Pilgrimage in mediaspace: continuities and transformations

Pilgrimage in Mediaspace
Continuities and Transformations

Nick Couldry, University of London

[TO BE published in *Etnofoor* 20(1) (2007)]

ABSTRACT The concept of pilgrimage has a contested history, but this article argues that the Turnerian notion of pilgrimage as a compulsory journey to a focus of shared values remains of fundamental relevance, and is directly applicable to the range of journeys people now make to locations associated with media. After introducing the concept of 'media pilgrimage', the article discusses various challenges; first, from the argument that relatively banal journeys to media locations cannot possibly be compared to the intensity of religious pilgrimage; second, from the complexities of making the concept of 'media pilgrimage' work in transcultural comparison; and thirdly, from the difficulties of understanding what would continue 'pilgrimage' in the online environment of digital media. The article concludes the concept of media pilgrimage remains a useful one, even if its future boundaries are right now particularly uncertain.

Introduction

The concept of pilgrimage has had a long and contested history within anthropology. Turner's development of that concept, even though derived from a widely contested Durkheimian rethinking of religious experience as sociality, nonetheless remains a fundamental reference-point, because it captures an underlying structural dynamic of contemporary societies. For Victor and Edith Turner pilgrimage is 'some form of deliberate travel to a far place intimately associated with the deepest, most cherished axiomatic values of the traveler' (Turner and Turner 1978:241).This definition from the outset encompasses secular and religious forms, as the Turners themselves note,[1] within the wider notion of a compulsory journey to a focus of shared values. This insight remains even after we take account of various critics who are sceptical (Bowman 1991; Eade and Sallnow 1991; Morinis 1992), for example, about the Turnerian claim that journeys to pilgrimage sites are simply affirmative, and who seek to complicate the relationship between the special phase of pilgrimage and the rest of everyday life. For these criticisms do not undermine the general usefulness of isolating the distinctively modern form of chosen journeys to distant places of shared significance (cf. Reader 1993:233-235).

In fact, the Turnerian insight fits well with the broader sociology of modernity. We can argue that 'pilgrimages' work as potential gathering-points where the highly abstract nature of contemporary social connection can be redeemed through an encounter with specific places where the 'disembedded' nature of late modern communities is 'reembedded' (Giddens 1990). *Media* pilgrimages are journeys to points with significance in media narratives, through which the abstractness of the *media* production

system is reembedded in an encounter, for example, with a site of filming or a celebrity (Couldry 2000, 2003). Leaving to one side the wider question of the ritual dimensions of media, of which media pilgrimages are just one part, the destinations of media pilgrimage represent the far points of a system of production, distribution and consumption which both separates us from, and draws us towards, particular centres of power. In this sense, media pilgrimages are striking evidence not of the post-modern dissolution of space and place, but rather of 'the compulsion of proximity' (Boden and Molotch 1994). All contemporary systems of power, because of their stretched-out nature, need the myth that *somewhere* a token of that power can be accessed, while contemporary societies' saturation with shared narratives of significance (particularly from media sources) generates specific many reference-points for pilgrimage. Pilgrimage, in other words, addresses a particular structural possibility within what we might call 'MediaSpace' (Couldry and McCarthy 2004:1). By this I mean the overlapping space of media flows and social processes that together shape our perceptions of, and orientation to, contemporary space. As a result, media pilgrimage requires sustained anthropological attention, even as it raises some difficult conceptual problems.

In this article I will address some of these problems: first, a challenge deriving from my own recent ethnographic experience of a media pilgrimage; second, an uncertainty as to media pilgrimage's status within a transnationally comparative account of media cultures; and third, a more fundamental uncertainty for the longer-term, over whether the concept of 'media pilgrimage' can survive the migration of most of our media experiences online. Before that, however, I would like briefly to explain how as a media sociologist – not an anthropologist – I came to draw on this classic anthropological concept.

The origins of the 'media pilgrimage' concept

The idea of 'media pilgrimage' seems simple enough and – as a basic familiarity with the languages of journalism and tourism will confirm – it is part of a wider popularization of the term 'pilgrimage' in contemporary secular culture. In 1990s Britain, when I did my early research, there were considerable efforts by the tourist industry to use the media associations of sites of filming as symbolic capital to attract visitors. It is clear that the recent dissemination of the ability to 'film' through the photo and video capacities of mobile phones and an easily accessible online distribution infrastructure (YouTube and so on) has changed in part the geography of the media environment. But there is no reason to suppose that pilgrimages to media locations have lost their meaning; on the contrary, wider participation in making and circulating images (on a small scale) may only have intensified the 'special' meaning of those places where particularly prominent images were recorded (a question for future research).

Equally simple, perhaps, is the sociological gloss on media pilgrimage that I gave earlier: seeing media pilgrimages as journeys to sites where the abstractness of the media production system is reembedded in an encounter with some aspect of that process, for example a site of filming or celebrity presence. But *putting things this way* already represented a major shift from standard approaches up to the 1990s when most media

studies looked at media texts, or the production or reception of those texts – and nothing else.[2]

In the late 1990s very little attention was given to the wider process whereby the status of media institutions is socially legitimated, nor to the implications of this process of legitimation in countless actions and interactions, oriented to media but not directly involving the production, circulation or reception of media texts. The study of this process of mediation, how and under what conditions societies become and remain 'mediated' (Martin-Barbero 1993; cf. Couldry 2000:6-7), is much broader than 'media studies' and requires us to integrate the interests of specialist media research with those of broader sociology, geography and, of course, anthropology. For me the specific link to anthropology was inspired not only by my long term interest in the work of Victor Turner but also by Daniel Dayan and Elihu Katz's great book *Media Events: the Live Broadcasting of History* (1992) which for the first time opened our eyes in media research to the *permissible connections* between the social processes around media coverage of major political events and the long tradition in anthropology of studying rituals of community and belonging. It was only a little later, when developing the specific concept of media rituals (Couldry 2003), that I became aware of Faye Ginsburg's important work from the early 1990s (Ginsburg 1994) in media anthropology itself.

I tell this story to explain not only that media research's drawing on anthropology is for me a vital conceptual move, but also that its original motivation was *not* specifically linked to an interest in pilgrimage, even though one half of my first fieldwork concerned media tourist sites that I came to see, in part, as sites of 'pilgrimage'. The salience of the notion of pilgrimage to the journeys of media consumers emerged from a wider rethinking of how media power is legitimated, which it may be worth briefly explaining.

In *The Place of Media Power* (Couldry 2000), I analysed this process of legitimation in terms of five interlinked processes: framing, ordering, naming, spacing and imagining. Let's leave 'imagining' to one side here. The first three processes intersect especially closely in confirming media institutions' privileged social role, since they make natural and seemingly necessary media's 'central' role as our access-point to social 'reality'; these processes work through countless strands of media discourse but also in everyday practice oriented to media. Separately, however, but also contributing in a subtle way to media institutions' legitimation, is the process I call 'spacing', by which I mean the regular, and totally unremarked on, spatial separation of sites of media production from sites of media consumption (Couldry 2000:52-55). It matters that most of us do *not* see media processes close up on an everyday basis. If we did, the symbolic status of representatives of media institutions would inevitably be different, since no stable boundaries could be maintained that marked them off as separate from, even 'higher than' us.

This 'spacing' of the media process derives from a simple but fundamental fact of contemporary societies, that the material resources necessary for mainstream media production are spatially very concentrated. It is this, and only this, that generates the gradient from places that lack symbolic resources to places that concentrate those resources, whether temporarily or permanently, and it is this gradient that underlies the possibility of media pilgrimage. Both the possibility and theoretical interest of media pilgrimage derive from the highly uneven *geography* of the media process, and that

geography's embedding in the wider process of media's social legitimation. They do not derive from any quasi-'religious' features of people's experiences, whether of community or transcendence, at particular media-related sites. Media pilgrimage, then, is a *structural* concept necessary for understanding the workings of media power, just as Turner's original concept of pilgrimage was based in an understanding of the structuring of religious and social power: both terms capture a particular type of journey that makes sense only within a particular ordering of space.

An immediate challenge from 'experience'

Before addressing some new challenges to the notion of 'media pilgrimages' I want to acknowledge a more personal challenge that I face in applying this concept. The challenge comes from my own experience as a 'media pilgrim' to 'The Original Locations for *the Sopranos*' in New York City run by On Location Tours, Inc.; since I have myself recently analysed this trip (Couldry forthcoming), it can legitimately be used as 'evidence against me'. Even supposing, an *ad hominem* critic might say, that my visit to that location (an entirely banal tourist break during an academic conference) can formally be fitted into the Turnerian category of a 'chosen journey to a place of shared significance' (shared, at least, by me and other fans of that particular programme), and even supposing that my visit raises some paradoxes regarding my own relationship as fan to that programme (as my analysis elsewhere discusses), can I *seriously* compare that experience of mine to the intensely emotional, long-prepared, historically well-documented experience of pilgrims to Mecca or Lourdes?

The answer of course is no, if our criterion of 'pilgrimage' is the intensity of the emotions undergone within, and/or the subsequent narrative resonance of, a journey. I *did* show some excitement on the *Sopranos* tour – as my partner who accompanied me will testify – particularly when (to the programme's opening music) our coach emerged at the place where a well-known moment in its opening credits was filmed (in fact, we were told, that 'place' is an illusion based on camera editing). And I *do* sometimes recall moments from our visit. But I cannot and would not pretend that my few hours as a tourist in New Jersey, although anticipated for a year or more, constituted a complex, life-transforming experience to rival many religious pilgrimages!

But at this point I would respond that my *ad hominem* critic has misunderstood the work that the concept of pilgrimage, for example when applied to journeys with media reference-points, can do. For the point of that concept is to identify *formal* similarities between practices of hugely *varying* intensity. This is not to say that the immediate emotions and long-term narrative resonances of some pilgrimages are trivial or of no theoretical interest – indeed I will return shortly to the question of narrative resonance from another angle – but it is to say that we lose an important insight if we make emotional intensity our criterion of pilgrimage (Coleman and Eade 2004). For 'pilgrimage', as I have suggested, is less a descriptive term than a structural concept, a mid-range theoretical term for identifying common patterns and formal dynamics within the bewildering variety of contemporary societies. And as a theoretical term it is particularly useful in enabling us to see the patterns and forms which (in media-saturated

societies) practices based on media sources *share with* practices that have longer historical roots and broader institutional sources.

Potentially this is an example of how 'classical' anthropological theory can illuminate 'banal' phenomena in contemporary societies. This is no need here to carry with us the functionalist baggage of some older versions of anthropological theory (Couldry 2005). But when older theory provides useful tools, for making sense of the prevalent journalistic and everyday language of 'pilgrimage' (Reader and Walter 1993), for seeing the common forms that underlie such entirely modern phenomena as tourism to media locations and vigils outside celebrity sites (whether by fans themselves or vicariously through paparazzi), then we should be grateful.

Broader challenges to the concept of media pilgrimage

Does the concept work comparatively?

The first major challenge currently for the concept of media pilgrimage concerns its status as a comparative concept, a tool for making useful comparisons between cultures. Should we understand 'media pilgrimages' as a universal feature of all mediated cultures today? This might seem to follow from media pilgrimage's connection, already noted, to media's role in circulating common narratives, for example, narratives of place, belonging and identity, throughout large territories. If media spread common narratives that connect us with distant places, then the urge to visit those places should, we might think, be universal. In fact, I suggest, the position is more complex, which is not to say that comparative work cannot be done with this concept, only that it needs to be done with care.

While it remains important – and will do so for the foreseeable future – to make comparisons between cultural factors associated with different national territories, that does not mean that cultural analysis should start out from the notion of 'culture' as something 'contained within' national borders, quite the contrary. This is not only because contemporary cultural flows very often cross national borders, but also because of the mediation of contemporary culture. For mediation (the circulation of cultural goods by media institutions) is a process which *automatically* has the capacity to flow beyond narrow localities; that is what is distinctive about electronic media (Meyrowitz 1985). It follows that we cannot make sense of the notion of 'media cultures', or indeed of 'cultures' generally under conditions of intense media saturation, *except* from the starting-point that they are 'translocal', not 'territorial' (Hepp and Couldry 2006, quoting Nederveen-Pieterse 1995). On this view, 'cultures' are assumed not to be derived from place but from the outset to be based on flows which are not necessarily focused on a particular territory at all: 'cultures are a kind of "thickening" of processes' of translocal articulation of meanings' (Hepp and Couldry, 2006, quoting Löfgren (2001)).

A difficult question then arises about how we understand the links (if there are any, and there may not be) between the translocal media cultures within which media pilgrimages make sense - on my trip to *Sopranos* locations in New Jersey there were people from the USA (including Alaska), Canada, Norway as well as us from the UK - and the other cultures, or dimensions of culture, with which they intersect. Some of the

latter cultures, for example religious cultures, may be much more closely tied to the history of particular places than the media cultures which cross them. Would we expect there to be in India, for example, with its long-term history of religious pilgrimage, many active forms of media pilgrimage? Perhaps not, even though the potential for media pilgrimage, I have argued, is inherent in almost any broadcasting and cinema system. The degree to which media pilgrimage is culturally salient in particular places would depend on the degree to which its forms have wider narrative resonance, that is, intersect with other contexts and practices that are locally embedded. This would mark a potentially significant difference between, on the one hand, Britain or the USA and, on the other, India: I have studied media pilgrimages in the former, but not the latter, and so make no assumptions about whether media pilgrimage are important in India. There is no difficulty however if we think of 'media cultures' as *locally variable* 'thickenings' (to use Lofgren's term again) of translocal processes of meaning-flows. In some places, the form of 'media pilgrimage' will be salient because a range of meanings have 'thickened' around that form, drawing on various other local cultural frameworks. In others, this thickening process will not occur, perhaps because of the counter-force of alternative religious notions of pilgrimage, with histories that long predate the possibility of media pilgrimage. Underlying the forces which 'thicken' around translocal cultural forms such as 'media pilgrimages' will be not just cultural history, but the variable institutional nexus surrounding media institutions in different countries: the relations between media institutions, markets, states, civil society (Hallin and Mancini 2004) and religious institutions, already noted.

From these quite abstract considerations, three interesting possibilities emerge when we want to use 'media pilgrimage' as a comparative concept on a global scale: the contrast that follows is inevitably somewhat schematic. *First*, there will be places where the forms of translocal media cultures (such as media pilgrimage) are reinforced by other cultural frames so that a 'thick' culture of media pilgrimage develops that is locally distinctive. This will often have a national focus, because broadcasting territories remain for many purposes still national (certainly the USA), but in principle it could also be local or regional: compare Kraidy (2007) on the Middle East as a regional broadcasting culture. *Second*, there will be places where a 'thick' culture of media pilgrimage has not developed, so that 'media pilgrimage' remains an available cultural form but one without much local meaning or resonance: empirical work needs to be done to establish which places fall into this category, but I have speculated above that India might be one such location. *Third*, in places without 'thick' cultures of media pilgrimage, there may be individuals or groups who are 'aberrant' media pilgrims, with a strong desire to perform media pilgrimages but whose journeys are not given wider social recognition (for examples from the UK, see Couldry 2003:97-99). The UK is perhaps a paradoxical media culture from this point of view. At least until recently, it shared a fully recognizable national broadcasting culture but, for reasons we do not fully understand, *some* forms of individualized media pilgrimage lacked social legitimacy. In such paradoxical cases, it is quite possible for an individual to come to see themselves, in effect, as a 'media pilgrim' . One example was Debbie, a 26 year old printing assistant from South England who I interviewed in my early research. She told me that 'every holiday' for her would be 'based around . . . places that are shown on TV' (Couldry 2000:33). But such avowals

may beregarded as unusual by others because media pilgrimage is not generally regarded as a socially legitimate form.

These are some of the variations which we might expect when applying the notion of 'media pilgrimage' in different locations, but they do not undermine the potential relevance of this concept in comparative cultural analysis. I now want to turn to a more difficult conceptual problem, where a solution is less secure.

Media pilgrimages in the age of digital media

Can the concept of media pilgrimage survive the long-term shift of ever more experience – and an ever higher proportion of our mediated experience – online? Intertwined here are two rather different questions, which must be separated. First, can there be online pilgrimages and, if so, how and under what conditions? Second, a much larger question, will the digitization of media undermine in the longer-term the conditions which enable media rituals, including media pilgrimages, in the first place? In particular, will media digitalization undermine the centralization of symbolic resources and symbolic power in media institutions on which the 'authority' of all media rituals depend?

Let me begin with the second question, which in a sense is easier to address, at least speculatively, because no one is in a position at this stage of the Internet's development to know the answer. No one can yet predict with any confidence the degree to which, if regular and fluent use of online resources comes to be habitual for a majority of the population in 'developed' countries, Internet use will become organized around key sites, portals and other 'centres', generating not exactly a replacement notion of '*the* media' but at least an imaginatively powerful sense that it represents '*the* space where mediated activity is focussed'. Or will any such notion of a 'centre' become impossible as (or at least if) most people become regular media producers and consumers? If the former, then we can expect media rituals to have a long future, even if their detailed forms might change. For even a predominantly online and digital media environment would in that case still be understood in terms of certain legitimate 'centres' of information and image production, on the basis of which people, things and experiences associated with those 'centres' will be treated as being in a hierarchical relationship over what is not so associated (the basis of media rituals). But if the latter, then the very foundations of media rituals will no longer be available. My hopes, in fact, lie with the second possibility; indeed I have always intended the concept of 'media rituals' as one which might be transcended, even forgotten, rather than one whose relevance must go on being defended, even after we have ceased to need it. But the outcome must remain uncertain: we are not yet at the fork in the road in the Internet's social development. For now, we can only note that increasing digitalization is quite compatible with continuing offline practices of media pilgrimage: the online streaming of *Big Brother*, for example, is quite compatible with people being willing to spend significant amounts of time travelling to be present when the winner leaves the *Big Brother* house.

The more answerable of the two questions I posed, prima facie, is the first: is pilgrimage in online space possible? There are a number of different issues to be distinguished here. Certainly it is not surprising that there are plenty of websites that claim in some sense to be online 'pilgrimage' sites (cf. Couldry 2003:91-93). But it is unclear whether these sites represent anything more than online traces of what remain,

essentially, offline pilgrimages: for example, visits made with a digital camera to a particular physical location which are then documented, re-staged in a sense, on a website. Certainly the possibilities of publicly documenting offline pilgrimages have hugely expanded with media digitalization.

But the notion of online pilgrimage ought, surely, to involve more than this: if we return to the Turnerian notion of pilgrimage as special individual *journeys to distant places* associated with *common* values, then the more interesting question is, whether such socially sanctioned special journeys are possible in online space? From one perspective, online space – the total domain of all currently existing websites – is so vast, indeed effectively infinite, that any number of 'special journeys' to its obscure corners would seem possible, suggesting a vast pluralisation of pilgrimage opportunities in the 'online world'. An advantage, prima facie, would seem to be that online space is not a vast chaos, but a domain where all journeys are potentially traceable: there are determinable routes by which we can reach even very obscure sites. We can imagine in principle 'online journeys' taking on at least some features of offline pilgrimage: the uncertainty of arrival, anticipation, relief at arrival, a sense of discovery and affirmation on arrival. A major and obvious problem, however, derives from the Internet's hypertextuality. While, in advance, we do not know what mysteries are 'out there' in the online universe, arrival removes the possibility of any mystery for future travellers: a link can be created, reducing all future journeys to a click, or at best a series of brief instructions. The collapsibility of Web 'distances' would seem to undermine at a stroke online pilgrimage's possibility as a social form, since 'scale' online is only virtual, always being reducible to the singularity of an url address or hypertext link.

We do have of course online travellers – called 'hackers' – but their journeys must remain precisely private and individual, not social: they are not pilgrims in any sense. The same would apply to other more legitimate forms of difficult online journey, the successful tracking down of a well-hidden non-official celebrity blog, for example. Once discovered, it is difficult to see how the excitement of discovery could, unlike with an offline journey, be preserved for subsequent travellers. The very possibility of pilgrimage as a socially endorsed but individually discrete journey across a large terrain would seem to be undermined from the start by the ready collapsibility of online scale.

There is however another possible form of online pilgrimage, one whose preconditions at least are becoming increasingly actual: I mean saturated online contexts such as 'Second.Life'. In such cases we might argue the complex and non-negotiable rules of Second.Life create a 'friction', analogous to the friction of movement across distance in physical space that overrides the hypertexuality linking every site in principle to every other site. This might, over time, sustain a notion of scale within such virtual game domains that is sufficiently recognized by 'inhabitants' of that domain to give meaning to the notion of a transformative individual journey within that domain that is an 'adventure' in Simmel's sense: a movement 'which is yet somehow connected with the center' (Simmel 1971:188). Second.Life 'pilgrimages' might, for all we know, represent the future of pilgrimage. But there is a huge phenomenological gulf to cross first: the construction online of a sustained sense of scale and distance – that is, spatial friction – which could in some way match that of offline space.

That is not to say, of course, that such semi-closed online domains might not already be the site of intense experience and some sense of transformation. In novel form

William Gibson's great imaginative enactments of online geographies (*Neuromancer* (1993), *Pattern Recognition* (2003)) offer powerful anticipations, perhaps, of such domains of potential pilgrimage their vivid sense of distance and remoteness in informational space. But what so far blocks these speculations about the online future of pilgrimage are the features of online space itself. Regardless of the emotions associated with an online experience, it will not count as a pilgrimage until it is, first, recognizable as a journey across space that I can do, and in doing so follow the path of others who have done it before me. Which returns us to the point within which we began.

Conclusion

As the speculative case of pilgrimages in Second.Life has brought out, the usefulness of the concept of pilgrimage depends not so much on the emotions and resonances of the transformative experience associated with at least some pilgrimages, but something quite different: the organization of space, resources and knowledge which makes particular journeys across space a meaningful, indeed 'special', social form. The structural requirements of the concept of pilgrimages, as understood originally by Turner and as developed since, remain the same whether we are discussing offline or online spaces. It is these criteria which make the concept of pilgrimage a useful one. And, whatever the present (largely insoluble) uncertainties about what we might come to mean by 'pilgrimage' in an increasingly online social world, it are these spatial constraints that in the long-term are likely to ensure pilgrimage's extended life within anthropological theory and research. For now, however, we must cautiously wait and see.

Acknowledgement

I want to thank Andreas Hepp for the inspiration of numerous exchanges on the issues about comparative cultural analysis discussed in this paper.

References

Boden, D. and G. Molotch
1994 The Compulsion of Proximity. In: D. Boden and G. Molotch (Eds.) *Nowhere: Space, Time and Modernity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bowman, G.
1991 Christian Ideology and the Image of a Holy Land. In: J. Eade and M. Sallnow (Eds.) *Contesting the Sacred*. London: Routledge. Pp. 99-118.

Coleman, S. and J. Eade (Eds.)
2004. *Reframing pilgrimage. Cultures in motion*. London: Routledge

Couldry, N.
2000 *The Place of Media Power: Pilgrims and Witnesses of the Media Age* . London: Routledge.
2003 *Media Rituals: A Critical Approach* . London: Routledge.
2005 Media Rituals: Beyond Functionalism. In: E. Rothenbuhler and M. Coman (Eds.) *Media Anthropology*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. Pp. 59-69.
Forthcoming On the Set of *the Sopranos*: 'Inside' a Fan's Construction of Nearness. In: J. Gray, C. Sandvoss and C. Harrington (Eds.), *Fandom: Identities and Communities in a Mediated World* . New York: New York University Press.

Couldry, N. and A. McCarthy
2004 Introduction: Orientations: Mapping MediaSpace. In: N. Couldry and A. McCarthy (Eds.) *MediaSpace: Place, Scale and Culture in a Media Age* . London: Routledge. Pp. 1-18.

Dayan, D. and E. Katz
1992 *Media Events: The Live Broadcasting of History* . Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Eade, J. and M. Sallnow (Eds.)
1991 *Contesting the Sacred* . London: Routledge.

Gibson, W.
1993 Neuromancer. London: Harper Collins.
2003 *Pattern Recognition*. New York: Penguin.

Giddens, A.
1990 *The Consequences of Modernity* . Cambridge: Polity.

Ginsburg, F.
1994 Culture/media: A Mild Polemic. *Anthropology Today* 10(2): 5-15.

Hallin, D. and Mancini, P.
2004 *Comparing Media Systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hepp, A. and N. Couldry
2006 What Should Comparative Media Research be Comparing? Towards a Transcultural Approach to 'Media Cultures'. Paper presented to conference on Internationalizing Media Studies, University of Westminster, September 15-16.

Kraidy, M.
2007 Saudi Arabia, Lebanon and the Changing Arab Information Order.

International Journal of Communication 1: 139-156.
Löfgren, O.
2001 The Nation as Home or Motel? Metaphors of Media and Belonging. *Sosiologisk Arbok:*1-34.
Martin-Barbero, J.
1993 *Communication, Culture and Hegemony*. London: Sage.
Meyrowitz, J.
1985 *No Sense of Place*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Morinis, A.
1992 Introduction. In: A. Morinis (Ed.) *Sacred Journeys*. New York: Greenwood Press. Pp. 1-28.
Nederveen-Pieterse, J.
1995 Globalization as Hybridization. In: M. Featherstone, S. Lash and R. Robertson (Eds.) *Global Modernities*. London: Sage. Pp. 45-68.
Reader, I.
1993 Conclusions. In: I. Reader and T. Walter (Eds.) *Pilgrimage in Popular Culture*. Basingstoke: Macmillan. Pp. 220-246.
Reader, I. and T. Walter (Eds.)
1993 *Pilgrimage in Popular Culture*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
Simmel, G.
1971 The Adventurer. In: D. N. Levine (Ed.), *On Individuality and Social forms*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Pp. 187-198.
Turner, V. and E. Turner
1978 *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Notes

[1] The quote just given refers to the 'deliberate travel' of pilgrimages as 'a sort of "cultural universal"'. It continues: ' . . . [i]f it is not religiously sanctioned, counselled or encouraged, it will take other forms'. (Turner and Turner 1978:241).
[2] On this point, see also Couldry (2000:34).