their possibilities of transformation" (Burke 1969:xvi). Transformation occurs only at moments of ambiguity, the textual equivalent of liminality. In this analysis a correlation will be drawn between the essential ambiguity of the term 'scene' and current debates within the fields of Cultural Studies and Geography around 'space' and a 'sense of place'. At Pointe-du-Moulin the ambiguity of the term scene will be shown to be the locus of transformation, where the spatial organization of the experience is firmly established as the agent in the drama.

A Pentadic critique of an unconventional object (in lieu of a text) reveals a problematic aspect of the Pentad. In an address that clearly focuses on the alloca-

tion of motive, blame, or guilt, the five terms provide a method for determining how the clearly identified speaker within the clearly identified text views the world. At Pointe-du-Moulin the possible combinations of scenes, acts, agents, agencies, and purposes are manifold. The complexity of the combination of structured activities and the improvisational aspects of experience leads to a consideration of the visitor, the actor tour guides, the eighteenth-century miller, and even the mill itself as potential agents in the drama. Furthermore there is a structural drama behind every act of criticism, where the critic is the agent in the critical act. The ambiguity of the terms is illustrated by Burke in the following discussion of the concept of War:

> War may be treated as an Agency, in so far as it is a means to an end; as a
> collective Act, subdivisible into many individual acts; as a Purpose, in
> schemes proclaiming a cult of war. For the man inducted into the army,
> war is a scene, a situation which motivates the nature of his training; and
> in mythologies war is an agent, or perhaps better a super-agent, in the
> figure of the war god. (Burke 1969:xx)

The allocation of the terms and subsequent interpretation of motive becomes the ultimate responsibility of the critic. In *A Grammar of Motives* Burke devotes considerable space to a discussion of the effect of circumference on interpretation (Burke 1969:77-85). Even an apparent reduction of circumference to the space of an individual text, object, or event will reflect the larger operational circumference of the critic. The operational circumference of this case study is my hypothesis that heritage tourism is a form of secular pilgrimage. The ambiguities of the Pentadic terms elicit a critical process of transformation of circumference from the analysis of a specific interpretation centre to a consideration of the centre as a heritage site, as a tourist attraction, as a pilgrimage centre. The rituals of heritage

tourism can be interpreted in the same ways: as an agency, a means of personal transformation; as a collective act, subdivisible into many individual acts; as a purpose in the creation of normative or ideological communitas; as a scene for pilgrims, travellers, and tourists; and as a super-agent in mythology, where the tourist becomes emblematic of modernity. Each of these circumferences contributes to a new understanding of the original object and of the circumference in question. The allocation of terms is contingent on the circumference, and generates coexisting layers of interpretation. The term scene begins with the physical circumference of the centre but also represents the scene of heritage tourism. We shall see that in the areas of overlap, certain patterns become apparent, and can be considered in terms of politics, ideology, or the national imaginary: In the case study the social drama at Pointe-du-Moulin involves redressive strategies aimed at the management of the crisis generated in Québec as it moves from a pastoral society to a modern, technological nation.

IV. Summary

The key terms of the hypothesis that heritage tourism is a form of secular pilgrimage are; ritual, pilgrimage, tourism, heritage, landscape, and place. These terms are contingent and contested but have been contained for the purpose of this discussion. In the following chapters they will be expanded and evaluated in greater detail. Specifically, the thesis addresses the ways in which the overlapping spatial concerns of both pilgrimage and tourism generate ritual topographies, or symbolic fields, in which specific sites become symbolic landscapes, through a Pentadic analysis of the social drama at the Pointe-du-Moulin Historical Park.

Chapter 2
PILGRIMAGE AS A SOCIAL PROCESS

I. Introduction

The major obstacle to the problematic of heritage tourism as a form of secular pilgrimage is the longstanding relationship between pilgrimage and religion. However, this relationship is not central to the understanding of pilgrimage. In this chapter preconceptions about pilgrimage as a conservative, religious experience involving hardship and personal sacrifice are addressed through the lens of Victor Turner's theory of pilgrimage as a social process. The pilgrim-tourist dichotomy is ultimately based on a value judgement about the sacred and profane—a dichotomy which is actually blurred by the secular aspects of pilgrimage. This chapter explores the secular aspects of the basic tropes ascribed to pilgrimage: motive, communitas, liminality, and ritual topography.

II. Victor Turner's Model

Pilgrimage is one of the most widespread rituals found in religious culture, existing in a relatively common form in almost every major religion. The term pilgrimage refers to the ritual of a religious journey to a specific place. It is based on the belief that certain places are more powerful than others, and that this power can be experienced, and even taken home in the feeling of spiritual renewal, the transformation of social status, or embodied in a relic, or fetish object (Dubisch 1995:35). Although there is an emphasis on materiality in pilgrimage, as ritual it is

understood to be both a real journey and a symbolic or metaphorical one. In common usage it connotes a journey out of the ordinary:

> Taking a pilgrimage is not about escaping reality—it's about stepping
> into reality . . . The environment we live in is so full of illusion. But on a
> pilgrimage, you have to shed everything—your reputation, your friends,
> your preconceived notions about yourself. (Delahunty 1997:3)

The above testimonial from *The Utne Reader* special issue on new age pilgrimages is evidence of the renewed popular interest in pilgrimage. Although interest is also growing in the academic field, pilgrimage has been a neglected phenomena even though it is "demographically comparable to labour migration, involving millions of people the world over in many days and even months of travelling, rich in symbolism and undoubtedly complex in organization" (Turner 1974:188). Victor Turner has argued that it is the myopia inherent to the domains of sociology (emphasis on secular), and anthropology (emphasis on small scale) which has excluded pilgrimage from serious investigation (Turner 1974:188). Peter Brown has shown that a two-tiered model informs religious studies which emphasize dogma rather than the popular aspects of religion such as pilgrimage (Brown 1981:19). Victor Turner is responsible for a large body of work on many aspects of ritual, and specifically pilgrimage as a social process. This contribution to the field of pilgrimage studies initiates the process of re-evaluation of heritage tourism as a dynamic social process.

Turner's interest in pilgrimage is the outgrowth of his anthropological investigations into the role of ritual in social drama. For Turner, pilgrimage in complex cultures which are dominated by major historical religions is homologous to rites of passage in small scale, preliterate societies. Following the French folklorist Arnold Van Gennep, Turner introduced the concept of directional movement to

the study of ritual, through the identification of the the three phases of ritual: separation, limen, and reaggregation. Although criticized for being too broadly universalistic, this framework remains influential. Even Turner's fiercest detractors recognize these three phases as useful conceptual tools (Parkin 1992:18).

A rite of passage involves the movement from one condition or position of structure to another, passing through three phases: (1) 'separation' is the symbolic behaviour symbolizing detachment, that corresponds to periods of preparation, and the experience of displacement. It is often associated with metaphors of death; (2) 'limen' is an ambiguous status 'neither here nor there', also associated with metaphors of death and usually protected by taboo. The entire journey and the activities at the centre can be considered part of this phase; (3) The return journey is movement from liminality towards reaggregation. The post-journey period is part of the phase of 'reaggregation' or reentry into the structure, usually, but not always at a higher position. It is most often associated with metaphors of rebirth (Turner 1992: 232).

Pilgrimage involves the following activities: mental and physical preparation for the journey; the collective experience of displacement; the arrival; behaviour at the centre; and the return journey. Each of these moments is part of a sequential social drama (breach, crisis, redress, reaggregation or separation) which reveals the social and cultural relations between the pilgrimage group and the environments through which it passes.

These activities correspond loosely to the three phases of rites of passage above. The imperfect fit between the phases of the ritual and the corresponding activities results from a certain synechdocal repetition of the entire process at the site. The entire process of separation, liminality, and reaggregation experienced over great distance is reexperienced on a smaller scale at the centre. This double

mapping is the key to understanding the development of ritual topography—the constellation of symbolic sites located in relation to each other in symbolic space.

Turner pays particular attention to the correlation between change in location or spatial position and change in social status. He finds the most common change in spatial position involves the seclusion of initiates. They are often secluded in 'wild' or hidden sites such as forests or caves.

> There, they are given instruction, dominantly through non-verbal, symbolic communication, by the use of masks, arrays of sacred objects, body painting, rock painting and so on, often accompanied by the telling of recondite origin-myths or other kinds of gnomic utterances, secret languages and songs in the basic assumptions of their culture. (Turner 1974:196)

This quotation may be reminiscent of Victorian travel diaries, but I have found similar, if not identical activities at many heritage sites in Québec, including masks, sacred objects, myths, and secret songs! Spatial separation from the familiar and habitual, aids in the negation of many of the features of social structure. Simplification of the remaining social structure creates a space for rituals which are concerned with the continuity of wider and more diffuse communities as well as rituals organized around the possibility of change.

The spatial aspect of pilgrimage is crucial to Turner's assertion that religious pilgrimage is a social process:

> Pilgrimages are liminal phenomena—and here we shall be concerned with the spatial aspects of their liminality; they also exhibit in their social relations the quality of communitas; and this quality of communitas in long established pilgrimages becomes articulated in some measure with the environing social structure through their social organization. (Turner 1974: 166)

Essentially pilgrimage is a ritual that is spatially involved in transcendence or transformation, and that both affects and is informed by the social structure which surrounds it. Turner's definition of social structure is that it is consciously recognized, regularly operative, and bound by legal and political norms and sanctions. Turner returns time and again to these key concepts: liminality, communitas and the spatial—terms which will be explored and evaluated in this chapter, and then extended into the secular realm of tourism in the following chapters. First, the issue of motive must be addressed.

Motive: Obligation or Optation

Even though we may occasionally claim to "really need to go on vacation" the issue of voluntarism would seem to be a factor in differentiating pilgrims from tourists. Compulsive behaviour is an important motive attributed to pilgrimage. Beginning with a vow, a pilgrimage is often considered personally compulsory or socially obligatory.

However, in the modern secular world there is also a cultural imperative to travel. The modern construction of the work-leisure dichotomy has spatial consequences: staying home and not working is considered improper. The word vacation has its roots in the latin *vacare*, to leave one's house empty (Graburn:23). "People who stay home for vacation are often looked down upon, or pitied, or made to feel left behind and possibly provincial" (Graburn:23). Judgement is suspended in the case of the aged, the ill, children, and the poor. These dispensations for tourists correspond to the most common categories of dispensation to pilgrimage in the major religions.

In almost every major religion (even in that of Mecca, which is one of the most institutionalized of pilgrimages) pilgrimage is seen as an obligation with no

sanctions against those who do not comply; usually with multitudes of dispensations readily available on grounds of poverty, illness, youth or old age.

Furthermore, this 'obligation' must be both represented and perceived as voluntary. Issues of hardship and personal sacrifice involved in some pilgrimages are quickly superceded by the rewards of transcendence, and other benefits. Christian pilgrimages tend to stress voluntarism more than other religions, yet paradoxically pilgrimage is used in the penitential system of the church as a punishment inflicted for certain crimes.

Turner associates the voluntary aspect of pilgrimage with modern societies. Pilgrimage is a mass movement made up of many individual choices. For Turner, voluntarism in pilgrimage is a modern phenomena which emphasizes, or responds to, individualism. Economic and social diversification in ever widening geographical areas generate functional communities where the individual is the basic ethical unit. One need look no farther than car commercials on television to see the equation between individualism and freedom of movement in a North American context. Turner recalls Max Weber's argument that individuals who are removed from a kinship matrix become obsessed with *personal* salvation. Turner makes a similar claim that individuals removed from a religious tradition with a strong corporate structure of salvation, such as the Catholic church turn to the individual pursuit of transcendence (Turner 1992:60). In modern societies personal choice becomes an important motive.

Another important contribution to the discussion of motive is made by Gerd Baumann (1992). His study of ritual in pluralistic societies led to the creation of a model for ritual which recognizes different levels of participation. Turner's assumption about ritual involving a single group of people who move through the rites of passage together is problematized by Baumann's study. Pilgrimage and

tourism are both moments when diverse individuals or groups of people come together on the road or at the centre. These moments highlight the possibility of different modes of participation "especially when participants in a ritual do not even seem to form a ritual community, but are recognized most easily as a loose alliance of ritual constituencies each using symbolic forms to stake mutual claims" (Baumann 1992:101). He identifies two main categories of participation, insider and outsider, but places them on a continuum. Organizers, leaders, and followers rub shoulders with bystanders, spectators, invited guests and others. Rather than privilege the insider with the generation of meaning, he recognizes the collaborative role of what may be construed as audience. In this way Baumann sees ritual, as outlined above, as instrumental and public in nature.

Although the attribution of motive is a major factor in the tourist-pilgrim dichotomy, it has been shown that the obligation associated with pilgrimage is based on a combination of voluntary aspects and physical constraints such as poverty, or infirmity, and involves different levels of commitment.

Communitas

The possibility of different motives and different levels of participation in pilgrimage directly confronts Turner's concept of communitas, defined as a "relational quality of full unmediated communication, even communion, between definite and determinate identities, which arises spontaneously in all kinds of groups, situations, and circumstances" (Turner 1992:58).[4] A reevaluation of this concept is crucial to the hypothesis that heritage tourism is a form of secular pilgrimage since it appears to exclude non-religious, or non-ecstatic, experience, by emphasizing the mystical qualities of un-mediated communication. In this section a critical analysis of Turner's ideas redraws existential communitas as a utopic construct more easily

applied to the experiences of 'others'. Examples from the literature demonstrate the ways in which the concept of communitas responds to the challenge of the secular realm. Important modifications to the concept of communitas, proposed by Turner himself in order to accommodate activities such as pilgrimage, salvage the concept for further application.

Detailed accounts of pilgrimages from many different cultures and time periods inform Turner's hypothesis. Of course, a religious pilgrimage is a personal and spiritual activity. However, most accounts reveal both a sacred and a secular dimension, and all reveal an important social aspect, if only through the presence of other people. Turner cites many extremely interesting examples of the pilgrim's experience of a heightened sense of community—a direct, personal, egalitarian relationship—which develops between the participants.

Many accounts reveal that communitas or the 'pilgrim mood' involves emotional tension and the relaxing of certain moral restrictions. Pilgrims leave behind the structures and obligations of home and the conventions and concerns associated with daily life. In the company of others like themselves they become aware of their allegiance to a larger community beyond their local sphere (Turner 1974:168). The following is a quote from the autobiography of Malcom X describing his pilgrimage to Mecca:

> You may be shocked by these words coming from me. But on this pilgrimage, what I have seen and experienced has forced me to rearrange much of my thought-patterns previously held . . . During the past eleven days here in the Muslim world, I have eaten from the same plate, drunk from the same glass, and slept in the same bed (or on the same rug)—while praying to the same god—with fellow muslims, whose eyes were the bluest of the blue, whose hair was the blondest of the blonde, and

whose skin was the whitest of the white. (Malcom X quoted in Turner
1974: 168)

The transformative power of pilgrimage to create a sense of communitas appears
to overcome other social restrictions such as race, class and gender.

However, factors both external to and intrinsic to pilgrimage put pressure on
the ideal of communitas. In response to these factors, Turner identifies three dif-
ferent types of communitas. According to Turner, the original phenomena, exis-
tential or spontaneous communitas, is the "direct, immediate and total confronta-
tion of human identities which tends to make those experiencing it think of
mankind as a homogeneous, unstructured, and free community" (Turner 1992:
59). This is a deeply personal phenomena, even though it implies a shared, com-
munal experience. The second, normative communitas, is a practical outgrowth of
existential communitas. This form of social bonding develops over time with the
need to "mobilize and organize resources to keep the members of a group alive
and thriving, and the necessity for social control among those members" (Turner
1992: 59). This differs from a utilitarian social system, because the aim of norma-
tive communitas is to preserve an original experience of spontaneous fellowship.
Infused with a sense of necessity, this sense of community is highly self-conscious.
Finally, ideological communitas is a utopian model used to exemplify or supply the
optimal conditions for existential communitas. "It is a formulation of remembered
attributes of the communitas experience as a blueprint for the reform of society"
(Turner 1992: 59). This is an externally constructed sense of community, which
can be seen as either ultimately idealistic or essentially cynical.

At what point does the organization of specific pilgrimages move the experi-
ence of communitas from the existential to the normative to the ideological?
Turner himself acknowledges that "communitas itself in time becomes structure-

bound and comes to be regarded as a symbol or a remote possibility rather than the concrete realization of universal relatedness" (Turner1974: 206). The very early Christian European pilgrimages involved the mobilization of resources such as clerical organization, military protection, and even an early system of reservations for lodging (Turner1974:170). Also, when universality is impossible, as in complex hierarchical societies, attempts are made to factor in the existing social structure in order to avoid divisiveness, and retain a workable form of communitas. Examples of this internal organization are found in Indian pilgrimages where caste is respected in the spatial arrangements for sleeping (Turner1974:206). Any mass movement of people compels a certain amount of organization. Pilgrimage appears to gather both momentum, and legitimacy over time, as the numbers increase. Thus, the number of participants increases the legitimacy of the experience while generating a need for structures which move the experience from existential to normative, or even ideological.

The discussion about increases in the numbers of people making pilgrimages and the increase in the number of travel arrangements billed as pilgrimages immediately raises the issue of tourism. Turner distinguishes tourists from pilgrims by simply dismissing tourists:

> Clearly, such factors as the general and rapid increase of the world's population, the improvement of communications, the spread of modern means of transportation, the impact of mass media on travel, have all had the effect of increasing numbers of visitors to shrines, many of whom should be considered tourists rather than pilgrims *per se*.
> (Turner1974:175)

Similarly he dismisses the community spirit, or cameraderie at events like Woodstock, of hippies in Haight-Ashbury, or people on a regular five-o-clock commuter

train as poor cousins of communitas. My thesis that heritage tourism is secular pilgrimage works around Turner's reluctance to consider popular culture in terms of ritual.

The recognition of the three types of communitas can be seen as Turner's attempt to preserve and protect the integrity of existential communitas when faced with secular ritual. However, the universal concept of communitas as a goal in pilgrimage is also being challenged from within the religious tradition.

M. J. Sallnow's research project in the central Andes calls into question the deterministic universality associated with pilgrimage. He demonstrates that in his case study divisiveness, competition and conflict are in fact direct consequences of the liminality of pilgrimage. This pilgrimage "creates a supra-local arena in which novel social alignments and configurations may arise" (Sallnow 1981:163). He found that the internal solidarity of the pilgrimage group (called nación) was matched by inter-group divisiveness. Furthermore, he claims that the concept of communitas actually inhibits the appreciation of contradiction and emergent processes in pilgrimage.

The previous sections open up the concept of communitas to include normative and ideological communitas, and recognizes the possibility of different constituencies, and different motives, within a single pilgrimage. In this way the over-generalizing, universalizing aspects of communitas can be reconsidered in a less mystical, more secular context like tourism.

The Liminal and the Liminoid

Liminality is the transitional state in a rite of passage. It is an atmosphere conducive to reception—the ideal realm for communitas. Turner argues that the liminal is a collective transitional state with a common intellectual and emotional

meaning for all participants. The most important symbol of liminality is paradox, being both this and that. 'Limen' is a term which literally means threshold. It represents the space between states, and in the directional model of ritual this can be a doorway, corridor, tunnel, or road.

The entry to the liminal is usually fraught with ordeal, and surrounded by death symbols and taboo. "Very often, masked figures invade the liminal scene—usually framed in a sacred enclosure—these masked figures being themselves liminal in their bizarre combinations of human, animal, vegetable, and mineral characteristics" (Turner 1992: 49). It represents a release from mundane structure, where the subject is stripped of previous status and authority. Aside from any personal sacrifice or physical hardships associated with the journey, the major sacrifice in pilgrimage is the temporary loss of status in order to elevate status at the end. In a traditional rite of passage loss of social status is manifested in costume, masks, and often a denial of creature comforts. In pilgrimage the indicators of a person's standing in the home community, such as their personal clothing and their private home, are replaced with 'pilgrim grey' and a shared bed. As tourists, we wear funny clothes and leave our cars in the parking lot.

In the modern world Turner finds evidence of the liminal in liturgical rites, and in aspects of initiation rites to quasi-religious groups such as Masons. Liminality can be found in most moments of cultural change, when traditional thought and behaviour are questioned, criticized, or revised. "Where there is no religious structure the social need for escape from or abandonment of structural commitments, seeks cultural expressions in ways that are not explicitly religious, though they may become heavily ritualized" (Turner 1974: 260). Once again the secular realm pressures the original concept, and Turner develops the new category—the liminoid—to accommodate those pressures.

According to Turner liminoid behaviour is liminal-like behaviour which is carried out in the modern world, during leisure time, free of religious connotations. Carnivals, spectacles, and sports events are examples of liminoid moments when social structure is suspended or inverted. It is liminal behaviour which is no longer associated with a traditional rite of passage. In tribal societies ritual is work, obligation, although it includes ludic behaviour—serious play. Leisure, on the other hand is a modern phenomena, which is always defined in relation to work as anti-work or non-work. In industrial societies, social and religious obligations such as pilgrimage have become relegated to non-work time, leisure time, and therefore qualify as leisure activities.

I agree with Turner that pilgrimage (or tourism) is carried out during leisure time, involves secular interaction and involvement, is ultimately optatory, and does not guarantee a change in social or religious status. However, Turner idealizes leisure. The integrity of the concept 'leisure' has been problematized by the post-modern blurring of the work-leisure boundary.

I wonder if it is necessary to make the liminoid-liminal distinction, or if it makes more sense to consider secular liminality as another *kind* of liminality—not lesser in any way. First of all, Turner's claim that the liminoid is not spontaneous, but is produced by specific individuals or groups, echoes his own definition of normative communitas and applies equally to the liminal in tribal rites of passage where the deterministic structure of tribal rites of passage cannot be called spontaneous. Second, both liminoid and liminal have "instructional structure" as part of their didactic function (Turner1974:239). Participants "become a privileged class, largely supported by the labour of others—though often exposed by way of compensation to hardships—with abundant opportunity to learn and speculate about

what the tribe considers its 'ultimate things'" (Turner1974: 259). Third, the limi-noid is often as collective as the liminal, often historically derived from earlier spe-cific liminal behaviour—"Today's liminoid is yesterday's liminal" (Turner 1992:58). Turner himself offers the following example:

> One striking piece of secularization seems to have occurred after the massive burnings of images of the Virgin Mary by Thomas Cromwell at Chelsea in 1558. Devotion came to be addressed to a secular Virgin Queen, Floriana, or Oriana, Elizabeth I, to whom the liminoid human-ists, the secular poets and dramatists, dedicated their rich symbolic offer-ings. (Turner 1992:56)

This example of the normative secularization of devotion is evidence of the process by which new rituals are built on the foundations of the old. Turner recog-nizes that in contemporary, complex societies ritual symbols have moved, dis-guised, into aesthetic, political, legal, and cultural domains. Secular rituals include carnivals, spectacles, sports events—and of great relevance to this discussion and the themes developed in the case study—folk dramas, national theatre, the novel, poetry, and fine art.

The construction of the liminoid as secular, rather than lesser, liminality con-firms that the pilgrimage framework need not be limited to the religious tradition. The spatial aspects of liminality are discussed in the next section.

Ritual Topography (Spatial Liminality)

The idea of ritual topography is crucial to this thesis because of the territorial imperative in both pilgrimage and heritage tourism. In pilgrimage the liminal phase begins with the vow and ends only upon the return home, creating a liminal space between the centre and home, which allows for the remapping of geographic

space in symbolic terms. A constellation of symbolic sites are linked to each other and to the centre.

The most direct physical connection between pilgrimage and tourism is the infrastructure that is the material consequence of pilgrimage. The spatial liminality of pilgrimage is both a metaphorical threshold and its physical counterpart—the road. Historically, pilgrimage routes have had an important role in the generation of roads, markets, and even cities. Turner suggests that " . . . perhaps the pilgrimage ethic helped to create the communications net that later made capitalism a viable national and international system" (Turner1974:226). Thus, the symbolic mapping of space through pilgrimage results in a ritual topography and a corresponding infrastructure.

Ritual topography is a cultural landscape invested with meaning through movement and direction. Every step a pilgrim makes is part of a sacred sequence of images and events, a reenactment of some aspect of the life of a saint or a martyr. The transcendence desired by pilgrims includes a strong cultural component.

These sacred symbols, visual and auditory, operate culturally as

mnemonics, or as . . . 'storage bins' of information, not about pragmatic

techniques, but about cosmologies, values and cultural axioms, whereby a

society's deep knowledge is transmitted from one generation to another.

(Turner 1974:239)

A pilgrimage is a symbolic journey to the heart of the culture—its most cherished values.

A personal vow is the beginning of a physical commitment to an occasionally long and "arduous yet inspiring journey" (Turner1974:207). Initially a private mood of penitence infuses the journey with a sense of sacred. The beginning of the journey takes place in the secular world of home, and there are many "secular

miles" to cover before reaching the site. Sacred symbols along the way further "invest the route" with sacredness. The route itself becomes sacred as the pilgrim nears the pilgrimage center. Closer to the central shrine there are more and more way stations, increasing in density until "almost every landmark and ultimately every step is a condensed, multivocal symbol capable of arousing much affect and desire . . . [becoming] virtually his whole environment and [giving] him powerful motives for credence" (Turner1974:198). This is a direct experience of the sacred order through the sequence of sacred objects and the participation in symbolic activities. At this stage the journey becomes a paradigm for other behaviour in the ethical or political spheres.

The significance of topographical coding varies with direction. During the approach to the centre the pilgrim stops at every shrine; the return home is as swift as possible. "Even when pilgrims return by the way they came the journey may still be represented, not unfittingly by an ellipse, if psychological factors are taken into account" (Turner 1978:22). The outward journey has a solemn, formal tone with an emphasis on detail. The homeward journey is disorganized, relaxed, and informal. This change in attitude alters the perception of the route, so that the return passes through a different kind of space, and the entire experience is perceived as a circuit.

The topographical relationship between religious pilgrimage and other social or political systems such as feudalism and nationalism, is also considered by Turner. He takes an historical look at European, Mexican, and African pilgrimages for evidence of a topography of ritual which corresponds in some ways to political maps. In Europe the pilgrimages were smaller in scope than Islamic pilgrimages, but they did band together different classes and genders that would not normally be in contact. Turner claims that Europe was the continent of the great regional

and protonational pilgrimage centres, citing examples such as Canterbury in England, which functioned as a symbol of national identity (Turner1992:179). The pilgrim's journey through secular space has consequences for both the pilgrim and the environment of the pilgrimage. "Pilgrimages are, in a way, both instruments and indicators of a sort of mystical regionalism as well as of a mystical nationalism" (Turner1992:212). This nationalism is not confined to a mystical realm. Current research shows that important places of pilgrimage in the Middle Ages, such as Chestenchau in Poland have in the course of time become modern symbols of national unity and signs of ethnic identity (see Guth 1995).

Under certain conditions communitas petrifies into politico-economic structure, which may be regenerated as a new communitas centre when new politico-economic centres develop. Pilgrimages become crusades, and justify holy wars over disputed territory and the custody of shrines, legitimated by the authorities of the system in whose field of beliefs they have sprung up. In this way, pilgrimages are most likely to thrive when they impart renewed vitality to orthodoxy, rather than real challenge.

Turner introduces the term "catchment areas" for the geographical limits of certain pilgrimage shrines or centres. There is a tendency to arrange pilgrimage shrines in a hierarchy with catchment areas of greater and lesser inclusiveness, from local or regional to national in scope. Turner offers many examples of this existing hierarchy, including the following:

> What seems to have happened in Mexico after the conquest, as in
> medieval Europe, is that any region possessing a certain cultural, linguistic, or ethnic unity, often corresponding also to an area of economic
> interdependence, tended to become at once a political unit and a pilgrimage catchment area. But since the communitas spirit presses always

to universality and ever greater unity, it often happens that pilgrimage
catchment areas spread across political boundaries. At the level of king-
doms, pilgrimage processes seem to have contributed to the maintenance
of some kind of international community in Christendom."
(Turner1974:179)

Turner finds evidence that pilgrimage catchment areas correspond to existing cul-
tural units. In this way pilgrimage contributes to the rearticulation of regional dif-
ferentiation which over time becomes reflected in political structure. He also
finds evidence of a supra-national identity, which recognizes but overrides national
borders. Although the universalizing tendency of communitas has been ques-
tioned, the transformative power of the liminal phase remains an important factor
in creating new allegiances, and of drawing new boundaries.

There is also a temporal element to the construction of ritual topography.
Turner claims that a religion's historical development is reflected in the creation of
different types of shrines. The prototypical shrines central to the religion are the
first to be exploited. This is followed by the creation of shrines at places where
saints and martyrs lived and died. Finally places where manifestations of divine
power, such as visions, or apparitions of the founder, were experienced by a believ-
er become pilgrimage shrines (Turner 1978:34). This generates a constellation of
shrines with the oldest as most central to the system and the newer shrines as
peripheral. In this way pilgrimage centres generate a cognitive map of temporal
and geographical connections. The historical investment in ritual topography is
mirrored in the competitive environment of heritage tourism. The construction of
more and more interpretation centres contribute to the overall mapping of her-
itage topography, while reducing the status of many individual sites.

In Turner's analysis there are two kinds of shrines related to their topographic

position: (1) earth shrines which are usually found outside settlement areas, and which celebrate bonding between groups and shared values, and exhibit inclusive strategies and (2) lineage or ancestral shrines which are often found inside settlement areas. These usually represent crucial power divisions and distinctions between politically discrete groups. They exhibit exclusive strategies employing narratives of lineal segmentation, local history, factional conflict, and witchcraft. Together these two categories of shrines topographically and geographically express the focus of religious activity in local sites which are themselves "part of bounded social fields, and which may constitute units in hierarchical or segmentary politico-ritual structures" (Turner 1974:186). He develops a picture of a ritual topography as the spatial distribution of sacred sites which co-exists with the political landscape.

III. Summary

In this chapter a critical reading of Turner's theory of pilgrimage as a social process challenges the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy. Clarification of the secular aspects of communitas, liminality and ritual topography establishes their relevance to a discussion of a secular activity such as heritage tourism. The universal aspect of communitas opens up to reveal possibilities of internal conflict, competition, and different levels of participation, including both insiders and outsiders. Ritual topography constructed in part through the materiality of pilgrimage has been shown to have close connections to socio-political structures. Furthermore, liminality, while essential to the study of religious pilgrimage is not constrained to the sacred world, and is relevant to the study of diverse secular phenomena.

In conclusion, pilgrimage is not necessarily a monolithic spiritual experience.

By abandoning the dichotomies between sacred and profane, religious dogma and popular religion, and work and leisure, we gain access to a model for understanding journeys of all kinds. Turner's description of ritual space as "a place which is not a place, and a time which is not a time . . . " (Turner1974:239) sounds like a promotional brochure for an exotic vacation in Hawaii! The next chapter continues the construction of a continuum between pilgrimage and heritage tourism from within the field of tourism studies.

Chapter 3
HERITAGE TOURISM AS SECULAR PILGRIMAGE

I. Introduction

In the previous chapter the basic theoretical concepts of pilgrimage—motive, communitas, liminality, and ritual topography—were explored in terms of social process, and extended into secular territory. Pilgrimage was redrawn as a model for all journeys out of the ordinary. In this chapter the value judgement associated with the sacred and the profane is challenged from within the field of tourism studies. The pilgrim-tourist dichotomy is redrawn as a continuum involving similar activities, infrastructures, and benefits. The negative preconceptions about tourism will be addressed in order to recuperate the concept of heritage tourism as a dynamic social process exemplary of knowledge based tourism. I begin with an historical look at the connections between pilgrimage, knowledge-based travel, and heritage tourism. The major trope in tourism—authenticity—is explored and its relationship to the key concepts of pilgrimage is established.

II. The Historical Continuum: Roots and Routes

The definition of a tourist is simply "one that makes a tour for pleasure or culture" (Merriam Webster's:1248). This simple definition is interesting because it refers explicitly to the cultural aspect of tourism and furthermore it implies a sense of purpose, even in a pleasure trip. The idea of tourism for a purpose, in other words, a quest, generates a pilgrim-tourist continuum. However, in com-

mon usage the negative associations are extensive. Take for example the category of 'Tourist Class' which refers to low-end economy accommodations.

In academic discourse tourism suffered a similar fate as pilgrimage, for many years largely ignored. This situation is neatly summed up by John Urry: "There is really no sociology of travel" (Urry 1995:129). The mass participation of millions of tourists worldwide has generated academic interest on three fronts. The first results in impact studies of the effect of tourism on 'host' communities. Impact studies, such as Jennifer Craik's *Resorting to Tourism*, consider both economic and cultural effects, and tend to be negative in their assessment of the profits (both cultural and economic) of commercial tourism (Craik 1991). The second area of investigation is the post-modern analysis of spectacle. Some theorists of popular culture, such as Umberto Eco, have considered tourism as an empty spectacle, dependent on simulated images and sensation:

> Everything looks real and therefore it is real; in any case the fact that it
> seems real is real, and the thing is real even if, like Alice in Wonderland,
> it never existed (Eco 1986:16).

Although Victor Turner never confronted the issue of mass mediated ritual, he did anticipate a ritualistic response to the fragmentation associated with post-modernity:

> During the present transitional period of history, when many institu-
> tionalized forms and modes of thought are in question, a reactivation of
> many cultural forms associated traditionally with normative communitas
> is occurring. (Turner 1974:172)

These cultural forms include carnivals, spectacles, and pilgrimage. From this perspective, tourism, like pilgrimage, is an important social response to a situation involving transition, or hierarchical change. The operational circumference of

this thesis reflects the third area of academic investigation that places more emphasis on the transformation of the tourists themselves and the effect of tourism on the 'home' community.

As John Urry eloquently argues in his book, *Consuming Places*, tourists are emblematic of the modern and post-modern world. "People are tourists most of the time whether they are literally mobile or only experience simulated mobility, the incredible fluidity of multiple signs and electronic images" (Urry 1995:148). It is the democratization of travel which Urry focuses on. He claims that prior to the late nineteenth century travel was the exclusive domain of the wealthy and the "leisure class"; and implies that it was therefore a less important social phenomena than it is today. However, some religious historians have argued effectively that historically pilgrimage was always a bridge between high and low culture, and involved relatively large numbers of people from different socio-economic backgrounds (Smith 1992:7). Tracing the roots of tourism to the invention of leisure fails to recognize the material conditions of pilgrimage and the historical connections between pilgrims and tourists.

These historical conditions are explored in a special issue of *Annals of Tourism Research* devoted to the subject of pilgrimage. The editor suggests that it is important to "consider the distinctions between pilgrimage and tourism as a phenomenon of temporal variations involving belief (the sacred) and knowledge (the secular)" (Smith 1992:6). The dichotomy between belief and knowledge is less important here than the historical perspective on an ongoing social behaviour. Travel has long been embodied in whatever form sanctioned by society.

It has been shown that, contrary to previous estimates, large numbers of people have made pilgrimages throughout history (Smith 1992:7). In the Christian tradition these began as early as 200 AD with documented pilgrimages

to sanctuaries associated with Christian relics. Although all travel decreased during the middle ages, some pilgrimages remained active. It has been argued that almost one third of the population of Europe (over half a million people) made it to *Santiago de la Compostela* in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Mullins quoted in Smith 1992:8). For every wealthy pilgrim there were many attendants, including troops, clergy, retainers, servants, and stragglers (Smith 1992:7). By AD 1100 pilgrimages were organized around comfort and convenience, and currency exchange was available at major pilgrimage centres. There is even evidence of surrogate travellers, who made the trip for someone else (Smith 1992:9). The hardship of the pilgrimage was secondary to the fact of having made the journey.

After the Reformation, the rejection of icons and religious relics and the developing Protestant ideas of a personal responsibility for religious interpretation contributed to the growth of covert religious travel. Catholics continued to be pilgrims while Protestants became religious travellers, or simply travellers to religious sites. The publication of *Mandeville's Travels* in 1357 marks the beginning of the overtly secular travel guidebook. The Grand Tour, a seventeenth-century activity whereby wealthy northern Europeans would travel to Greece and Rome to study the classics *in situ*, epitomized the new socially sanctioned motive for travel—knowledge.

Travel information offices sprang up at earlier sites of religious pilgrimage in Rome, Egypt, and Palestine. All travellers share common infrastructure whether they are tourists or pilgrims. Smith demonstrates that "paths became roads, hospices became inns, and 'merchant' stands built beside shrines—secular as well as religious—still sell liquid refreshments, trinkets, and locally needed items to visitors . . . " (Smith 1992:2). The superimposition of new meanings on ancient ritual sites is found in all cultures and times (Turner 1992:56). Thus the ritual topogra-

phy of pilgrimage becomes, in a secular world, the territory of tourism. It is important to note that one does not replace the other. The layering of new meanings contributes to the richness of both environments.

I have concentrated on the environment of tourism and pilgrimage, briefly I will now consider the actors. In what ways is a tourist like a pilgrim? Tourists must have time (leisure), money (work), and the social sanctions that travel is a desirable way to spend their time and money. The voluntary aspects of tourism are deeply connected to social attitudes that recognize tourism as a valuable activity. As we saw in the case of pilgrimage, issues around work and leisure complicate the dichotomy between obligation and optation, resulting in a discourse which emphasizes the benefits of the activity over the sacrifices involved. According to Smith, these benefits may change over time, but are measured in terms of cultural value:

> Tourism has a stated, or unstated but culturally determined, goal that
> has changed through the ages. For traditional societies the rewards of
> pilgrimage were accumulated grace and moral leadership in the home
> community. The rewards of modern tourism are phrased in terms of
> values we hold up for worship: mental and physical health, social status
> and diverse, exotic experiences (Smith 1992:6).

The pilgrim-tourist continuum includes both the pious pilgrim and the pleasure seeking tourist, and many combinations in between.

The villification of tourism is linked to the modern dichotomy of work-leisure. Part of the recuperation of tourism as a social process involves a re-evaluation of this dichotomy. An analysis which separates pleasure from learning, or which neglected to recognize the self-conscious nature of the experience would be inappropriate to the field of heritage tourism (Crang 1996:417). In pilgrimage,

and other rituals that are often romantically positioned as premodern, the concept of ludic behaviour—serious play—responds to this challenge.

The term pilgrimage includes any physical or allegorical journey, but usually implies a journey out of the ordinary. Tourism of all kinds, from beach holidays to walking tours of ancient Turkey, can be understood as an escape from, or antithesis to, the ordinary world of work and home. Diversion from the ordinary takes many forms, but is defined in spatial terms by Ian Reader:

> What seems to form a common strand in all the different uses of the
> terms is the idea of quest, of seeking something that lies outside the
> accustomed patterns of everyday life, and hence that requires a process
> of movement from the everyday. (Reader 1993:9)

This definition is based on the location of activities rather than the problematic functional aspects of categories such as work and leisure.

Dean MacCannell argues that the transformational potential of tourism relies in part on a sense of pleasure inherent to leisure activities:

> In being presented as a valued object through a so-called 'leisure' activi-
> ty that is thought to be 'fun', society is renewed in the heart of the indi-
> vidual through warm, open, unquestioned relations characterized by a
> near absence of alienation when compared to other contemporary rela-
> tionships. This is of course, the kind of relationship of individual and
> society that social scientists and politicians think is necessary for a
> strong society, and they are probably right. (MacCannell 1989:55)

"Warm, unquestioned relations" and "a near absence of alienation" identified by MacCannell as qualities of tourism inspired by leisure are exactly the qualities ascribed to existential communitas by Victor Turner. The inversion of structure during the liminal phase—often in the form of ludic behaviour such as games—

contributes to communitas in all its forms. MacCannell's association of the relationship between the conditions of leisure and social or political systems, is similar to Turner's association of the role of ludic behaviour of the liminal phase in the inevitable slide from existential to ideological communitas.

The processes of pilgrimage and of tourism both imply a return home, somehow changed, either through a spiritual, personal transformation or through the change in material possessions—the purchase of relics, and souvenirs. The commodification of the experience in the form of relics and souvenirs has generated criticism in both fields. Pilgrimage has been ignored or criticized by religious scholars for its materiality, which is often interpreted as idolatry, or vulgarity. Edward Gibbon, quoted in Peter Brown's *Cult of the Saints*, declares that the pilgrim "eagerly embraced such inferior objects of adoration as were more proportioned to its gross conceptions and imperfect faculties"(Gibbon quoted in Brown 1981:15). In academic and popular discourse tourism is deeply involved in commodification. Dean MacCannell calls tourism "the commodification of experience" (MacCannell 1989:56). John Urry calls it the "purchase of authentic experience" (Urry 1995:129) The complexity of commodification in tourism is beautifully articulated in James Lasdun's short story "Delirium Eclipse":

> Jackson felt a twinge of pity for Clare, who had nothing weightier in her
> life than the sincerity of her post-cards against which to measure herself.
> He bought a sapphire from a gem hawker outside the post office, and
> gave it to Clare when he got back to the tea stall where she was waiting
> for him (Lasdun 1996:88).

Lasdun intimates the relationship between commodification and authenticity. Tourists "measure" their experience against their souvenirs. A souvenir, like a relic, represents the quality of a transformative experience. The following analysis

of the tropes of tourism will address the question; *How is this transformation encouraged, expressed and commodified?*

III. Authenticity

Authenticity is the major trope in tourism studies. The conviction that authenticity has been lost and that it can be recuperated in other cultures and in the past is essential to tourism. This preoccupation with authenticity is common to both pilgrimage and tourism, which locate authenticity, geographically and temporally, in the distance.

In this section I introduce the general concept of authenticity in tourism and then look at two different aspects of authenticity; the authentification of space, and the authentification of experience. I argue that by breaking the overarching concept of authenticity into these two categories, the issues around the materiality of heritage tourism can be reframed in order to highlight the connections between heritage tourism and pilgrimage.

In his influential book, *The Tourist*, Dean MacCannell argues that the tourist's search for authentic experience in other historic periods or in other cultures is essentially "the ground of modernity's unifying experience" (MacCannell 1990:3). The modern is differentiated from the pre-modern within a discourse of progress and 'the other'. MacCannell's construction of modernity plays upon a sense of loss of purpose and community and tourism is construed as a unifying social process, rather than an individual quest.

Modernity is associated with alienation; communitas with a total absence of alienation. Yet, modernity, like communitas in Turner's pilgrimage model is generally understood to transcend other boundary systems such as nation, gender,

class, language, or (here with obvious difference) religion. Again, like communitas, modernity can function within those boundaries, reinforcing communities along existing lines.

MacCannell insists that all tourists are on a quest for authenticity in some form. "[For MacCannell] the tourist is a kind of contemporary pilgrim seeking authenticity in other 'times' and other 'places' away from the persons ordinary life" (Urry 1990:8). Tourism as a quest, or journey out of the ordinary, rests upon the spatial allocation of the ordinary and the extraordinary. Distancing the extraordinary is congruent with the idea in pilgrimage that some places are more powerful than others, and subtly re-incorporates the idea of hardship into the picture. There is an inertia associated with the ordinary which requires agency to overcome.

I divide the issues around authenticity into two areas: the first, the authentification of space, can best be understood in terms of production; the second, the authentic experience is concerned with the consumption of space. In this way the commodification of experience moves beyond the authentic souvenir or the authentic fetish into the realm of memory through an authentic experience at an authentic site.

The Authentification of Space

In tourism studies the authentification of space is usually considered in terms of Dean MacCannell's five stages of site sacralization which articulate the process of producing tourist attractions. In any discussion about authenticity an important distinction must be made between the concepts of 'the authentic' and 'the typical'. The authentic object is related to the specificity of the site, while the typical fits into a continuum based on expert opinion or technical authority. The social

production of meaningful space rests on both concepts. The sociological model for the production of meaningful space constructed by George Simmel has much in common with MacCannell's five stages of site sacralization. A comparison of these two models confirms the role of tourism in the authentification of space, and points again to similarities with pilgrimage.

George Simmel identifies five qualities of spatial form found in modern social interaction which "turn an empty space into something meaningful" (Urry 1995:8). Briefly the five are: (1) the identification of a unique or exclusive character; (2) the division of activities into corresponding spaces; (3) the location of social interaction; (4) the factors of proximity/distance and sight; (5) the possibility of movement, the reaction to the arrival of strangers. These concepts will be expanded in the context of MacCannell's model of site sacralization.

According to MacCannell, a tourist attraction is based on the relationship between the tourist, the site and its markers (MacCannell 1990:4). This recalls Turner's definition of pilgrimage as becoming "articulated in some measure with the environing social structure through their social organization" (Turner 1974:166). The term 'marker' refers to all the information about the site, both prior to, and after the experience of visiting the site, including the material elements such as brochures and postcards and the psychological counterparts of expectation and memory. The markers are both product and producer of legitimation. In religious pilgrimage a favour or a miracle is a marker for the shrine. At heritage sites the souvenirs are often sold at information booths, reflecting the circularity of both the process of legitimation and the experience of tourism itself.

The vocabulary of authenticity is found again in MacCannell's catalogue of the five stages of site 'sacralization' by which a tourist attraction becomes a source of regional or national pride and identity. These stages recreate Simmel's

paradigm for the production of meaningful space within the specific frame of tourism, reinforcing the status of tourism as a social drama. According to MacCannell, the first stage is the 'naming' phase, equivalent to Simmel's identification of a unique character, which marks off the site from other similar ones. This stage is the culmination of research and verification of aesthetic or historic authenticity. The second stage is the 'framing and elevation' stage which involves the placement of official borders to protect and enhance the site. Often protection is a form of enhancement—an illustration of Simmel's connection between the unique and the exclusive. The architectural/interpretive program at the destination corresponds to Simmel's division of activities. The third stage is 'enshrinement,' when the frame itself becomes the destination. The social meaning of the original site is no longer located in the object of interpretation, but in the interpretation centre itself. The final two stages are both forms of reproduction that produce the markers described above. Mechanical reproduction includes, among other things, photography, video, and descriptions in travel guides. MacCannell demonstrates that the process of authentification of an object depends on this type of reproduction. Social reproduction takes place when the attraction becomes integrated into the shared experience of a community. Like a pilgrimage, there is momentum behind social reproduction—the more participation, the more legitimacy. Although the first three qualities identified by Simmel have specific counterparts in MacCannell's model of site sacralization the fourth quality—proximity and distance—informs the understanding of pilgrimage and tourism in a more integral way.

In MacCannell's scenario, authenticity is located away from everyday life. Movement away from the everyday is thus critical to the understanding of tourism. In tourism this movement is circular, or elliptical. All tourism, even 'vec-

tor' tourism like the Trans-Canada highway, or Route 66, implies a return home. For this reason much of the effort involved in tourism is directed towards documenting the experience with video, photography, diaries and post-cards. The term 'tourist' refers to an individual who makes a circuitous journey, usually for pleasure, yet there is a sense of displeasure associated with the return trip. John A. Jackle provides a thorough analysis of this phenomena in *The Tourist; Travel in Twentieth-Century North America* (Jackle 1985). After reviewing travel literature from the period he concludes that:

> Although a return trip could stand as an anticlimax, there was still a
> reluctance for tourists to return home by their original paths. This pat-
> tern was especially true in automobile travel... The excitement and
> exhilaration of travel slowly subsided until some recognizable threshold
> of diminishing return loomed clear and dominant; then the pace of trav-
> el usually accelerated, resulting in a dash for home. (Jackle 1985:13)

Although the pattern of circuit tourism found in scenic routes such as the Gaspé highway is an ideal circuit, the perception of pilgrimage as elliptical is reenacted in tourism. Whether the route is linear or circular, it is a difference in attitude that results in viewing the same territory in a new way.

There is a complex relationship between tourist attractions and their approaches. Over time, the ritual topography of pilgrimage or tourism is enriched as some new sites develop along the route to the centre. Way stations, in time, become destinations. On the other hand, new roads are occasionally built or at least improved in recognition of the importance of new sites.

The physical effect of mass movement in the construction of markets, roads and even cities begun along pilgrimage routes continues unabated, encouraged as much by tourism as by other transportation factors. In Québec, highway associa-

tions were formed to mark and promote tourist travel on long distance routes ten years before provincial programs devised the numbered highway system (Jackle:120). Before the 1920s driving was primarily a leisure activity. Commercial transportation was concentrated on the railway and the seaway. The circuits established in Québec were designed to attract American tourist dollars, and were promoted at home. In the United States this syndrome was embodied in a National Park-to-Park Highway, built in the 1940s as part of a national project associated with patriotism around World War II (Jackle 1985:149). The relationship between heritage tourism and national identity resurfaces in the case study of Pointe-du-Moulin.

Although the material consequences of tourism result in the development of infrastructure such as roads, markets, cities, this infrastructure links a constellation of tourist attractions in a social mapping of territory. According to Peter Brown the importance of the earliest Christian pilgrimages, to graveyards just outside the city walls, was to break down "most of the imaginative boundaries which ancient men had placed between heaven and earth, divine and human, the living and the dead, the town and its antithesis" (Brown 1981:6). The importance of the circuit in tourism lies foremost in the symbolic space generated by this mapping.

The Authentic Experience

In this section I argue that the materiality of space is essential to the authenticity of experience at heritage sites. Conceptually, the materiality of the site and the materiality of the body each contribute to the understanding of authentic experience, but in reality they are inseparable. As John Urry explains: "Memories are materially localized and so the temporality of memory is spatially rooted" (Urry 1995:24). Despite the sensation of fluid mobility afforded by tele-technologies

and a sense of the futility of mobility in a progressively homogenized world, tourism continues to be one of the fastest growing economic and demographic sectors. It can be argued that the reason conventional travel remains so highly valued is precisely to counteract the effects of the experience of homogeneity and fragmentation in a (post-industrial) technological world.

Heritage tourism is often portrayed as superficial, or artificial, rather than authentic. The combination of entertainment and education found at many heritage sites is often perceived as a consumer oriented blend of fantasy and reality. Heritage tourism stands accused of producing a false, misleading or at the least, superficial, image of the past; of emphasizing one historic period over all others; and one perspective (usually that of the dominant class). At heritage interpretation centres the self-contained narrative may create a myth of seamless, uncontested history.

Overemphasis on material artifacts in museums and interpretation centres minimizes the importance and understanding of cultural practices, and social experiences. For example, placing objects in hermetic display cases decontextualizes them, while enhancing their status as aesthetic objects. Furthermore, the problems associated with preservation often result in the sacrifice of the authentic for the typical, resulting in 'accurate' reconstructions[5](see photo appendix C).

Although MacCannell argues for a model of tourism as a quest for authenticity his emphasis on the production of tourist attractions results in an ambivalent portrait of the tourist as a pseudo-pilgrim. I find that MacCannell's argument that the tourist's search for authentic experience is easily satisfied by the pseudo-back regions of staged authenticity is problematized by heritage sites. Regardless of the markers associated with it, the site itself is believed to have an independent existence.

Immensely popular, heritage tourism is for most people their primary experience of history after grade school. Heritage tourism involves tourists travelling to specific locations to experience first-hand a moment in history. Although all tourism may in some respects be a form of pilgrimage, heritage tourism is exemplary of knowledge-based tourism, the most perspicuous secular counterpart to religious pilgrimage. The emphasis on interpretation over evaluation is part of the post-modern disruption of value systems.

The essential difference between museums and interpretation centres is that interpretation centres are located on or near the object of their interpretation. Rather than the movement of relics to a centre, interpretation centres encourage the movement of people from the centre to the site. This shifts the focus from display to experience.

For the tourist a heritage site is the site of a contemporary authentic experience, not located in the pristine re-construction of typical historical environments, but in the physical connections between the past and the present.

> The past is passed on to us not merely in what we think or what we do
> but literally how we do it. Places are not just seen, as in the scopic
> regime of the sightseer, but are understood through the diverse senses
> that make us ache to be somewhere else or shiver at the prospect of hav-
> ing to stay put. (Urry 1995:28)

These connections are made by the anachronistic presence of the tourist themselves. It is their physical presence at the site and their movement through the site which inscribes the experience in memory.

The tourist moves through space casually consuming the picturesque, distracted by the bombardment of stimuli associated with our times. According to John Urry movement, diversity of stimuli and "the visual appropriation of places

are centrally important features of that experience" (Urry 1995:9). The distracted nature of this encounter occurs in our peripheral vision where detail and colour are less recognized than form and movement. John Urry claims that it is only with distracted perception that "the kind of chance linking of past and present can take place and undermine the oppressive weight of past traditions" (Urry 1995:25).The overstimulation and distraction of the tourist is a modern, secular counterpart to the over stimulation and distraction during the liminal phase of ritual. The possibility of social change associated with liminality is based upon the temporary subversion, or inversion, of existing social structure through the techniques of distraction. The power of ritual lies as much in its materiality as in the commitment of each participant. This stresses the importance of all levels of ritual participation, including the distracted, in the construction of social meaning.

A corresponding shift in perspective is called for in order to look at the practices of interpretation involved in heritage tourism. Instead of focusing on the veracity of images of the past, we should investigate the interpretive and communicative work needed to make sense of built heritage. For example and inspiration I turn to the research project of British scholar Mike Crang who sets out to reevaluate the heritage experience. His aim is to "demonstrate how built heritage can be experienced as an event through a self-conscious articulation and creative process of understanding that contains elements of a quixotic quest for the *authentic*" (Crang 1996:417). The visitor's role in constructing and locating authenticity is based in part on the creative aspects of their own quest. There is no single means of enjoying the past and Crang suggests that the enjoyment of heritage sites is informed by both pleasure and knowledge. He points out that academic research has a stake in maintaining the superiority of rational under-

standing of the past, but is itself a way of "enjoying" the past (Crang 1996:418).

At these sites there is evidence of a self-conscious willingness and ability to shift into a certain state of receptivity—to take on the role of the seventeenth-century miller, the Seigneur, or the historian. "The reflexivity, even the irony, of the re-enactment does not render it inauthentic; rather it is what truly marks it as a modern drama" (Chaney quoted in Crang 1996:428). Mike Crang reflects upon the concept of authenticity at 'live history' sites in England. He argues that the heritage experience moves beyond the visual to a physical pleasure in recreating the past. Visitors do not claim to have experienced time travel, but most admit to having been touched by the past. This is based on an appreciation of the staging mechanisms, both aesthetically and in terms of accuracy of detail, and on an acceptance of their own role in the production of meaning (Crang 1996:425).

I would like to draw attention to the continuum between pilgrimage, 'lived history' where costumed participants are involved in amateur historical research, and the ordinary visitor's experience at heritage interpretation centres, based on a common emphasis on practice, participation, and experience. The preoccupation with the debate around the actual or the typical informs the concept of authenticity in all of these activities.

In conclusion, authenticity is not located in the past, but in the present space of the interpretation centre and in communitas with other visitors, both previous, simultaneous and potential. Tourism, like pilgrimage, is about ambience, about doing things in the company of others. "Part of what people buy is in effect a particular social composition of other consumers" (Urry 1995:131). The temporary community of tourists, who come together in a certain meaningful place, for a certain purpose is authenticated through the authority of the heritage experience.

V. Summary

The negative preconceptions of tourism result from a series of value judgements embodied in the dichotomies of work-leisure and education-entertainment. The post-modern blurring of the edges of these dichotomies problematizes both the categories and the judgement of value accrued.

Heritage tourism is recuperated as pilgrimage through the historical, material and formal similarities between the two activities. The extension of pilgrimage terms such as communitas and liminality into the secular realm of tourism contributes to the recuperation of the concept of heritage tourism as a dynamic social process. An investigation of the major trope of tourism—authenticity—has demonstrated the centrality of questions of social identity and social conceptions of space to our understanding of heritage tourism. The concept of the authenticity of experience recuperates the role of the visitor in the construction of meaning. A ritual perspective of leisure emphasizes the ludic aspects of tourism as serious play. Isolating the concept of the authenticity of space clarifies the role of the actual and the typical in the production of meaningful space.

The circuit, in the ritual topography of tourism, both in terms of physical infrastructure and cognitive mapping, is directly linked to the spatial practices of tourism. The opposite of tourism is not staying home—it is emmigration. The circular or elliptical conception of tourism implicates home as a base but also as a point in a circular social drama.

The next chapter discusses the pilgrimage to The Pointe-du-Moulin Historical Park as exemplary of heritage tourism as a spatial practice and a social drama.

Chapter 4

CASE STUDY: POINTE-DU-MOULIN HISTORICAL PARK

I. Introduction

This chapter explores the issues around heritage tourism as secular pilgrimage
with a rhetorical analysis of Point-du-Moulin Historical Park. Rhetorical criticism
using the the theory of dramatism calls for the choice of a "representative anec-
dote" (Burke 1969:59). Although the representative anecdote is chosen for its rela-
tionship to preestablished areas of concern, it must have enough scope to provide
an opportunity to explore, refine, or contest a hypothesis. I have chosen this her-
itage site over others for the following three reasons. Firstly, the scope and com-
plexity of its interpretive/architectural program, which includes nature trails, cos-
tumed guides, interactive exhibits, contemporary architecture, reconstructions, and
original structures provided ample material for discussion. Secondly, its location,
less than an hour from my home made it possible for multiple visits under differ-
ent conditions. Finally, the richness of its symbolism and a resonance of ritual ter-
minology which seemed to accompany me on my visits to the site were factors in
my decision. Chosen for its commonality to the class of interpretation centres in
Québec, Pointe-du-Moulin ultimately functions as a unique site with its own
emergent thematic concerns.

This critical selection process is based on different criteria than the official
recognition of heritage sites. Heritage sites such as Pointe-du-Moulin are chosen
"from prehistory to the industrial era" for their unique historical value (from the
brochure *Mise en valeur*, by the Ministère des affaires culturelles), yet they func-

tion, to use the terminology from Burke, as informative, rather than representative, anecdotes. The informative anecdote, which in our case is anecdote-object, is reductive in character, created out of a bureaucratic necessity for categorizing and testing.

Once classified the site may then be linked to similar, unprotected sites, through a process of extension of the prototype. In the competitive environment of cultural tourism a formal congruence with other sites is critical for the positioning of that site. For example, at Pointe-du-Moulin we find a map showing the location of all the interpretation centres in the region. At Pabos in the Gaspé there are references to the historical sites before and after it, not temporally in the historic sense, but on the highway. The importance of the site lies in how it relates topographically to other sites and to the centre. This implies a studied rejection of the site as part of an historical continuum, emphasizing instead one moment over all others for the sake of spatial clarity, and simplicity.

Thus Pointe-du-Moulin exists on both levels: as an informative anecdote-object for the Ministère des affaires culturelles; and as a representative anecdote-object for the critic interested in heritage sites in Québec.

Responding to the role of a case study to provide context, depth, and detail this chapter proceeds in three sections: (1) The negative connotations of heritage tourism will be addressed and reevaluated in the context of existing interpretation centres on similar sites; (2) A brief look at the history of heritage policy in Québec will contextualize the site; (3) The rhetorical strategies involved in the organization of heritage topography at the Pointe-du-Moulin Historical Park will be discussed in terms of social drama.

II. Heritage Sites

Sometimes appreciated as educational, sometimes despised as spectacular, heritage differs from history in its material aspect and its emphasis on site. It is a term tied to property. In unofficial discourse it applies to inheritance or birthright, something "transmitted or acquired as a result of one's natural situation or birth" (Merriam-Websters:543). It is the spatial manifestation of a temporal phenomena, the concretization of history. This results in an emphasis on material artifacts and the built environment, not merely as historical objects but as signifiers of a family connection, a community, or a place.

Although there is a danger of limiting and stereotyping cultural expression at heritage sites, they can provide a point of entry into the debate around social identity. Positive arguments in favour of heritage tourism are part of the popular recuperation of history. Heritage centres are educational in that they present at least one version of history, and usually are written by qualified historians. They often celebrate non-elite culture, and promote active engagement of local people as workers and visitors. Most importantly, there may be no real history to compare it with anyway. As John Urry declares "social memories are always selective" (Urry 1995:166). The questions of accuracy, complexity and authenticity may be simply an elitist attempt to control 'history'.

The authentification of space and experience at tourist sites, described in chapter three, is actively implicated at heritage sites. The articulation between the unique attributes of the site (the authentic aspects) and the staging, or interpretive strategies of the official centres (which emphasize the typical) is complex. Practices of interpretation, research, education, and pleasure are entwined around the actual sites, and the site in turn becomes more than just the location of events, but the

'natural' equivalent of the historical reconstructions and reenactments. At heritage sites the site itself—and the surrounding landscape—is recognized as having historicized, social and cultural meaning.

The authority of the site is thus a social construct. Rob Shields' analysis of the social construction of the spatial within a Canadian context reveals "the transformation of the earlier climatic determinism into geographic determinism where power becomes vested in the land rather than the weather. In this manner Southern Canadians have integrated some of the traditional native understanding of *genus loci*—the spirit of the place—into their own mythology" (Shields 1992:182). Of course, the idea of *genus loci* has strong roots in European culture as well. In particular the tradition of pilgrimage presupposes the idea that certain places are more powerful than others. The danger of linking the concept of *genus loci* in Canada to native culture is that it cuts it off from the European tradition, and consequently from a discussion of the role of heritage tourism as a form of secular pilgrimage.

There are two categories of heritage sites that demonstrate the transposition of the sacred power of place (*genus loci*) into secular terrain of relevance to the discussion of heritage sites in Québec. The first category is that of clearly religious sites that articulate a relationship between religious pilgrimages and secular, national identity. The second is overtly secular, with history and knowledge taking the place of religion. Both categories push the limits of defining certain places or activities as either sacred or profane.

Pilgrimage, even overtly religious pilgrimage, has been shown to be as much about identity as about piety. Many religious pilgrimage sites are important symbols for local or national communities, and as such, have contested social or political meanings. The following international examples of Trinos in Greece,

Chenstochau in Poland, and Kosovo in Serbia, will illustrate three different combinations of sacred religious power and nationalist ideology through the extension of *genus loci*.

The first example is the Orthodox shrine on the Greek island of Trinos. The finding of a miraculous icon on the island in 1832 coincided with the founding of the kingdom of Greece. In this example, from Jill Dubisch's *In a Different Place*, the secular and religious identity of the site developed together as part of the creation of a new state, with a state religion (Dubisch 1995). Furthermore a history of local resistance to Turkish territorial aggression coinciding with disputes over religion contributed to the perception of this marginal and disputed island as the sacred centre of the Greek state. Pilgrims to the shrine come from all over the pan-hellenic world, and leave the island with their personal vow fulfilled, their religious convictions strengthened, and their resistance to Turkish rule confirmed.

Chenstochau in Poland is an example of a religious site becoming secularized over time, without losing any of its sacred power. In the article "Pilgrimage in Contemporary Europe" Klaus Guth describes the process by which Chenstochau, an important pilgrimage centre since 1382, has become an important symbol of national identity (Guth 1995:831). In response to six hundred years of aggression from Swedes, Germans, and Soviet Communists the pilgrimage to Chenstochau has continued to thrive and to be rearticulated—first as an important Christian centre, then as the spiritual heart of a nation and later as a generalized symbol of democracy. To this day the Warsaw foot pilgrimage draws over five million people every year.

The current battle over Kosovo in the Serbian Republic makes this example extremely poignant. Originally a secular heritage site, the battlefield at Kosovo became sacralized through religious associations. John Allcock argues in "Kosovo:

The Heavenly and the Earthly Cross," that Serbian religion, politics, and national identity cannot be separated and therefore travelling to the battlefield site (a lost battle) affirms cultural identity and political autonomy within a deeply religious ambience (Allcock 1993:170). He identifies obviously religious themes in material relating to the site, in particular in the epic poetry glorifying the Serbian martyrs of the battle, which blend together Serbian folk tales and elements of Christianity. "To make a pilgrimage to the place, is to play the game of identity" (Allcock 1993:175). The current battle between Serbs and Albanians over Kosovo is a chilling reminder of the power of conflating nationalist ideology and religious conviction.

These three religious sites are contested in the secular, political, nationalist domains, often with terrible consequences. The religious and the secular meanings co-exist in a symbiotic relationship. In no way does the secular tarnish the sacred.

Not surprisingly, it has been found that purely secular heritage sites also satisfy the individual's quest for shrines and locales, "where in lieu of piety, the visitors seek to experience a sense of identity with sites of historical and cultural meaning" (Smith 1992:4). It has been suggested that the tourists whose interest lies in heritage sites have national culture as their tour guide: "by and through which our national identity is formed, and which naturally participates in the construction of our mythologies" (Zavetta 1994:10). The post-colonial nationalist movement in Wales is an interesting case in point, in that a common villain, in the form of the British Empire, is shared with Québec.

In the article "Ethnic Tourism and Nationalism in Wales," Susan Pitchford argues that contemporary nationalist movements with roots in a colonial past must contend with the residual effects of two forms of victimization; (1) a position of material disadvantage resulting from economic exploitation, and (2) an accompa-

nying cultural devaluation (Pitchford 1994:35). Attempts to control power and resources must be accompanied by the rehabilitation of their cultural image. Pitchford claims that heritage tourism can provide a medium for the reevaluation of history and culture simultaneously for members of the group and for outsiders. An identity based on victimization encourages the celebration of grave sites and death sites of famous citizens, and sites of lost battles (such as The Plains of Abraham, or Kosovo) as memorials, over other more positive sites which would be classified as monuments such as sites of great victories and birth sites. Although the effectiveness of this nostalgic strategy in terms of material benefits remains in question, heritage tourism definitely has the potential to play a strategic role in the campaign for cultural revaluation and preservation (Pitchford 1994:37).

The protection of heritage is a confirmation of national cultural identity. Culture, conceived of as 'past' can be continuously regenerated in the present through the spatial experience on the site. As David Lowenthal explains "History in the landscape often stands for durable national ideals. The americanization of immigrants was promoted by visits to scenes of great deeds" (Lowenthal 1975:13). In the United States the national ideology is tied to ideas of action, embodied in the concept of the frontier as the active edge of culture. In Canada, the ideology plays out at different types of sites, usually pastoral, such as Upper Canada Village. In Québec, heritage sites stand for a different set of nationalist ideals, closely linked to the industrial exploitation of resources. These thematic issues will be discussed in greater detail in the context of Pointe-du-Moulin. First, a brief historical look at the policy environment of heritage in Québec demonstrates the importance of the land as signifier of nationalist ideology.

III. Policy Environment

The history of Québec's struggle for cultural and political sovereignty has become less a question of the identification of a distinct people and more often a question of territory, with the emphasis on existing provincial borders and the strengthening of historical ties to the regions. The intense debates over partition are exemplary of this shift. Since the days of the nationalist historian Lionel-Groulx, the Québécois have recognized a powerful relationship between land and culture. The concept of *terre-patrie* is based on an historical understanding of a long process of mutual adaptation in which people and land have come to resemble each other. In the struggle for a national territory the concept of *terre patrie* is a strategy for the replacement of culture with nature. The metaphor of the land as the birthplace of a nation carries with it the implication of a natural attachment to the land which is uncontestable. This strategy is reflected in heritage policy: Although many parts of Canada have progressive parks legislation, Québec was the first to recognize landscape as part of its *cultural* heritage. The shift towards territory does not replace the importance of the idea of "one people, one nation." It is interesting here to recall the connotations of family legacy revealed by the connections between inheritance and heritage.

The history of heritage policy in Quebec reveals a struggle over the expanding definition of 'heritage' and a corresponding increase in government responsibility, and powers, for the preservation of that heritage. The first provincial legislation was adopted in 1922; the *Historic or Artistic Monuments Act* created certain restrictions on the destruction or alteration of historic monuments. In 1952, the *Historic or Artistic Monuments and Sites Act*, added 'sites' to the definition and included "land containing remnants of ancient civilizations and landscapes and

sites having any scientific, artistic, or historical interest" (Handler 1988:144) In 1963 the *Ministère des affaires culturelles* sponsored a new act with the power to recognize historic localities containing a concentration of historic sites, and to restrict development in the areas *adjacent* to the sites. *The Cultural Property Act* of 1972 was based on the UNESCO definition of culture, and included two new categories: natural district, and archaeological site. The definition of "Archaeological Site" was based on the professional definition of archaeology as any indication of human occupation. A "Natural District" was defined as "a territory...designated as such...because of the aesthetic, legendary or scenic interest of its natural setting."(Handler 1988:144). These two categories expanded the definition of heritage both spatially and temporally, recalling Turner's concept of catchment areas around pilgrimage shrines. The constellation of heritage sites, the spaces between the sites, and the recognition of historical and legendary sources generates a social field which can be understood as heritage topography.

Heritage topography, like ritual topography or any territorial imperative, is contingent and contested. The increase in political power of the Cultural Property Commission led to heated debate in the legislature over the definition of history, of culture, and of the manifestations of that culture. One deputy arguing for ethnic diversity in the composition of the *Commission des biens culturelles* claimed that "all who live in Quebec are Québécois, hence their property is part of the patrimoine and they too should be able to 'rediscover their identity' in the official heritage" (Handler 1988:147). The recognition of other cultures has not been transposed into the construction of interpretation centres, which continue to be built almost exclusively on sites which fit into the settlement narrative of the early French immigrants. There have been some inroads made in the area of Native heritage at Pointe-bleu, and most recently, a major memorial project at Grosse-Île.

Although supposedly about Native people, or Irish immigration, these sites are consistent in their identification of a common enemy—The British Empire, and by extension English Canada. This is a major theme developed at interpretation centres throughout Québec. The influence of this theme privileges interpretation of historical moments prior to the British occupation, as in the case study below, or treats later sites as memorials, rather than monuments, celebrated through a sense of loss.

IV. Pointe-du-Moulin Historical Park as a Social Drama

Pointe-du-Moulin is built on the original site of the eighteenth-century seigneury of François-Marie Perrot. The principle themes of the interpretation are the seigneurial system and the windmill. A visit to the park is a complex experience involving architecture, programmed display of objects, and highly rationalized installation practices, both interior and exterior. It includes a reconstruction of a typical house in New France, the original windmill, and an interpretation centre which houses an interactive exhibition. Nature trails, traditional garden plots, and picnic areas surround the buildings. The park is populated—animated—by giant puppets and actors in period costume playing the roles of the miller, his wife, and other members of the community. Over the summer a narrative unfolds of life on an eighteenth-century seigneury. The activities are described in the promotional brochure:

> A heritage to discover . . . . Learn how people lived in bygone days. Visit the windmill, the miller's house and the interpretation centre, which features various interactive exhibits . . . . On weekends, from July to August, let our actors, giant puppets, and craftsmen take you back in time to the

18th century. Come meet the miller while he sets the sails of the windmill in motion, and don't miss the chance to taste the golden bread baked especially for you by the miller's wife. (from the pamphlet *Nature and Culture side by side—The Pointe-du-Moulin Historical Park*)

These activities represent rituals of arrival and entry into the liminal phase, the creation of liminality through ludic behaviour, and rituals of incorporation and reaggregation.

The following analysis of the social drama at Pointe-du-Moulin is organized around the sequence of experience encouraged, if not determined, by the site: the approach, the contemporary structure of the interpretation centre, the miller's house, the windmill, and the point. This naturalistic ethnography is congruent with the perspective of dramatism that the basic unit of action is the body in purposive motion (Burke 1969:61). The definition of ritual as formulaic spatiality publicly performed by groups of people who are conscious of its imperative nature (Parkin 1992:18), results in an emphasis on sequence in the process of social drama: breach, crisis, redress and reaggregation or separation.

Kenneth Burke states that the "nature of the scene may be conveyed primarily by suggestions built into the lines of the verbal action itself" (Burke 1969:2). Returning to the theatre as the root of dramatism we find a logic in that the act contains the scenes. Thus by concentrating on identifying and articulating the *act* prior to the other terms, one hopes to reveal the scene as "a fit container for the act" (Burke 1969:3).

Employing Burke's first level of symbolic action which he calls the bodily or biological level (Burke 1973:36) yields the following drama for Pointe-du-Moulin: a visit (act) to a historic site (scene) by a tourist (agent) walking and looking (agency) in order to learn about history (purpose).

Although two significant ritual processes are evident in the social drama at Point-du-Moulin, they proceed together. The construction, legitimation, and transformation of the historical narrative, and the location of that narrative in symbolic space have an integral relationship based on the authentification of the site and the authenticity of the experience. Implicit in both processes is the role of the visitor as constructed by the narrative and spatial organization. My analysis demonstrates that *scene* plays a pivotal role in the construction, legitimation, or diffusion of the message and ultimately in the transformation of the subjectivity of the visitor.

I suggest that the breach in this particular social drama is produced by the radical transformation of Québec from a rural, pastoral society to a modern, technological nation. The identification of this breach is a product of the Pentadic analysis of the site, not a result of a previous interest in the issue of pastoralism and resource exploitation in Québec. The pilgrimage to the heritage site of Pointe-du-Moulin is a ritual of purification in response to the social guilt associated with disruptions in the social hierarchy.

The Approach: Breach and Crisis

The Point-du-Moulin Historical Park is located on Île Perrot at the confluence of the St. Laurent and the Ottawa rivers, just west of the island of Montreal. Although Île Perrot is rapidly evolving as a bedroom community of Montréal, traces of its agricultural history remain. Elements in the landscape articulate the terms of the breach—the transformation of historic, rural society into a modern, technological society. A few cornfields separate one housing development from the next, while young scrub forests spring up in farm lands bought for development, but left vacant. There is just enough bucolic space to make you feel that you've

escaped the city, only forty minutes behind you. On a late summer day as you drive along the aptly named boulevard Don-Quichotte towards the park, flocks of birds swoop down over the highway and the smell of warm grass is gradually overwhelmed by the smell of the river. There is a feeling of freedom out here, a kind of pioneering spirit—building new homes, planting trees, naming streets after your heroes. Signs on serviced lots proclaim "We build to suit your needs!" Like the pathetic hero for whom the boulevard is named, you are also heading towards a windmill, and as you pass the houses, the schools, and the brilliant green grass of the golf course you bring with you "the willingness and ability to shift into a certain state of receptivity" (Duncan, Carol 1991:90) that characterizes both the pilgrim and the the tourist. The tourist's previous experience constructs a touristic orientation. The expectation of a theatrical, entertaining experience colours their interpretation of the site so that the authority of the historical narrative is judged by the professionalism of the display, and by the level of interaction—the success of the rhetorical strategies of identification. The park-like setting, surrounded by recreational areas such as golf courses and nature trails contributes to the willingness of tourists to participate in the experience, recalling MacCannell's claim that leisure constructs ideal conditions of reception.

You enter the Pointe-du-Moulin Historical Park through the parking area at the very end of the boulevard Don Quichotte. Almost everyone arrives by car, except for the occasional visitor who strolls over from the adjacent golf course. The parking lot is a liminal zone between the 'present' of the journey (another kind of liminality) and the 'present-past' of the site. It is also the insecure moment when we leave our private space, and our social signifiers—our cars—behind, and step out into the unknown, scanning the horizon for signs. Although it is not fraught with danger it is disorienting and inhospitable. People may park in neat rows as

close as possible to the entry, but the parking lot is confusing in its lack of direction; people are both coming and going, cutting across expanses of gravel in many directions. The hot sun and distracted motorists pose a real danger for small children, the elderly, or the infirm.

The walkway from the parking area to the centre, like a pilgrim's way, is a microcosm of the journey. The distance between the secular area of the parking lot and the sacred area of the centre re-presents the entire journey, including the process of stopping to read signs. This heightens the effect of distance, a strategy played out at numerous ceremonial structures, from pilgrimage centres, to museums. The wide paved path is lined on both sides with panels that give a history of the seigneury in terms of ownership and economics. The breach is made visible and becomes articulated in specific historical terms which introduce the vocabulary of the adjustive mechanisms of redress.

The island's transformation from a fur trading station in the 1600s to a working rural community in the 1700s is documented with maps, leases, receipts and other relics. One panel reads "As soon as he took over in 1742, Jean Baptiste Leduc showed resolve to develop the Île Perrot seigneury. Under Leduc, there was such an increase in livestock that a farmer had to be hired. A miller was also employed." Thus the early inhabitants are represented in contemporary terms as employees rather than *habitants*. Past and present are meshed through the analogy drawn between the development of the seigneury and the contemporary residential development of the island. This strategy of collapsing past and present is reminiscent of the *passiones* associated with the cult of the saints in early medieval times. The stories of the sufferings of the saints were always atemporal; in this way, they "abolish time" and bring the mighty deeds of the past into the present (Brown 1981:81).

Transformation takes place in areas of ambiguity, which, like the liminality associated with pilgrimage, widens the scope of appeal, in some cases providing justification for change, in others providing confirmation of the existing social structure. Burke visualized the fluidity of liminality as a kind of alchemic centre, and described the process of transformation in the following terms:

> We must take A back into the ground of its existence, the logical substance that is its causal ancestor, and on to a point where it is consubstantial with non-A; then we may return, this time emerging with non-A instead. (Burke 1969:xix)

The symbolic space of the alchemic centre becomes the locus of consubstantiality between the hierarchies involved in the transformation from a rural to a technological identity.

Identification of the hierarchies at play helps to interpret the drama at Pointe-du-Moulin around a ritual of purification. The two corresponding grammatical relations of substance can be identified. The first, geometric substance, is associated with the philosophy of materialism, and privileges contextual, or scenic relations: "materialism is usually atomistic in the physical realm, but may be quite collectivistic in the ethical or political realm" (Burke 1969:129). The second, familial substance, although stressing genetic factors:

> is usually spiritualized so that it includes social groups, comprising persons of the same nationality or beliefs. Most often, in such cases, there is the notion of some founder shared in common, or some covenant or constitution or historical act from which the consubstantiality of the group is derived. (Burke 1969:29)

These grammatical relations share a preoccupation with the construction or maintenance of a community through shared history, shared space, or shared family

ties, consistent with the material and familial preoccupations of heritage. They point to ideological communitas based on collective notions of historical narrative.

The Interpretation Centre: Adjustment Mechanisms of Redress

The process of redress which began with the articulation of the breach in the approach picks up momentum at the interpretation centre. The redressive strategies include the establishment of an historical circumference and the redrawing of the seigneurial system as a proto-democratic business enterprise.

It is a contemporary structure based on the metaphor of the wheel[1]. Five small buildings surround a central plaza, forming an effective didactic turnstile on the route between the parking lot at one end and the mill at the other. This is consistent with a pattern at most interpretation centres, where the visitor is expected to pass through a constructed area which houses the museological/interpretive/narrative elements before 'exploring' the site, or object in question. The circumference of historical narrative can be a powerful ideological filter which highlights certain aspects of experience over others. "In a sense, every circumference, no matter how far reaching its reference, is a reduction" (Burke 1969:96). In terms of rhetorical structure this renders the actual site as proof, or at least evidence in the narrative. It also creates a sense of a pristine post-interpreted area which encourages a feeling of freedom in the visitor.

At the entry to the centre you are met by an actor/guide dressed in period costume who leads you into the interactive exhibition space. Costumed guides are the traditional figures of liminal space. They guide the initiates in rites of passage, they guide the pilgrims along the way, and they guide the tourist through the attraction. They make the route special by their presence; they simultaneously unnerve and comfort the visitor. At some heritage interpretation centres human

guides are being replaced by spatial strategies (see MacCannell 1992:18-75), fol-
lowing market research which shows that many North Americans feel uncomfort-
able around a guide in a servant position. The identification of tourists with their
hosts is a very fragile process.

This is a major point of departure between regional tourism and cross cultur-
al tourism, where a large part of the attraction is in the role playing associated
with changing class—either through the pretext of luxury at hotel-resorts or by
'going native' on the beach. The hierarchy constructed by the heritage interpreta-
tion centre is delicately balanced on strategies of inclusion. This is consistent with
Turner's analysis of earth shrines which are usually found outside settlement areas,
and celebrate bonding between groups and shared values, and which exhibit inclu-
sive strategies.

The first part of the exhibition is about the seigneurial system. Like the
building itself, every display is based on the metaphor of the wheel. Even the dis-
tribution of land in thin strips with access to the river is described as "radiating"
from the river. The liminal phase is always animated by inversion and suspension:
in this exhibition, everything turns.[6] This inversion of hierarchy is often produced
through ludic behaviour in the form of games which mimic work. In one game the
visitor must correctly align texts on paddle wheels which explain the rights and
responsibilities of each player in the system from the *censitaire* to the King of
France, as integrated parts of a complex, closed system. The role of the Seigneur
is legitimized in contemporary terms through a reduction of his responsibilities to
two main points: to live on the seigneury and to build a mill. Thus, it is immedi-
ately established that the Seigneur is not an absentee landlord, nor a feudal tyrant
from France, but a colonist like the other habitants. By changing the stature of the
Seigneur from upper class to management class, identification with his character is

made more accessible to tourists. Likewise, in placing emphasis on the role of the miller, the lower classes are redrawn as professional tradesmen. The seigneurial system is represented as a kind of enterprise, or business, transformed by the technological-capitalist model. Almost uncannily, Burke anticipates this scenario in *A Grammar of Motives*:

> . . . if historical characters themselves (i.e., periods or cultures treated as 'individual persons') were considered never to begin or end, but rather to change in intensity or poignancy. History, in this sense, would be a dialectic of characters in which, for instance, we should never expect to see 'feudalism' overthrown by 'capitalism' and 'capitalism' succeeded by some manner of national or neo-national, or post-national socialism— but rather should note elements of all such positions (or voices) existing always, but gaining greater clarity of expression, or imperiousness of proportion of one period than another . . . (Burke 1969:513)

At Pointe-du-Moulin there is evidence of the "dialectic of characters" above, generated through the collapsing of past and present. The voice of the miller eventually gains "clarity of expression" over that of the Seigneur. Maps illustrate the location of other windmills at other seigneuries along the river. The topography of the windmills is superimposed on the political map of the seigneurial system. In this way the mill becomes symbolic of the system.

The first part of the exhibition is clearly liminal. In particular, the quality of liminality reduces the individual into an unidentifiable, workable mass which can be reformulated as necessary. The second part of the exhibition is a demonstration of the windmill and its importance to the survival and prosperity of the seigneury. This section is even more physical than the first, implicating the tourist through ludic behaviour and rituals of access. At pilgrimage centres rituals of access often

involve unlocking, opening, looking through small openings and other symbols of entry (Brown:88). Tourists are invited to open bins filled with different grains, and run their fingers through them. The sensory aspect of this gesture is another way of involving the body, and incorporating pleasure in the physical experience, into the ritual. The main exhibit in this section is a beautifully crafted toy windmill. The simplified technology of the toy demonstrates the methodology of the mill in an accessible, "fun" way (see MacCannell 1989:55). Although the gesture of moving the smooth wooden blades of the mill is a strong enough form of identification with the miller, it is reinforced by a text panel which reads:

> When you push on the wings you become the wind which activates the
>
> mill. The miller, just like you, puts a grain in the bin and it passes
>
> between the stones to become flour.

The kinetic reenactment of a ritual movement is the power of identification in ritual, even as it contributes to the feeling that each individual tourist is inventing their own experience, after much of the hegemonic work has been accomplished already.

The hierarchy of technological capitalism is presented through the leisure activity of tourism in such a way that modern alienation can be replaced by a sense of duty, as identity. As Burke advises: "wherever you find a doctrine of 'non-political' esthetics affirmed with fervor, look for its politics" (Burke 1969:28). The serious play of the ludic elements in the liminal stage of ritual are integral to normative and ideological communitas. Furthermore the self-reflexive attitude of the post-modern tourist puts "active and passive together, since one can be simultaneously free and constrained if the constraints are those of one's choosing" (Burke 1969:75).

When historical meaning is rendered atemporal the site becomes a point

in a constellation, "concentrating the meaning of the area into a monument or a viewpoint" (Curtis and Pajaczkowska 1994:206). In the narrative of the interactive exhibitions the seigneurial system has been transformed from feudal tyranny into a proto-democratic enterprise. The class system has been rearticulated in contemporary terms of management and trade, and the entire scene has been transformed from the specific heritage site into a symbolic landscape, a *lieu de memoire*—the windmill as locus for heritage.

The Miller's House: Redress through Normative Communitas
A raised boardwalk through a lightly wooded marsh connects the interpretation centre to the miller's house and then the windmill. Suspended a few feet off the ground, the hollow sound of footsteps on the wood adds to the feeling of being on a stage, or of crossing a bridge to another time. The release from the heavily programmed exhibition space into another liminal tract between the obvious interpretive elements in the contemporary structure and the reconstructed "typical" house, reinforces the authority of the message which rests in part on the "original" state of the mill.

The miller's house is a reconstruction. It is a contemporary structure built in accordance with historical description and archaeological findings. In the brochure it is described as a "typical house"— a case where academic and popular discourse come together. One room houses a smaller exhibition, again based on the wheel in which the job tasks of the miller and his wife are explained in detail. The home/work dichotomy is thus located, personified, and gendered. The costumed 'miller's wife' greets you at the door of the house. Inside another room, bread is baking in a traditional oven, and you are invited to sit down and eat.[7]

The construction of the "Quebecer type house" is also explained with empha-

sis placed on the technological changes brought about by the *habitant* experience in New France—the encounter with more snow, colder temperatures, and local materials—familiar to most of the visitors.

Through rituals of incorporation (eating) and a narrative which celebrates local contribution, the visitor is identified with the miller (or in a stretch, with his wife). The importance of the miller to the community is proudly emphasized. The miller is ultimately a provider of services rather than goods. The normative communitas involved in the mobilizing and organizing of resources at heritage sites is transformed into ideological communitas—a utopian model of technology used to supply optimal conditions of communitas.

The house is a bridge between the contemporary architectural structure and the authentic, original mill. The 'typical' is quasi authentic in that its authenticity rests outside the object in the opinion of experts. The route from the parking lot to the mill is a movement from the inauthentic to the authentic which is organized, like the ritual topography of pilgrimage, around the concept of increasing sacred power closer to the source. This inscription on a grave in New England articulates this concept in a delightful way:

Here lie I at the chapel door,

Here lie I because I'm poor.

The further in the more you pay.

Here lie I as warm as they.

(Brown 1981:41)

The house is an important way station on the route to authenticity. Like the traditional way stations of old, the pilgrims are welcomed as honoured guests. Emphasis on the local contribution, and identification with the miller and his wife, contribute to the creation of communitas; a sense of 'we' is developed.

The Windmill: Symbolic Landscape

The authentic centre is the windmill itself. We have seen that it has been constructed as proof at the end of an argument, and that its authority rests on its isolation from the more obvious interpretive strategies like interactive exhibits and contemporary architectural structures. The windmill is further differentiated from the rest of the park in that the only access to the inner workings of the mill is during guided tours. In the other sections, the orchestrated displays and spatial experience are often the only guide. The miller, presented as a "qualified expert" whose presence is justified in terms of safety, since it is a working mill, also serves to guarantee that a certain message becomes associated with the windmill. We shall see that the windmill as symbol of technological capitalism is symbolic of a "blueprint for society", an example of Turner's ideological communitas.

The miller may be the patron saint of the site, but the site is the locus of transformation. The site, through a series of transformations embedded in the interpretive and spatial strategies, converts upwards from the physical scene to the symbolic scene of technological capitalism. Once operating in the symbolic realm the act is not only a physical journey, but a complex metaphorical conflation of government and technology in the memory of the tourist, and the subsequent location of that memory in a symbolic landscape unique to Québec. The agent of this act is the total interpretive machinery at the park.

The symbolic landscape, although infused with new meaning and values, continues to exist in the non-symbolic realm. This provides the sense of stability required by ritual sites in order to facilitate a highly constructed transformation. The physical presence of this specific windmill transforms upward to become all mills, to become energy, to become technology. Any attempt to locate the scene

purely in the non-symbolic or purely in the symbolic realm shares the problem of ambiguity between space and place. The fluidity of the scenic symbol is also consistent with the hegemonic potential of symbolic landscapes or *lieux de mémoire*.

The tour of the windmill is the most explicitly methodological/technological aspect of the visit. In small groups, the tourists are led up the narrow wooden stairs to the third floor of the mill, by the "miller" himself. Already familiar with the toy windmill in the centre, the tourist is struck by the scale and beauty of the handcrafted wooden cogs and the heavy stone walls. It was here that I heard the father of a family in front of me on the stairway exclaim to his children "Great system, eh?" This innocent comment serves to clarify the purpose of the entire park. The system the man referred to was threefold: the political system of the seigneur; the technological system of the windmill; and the system of display and explanation at the site. The conflation of these systems takes place in the present space of the experience of the site.

The miller's presentation articulates the relationship between the colony of New France and France in terms consistent with the political model of the previous exhibits. Although peppered with details about the seigneury of François Perrot, the historical narrative of the construction of the windmill is recounted in terms of the usual, or typical rather than the specific. In this way, the actual mill is portrayed as a typical mill, transcending into a symbolic mill.

The miller is a personification of the symbol of the mill. He embodies the political qualities of a skilled operator within a system where invention, management, and financial responsibility is turned over to government authority. The main points of the narrative and their contribution to this political model are outlined below. The miller informs us that the original technology was imported from France. The Seigneur paid for this transfer of technology himself, including the

transportation of the engineers and the flint-stones. The financial responsibility for the transfer of technology is located at the management level and the inventive power is located even farther away, in France. The location of power at a distant point is consistent with the basic spatial construct of pilgrimage and tourism. The transportation of raw materials was deemed necessary because the engineers were so unfamiliar with the territory that they were unsure of finding flint, or any other hard stones. The engineers were imported specialists who would take up to six months to finish a mill, and who were paid relatively large sums of money for their skill. After constructing the mill they returned to France, taking their specialized knowledge with them.

The miller is represented as a highly skilled technician, rather than inventor, once again recognizing his role as employee. However, some exceptional, almost heroic attributes are identified with his occupation. Being a miller was a prestigious position in the community, but also very dangerous. The famous *Moulin Rouge* is named after an expression designating a mill where a death occurred. To understand the weight of this expression it is important to recognize that the entire community relied on the miller for its flour, and hence for its daily bread. There are three ways to die in a windmill: to walk out the wrong door and be hit by blade (an easier mistake than one would think, since the entire roof rotates to maximize the wind power); to be blown up in a methane gas explosion from the combination of wheat dust and sparks generated by the flint stones; or by a piece of clothing getting caught in the mechanism of the mill. A fourth possibility is intimated by the ventilation holes which also served as gun posts. The enemy in this scenario remains unnamed but could be Native people, Americans, British, or raiding parties from other Seigneuries.

The miller solicits the tourists to enter the windmill and to enter into the

process of interpretation. At the miller's house emphasis was placed on structural and material changes to the typical French house brought about by the environment of New France. A similar process occurs with the mill, in particular the experimentation with new materials. Emphasizing local input contributes to the construction of the mill as a symbol of local identity. The tourist is identified with the miller as a skilled user of technology.

In the symbolic level the pentadic terms play out in the following drama: The act is the conflation of technology with government and the subsequent location of that concept in the symbolic landscape of the windmill. The interpretive machinery, including spatial arrangements, and the role of the visitor, is the agent. Agency is primarily located in the metonomic device of the wheel, which represents the intangible and inaccessible seigneurial system in corporeal, tangible form. Metonymy, according to Burke, is a reduction which overlaps with synechdoche. Synechdoche is defined as:

> a part for the whole, whole for the part, container for the thing contained, sign for the thing signified . . . all such conversions imply an integral relationship, a relationship of convertibility between the two terms. (Burke 1969:509).

A synechdoche stresses the relationship between the two terms rather than a reduction of one in terms of the other. The seigneurial system seen in terms of the windmill becomes a smoothly working politico-economic system. The windmill seen in terms of the seigneurial system becomes the symbol of technological capitalism and a blueprint for society embodied in a symbolic landscape.

The Point: Redemption and Reaggregation

The architectural program at Pointe-du-Moulin can be synechdochally related to the larger linear experience which begins at home and ends at home. The turning point in this ellipse is not the mill itself, but the clearing on the point of land for which the park is named. The experience of the visitor does not culminate in the dark, confined space of the mill. After the tour visitors are released into the bright sunshine of the rocky point. The view is spectacular, and the feeling of redemption is based in part on the sheer exaltation of light and space. However, the view of the St. Laurent afforded here is actually a highly constructed industrial landscape—the St. Laurent Seaway. Huge container ships speed by the towers of the Beauharnois power station. All human activity is reduced by the enormity of the landscape. The island of Montréal gleams like a beacon of modernity on the far shore.

In *The Cult of the Saints* Peter Brown tells the story of the earliest Christian pilgrimages to shrines just outside of the cities. A fourth century account by Prudentious refers to the (slightly dangerous) thrill of leaving social constraints behind the walls of the city of Rome on the road to the shrine of Saint Hippolytus. A feeling of communitas developed between patricians and plebians, between peasants and urban dwellers, men and women (Brown 1981:42). From the vantage point of the shrine they looked back at the city. The true Rome lay outside the walls; the true Romans were those who had actually left the city as a social unit.

The internal mechanism of the site is a micro-version of the entire pilgrimage. It is a miniaturized, portable re-articulation of the total event, summarized, located, embodied in a single view. Sites of representation involve both the site represented and the site from which the representation emanates—the shrine and the centre, or the paradox of the centre out there.

V. Summary

This drama is re-enacted over and over again at interpretation centres throughout Québec. Borrowing from Leo Marx, we could call it "the machine in the garden" or—in its particular Québécois form—the windmill on the farm (Marx 1964). The rejection of a pastoral hierarchy or ideology for the ideology of technological capitalism must be carefully managed by the state in order to maintain the quality of its citizenry. In the ritual of purification the victim must be worthy of sacrifice.

More can be said about the discursive, or poetic functions of the windmill once it has been established as a symbolic landscape, however, as an adjunct to organizational and discursive analysis, this chapter has shown that the Dramatistic interpretation of the pilgrimage to Pointe-du-Moulin is not only comprehensive, in the sense that the terms provide a series of blank spaces to be filled in an equation, but also in the sense that the terms of the Pentad expand to accept and illuminate non-literary, non-textual types of acts, agents, and scenes. In this case study the pilgrim-tourist-citizen creates a relationship between landscape and heritage which is located within the scene-act ratio at Pointe-du-Moulin.

For Québec, with strong cultural and religious roots in the pastoral, the acceptance of the hierarchy of technological capitalism is a priority for government. Charles Taylor equates the growth of the independence movement in Québec with the construction of a more complete francophone society where "francophone Québeckers begin to take their full place in the economy at first through the public and parapublic sectors (for example Hydro-Québec) and then through the private sector" (Taylor 1991:167). Hydro Québec is Taylor's example for good reason. Interpretation centres dedicated to the exploitation of energy resources far outnumber any other type in Québec. These range from preserving

or reconstructing historical wind and water mills to actually planning the interpretation centre in conjunction with the new dam in James Bay. Thus, as the tourist-pilgrim searches for authenticity in the pastoral past, the wheels of technological capitalism are set in motion.

The importance of these cultural symbols as memorials is repeated in the sense of *sorrow* surrounding the flooding in the Saguenay, and more recently, the Ice Storm. The failure of the hydro-electric system caused serious property damage, but more importantly, caused what can only be called a loss of faith.

This profound sense of loss is also experienced in areas of rapid de-industrialization "especially where the work had involved backbreaking and apparently heroic labour by men" (Urry 1995:155). Modernity dislocates us from work, place, and family; de-industrialization creates martyrs. We become interested in the 'real lives' of others and locate that reality in geographic space. In Québec, we find recent heritage legislation to protect industrial heritage, such as fishing sites in the Gaspé. The symbolic landscape of the windmill helps us to overcome our social guilt for changing from a pastoral society to a technological society. What will be our symbolic landscape as we leave behind industrialization?

Chapter 5
SUMMARY AND SPECULATION

I. Summary

In this section I revisit the analytical and descriptive moments of the thesis.
The hypothesis that heritage tourism is a form of secular pilgrimage was
developed in three stages: first, the secular aspects of pilgrimage were
explored; second, a relationship between pilgrimage and heritage tourism
was established; and third, the specific site of Pointe-du-Moulin was
explored as an instrumental case study, or representative anecdote. I began
with an investigation into the secular aspects of pilgrimage based on the
work of Victor Turner. Central to this discussion was Turner's treatment of
social drama. The moments of a social drama are: breach, crisis, redress and
reintegration or separation. The entire drama may be articulated in ritual
terms as separation, limen, and reaggregation, or each moment may involve
a number of specific rituals. Turner's dynamic and spatially oriented
approach to ritual informed the definition of ritual favoured by this thesis,
as formulaic spatiality publicly performed by groups of people who are con-
scious of its imperative nature. Ritual space, often considered conservative in
its emphasis on rules and repetition, is a creative realm rather than the locus
of absolute determinism. Within this framework, pilgrimage, as a ritual jour-
ney, was redrawn as a dynamic social process.

In chapter two I confronted some of the preconceptions about pilgrimage
which contribute to the artificial dichotomy between pilgrimage and tourism.

In this dichotomy the pole of pilgrimage is reserved for a spiritual experience, involving hardship or sacrifice and a deep sense of commitment. The occupational psychosis of the encompassing disciplines contributes to a mystification of pilgrimage. My analysis of the secular aspects of pilgrimage demonstrates that this dichotomy is ultimately based on a value judgement between the sacred and the profane. What can be learned about pilgrimage once the religious obsessions have been stripped away?

Pilgrimage is recognized as a widespread religious practice based on the belief that certain places are more powerful than others. Turner's contribution to this concept is the recognition of the dynamic relationship between the pilgrims and the environment they pass through, on the way to and from the shrine. As was argued in this thesis, this relationship generates symbolic fields and cognitive maps which have social, political, and economic consequences, in the secular realm.

Although Turner has been criticized for ignoring popular culture, his reluctance to address the field may be simply another example of occupational psychosis—the anthropological legacy of the 'exotic'. This thesis demonstrates that his theories expand to accommodate secular activities like heritage tourism in terms of pilgrimage.

The concept of secular pilgrimage challenges the universal concept of existential communitas, but reinforces other aspects of communitas, and retains them for a discussion of heritage tourism.

According to Turner the environmental factors which contribute to communitas are an atmosphere of emotional tension, a relaxing of certain moral restrictions, and the release from conventions and obligations of daily life. It is important to note that although Turner's examples include only religious

pilgrimages, the factors above are essentially secular, and are common to the heritage experience.

Turner's concept of normative communitas recognizes the institutional aspects of religious pilgrimage. This type of social bonding is based on the mobilization and organization of resources over time in order to maintain the original communitas. Ideological communitas is a utopian model designed to exemplify or supply optimal conditions for communitas in order to reform society. Although these two categories are a response to secular pressure on the concept of ideological communitas, they provide a secular point of entry into pilgrimage.

Further evaluation of the term, points to the possibility of different constituencies and different motives within a single pilgrimage and the existence of different levels of participation and commitment in pilgrimage. The roles of both insider and outsider in the construction and diffusion of meaning are recognized. Personal sacrifice and hardship associated with pilgrimage also have secular, social roots. The dispensations available to pilgrims reflect social conditions of poverty and infirmity.

Liminality is the ritual space of spontaneous existential communitas. According to Turner, liminal space is a mystical, paradoxical phase in a rite of passage. He proposes the term liminoid for similar, unspontaneous activities in the secular realm. I argue that there is no need for a separate, and slightly diminished category. First of all liminality is constructed spatially and discursively, even in the most religious of experiences. Secondly, both secular and religious liminality have instructional or didactic purpose. Finally, many liminal activities in the secular realm are derived historically from religious activities. Secular liminality is recuperated as an important element in pilgrimage.

Ritual topography generated by pilgrimage is perhaps the most overtly secular aspect of Turner's model. The process of moving through secular space towards a sacred centre sacralizes the route and creates a symbolic field. Possibilities of new geographic allegiances arise as these symbolic spaces interact with social, political, and economic topographies; sometimes rearticulating regionality, sometimes creating a supra-national space. Heritage topography repeats this process.

The greatest difficulty in understanding pilgrimage as a social process derives from its long-term association with religion. The religious emphasis in Turner's analysis of pilgrimage as a social process is not essential to the understanding of journeys out of the ordinary. Once the secular aspects of pilgrimage have been identified pilgrimage stands as a model for the understanding of other types of travel.

> Even where there is a definitively individual nuance to the pilgrimage, where the pilgrimage symbolizes a symbolic journey to a spiritual destination . . . one cannot overlook the social mechanisms and currents that lie embedded within them. The outward physical journey may be an inner spiritual one, but the inner spiritual journey may also involve an outward search for belonging, community and social identity. (Reader 1993:240)

There is no inherent reason that the study of pilgrimage should be restricted to the sacred, religious realm, but there may be limits to the extension of the model. I begin modestly with a consideration of heritage tourism as secular pilgrimage.

What can be learned about heritage tourism once the two tiered model of travel/tourism has been abandoned? An historical continuum was drawn

between pilgrimage and heritage tourism—linking the two through the trope of materiality as it plays out in terms of infrastructure and souvenirs. Tourism's other major trope, authenticity, was discussed in detail, broken down into the authenticity of space and the authentic experience. Authenticity may in fact be a major issue in tourism as compensation for evacuated belief.

Heritage tourism is criticized for its emphasis on materiality, but I argue that in fact this very materiality is important in the shift of authenticity from objects to experience. This argument comes directly from the understanding of pilgrimage as a social process in that the materiality of the experience is essential to the creation of communitas in any form, even existential communitas. Furthermore, religious pilgrimage as a social process is made up of many individual acts, which emphasizes personal transcendence and a direct contact with the sacred. In this way it provides a model for understanding the emphasis on interpretation over evaluation at heritage sites.

What has been learned about this specific site? The case study in chapter four presented the experience of a pilgrimage to Pointe-du-Moulin as a social drama. The thesis argued that the breach generated by rapid social change in Québec was addressed in dramatic terms through narrative strategies and spatial organization. The narrative strategy of monuments, and memorials is ultimately an inclusive strategy, since no particular skills are needed to date objects or buildings, typical of Turner's earth shrines located away from major centres. When historical meaning is rendered atemporal the site becomes a point in a constellation, "concentrating the meaning of the area into a monument or a viewpoint" (Curtis and Pajaczkowska 1994:206). The rhetorical strategies at the site construct and legitimate a historical narrative and then locate that narrative in symbolic space—the symbolic landscape of the windmill. The

conflation of a political system with a technological system of resource manage-
ment constructed through the experience at the park forms a blueprint for society
in the context of emerging Québecois nationalism.

What has been learned from the case study about heritage tourism as sec-
ular pilgrimage? Heritage tourism at Pointe-du-Moulin was shown to be
exemplary of the ambivalence between pilgrimage and tourism, in the ways
the interpretive strategies constrain meaning in terms of guilt, purification
and redemption, albeit in social, secular terms. By giving specific shape to the
elements of social drama (breach, crisis, redress, and reaggregation or separa-
tion), these moments have been clarified. A detailed account in a specific
example has the power to evoke comparison or confirmation, thus opening up
the hypothesis to further exploration.

Specifically, I have demonstrated that spatial organization at Pointe-du-
Moulin reflects the structure of social drama and should be considered in
those terms rather than as an argument.

Do the assumptions of pilgrimage *over invest* the experience? No, they
recuperate it. The case study of Pointe-du-Moulin was chosen in part for its
banality. This case study reveals the potential for a modest conversion, based
on consubstantiality, and recognizes the possibility of different levels of par-
ticipation, event contested readings.

However, the role of what Turner calls "star groupers" in the constrain-
ing of meaning is recognized in the interpretive strategies and spatial organi-
zation. Turner describes the star groupers as the social leaders who manipu-
late and control the machinery of redress, through persuasion and influence,
pressure and force, and control over rituals and sanctions. The star groupers
at Pointe-du-Moulin include government officials, policy makers, script-writ-

ers, architects, and even graphic designers. James Ettema's claim that all ritual secular society results in a sense of social solidarity based on subordination to the authorities who can be relied on to deal with the threat to or change in social hierarchy seems to play out at Pointe-du-Moulin (Ettema 1990:312).

Finally, this case study confirms the importance of short pilgrimages to areas just outside of major centres. The symbolic landscape of the mill embodies a relationship to nature, technology and to the Metropolis, naturalized through a process of locating it at certain geographic points. The authentic object is part of a system which is constructed through a network of other authentic objects. The rearticulation of regionalism, or supra-nationalism is embodied in a symbol which can be translated like a relic. A topography of historic moments is overlayed on the existing socio-political map. "Tourist hell occurs where meaning fails to congeal in specific sites and remains illegibly diffuse, or where the spaces between sites overwhelm the visitor with their insignificance." (Curtis and Pajaczkowska 1994:206). The spatial emphasis of this process is ultimately territorial. It recreates the centre, and articulates the edges of the territory as periphery.

II. Further research

Although this thesis has covered a lot of ground, my initial interest in heritage sites in Québec remains unsatiated. Establishing the circumference of this thesis momentarily excluded certain issues for the sake of clarity. However, heritage tourism is an extremely complex phenomena and certain aspects of the experience demand further investigation. Furthermore, the

process of investigation raised new issues which I consider extremely interesting. Some of these issues are introduced below.

It would be interesting to make some comparative studies with other heritage sites in Québec. James Bay in northern Québec comes to mind as being a symbol of central authority in resource exploitation (see photo appendix D). Numerous interpretation centres appear to exhibit a pattern consistent with Turner's identification of inclusive strategies at earth shrines and exclusive strategies at lineal, or ancestral, shrines. According to Burke, guilt is a natural product of tension in a hierarchical situation, manifested in two ways: (1) the creation of a scapegoat: or (2) the process of self victimization, or mortification. It would appear that the creation of a scapegoat is consistent with a representation of linear time such as Pointe-de-Buisson, and that the process of mortification occurs in atemporal space such as Pointe-du-Moulin. The issue of victimization at heritage sites is a subject requiring further investigation.

My thesis skirts the issue of thematic evaluation. The major themes associated with pilgrimage are; heroes and martyrs, hardship and miracles, nostalgia and identity, the ordinary and the extraordinary (Reader 1993:220-225). Parallel thematic issues emerge from the case study: the miller as hero, work as hardship, the transfer of technology as a miracle, nostalgia and national identity, the ordinary tourist and the extraordinary past. The congruence of these thematic areas is intriguing, but remains unexplored.

This thesis points to another way of exploring questions around materiality. The flip side of pilgrimage in the early medieval period, the translation of religious relics, was an alternative to the real dangers associated with travel. Translation of relics was based on a carefully maintained network of goodwill between the upper classes and the church hierarchy. An investigation into the

relationship between the translation of relics and virtual travel would be an exciting endeavor.

III. Conclusion

This thesis argues that heritage tourism is a dynamic social process through a series of extensions of the original concepts of pilgrimage and tourism rather than through a major rejection of previous sociological or anthropological conceptions. Inherent to both fields is the paradox of attaining a better understanding of the familiar through distance. They are both concerned with being out of place; with crossing geographic and social boundaries of high and low culture or of elite and popular religion (Reader1993:244). In order to broaden our understanding of heritage tourism it is important to consider it from many different perspectives, including the argument of this thesis that heritage tourism is a form of secular pilgrimage.

ENDNOTES

1. I would like to thank Jacob Bacan, a student in the Masters Program in Media Studies at Concordia University for this expression. According to Jacob's cousin the expression "laying facts on the land" refers to the moment when Israeli soldiers are taken to the sites of famous battles as part of their training.

2. See Jill Dubisch (1995) for a thoughtful analysis of meaning and reality in post-modern anthropology.

3. Structuralist approaches include Dean MacCannell's contributions (1989; 1995). For an interesting actor-oriented approach see Tony Walter (1993) "War Grave Pilgrimage" in Ian Reader and Tony Walter (eds) *Pilgrimage in Popular Culture*. London: Macmillan.

4. The claim by Victor Turner that existential communitas is "full, un-mediated communication" raises the question—can communication ever be unmediated? Certainly not at heritage interpretation centres!

5. At Pointe-du-Buisson, an interpretation centre across the river from Pointe-du-Moulin, all of the archaeological artifacts are actually reproductions—even the ones presented in glass cases. One of the tasks of the archaeologists working at the site is to generate reproductions. See Umberto Eco (1985) *Travels in Hyper Reality*, for a comprehensive discussion of "fakes".

6. Sainte-Catherine of Alexandria is the patron saint of Christian philosophers and pilgrims—she was strapped to a wheel and miraculously survived!

7. There are a number of moments in the route through the site, when the possibilities of resistance or contested readings are made clear. The refusal to 'break bread' with the miler's wife is one of them.

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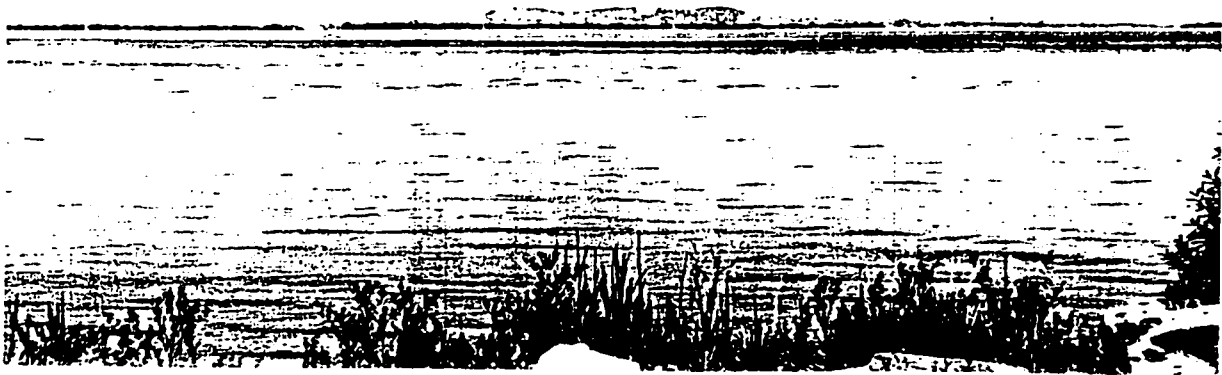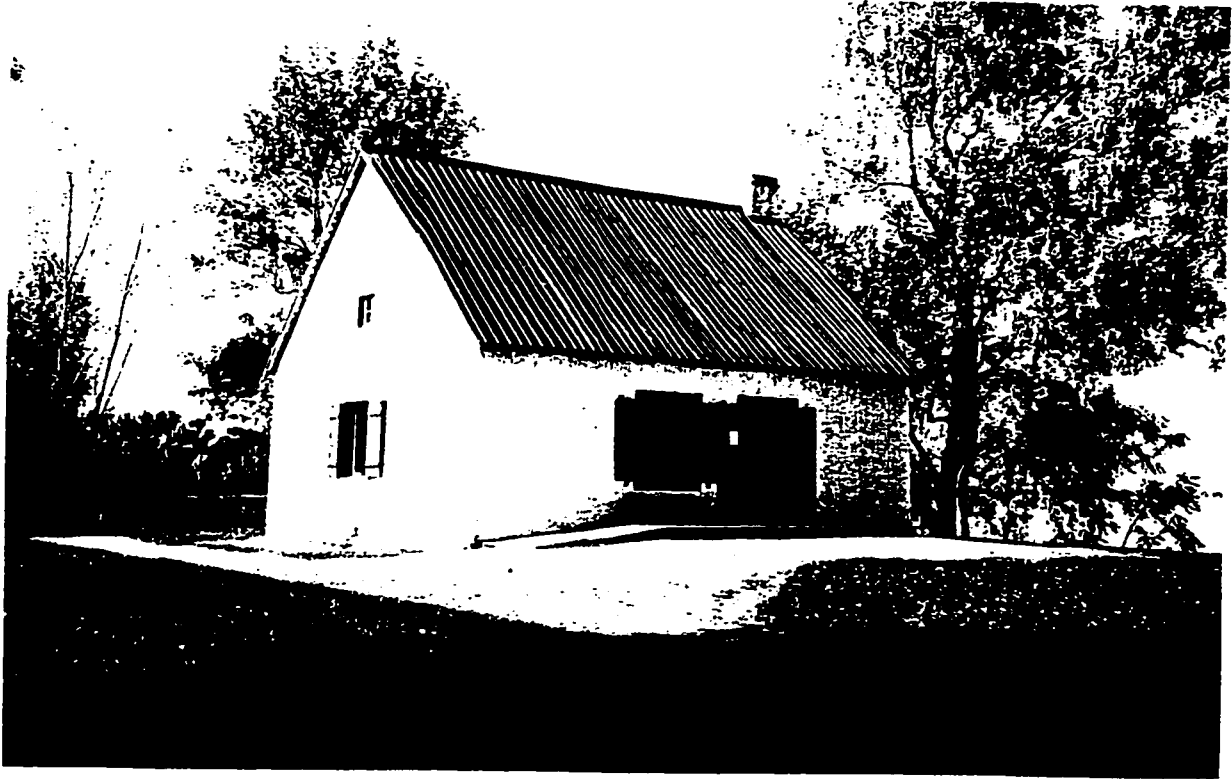
APPENDICES
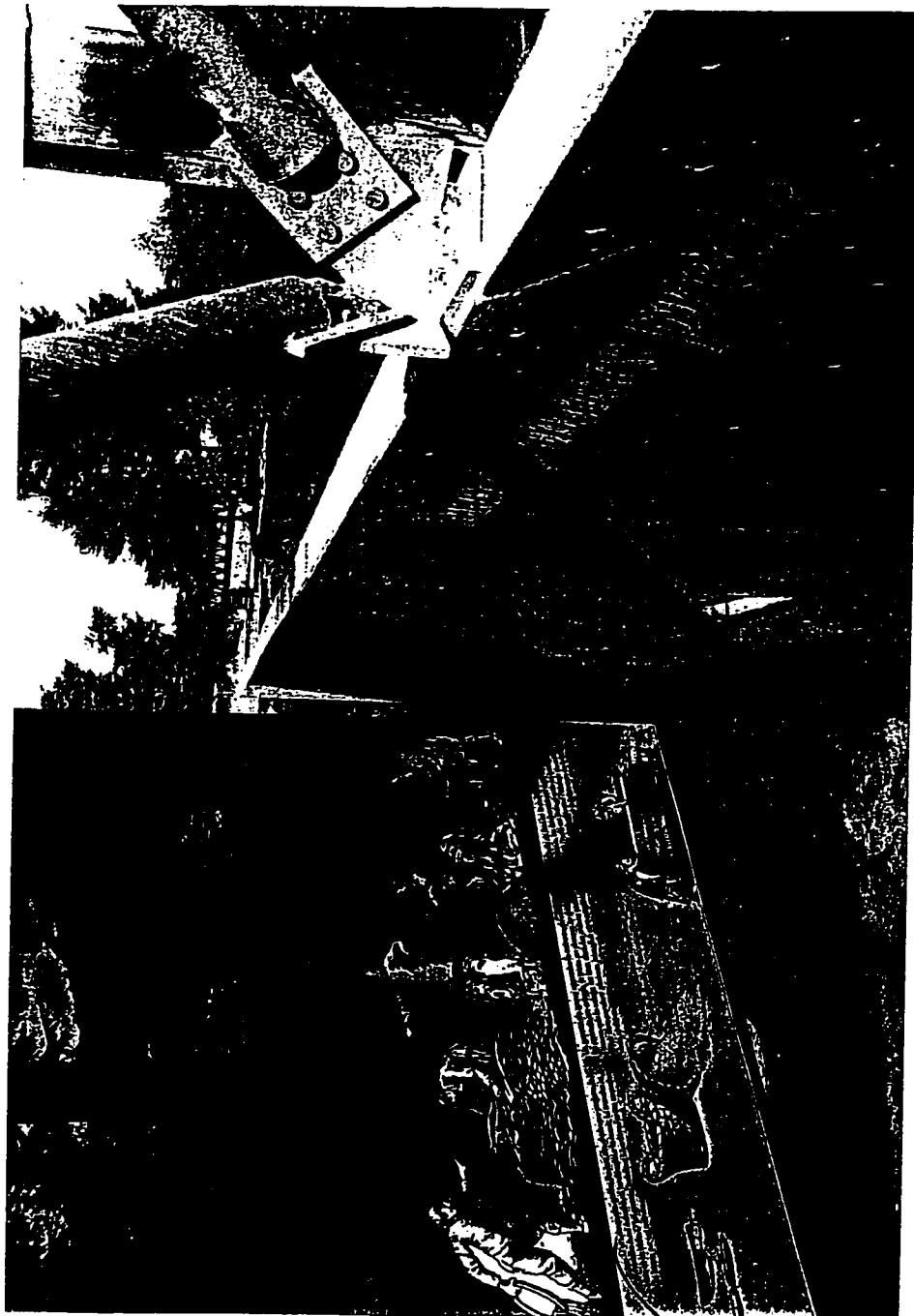
Appendix A: The giant semi-transparent panels at the interpretation centre at Pabos superimpose a historical narrative onto the landscape of the Gaspé.

Appendix B: (1)The Windmill at Pointe-du-Moulin, (2) The Pilgrim's Way, (3) The Miller's House, (4) The View of Montréal.

Appendix C: The display cases at Pointe-de-Buisson are filled with replicas of archaeological artifacts.

Appendix D: This lookout at James Bay is the essential interpretation centre of this kind—the built elements of the walkway and the view of the hydro-electric installation are the common denominators.

HALTE D'INTERPRÉTATION, CENTRALE LAFORGE 2
*LEMOYNE LAPOINTE MAGNE, ARCHITECTES ET URBANISTES*

1

La Société d'énergie de la Baie James (SEBJ) a comme politique d'aménager des haltes d'interprétation en des points stratégiques do ses installations pour permettre aux visiteurs d'apprécier et de comprendre les ouvrages et leurs contextes naturels que la société s'efforce d'ailleurs de respecter et de renaturaliser après les interventions. Contrairement à d'autres sites déjà modifiés qui ont été réaménagés en belvédères paysagers. cette intervention s'inscrit sur une colline intouchée qui surplombe les installations et domine toute la région. Le client cherchait à y mettre en valeur le panorama et à créer un repère significatif et attrayant lorsque perçu en contrebas. Au bout du sentier qui mène au sommet. la beauté du tapis de lichens et l'infini du paysage ont incité les concepteurs à concentrer leur effort créatif sur une structure-objet déposée dans le paysage. À la manière d'un pylône. cette charpente d'acier galvanisé. légère et transparente illustre le génie humain. Son plateau incliné s'élève au-dessus de toute la région et projette dramatiquement le visiteur dans l'espace. En-dessous. une passerelle de bois flotte au ras des lichens et mène à une cabine vitrée - abri exigé au programme pour protéger les visiteurs des vents et intempéries. Cette coque arrimée sous la plateforme. alors même que le sol se dérobe. offre une vue en plongée vers les installations de la Centrale Laforge 2.
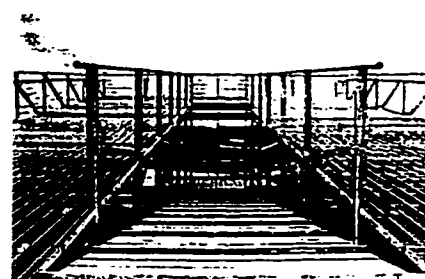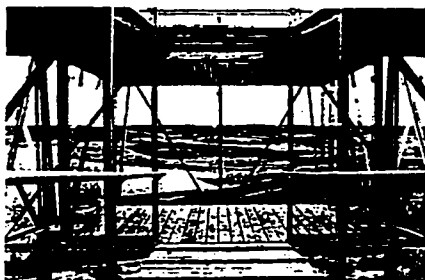
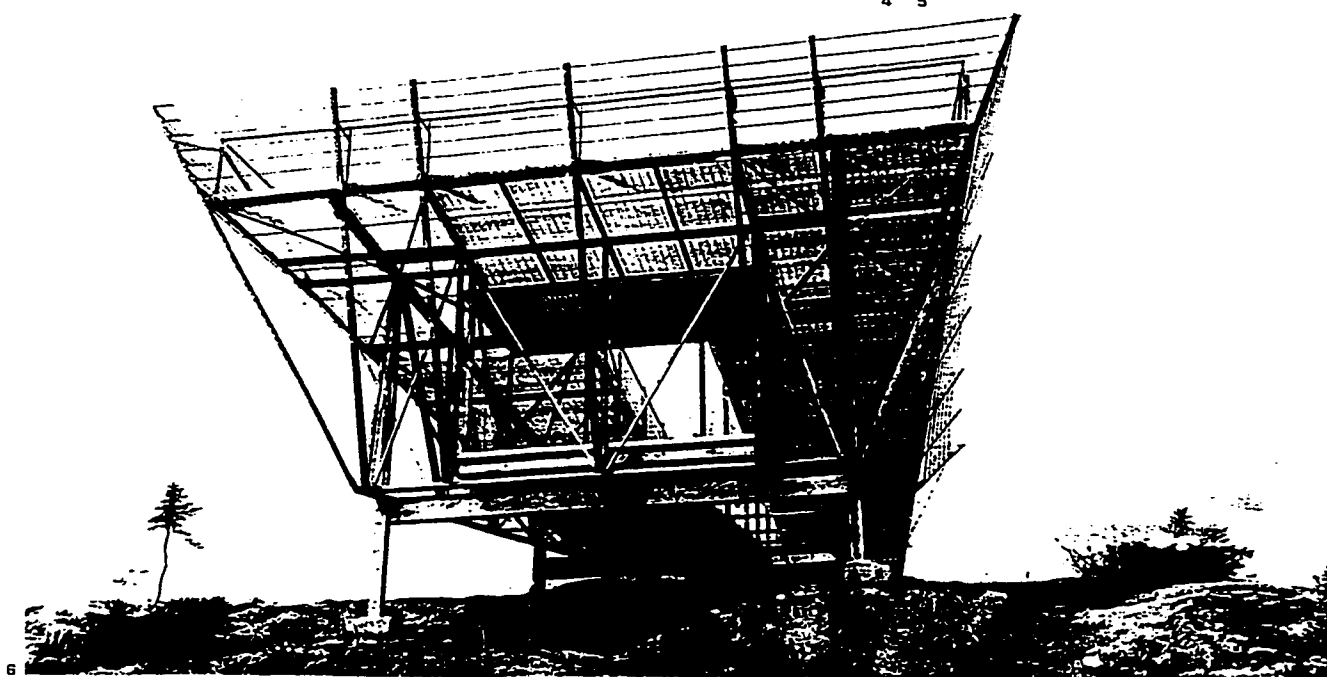1. *Vue de la halte dans le paysage*
2., 3., 4., 5. *Approche progressive vers la cabine d'observation*
6. *Vue de la halte en contrebas.*

2 3
4 5

6