

See discussions, stats, and author profiles for this publication at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/263603324>

Pilgrimage today: The meaning-making potential of ritual

Article in *Mental Health Religion & Culture* · November 2013

DOI: 10.1080/13674676.2013.766449

CITATIONS

18

READS

112

2 authors, including:



Tatjana Schnell

University of Innsbruck

78 PUBLICATIONS **738** CITATIONS

SEE PROFILE

Some of the authors of this publication are also working on these related projects:



The Sources of Meaning and Meaning in Life Questionnaire (SoMe) [View project](#)



BRIA (Bridging Intervention in Anesthesiology) - moderator and subgroup analyses [View project](#)



Mental Health, Religion & Culture

Publication details, including instructions for authors and
subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/cmhr20>

Pilgrimage today: the meaning-making potential of ritual

Tatjana Schnell^a & Sarah Pali^b

^a Institute of Psychology, Innsbruck University, Innsbruck, Austria

^b Fachklinik Allgaeu, Psychosomatic Medicine, Pfronten, Germany

To cite this article: Tatjana Schnell & Sarah Pali (2013) Pilgrimage today: the meaning-making potential of ritual, *Mental Health, Religion & Culture*, 16:9, 887-902, DOI: [10.1080/13674676.2013.766449](https://doi.org/10.1080/13674676.2013.766449)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13674676.2013.766449>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Taylor & Francis makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of all the information (the "Content") contained in the publications on our platform. However, Taylor & Francis, our agents, and our licensors make no representations or warranties whatsoever as to the accuracy, completeness, or suitability for any purpose of the Content. Any opinions and views expressed in this publication are the opinions and views of the authors, and are not the views of or endorsed by Taylor & Francis. The accuracy of the Content should not be relied upon and should be independently verified with primary sources of information. Taylor and Francis shall not be liable for any losses, actions, claims, proceedings, demands, costs, expenses, damages, and other liabilities whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with, in relation to or arising out of the use of the Content.

This article may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, reselling, loan, sub-licensing, systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden. Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at <http://www.tandfonline.com/page/terms-and-conditions>

Pilgrimage today: the meaning-making potential of ritual

Tatjana Schnell^{a*} and Sarah Pali^b

^a*Institute of Psychology, Innsbruck University, Innsbruck, Austria;* ^b*Fachklinik Allgaeu, Psychosomatic Medicine, Pfronten, Germany*

(Received 20 January 2012; final version received 31 December 2012)

Pilgrimage on the Road to Santiago is flourishing, even in late modern times characterised by detraditionalisation, individualism and pluralism. A large number of these pilgrims is either not explicitly religious at all, or only moderately religious. Why, then, do they submit to this ancient Christian ritual, and what are the psychological consequences? After a short introduction to the study of implicit religiosity and different perspectives on rituals from the past to today, current research on pilgrimage is reviewed and pilgrimage to Santiago is analysed as a *personal ritual* from a perspective of implicit religiosity. In the psychological theory of implicit religiosity, rituals are identified as one of three universal religious structures (along with myths and experiences of transcending) with strong meaning-making potential. Personal rituals are defined as formalised patterns of action, pointing beyond the actual event to a particular meaning imbued by the actor. Data from 85 pilgrims on the Road to Santiago are presented. Motives for peregrination, base-line sources of meaning, experienced meaningfulness and crises of meaning are reported, as well as changes in sources of meaning, meaningfulness and crises of meaning immediately after the pilgrimage and four months later. The majority of pilgrims (about two third) is motivated by a “need for clarification.” Multidimensional scaling shows that pilgrims either travel for explicitly religious reasons (*conviction*) or in search of clarification (*quest*); they either draw motivation from *vertical transcendence* (religiosity or spirituality) or from apparently purely *secular* reasons, such as athletic challenge. Religious and spiritual motives are mostly reported by highly religious individuals. A need for clarification is primarily stated by individuals who suffer from a crisis of meaning. Crises of meaning are significantly more frequent among pilgrims before the journey than in the general population. For the entire sample of pilgrims, the meaning-making potential of pilgrimage is supported by the data. Directly after the journey, as well as four months later, pilgrims experience life as significantly more meaningful, and crises of meaning are overcome. Pilgrims also report a strengthened commitment to vertical selftranscendence, horizontal selftranscendence and selfactualisation. These changes occur independently of the motivation for pilgrimage.

Keywords: implicit religion, religiosity; ritual; pilgrimage; meaning in life; sources of meaning; crisis of meaning; SoMe

Introduction

The cartography of world-views in Western countries, especially in North-Western Europe, is complex and constantly changing. Contemporary societies witness a putative “spiritual turn” (Barker, 2004; Heelas, Woodhead, Seel, Szerszynski, & Tusting, 2005), and at the same time

*Corresponding author. Email: tatjana.schnell@uibk.ac.at

are confronted with “existential indifference” (Schnell, 2010) and atheist “coming-outs” (e.g., outcampaign.org), even among clergy (Dennett & LaScola, 2010). The churches’ loss of influence on society and individuals seems to indicate secularisation. Self-ascribed religiosity, however, is relatively high. Over and above the self-description of religiosity, people who are not explicitly religious often think, act and feel religiously in implicit ways, by employing modes of expression typical for explicit religion (Schnell, 2009a). One prominent example is pilgrimage on the Road to Santiago. An increasing number of individuals who undertake this ancient Christian ritual is either not religious or only moderately religious, and participates in the pilgrimage for non-religious motives. What are they searching for? Why do they submit to the struggle of walking hundreds of miles to arrive at a religious pilgrimage site, and what do they gain from it? The present paper discusses data from 85 pilgrims on the Road to Santiago, focusing on their motives to participate in the pilgrimage and their sources of meaning, experienced meaningfulness and crises of meaning before and after the pilgrimage, from a psychological perspective of implicit religiosity.

Implicit religiosity

What Voas and Day (2007) call the “muddled middle” between the religious and the secular has been described and analysed by scholars of Implicit Religion for several decades (cf. Bailey, 1997/2006, 2001). Within the paradigm of Implicit Religion, a broad understanding of religion/religiosity is supported. By taking seriously what ultimately matters to people, the search for the religious has been extended to contexts beyond religious institutions or traditions, even including the so-called secular realm of existence (Bailey, 1997/2006). *Implicit religiosity* covers the beliefs, acts and experiences associated with personalised avenues to the sacred, characterised by a commitment to ultimately meaningful concerns with sacred character, attributed by an individual (Schnell, 2009a, 2011b). Contributing to the complex and often opaque character of implicit religiosity, these concerns cannot easily be discerned. While each personal concern can be expressed in numerous ways, all visible commitments can be associated with various concerns. The theory of implicit religiosity (Schnell, 2003, 2009a) acknowledges this radically subjective aspect by combining structural with functional criteria. Implicit religiosity is thus defined as the use of originally religious *modes of expression*, myth, ritual and experiences of transcending the profane, resulting in the generation of *meaning*. The present paper focuses on the ritual element of implicit religiosity. After giving an overview of understandings of rituals, their functions and applications, the centuries-old and recently strongly revived ritual of pilgrimage on the Road to Santiago will be analysed and described as a personal, implicit religious, ritual.

Rituals then and now

The end of the twentieth century witnessed a return of apparently archaic, but obviously deeply human modes of thinking and acting. A need for ritual and myth became manifest in popular culture, therapy and personal life (cf. Caduff & Pfaff-Czamecka, 1999; Ciompi, 2002; Imber-Black, Roberts, & Whiting, 1998; Schnell, 2009a) and challenged the polarities of reason or faith, of rationality or irrationality, as they had been set up in modernity (Keenan, 2012). Rituals are behavioural scripts, describing a sequence of acts to be followed in a certain situation. But they are more than that. Action, in modern terms, is understood as intentional and aimed towards a specific goal. A ritual, in contrast, is not instrumental in the sense of targeting an immediate goal. It has a surplus of meaning, tapping and evoking a reality *beyond* (Schnell, 2009a). The term *ritual* derives from the Latin *ritus*, meaning religious practice or ceremony. The etymology of the Latin term is not definitely known. Two possible roots are discussed: the

Sanskrit *rta*, referring to a law-based structure of cosmic as well as worldly and human events, and the Indo-Germanic *ri*, referring to a “line of action.” By use in a religious context, this “structure of events” or “line of action” has become associated with an extraordinary, sacred practice.

From the second half of the nineteenth century onwards, rituals have been a subject of scientific interest. This does not accidentally coincide with the second phase of colonisation, when travel reports describing “primitive and barbarian customs and practices” became accessible. This first phase of research on rituals has been described by Platvoet (1995) – who distinguishes three phases – by its equation of ritual and magic. In this phase, which, according to Platvoet, roughly lasted from 1870 to 1960, rituals were understood as the opposite of technical–rational action in modern societies. The most prominent representatives of this kind of reasoning were Arnold van Gennep and Emile Durkheim. With the beginning of the second phase, the concept of ritual was applied to complex societies, and various disciplines showed an interest in the topic. Rituals were described in analogy to other categories of performance, such as communication and theatre, and Western societies were characterised as continuously de-ritualising. Just as in the first phase, rituals were observed and interpreted from the outside, without acknowledgement of the participants’ perspective. Influential scientists representing this second phase were Victor Turner and Mary Douglas. The third and last phase described by Platvoet (1995) roughly starts in the 1980s and is mainly promoted by psychoanalysis. It is characterised by a critical approach, either viewing rituals as meaningless compulsive acts, or as strategies of symbolic construction of power. Freud described meaningless repetitions of an act, as they occur in obsessive-compulsive disorder, as rituals. Religious rituals are comparable to these meaningless repetitions, he insisted; both serve as a defence from guilt (Freud, 1907). More sociologically oriented psychoanalysts, like Erdmann (1999), criticised rituals as organisational structures prescribed by society in order to prevent change and exert control. In consequence, individuals would be drawn into dependence on the state or institutions such as the military, church and academe.

With the institutions’ loss of power over the individual in late modernity, this critical position has lost some of its justification. From a contemporary perspective, Platvoet’s (1995) phases should be supplemented by a fourth phase, which is characterised by a “longing for rituals” and a pragmatic and playful approach. In an atmosphere of disillusionment with modernity, having witnessed the failure of reason on a grand scale, people today look out for alternative ways of interpreting the world. They accept patterns of action which are not based on linear causality, but provide meaningfulness and experiential validity (Schnell, 2011b). This is what rituals offer. By pointing beyond immediate effects, they have a strong meaning-making potential. In early psychology, it was Jung who emphasised this positive role of rituals. He described rituals as transforming libido into mental energy, as conducive of meaning, and as therapeutic (Jung, 1993). Especially the third, healing aspect has, since then, evoked a strong response. Systemic therapy and counselling, in particular, have demonstrated the supportive and structuring potential of rituals (e.g., Selvini-Palazzoli, Boscolo, Cecchin, & Prata, 1977). Ciompi (2002) developed a theoretical explanation of therapeutic effects triggered by rituals. Imber-Black, Roberts, and Whiting (1998) and Welter-Enderlin and Hildenbrand (2002) illustrate numerous examples of how adapted traditional or spontaneously construed rituals can be used to solve conflicts, cope with loss, separation and critical transitions, to celebrate reunion, consolidate families or relationships, or even support organisational development.

Further studies have analysed the psychological function of *rites de passage*. Kiss (1999), after studying Christian rites of passage like baptism, marriage and funerals, comes to the conclusion that these are still part of contemporary society – though rarely based on a Christian-religious motivation. Instead, participants in rituals interpret them creatively and idiosyncratically. Like that, even time-honoured traditional rituals have turned into *personal rituals* (Schnell, 2009a).

Personal rituals are defined as formalised patterns of action, pointing beyond the actual event at a particular meaning imbued by the actor (Schnell, 2009a). This meaning cannot be accessed directly, since it belongs to a sphere of reality set apart from the everyday life inhabited by the actor (Luckmann, 1985). Personal rituals cannot be identified from an outside perspective; only through the actor's subjective ascription of meaning does a formalised pattern of action become a personal ritual. As a consequence, traditional religious rituals can be experienced as evoking a vertical transcendence (God or the numinous); they can be imbued with personal meaning of any kind (*communitas*, growth, relaxation ...), or they can be completely meaningless. Likewise, apparently secular personal rituals can have explicit religious meaning. The importance of considering subjective meaning in the definition and identification of rituals can be vividly illustrated by contemporary attempts of defining *pilgrimage*.

Pilgrimage – A ritual in transformation

Pilgrimage is a universal religious *topos*; its meaning has changed along with culture and time. Gilgamesh travelled numerous places in search of eternal life (Foster, 2001). Ancient Egyptians are known to have undertaken journeys in order both to worship a god and to entertain participants (Casson, 1991). Christian pilgrimage has been associated with purification, penance, worship, and healing; but even in times of exclusively religious connotation, pilgrims were known to be driven, too, by more secular desires, such as *wanderlust*, pastime, curiosity, and exploration (Haab, 1998).

It is not only this multitude of motives that complicates the definition of pilgrimage and its distinction from *tourism*. According to Collins-Kreiner (2010), differentiation between tourism and pilgrimage began in the 1970s, when pilgrimage – in contrast to tourism – was associated with “searching for authenticity” (MacCannell, 1973). As a further distinctive category, Cohen (1992) maintains that pilgrims journey towards the sacred centre of their world, while travellers move away from the centres of their societies. These distinctions, however, have become increasingly blurred. “Rigid dichotomies between pilgrimage and tourism or pilgrims and tourists no longer seem tenable in the shifting world of postmodern travel” (Badone & Roseman, 2004, p. 2). Even when the “hard facts” of pilgrimage – the officially religious character of the pilgrimage site, the way of approaching the site, the pilgrims' paraphernalia – seem to imply a religious journey, the pilgrims' motives are not necessarily religious. Among the most frequently mentioned motives are “culture,” “experiencing the body,” and “escape from routine” (Pali, 2010; Swatos & Tomasi, 2002). Shuo, Ryan, and Liu (2009) maintain “that pilgrimage sites are like other tourist destinations in that they are able to cater for a range of different travel motives ... [P]eople can visit places of pilgrimage for other reasons that include the social, satisfaction of curiosity or simply as somewhere different to visit” (p. 586). Conversely, seemingly secular sites, such as the homes of dead celebrities (Elvis Presley's mansion in Memphis, etc.), sports festivals, or sites of death and disaster such as war memorials, graves, the Paris underpass, location of the death of Lady Diana, or Ground Zero, are religiously charged. Visitors – or rather, pilgrims – to these sites are typically motivated by worship, adoration and/or commemoration. Sacralisation is further manifest in the pilgrims' use of explicit religious modes of expression, such as the laying of devotional objects, kneeling, and praying.

The difficulty to distinguish pilgrimage from tourism highlights the crucial role of subjective ascription of meaning. “No place is intrinsically sacred,” as maintained by Collins-Kreiner (2010, p. 444). Individuals ascribe personal meaning to a destination. They approach it with a multitude of motives – which might even change during the journey. Both tourists and pilgrims “can shift easily from the role of tourist to devoted pilgrim and vice-versa in an articulation of identities ... In both roles there exists a process of aestheticization of the world, and search for authenticities”

(Shuo, Ryan, & Liu, 2009, p. 583; see also Bremer, 2004). The *sacred* and the *secular* should thus not be viewed as exclusive categories; they rather represent a continuum, covering a vast range of sacred-secular combinations (Collins-Kreiner, 2010) between which dynamic shifts are possible: “While pilgrimages are generally associated with pious devotion and tourism with hedonistic social behaviour, pilgrims often become tourists, and tourists may experience moments that they (often much to their surprise) describe as spiritual” (Beckstead, 2010, p. 386).

Pilgrimage to Santiago as an implicit religious ritual

According to Bailey (1997/2006), implicit religion occupies a third space between the sacred and the profane, the two of which have long been seen as divided by a strict dichotomy. By employing a *trichotomous* model, the realms of immanence and transcendence are understood to be intertwining, allowing for investigation of phenomena such as immanent transcendence, sacralisation of the profane, and secular spirituality (cf. Schnell, 2011b). Religious pilgrimage sites have been associated with a similar quality. Evoking Soja’s (1980) concept of religious sites as a “third space,” Collins-Kreiner (2010) describes them as being simultaneously sacred and secular. In the case of pilgrimage on the Road to Santiago, this implicit religious character is not restricted to the site itself – the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, but encompasses the whole voyage. From the first preparations to embark on the journey, to the return from Santiago de Compostela, contemporary pilgrims can be understood to perform a personal ritual: carrying out the ancient steps of a religious ritual in order to connect with what they consider sacred.

Above, personal rituals have been defined as a *formalised* pattern of action, pointing beyond the actual event at a particular meaning imbued by the actor. A pilgrimage to Santiago is a highly formalised undertaking. It is characterised by a three-phase structure first identified by van Gennep (1909/1960) for *rites de passage*, but later seen as typical for almost all rituals. During the first phase, pilgrims separate from everyday life and self. This detachment often involves rather intricate logistics to organise a long absence from work and people who are dependent on the traveller. Professional as well as social life is – sometimes drastically – interrupted by the journey. Furthermore, pilgrims have to part with the majority of utensils and insignia that make up their everyday life and self, and to cut down to the amount of things they can carry in a backpack over a long distance. The person who starts the journey is devoid of her social and professional roles and enters the second, liminal phase in the newly acquired role of pilgrim, symbolised by a pilgrim passport and, possibly, a scallop shell attached to the backpack.

The liminal phase has been in the focus of work by Turner and Turner (1969, 1978). They portray the transitory stage as a therapeutic and unifying social drama: social roles are temporarily overthrown and all actors are equal. Through this paradoxical experience, they suggest, *communitas* is strengthened and a renewed re-integration into society prepared. While the concept of *communitas* has been challenged by later scholars (cf. Eade & Sallnow, 1991) and surely should not be understood as the major or only function of pilgrimage, it seems to be a valid feature of pilgrimage on the Road to Santiago, as many qualitative reports illustrate (e.g., Haab, 1998; Kerkeling, 2006; Pali, 2010). Pilgrims open up to each other during the journey’s struggles; they console and support each other, celebrate together and often form long-lasting friendships. (The movie “Saint-Jacques ... La Mecque” by Coline Serreau offers an elaborate and moving example of *communitas* during a pilgrimage to Santiago, its development and effects.)

But pilgrimage is not primarily a social event. Though the Road to Santiago is known to be busy, even overcrowded, large parts of the journey are usually covered alone, in silence. This (relative) deprivation of stimuli directs the pilgrims’ attention to internal processes. Conflicts

previously neglected or repressed by the hustle and bustle of everyday life come to the fore. At the same time, stimulus deprivation affects the state of consciousness, as does the rhythm of walking. According to D'Aquili, Laughlin, and McManus (1979), repetitive movement supports the synchronisation of perception, cognition and action, thus facilitating experiences of transcending such as: experiences of loss of self, space and time; experiences of unity; heightened awareness; sudden insights, and revelations. Walking in silence is therefore conducive to self-exploration or more subconscious forms of re-arrangement of priorities; it gives access to other modes of being and seeing the world and, as a consequence, can result in the acquisition of "new" meaning, in clarification and a change of perspective.

Van Gennep's third and last phase demarcates the end of the ritual, return and reintegration into daily life. Pilgrims often encounter difficulties in this phase, returning as transformed individuals to circumstances that are still the same, hardly able to relate or share the profound experiences made during the pilgrimage (Pali, 2010).

To investigate the pilgrimage to Santiago as a personal ritual, several hypotheses derived from theoretical considerations and empirical findings related above will be tested. Data from pilgrims to Santiago are analysed with regard to motives for pilgrimage and pilgrims' sources of meaning, experienced meaningfulness and crises of meaning before and after the pilgrimage, drawing on the framework proposed by the Sources of Meaning and Meaning in Life Questionnaire (SoMe; Schnell, 2009b; Schnell & Becker, 2007).

The Sources of Meaning and Meaning in Life Questionnaire (SoMe)

The SoMe (Schnell, 2009b; Schnell & Becker, 2007) is a comprehensive inventory of sources of meaning, derived from qualitative studies that explored in depth the meanings underlying people's action, thought, and experience (see Schnell, 2009b). *Sources of meaning* are defined as basic orientations underlying human cognition, behaviour, and emotion. They motivate commitment to and direction of action in different areas of life (Leontiev, 1982; Schnell, 2009b; Schnell & Becker, 2006, 2007). Though mostly subconscious, sources of meaning are accessible to consciousness and can be reflected upon. By providing a direction for "invested, committed living," (Ryff & Singer, 1998, p. 8) they enable a meaningful structuring of life without explicitly striving for meaningfulness.

Additionally to – and independently of – the 26 sources of meaning, the SoMe also measures the degree of experienced *meaningfulness* and *crisis of meaning*. In several studies, these two scales have been shown to be only moderately interrelated ($r \approx -0.35$). Thus, variation in one can occur without reciprocal variation in the other.

Meaningfulness is defined as a fundamental sense of meaning, based on an appraisal of one's life as coherent, significant, directed, and belonging. A judgment on one's life as frustratingly empty, pointless and lacking meaning amounts to a *crisis of meaning*. A combination of both dimensions allows for identification of a third quality of meaning, existential indifference: it represents those who neither experience their lives as meaningful, nor suffer from a crisis of meaning (cf. Schnell, 2010).

Drawing on this theoretical framework, the following hypotheses were advanced.

Research hypotheses

Motives and meaning in life

Participants are expected to have settled on a pilgrimage to Santiago for diverse reasons. Conceived as a personal ritual, the pilgrimage is understood as a formalised pattern of action, pointing

beyond itself at a particular meaning imbued by the actor. It is thus a behavioural manifestation of characteristic sources of meaning (Schnell, 2009a). Therefore, motives of pilgrimage should relate to the pilgrims' sources of meaning – or the presence of a crisis of meaning:

- Religious and spiritual motives should relate positively to vertical selftranscendence;
- Athletic and cultural motives should relate positively to selfactualisation;
- The clarification motive should relate positively to the presence of a crisis of meaning.

Crises of meaning as a reason for pilgrimage

Current concerns are assumed to affect the decision to go on a pilgrimage. As a potentially transformative ritual, pilgrimage offers the re-acquisition of meaning. Thus, crises of meaning are expected to be more frequent among prospective pilgrims than among the general population (4%; Schnell, 2008, 2009b).

Increased meaningfulness, decreased crises of meaning

The meaning-making potential of pilgrimage should be visible in an increase of meaningfulness after the journey. *Meaningfulness* is thus expected to be higher at Times 2 and 3 than at Time 1. Additionally, *crises of meaning* should be less frequent at Times 2 and 3 than at Time 1.

Increases in commitment to specific sources of meaning

If *communitas* is one of the central functions of pilgrimage, as maintained by Turner and Turner (1969, 1978), pilgrims should show an increase of commitment to *community* after the journey to Santiago. Given the amount of time pilgrims spend outdoors, observing, experiencing and being exposed to nature, an intensification of commitment to *unison with nature* is also expected. The facilitation of experiences of transcending through stimulus deprivation and the repetitive movement of walking should result in an increase of *vertical* and *horizontal selftranscendence* after the journey to Santiago. Moreover, the fact of having coped with a demanding journey can be expected to give rise to a strengthened sense of mastery and a commitment to further *selfactualisation*.

Method

Participants

Prospective pilgrims were contacted by the co-author via internet platforms discussing pilgrimage. Having been a pilgrim on the Road to Santiago herself, the co-author was not seen as invading these platforms for research, but identified as an appropriate discussant. Prospective pilgrims were informed about the study design, comprising the completion of online questionnaires any time before the journey, one week upon return from the pilgrimage and four months later. Participants were offered personalised feed-back on their results; additionally, all participants entered a raffle for internet purchase vouchers. After completing the first questionnaire, participants had the option to leave an email address for notification of Time 2 and 3 measures. Almost all participants took advantage of this offer.

Measures

Motivation

Pilgrims to Santiago, before being awarded the *Compostela*, the official document certifying the pilgrimage, are asked to choose one of three given reasons for their pilgrimage: religious/spiritual,

religious/cultural, or cultural. There is, of course, a much wider range of motives. For assessment of *motives for pilgrimage*, participants were given a list of motives most frequently mentioned in the literature; they were: *religious, spiritual, cultural, athletic, clarification, no motive*, and others. Multiple responses were possible.

Meaning

The *Sources of Meaning and Meaning in Life Questionnaire* (SoMe; Schnell, 2009b; Schnell & Becker, 2007) was employed to measure sources of meaning, degrees of experienced meaningfulness and crises of meaning at Time 1, 2 and 3. All items of this 151-item inventory are statements rated on a scale from 0 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Sources of meaning scales quantify the degree of commitment to each of the 26 orientations (see Table 1). The scales' mean inter-correlation is 0.26, ranging from -0.19 to 0.64. Repeated orthogonal as well as oblique factor analyses suggest a summary of these by four (or five) dimensions:

Table 1. The Sources of Meaning and Meaning in Life Questionnaire (SoMe): Scales and dimensions with internal consistency.

Scale/DIMENSION	Internal Consistency (α)
Meaningfulness	0.74
Crisis of meaning	0.92
VERTICAL SELFTRANSCENDENCE	0.84
Explicit religiosity	0.94
Spirituality	0.68
HORIZONTAL SELFTRANSCENDENCE	0.87
Social commitment	0.65
Union with nature	0.88
Self-knowledge	0.87
Health	0.86
Generativity	0.76
SELFACTUALISATION	0.93
Challenge	0.76
Individualism	0.68
Power	0.68
Development	0.81
Achievement	0.76
Freedom	0.91
Knowledge	0.69
Creativity	0.85
ORDER	0.89
Tradition	0.79
Practicality	0.76
Morality	0.71
Reason	0.68
WELL-BEING AND RELATEDNESS	0.91
Communion	0.77
Fun	0.71
Love	0.75
Comfort	0.75
Care	0.70
Attentiveness	0.69
Harmony	0.85

Downloaded by [Universitaetsbibliothek Innsbruck], [Tatjana Schnell] at 06:57 29 October 2013

- (1) *Selftranscendence*: Commitment to objectives beyond one's immediate needs. For further, practically relevant, differentiation between vertical and horizontal orientations (cf. Goodenough, 2001; Schnell, 2003, 2009a) and supported by factor-analysis of its items, this dimension is divided into two sub-dimensions:
 - (1a) *Vertical selftranscendence*: Orientation towards an immaterial, supernatural power.
 - (1b) *Horizontal selftranscendence*: Taking responsibility for (worldly) affairs beyond one's immediate concerns.
- (2) *Selfactualisation*: Employing, challenging, and fostering one's capacities.
- (3) *Order*: Holding on to values, practicality, decency, and the tried and tested.
- (4) *Well-being and relatedness*: Cultivating and enjoying life's pleasures in privacy and company.

Internal consistencies for the dimensions average 0.89, for the scales, 0.79 (see Table 1). The SoMe's construct, discriminant, factorial, and incremental validity have been demonstrated in numerous studies (Hoof, 2010; Schnell, 2009a, 2009b, 2010, 2011a; Schnell & Becker, 2006, 2007; Schnell & Hoof, 2012; Schnell & Keenan, 2011).

The sample

At Time 1, $N = 126$ participants completed the questionnaire. Of these datasets, seven had to be dismissed because of missing data and 34 because participants had either completed them *after* pilgrimage, or because they had been on a pilgrimage to Santiago before. Of the remaining $N = 85$, 72% are female. Age ranges from 16 to 70, with an average of $M = 32$ ($SD = 13$). The majority of the pilgrims (81%) is German, 17% are Austrian, the remaining 2% Swiss and Italian. Thirty-one percent have obtained school-leaving exams without university entrance qualification, 55% A-levels, and 14% have graduated from university. Half of the participants are single, 25% partnered, 17% married, 8% are divorced, widowed, or live apart. Only 18% have children. Fifty-three percent have an occupation, 41% are in education. The largest number of the sample is Roman Catholic (44%), followed by Protestants (33%), Free Church members (14%) and others (6%). Four percent reported to have left the church.

Results

Descriptive statistics

Travel modes

Of the 85 pilgrimages, only two travelled by bike, the remaining 83 by foot. A majority of 61% made the pilgrimage alone; 32% travelled in two, only 5% in a group. Nearly three quarters of the sample (72%) took the Camino Francés (The French Way). The mean journey length amounted to 646 km ($SD = 391$), ranging from 70 to 2600 km.

Explicit religiosity

Though the majority of pilgrims belongs to the Roman Catholic Church, the Protestant Church or a Free Church, general commitment to religiosity is low with $M = 1.82$ ($SD = 1.61$, $Md = 1.33$, range 0–5). Eighteen percent of the sample reports no explicit religiosity, at all; only 15% can be classified as religious or strongly religious (mean value 4–5).

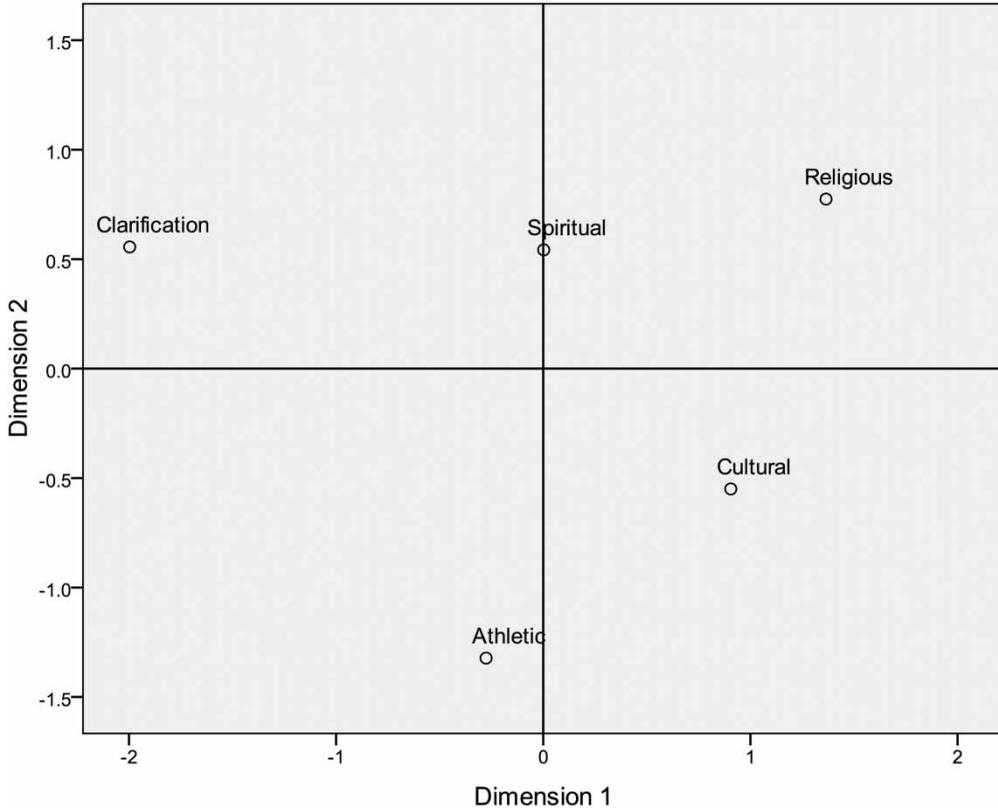


Figure 1. Multidimensional scaling (ALSCAL) of motives for pilgrimage.

Motives

The most frequently reported motives for pilgrimage are clarification (66%), followed by athletic (44%), spiritual (39%), religious (31%) and cultural (26%) motives. Multiple responses were possible. Multidimensional scaling (ALSCAL) is carried out to identify a structure within the set of motives. A two-dimensional solution is established (Stress = 0.004, RSQ = 0.99), indicating that two independent lines of reasoning might underlie motivation for participating in the pilgrimage (see Figure 1): Dimension 1 represents the *degree of vertical transcendence*, with religious, spiritual and clarification motives on one end, and the athletic motive on the other end. The second dimension represents motives from clarification on one side, to religious and cultural motives on the other. It can be interpreted as a continuum from *quest to conviction*. The fact that the spiritual motive is located closer to the *quest* end of the second dimension than the religious motive ties in well with current conceptualisations of spirituality – in contrast to religiosity – as a quest and search for meaning (Bucher, 2007).

Meaning in life scores

Table 2 shows the percentage of *crises of meaning* among prospective pilgrims (Time 1) and pilgrims one week (Time 2) and four months (Time 3) after the journey, as well as mean values and standard deviations for experienced *meaningfulness*, three relevant dimensions of meaning – *vertical* and *horizontal selftranscendence* and *selfactualisation* – and two sources of meaning subscales, *community* and *unison with nature*.

Downloaded by [Universitaetsbibliothek Innsbruck], [Tatjana Schnell] at 06:57 29 October 2013

Table 2. Percentages of crises of meaning, means and standard deviations for meaning in life scales at Times 1, 2 and 3; significance of change over time (p).

Scale	Time 1 ($N = 85$)	Time 2 ($N = 52$)	Time 3 ($N = 47$)	p
Crises of meaning (%)	7	0	0	0.03
Meaningfulness	3.10 (0.94)	3.41 (0.97)	3.29 (1.04)	0.000
Vertical selftranscendence	2.43 (1.14)	2.74 (1.16)	2.86 (1.25)	0.02
Horizontal selftranscendence	3.10 (0.65)	3.29 (0.68)	3.25 (0.65)	0.04
Selfactualization	3.17 (0.58)	3.32 (0.54)	3.34 (0.55)	0.004
Community	3.63 (0.73)	3.87 (0.52)	3.72 (0.71)	0.02
Unison with nature	3.30 (0.93)	3.70 (0.90)	3.56 (0.87)	0.001

Note: Answer format for all scales 0–5.

Table 3. Correlations between motives for pilgrimage, dimensions of meaning, *meaningfulness* and *crisis of meaning* at Time 1.

↓ Motives	Vertical Self-transc.	Horizontal Selftransc.	Self- actualization	Order	Well-being & Relatedness	Meaning- fulness	Crisis of Meaning
Religious	0.53***	0.25*	-0.10	0.30**	0.09	0.33***	-0.09
Spiritual	0.28**	0.33**	-0.14	-0.16	-0.06	0.21*	0.07
Athletic	-0.19*	-0.23*	0.03	-0.04	-0.23*	-0.21*	0.13
Cultural	-0.10	0.01	0.04	0.17	-0.01	-0.07	0.05
Clarification	-0.15	-0.05	-0.06	-0.19*	-0.06	-0.37***	0.20*

Notes: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$, one-tailed. Grey cells: expected positive correlations.

Motives and meaning in life

Pilgrims' motives for travelling were expected to relate positively to specific dimensions of meaning and crisis of meaning at Time 1. Table 3 displays correlations of all motives with all dimensions of meaning, *meaningfulness* and *crisis of meaning*.

In line with the assumption, religious motivation is positively associated with a commitment to *vertical selftranscendence*, as is, to a lesser degree, spiritual motivation. Contrary to the hypothesis, neither athletic nor cultural motives are related to a commitment to *selfactualisation*. Cultural motives cannot be predicted, at all, by meaning constructs. Participants reporting athletic reasons for the pilgrimage are characterised by low commitment to *vertical* and *horizontal selftranscendence*, and *well-being and relatedness*. They also experience low degrees of *meaningfulness*.

An expectation to clarify something through pilgrimage is associated with the presence of a *crisis of meaning*, as was hypothesised. Thus motivated pilgrims also report low *meaningfulness*.

Crisis of meaning as a reason for pilgrimage

This hypothesis is closely linked to the latter finding. *Crises of meaning* were assumed to be more frequent among prospective pilgrims than among the general population. As shown in Table 2, the frequency of crises of meaning among pilgrims at Time 1 amounts to 7%. This is significantly higher than among the general population ($X^2 = 3.11$, $df = 1$, $p = .04$).

Increased meaningfulness, decreased crises of meaning

Should the personal ritual of pilgrimage to Santiago fulfil its meaning-making potential, then *meaningfulness* is bound to rise and *crises of meaning* to decrease after the journey. MANOVA for

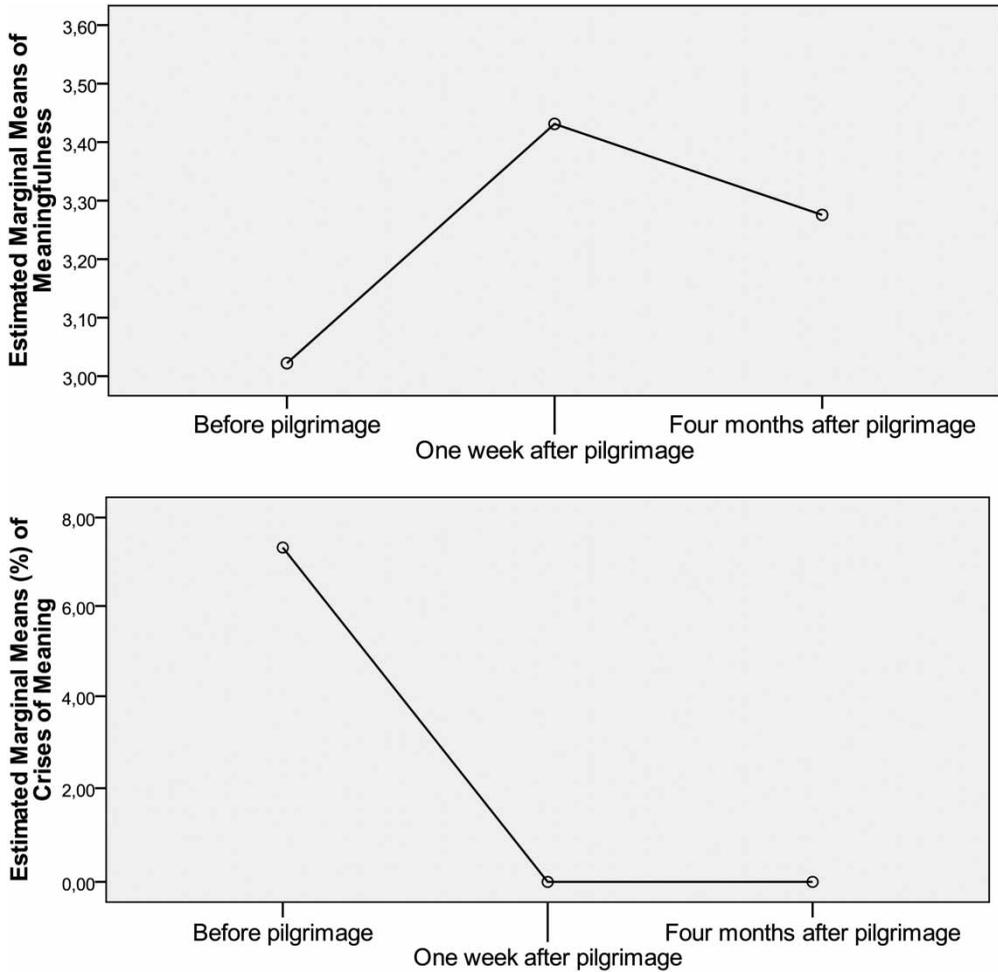


Figure 2. Estimated marginal means of *meaningfulness* and percentage of *crises of meaning* at Times 1, 2 and 3.

repeated measures was performed on both *meaningfulness* and *crisis of meaning* as dependent variables. Due to the lower number of participants at Time 2 and 3, the analysis was performed on $N = 40$ cases. In spite of the reduced sample size, Wilks' Lambda (within subjects) is $F(3, 37) = 4.77, p = .007, \eta^2 = .28$. Univariate tests reflect a significant increase in *meaningfulness* ($F(2, 78) = 8.77, p < 0.001, \eta^2 = .18$) and decrease in *crises of meaning* ($F(2, 78) = 3.16, p = .03, \eta^2 = .08$). Changes in *meaningfulness* are best described by a quadratic function. *Meaningfulness* decreases from Time 2 to Time 3, but, four months after pilgrimage, is still higher than before pilgrimage. *Crises of meaning* are high at Time 1 and nonexistent at both Time 2 and 3 (see Figure 2). The inclusion of motives (as between-subject factors) in MANOVAs for repeated measures does not yield any significant effects for interaction terms. Changes are thus independent of motives for pilgrimage.

Increases in commitment to sources of meaning

Pertaining to particular characteristics of pilgrimage, pilgrims have been expected to show, as a consequence of peregrinating, a stronger commitment to *selftranscendence*, both *vertically* and

horizontally, as well as to *selfactualisation*. Results reflect a significant increase in *vertical* ($F(2, 54) = 3.44, p = .02, \eta^2 = .11$) and *horizontal selftranscendence* ($F(2, 54) = 2.77, p = .04, \eta^2 = .09$) and *selfactualisation* ($F(2, 54) = 6.01, p = .004, \eta^2 = .18$). The anticipated increase in commitment to *community* is confirmed by the data ($F(2, 88) = 3.43, p = .02, \eta^2 = .07$), as is the increase in commitment to *unison with nature* ($F(2, 86) = 10.41, p < .001, \eta^2 = .20$). The strengthening of commitment seems to be sustainable for *vertical selftranscendence* and *selfactualisation*. All other scores show a slight decrease at Time 3, compared to Time 2. For *horizontal selftranscendence* and *unison with nature*, measures at Time 3 are still significantly higher than at Time 1. This is not the case for *community*.

Discussion

The majority of pilgrims who travel hundreds of miles to Santiago de Compostela, the ancient Christian pilgrimage site, is moderately to not at all religious, in an explicit religious sense. Nevertheless, religious and/or spiritual motives are reported by 57% of the travellers (spiritual motives: 39%; religious motives: 31%). A rather large quantity of participants (44%) claim to undertake the pilgrimage for athletic reasons, and another 26% for cultural reasons. But most of the pilgrims – as many as two third of the sample – are motivated by a need for clarification.

The overall pattern of these motives, as revealed by multidimensional scaling, indicates that pilgrims either travel for religious reasons (from a state of *conviction*), or in search of clarification (from a state of *quest*); that some draw their motivation from a relation to *vertical transcendence* (spirituality or religiosity), while others peregrinate for purely *secular* reasons, such as athletic challenge.

Personal commitment to *vertical selftranscendence*, in particular to *explicit religiosity*, is strongly related to religious and spiritual motives for the pilgrimage. Religious connotations of the ritual seem to be of significance only for those who hold religious convictions, and, as a consequence, are familiar with religious symbols and rites. In these cases, contents of the personal myth – pertaining to religious values, creeds, and identity – are represented and realised in the personal ritual (cf. Schnell, 2003, 2009a). In correspondence with a religious or spiritual commitment, the pilgrimage is interpreted as a religious journey.

Contrary to the expectation, personal commitment to *selfactualisation* is not related to cultural or athletic motives for pilgrimage. Claiming a cultural motive is independent of commitment to any dimension of meaning. An athletic motive, however, seems to be associated with low density (Schnell, 2011a) as well as depth (Schnell, 2008) of sources of meaning. Pilgrims who report an athletic motive are characterised by low *selftranscendence*, both *vertical* and *horizontal*, and little interest in *well-being and relatedness*. Experiences of *meaningfulness* are also low. Undertaking a pilgrimage for athletic reasons might thus be interpreted as an attempt to cope with a (covert) existential vacuum by taking on an extreme physical challenge.

Among the pilgrims, 7% suffer from a crisis of meaning, which is significantly more than in the general population (4%). An overt presence of a *crisis of meaning* is related to the clarification motive. Thus motivated pilgrims also report low *meaningfulness*. For this faction of pilgrims, the therapeutic or transformative function of the ritual is predominant.

Not only for them, but for the entire sample, the meaning-making potential of pilgrimage is supported by the data. Directly after the journey as well as four months later, pilgrims experience life as significantly more meaningful, and crises of meaning have been overcome. Independently of the original motives, the majority of pilgrims experience the journey as transformative in a constructive sense. Apart from the increase in a fundamental sense of meaning, pilgrims also report an intensification of specific commitments after the journey. Results reflect a strengthening of *vertical selftranscendence* directly after the pilgrimage, enduring until four months after the journey.

Participation in the ritual seems to evoke openness to the numinous, even among only moderately or non-religious pilgrims. This might be attributed to the facilitation of experiences of transcending through stimulus deprivation and repetitive movement, as suggested by D'Aquili, Laughlin, and McManus (1979). Furthermore, pilgrims come across various explicit religious symbols, rites and places during their journey. They put down a stone at the *Cruz de Ferro*, participate in prayers and the final ceremony in the Cathedral and are accommodated in lodgings provided by the church. All of this takes place in a context of intense self-exploration and restructuring. Under these circumstances, previously rejected ideas can be evaluated anew and become personally meaningful. This development is paralleled by a strengthened commitment to *selfactualisation*. Shortly after the pilgrimage and four months later, individuals are eager to employ, challenge and foster their capacities. In line with the broaden-and-build theory (Fredrickson, 2001), the positive experience of having mastered a demanding task can be expected to encourage readiness to meet challenges and actualise one's potentials.

After the journey, pilgrims also show an increased commitment to *horizontal selftranscendence*, *unison with nature*, and *community*. They are more willing to take responsibility for affairs beyond their immediate concerns, keen on living in unison with nature and in loving relationships with others. Also these attitudes are most likely affected by experiences made during the pilgrimage, such as gaining self-knowledge, exploring physical strengths and accepting limits, seeing the beauty of nature, caring for and being cared for by others, etc. Trajectories of scores from Time 1 to Time 2 and 3 suggest that pilgrims are quite enthusiastic about these commitments upon return from their journey, but lose some of the dedication in the following months. This result mirrors van Gennep's (1909/1960) assumption that reintegration after the liminal phase is not always easy. Existing social, occupational and economical structures can get in the way of applying recently attained insights, and zeal meets frustration. However, commitments to *horizontal selftranscendence* and *unison with nature* still remain higher than before pilgrimage, whereas the commitment to *community* returns to the baseline value – probably due to the difficulty to share experiences and insights, or a lack of like-minded acquaintances.

Limitations

Due to the difficulty to engage participants in a longitudinal questionnaire study, the sample size for repeated measurement is fairly small. However, effects were surprisingly large and could thus be identified, nevertheless. For consolidation, replications with larger sample sizes would be helpful. These should ideally be complemented by qualitative analyses: Why are non-religious individuals drawn to this ancient Christian ritual? What is actually meant by “religious,” “spiritual,” “cultural” and “athletic” motives for pilgrimage? Which are the specific factors of pilgrimage contributing to clarification and generation of meaning? Further research is a necessary and worthwhile undertaking, given the prevalent interest in pilgrimage and its power of transformation and renewal.

Conclusion

Postmodernity is witness to a revived interest in pilgrimage. A large number of pilgrims are only moderately religious, or not at all. But like their religious co-ritualists, they experience the transformative and meaning-making power of pilgrimage. The data thus confirm the assumption made by the theory of implicit religiosity, that universal religious structures have a capacity to generate meaning independently of their content (Schnell, 2008, 2009a).

Many of today's pilgrims embark on the journey not for religious motives, but with a need for clarification. Lacking religious or spiritual conviction, they approach the ritual in a state of need,

indicated by low meaningfulness and a high frequency of crises of meaning. And – regardless of their explicit creeds – the request is answered. The meaning-making potential of the ritual unfolds when individuals encounter it sincerely, putting on the pilgrim's attire inwardly and outwardly, and submitting to the hardships – and revelations – of the journey.

References

- Badone, E., & Roseman, S. R. (Eds.). (2004). *Intersecting journeys: The anthropology of pilgrimage and tourism*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Bailey, E. I. (2001). *The secular faith controversy: Religion in three dimensions*. London: Continuum.
- Bailey, E. I. (2006). *Implicit religion in contemporary society*. Den Haag: Kok Pharos.
- Barker, E. (2004). The Church without and the God within: Religiosity and/or spirituality. In D. Jerolimov, S. Zrinščak, & I. Borowik (Eds.), *Religion and patterns of social transformation* (pp. 23–47). Zagreb: Institute for Social Research.
- Beckstead, Z. (2010). Liminality in acculturation and pilgrimage: When movement becomes meaningful. *Culture and Psychology, 16*, 383–393.
- Bremer, T. S. (2004). *Blessed with tourists. The borderlands of religion and tourism in San Antonio*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Bucher, A. (2007). *Psychologie der Spiritualität* [Psychology of spirituality]. Weinheim: Beltz.
- Caduff, C., & Pfaff-Czarnecka, J. (Eds.). (1999). *Rituale heute* [Rituals today]. Berlin: Reimer.
- Casson, L. (1991). *Reisen in der alten Welt* [Travel in the ancient world]. München: Prestel Verlag.
- Ciompi, L. (2002). Symbolische Affektkanalisation – eine therapeutische Grundfunktion von Ritualen [Symbolic canalization of affect - a basic therapeutical function of rituals]. In R. Welter-Enderlin & B. Hildenbrand (Eds.), *Rituale – Vielfalt in Alltag und Therapie* [Rituals - variety in everyday life and therapy] (pp. 53–70). Heidelberg: Carl-Auer-SystemeVerlag.
- Cohen, E. (1992). Pilgrimage centres: Concentric and eccentric. *Annals of Tourism Research, 19*(1), 33–50.
- Collins-Kreiner, N. (2010). Researching pilgrimage. Continuity and transformations. *Annals of Tourism Research, 37*, 440–456.
- D'Aquili, E. G., Laughlin, C., & McManus, J. (1979). *The spectrum of ritual: A biological structural analysis*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Dennett, D. C., & LaScola, L. (2010). Preachers who are not believers. *Evolutionary Psychology, 8*, 122–150.
- Eade, J., & Sallnow, M. J. (Eds.). (1991). *Contesting the sacred: The anthropology of Christian pilgrimage*. London: Routledge.
- Erdmann, M. (1999). Ritual und reflexion [Ritual and reflection]. In C. Caduff & J. Pfaff-Czarnecka (Eds.), *Rituale heute* [Rituals today] (pp. 165–178). Berlin: Reimer.
- Foster, B. R. (2001). *The epic of Gilgamesh*. New York, NY: Norton & Company.
- Fredrickson, B. L. (2001). The role of positive emotions in positive psychology: The broaden-and-build theory of positive emotions. *American Psychologist, 56*, 218–226.
- Freud, S. (1907). Zwangshandlungen und Religionsausübung. *Zeitschrift für Religionspsychologie, 1*, 4–12.
- Gennep, A. van (1960). *The rites of passage. A classic study of cultural celebrations*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. (Original work published 1909).
- Goodenough, U. (2001). Vertical and horizontal transcendence. *Zygon: Journal of Religion and Science, 36*, 21–31.
- Haab, B. (1998). *Weg und Wandlung. Zur Spiritualität heutiger Jakobspilger und –pilgerinnen* [Road and transformation. On the spirituality of contemporary pilgrims on the Camino]. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag.
- Heelas, P., Woodhead, L., Seel, B., Szerszynski, B., & Tusting, K. (2005). *The spiritual revolution: Why religion is giving way to spirituality*. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.
- Hoof, M. (2010). *Freiwilligenarbeit und Religiosität* [Volunteering and religiosity]. Berlin: LIT Verlag.
- Imber-Black, E., Roberts, J., & Whiting, R. A. (Eds.). (1998). *Rituale* [Ritual]. Heidelberg: Carl-Auer-Systeme Verlag.
- Jung, C. G. (1993). *Der Mensch und seine Symbole* [Man and his symbols]. Olten: Walter.
- Keenan, W. J. F. (2012). Family resemblances twixt implicit religion and postmodernity: A fecund framework for engaging new times. *Implicit Religion, 15*, 5–24.
- Kerkeling, H. (2006). *Ich bin dann mal weg – Meine Reise auf dem Jakobsweg* [I'm off then: Losing and finding myself on the Camino de Santiago]. München: Malik.

- Kiss, K. (1999). *Abschied und Neubeginn: Die Funktion christlicher Schwellenrituale aus psychologischer Sicht* [Parting and restart: the function of Christian rites of passage from a psychological perspective]. Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus-Verlagsgesellschaft.
- Leontiev, A. N. (1982). *Tätigkeit, bewusstsein, persönlichkeit* [Activity, consciousness, personality]. Köln: Pahl-Rugenstein.
- Luckmann, T. (1985). Riten als Bewältigung lebensweltlicher Grenzen [Rites as means of coping with social-environmental boundaries]. *Schweizer Zeitschrift für Soziologie*, 3, 535–550.
- MacCannell, D. (1973). Staged authenticity: Arrangements of social space in tourist settings. *American Journal of Sociology*, 79, 589–603.
- Pali, S. (2010). "Ein Pilger ist der, welcher geht, und der, welcher sucht." *Eine Längsschnittstudie zu Lebenssinn und Lebensbedeutungen bei Pilgern des Jakobswegs* ["A pilgrim is he who walks and he who searches." A longitudinal study on meaning in life and sources of meaning among pilgrims of the Camino] (Unpublished thesis). Innsbruck University, Austria.
- Platvoet, J. (1995). Ritual in plural and pluralist societies: Instruments for analysis. In J. Platvoet & K. v. d. Toorn (Eds.), *Pluralism and identity* (pp. 25–51). Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Ryff, C. D., & Singer, B. (1998). The contours of positive human health. *Psychological Inquiry*, 9, 1–28.
- Schnell, T. (2003). A framework for the study of implicit religion: The psychological theory of implicit religiosity. *Implicit Religion*, 6, 86–104.
- Schnell, T. (2008). Deutsche in der Sinnkrise? Ein Einblick in die Sinnforschung mit Daten einer repräsentativen deutschen Stichprobe [Germans in a crisis of meaning? An introduction to empirical research on meaning, based on nationally representative German data]. *Journal für Psychologie*, 16(3), Article 09.
- Schnell, T. (2009a). *Implizite Religiosität: Zur Psychologie des Lebenssinns* [Implicit religiosity: On the psychology of meaning in life] (Rev. ed.). Lengerich: Pabst.
- Schnell, T. (2009b). The Sources of Meaning and Meaning in Life Questionnaire (SoMe): Relations to demographics and well-being. *Journal of Positive Psychology*, 4, 483–499.
- Schnell, T. (2010). Existential indifference: Another quality of meaning in life. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, 50, 351–373.
- Schnell, T. (2011a). Individual differences in meaning-making: Considering the variety of sources of meaning, their density and diversity. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 51, 667–673.
- Schnell, T. (2011b). Experiential validity: Psychological approaches to the sacred. *Implicit Religion*, 14, 387–404.
- Schnell, T., & Becker, P. (2006). Personality and meaning in life. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 41, 117–129.
- Schnell, T., & Becker, P. (2007). *Der Fragebogen zu Lebensbedeutungen und Lebenssinn (LeBe)* [The Sources of Meaning and Meaning in Life Questionnaire (SoMe)]. Göttingen: Hogrefe.
- Schnell, T., & Hoof, M. (2012). Meaningful commitment: Finding meaning in volunteer work. *Journal of Beliefs & Values*, 33, 35–53.
- Schnell, T., & Keenan, W. J. F. (2011). Meaning-making in an atheist world. *Archive for the Psychology of Religion*, 33, 55–78.
- Selvini-Palazzoli, M., Boscolo, L., Cecchin, G. F., & Prata, G. (1977). Family rituals as powerful tool in family therapy. *Family Process*, 16, 445–454.
- Shuo, Y. S. S., Ryan, C., & Liu, G. M. (2009). Taoism, temples and tourists: The case of Mazu pilgrimage tourism. *Tourism Management*, 30, 581–588.
- Soja, E. (1980). Socio-spatial dialectic. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 70, 207–225.
- Swatos, W. H. Jr., & Tomasi, L. (2002). *From medieval pilgrimage to religious tourism: The social and cultural economics of piety*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Turner, V., & Turner, E. (1969). *The ritual process*. London: Routledge.
- Turner, V., & Turner, E. (1978). *Image and pilgrimage in Christian culture*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Voas, D., & Day, A. (2007). Secularity in Great Britain. In B. Kosmin & A. Keysar (Eds.), *Secularism and secularity* (pp. 95–110). Hartford, CT: Institute for the Study of Secularism in Society and Culture.
- Welter-Enderlin, R., & Hildenbrand, B. (Eds.). (2002). *Rituale – Vielfalt in Alltag und Therapie* [Rituals - variety in everyday life and therapy]. Heidelberg: Carl-Auer-SystemeVerlag.