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Pilgrimage, consumption and rituals: Spiritual authenticity in a Shia Muslim pilgrimage

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Synopsis

The study aims to understand how authenticity is evoked in a religious The research contributes ethnographic insights from a lesser known, yet significant, Muslim pilgrimage called Ziyara-t-Arba'een. Findings reveal the ways rituals and consumption. First, personal investment in the faith was found to lead being physically present at the sacred sites enhanced the pilgrims' access and emotional connection to the events and the important persons involved. Third, pilgrims underwent intense emotional and somatic experiences during the ziyara. Finally, consumption of material objects enabled the materialisation of the experience and acted as a vector of various rituals. Authenticity is thus realised through reflexive engagement with faith and via the participation in rituals and the consumption of material objects. Pilgrimages are thus ideological and objective authenticity.

Introduction and Background

Between 300 and 330 million tourists visit the world's main religious sites every year, with approximately 600 million national and international religious journeys taking place annually in the world (UNWTO, 2014). Pilgrimages are sites where the sacred and the profane overlap and where exploration of the relationship between religion, spirituality and consumption can be undertaken. The study aims to expand understanding of this relationship by focusing on the Islamic context. Generalisations in some older pilgrimage research do not necessarily apply to non-Western contexts, where the political and religious domains are intricately connected (Cohen, 1992b). Hence, the focus of this research is on a particularly understudied type of pilgrimage in tourism studies: the ziyara (i.e. 'visitation'), a form of Islamic

Issues and Questions Considered

A critical dimension of pilgrimages is arguably the authenticity of pilgrims' experience, expected to provoke religious 'rapture' or 'exaltation' (Cohen, 1992a). In fact, the religiosity experienced by pilgrims has served as a basis for understanding tourists' search for meaning more generally (MacCannell, 1999 [1976]), igniting an enduring debate on and fascination with authenticity. Tourism discourse has generally been preoccupied with defining the nature of authenticity and its utility. However, the links of the concept to other phenomena, such as ritual, tradition

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and aura, has been less explored. More recently, attention is drawn to the process through which an object, site or experience becomes authenticated (Cohen & Cohen, 2012). 'Cool' authentication is similar to the practice of certification by which something is declared to be "original, genuine or real, rather than a copy, fake or spurious" (Cohen & Cohen, 2012, p. 1298). 'Hot' authentication, defined as "an immanent, reiterative, informal performative process of creating, preserving and reinforcing an object's, site's or event's authenticity" is emotionally loaded and typically based on belief rather than proof (Cohen & Cohen, 2012, p. 1300).

Addressing the need for a better understanding of the relationship between authenticity, ritual and consumption, the research explores the pilgrims' experience of Ziyara-t-Arba'een. The context of this study is a religious journey to Iraq undertaken by a group of Belgian Muslim women in January 2012. The contribution of this paper is threefold: 1) it explores the different dimensions of authenticity in a pilgrimage experience; 2) it examines the role of material culture and ritual consumption in achieving forms of authenticity; and 3) it broadens the understanding of the pilgrimage as a context-bound and culturally specific phenomenon.

Methodology

Using an ethnographic approach, data were collected by the principal researcher via participation in a 3-week pilgrimage to holy sites in Syria and Iraq in January 2012. Full immersion was necessary to build rapport and relationships as well as to ensure a sustained stream of observations and conversations with group participants. The group consisted of 12 females, aged between 32 and 64. In addition to more informal conversations, in-depth interviews with the participants were conducted at the start of the travel, during the march and during the Arba'een commemorations. This enabled entry into the pilgrims' religious experience, their reflexive journey and selfintrospection (thoughts, feelings and affect were probed). Data sources also include 298 photographs of the pilgrims performing religious rituals, shopping or posing next to historic-religious monuments. Analysis was driven primarily by the emic responses, participants. Prior conceptualisations of

authenticity also informed an etic side to the analysis, which involved the coding of interview texts that was guided by a protocol based in part on the literature.

Outcomes and Findings

This research shows that instead of being clearly delineated or mutually exclusive, different forms of authenticity - existential and objective (Wang, 1999) - can be identified in this pilgrimage experience. In addition, the ideological dimension of authenticity (Belhassen et al., 2008) articulated by historical and religious narratives contributed to a meaningful and 'religiously' authentic experience for the pilgrims. The findings also reveal that authenticity can be realised through both hot and cool authentication processes incorporated in the pilgrims' spiritual praxis. Spiritual praxis in this study involved personal investment on the journey of conversion to Shi'a Islam and engaging in a physically and emotionally taxing pilgrimage. Such authentication of their faith also took place when asserting and sharing their identity during the pilgrimage as well as sharing it at home. Pilgrims drew as much on religious drama and their (inter) personal experiences as on the sacred and the profane aspects of the experience, including ritualistic consumption practices (e.g. baraka blessing rituals). The outcome of these authentication processes is what we have called spiritual authenticity, which is a hybrid form of existential, ideological and objective authenticity.

Of particular interest in this study is the spiritual authentic self, which is validated - and is validating - beliefs and practices performed at the ziyara and back at home. In other words, participating in the pilgrimage 'activated' an enduring transformation of the self into an authentic spiritual self. The ziyara can of course be viewed as a liminal experience, allowing pilgrims to freely express and 'perform' a Shi'a identity. Importantly however, this have selected to work on at home. It is therefore more fruitful to conceptualise the pilgrimage as part of a 'work in progress' identity project rather than simply an 'inthe-moment' state of being. This identity project is given material to build on thanks achieved during the pilgrimage, which lingers long after the experience.

The Underlying study
was published in Tourism
Management, and a copy may
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Forthcoming Research Bulletin

Title: Subnational location capital: The role of subnational institutional actors and socio-spatial factors on firm location

Authors: Sinéad Monaghan, Patrick Gunnigle & Jonathan Lavelle

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