

Such people include the guardians of the shrine or sellers of shrine souvenirs (Eade and Sallnow 1991: 5). Although others and one editor himself have later pointed out that this new agenda was perhaps not as revolutionary as proclaimed (Eade 2000: xiv; Margry and Post 1994: 23), the focus on pilgrimage as contest and competing discourses is still enlightening. In the case of Fortuyn, not only the participants in the tour – to whom I also refer as pilgrims or followers – are important but also the organisers, the political parties LPF and Leefbaar Rotterdam, and the journalists. By the way, if there is no single meaning of the pilgrimage for its participants, no uniform definition of “pilgrimage” can be taken for granted (Eade and Sallnow 1991: 3), and again we do not have to be overly bothered by the definitional question whether the Fortuyn tour is a pilgrimage or not.



Map: Fortuyn memorial sites in the Netherlands (Amsterdam and The Hague have been added as points of orientation).

The following outline of the Fortuyn tour is based on observations made on 6 May 2005, when I participated in the pilgrimage. There are also tours on 19 February (Fortuyn's birthday), and 20 July (to commemorate the reburial in Provesano), but these attract fewer followers. As I understand from the regular participants, there are variations and the pilgrimage I joined had the most extensive itinerary. There have been organised pilgrimages

to Provesano too, but they do not form part of the analysis here.¹¹

Actually, the pilgrimage consists of three parts. The first part is a bus trip from Rotterdam (where Fortuyn lived) to the Dutch TV studios at the so-called Media Park in Hilversum, then on to his temporary burial site in Driehuis, and back to Rotterdam (Map). The roundtrip is about 210 km. The second part consists of a march through Rotterdam on foot. The march starts at the zoo, which was also the main collector point for the bus trip, and goes via Fortuyn's house to a statue in the centre of Rotterdam. The third part is a meeting at a large cafe during the evening. The programme was almost the same in 2006, except the second part, as will be explained in the last section of this article.

The bus tour started in Rotterdam at 8:45 a.m. There were thirty passengers, not counting a few journalists. Remarkable was the presence of a couple with two young children and two women of over seventy-five years (Table 1). With self-mockery, a person remarked: “Fortunately, the bus has tinted windows, so people won't notice how empty it is.” Most people were middle-aged. Three men wore a typical Pim Fortuyn necktie (broad, diagonal stripes). One of them was a Pim Fortuyn look-alike with his bald head and idiosyncratic tie. At least two women wore a T-shirt bearing Fortuyn's image.

Table 1: Estimated Age and Sex Composition on the Bus (Rotterdam–Hilversum).

Age	men	women
< 10	1	1
20 ≤ 30	3	2
30 ≤ 45	5	5
45 ≤ 65	4	7
75 ≤	0	2
Total	13	17

At the Media Park, the group got off the bus and walked to a copper plaque on the ground that marked the place where Fortuyn was shot.

¹¹ One follower had spent four days at Provesano and observed that Dutch visitors arrived “regularly” to place flowers on his grave. All LPF candidates in the parliamentary election of January 2003 went jointly to Provesano for team building and inspiration. A large commemoration in Provesano is envisaged for 2007, the fifth anniversary of Fortuyn's death.