

PILGRIMAGE AND TRAVEL ON ROUTE 66:  
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF TRAVELERS AND SHRINES

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A Thesis

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Arts  
in Anthropology

Northern Arizona University

December 2015

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## ABSTRACT

### PILGRIMAGE AND TRAVEL ON ROUTE 66: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF TRAVELERS AND SHRINES

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People come from all over the world to drive the Mother Road. Eight states in America and 10 foreign countries have Route 66 associations. Individuals belonging to European Route 66 associations plan to hold the first European Route 66 Festival in the summer of 2016. Why is Route 66 such an important worldwide cultural phenomenon? This thesis explores how Route 66 travel has become so popular amongst travelers from both the United States and countries around the world. This research focuses on foreign travelers' motivations, experiences, and revelations driving the Mother Road, and views travel along Route 66 as a form of secular pilgrimage.

Pilgrimage travel on Route 66 allows an individual to transcend beyond the tourist experience and engage in events outside of their normal lives. During the journey, the traveler experiences the mythology, nostalgia, and authenticity surrounding the road and even encounters a shift in their identity. Foreign travelers adopt an "American" identity created by their experiences traveling Route 66. During the journey, the individual also engages in the *communitas* of Route 66 fellow travelers.

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## **Acknowledgements**

This thesis would not be possible without the assistance and support from many individuals. First, I would like to thank my committee chair, Dr. Miguel Vasquez, and my committee members, Dr. Jill Dubisch, Dr. Christian E. Downum, and Mr. R. Sean Evans. They each provided much guidance, support, and patience with me, for which I am forever grateful. I would also like to thank Mrs. Pamela Lamb in the Anthropology Office for her kindness and assistance.

Thank you to all my participants for your help. I hope this thesis reaches you all and you realize how helpful you have been in my research. I consider you all friends! To Mr. Angel Delgadillo and family, I am so very thankful for all your help, support, and dedication to Route 66. I hope we can work together to keep the road alive for future generations!

I would like to thank my friends and family for all their love and support through this process. A special thanks to Shannon Caplan for all your help with random graduate school questions and for still being my friend despite the many questions. I greatly appreciate your support and friendship. I would like to especially thank Ginger Thompson, who has stuck with me through this whole process, supported me, and found ways to make me laugh even on the toughest days. Thank you, my Coconut!

Thank you to my family: my dad, Bill, my grandparents, and my step-dad for all providing love, support, and much faith that I could get through graduate school successfully. To Bronwen, Freyja, Fiona, and Guinness, I know this has been just as crazy for you all, but I love each of you, and thank you for all your love. There were times I think you saved me from insanity.

Finally, I dedicate this thesis to Christine I. Smith and Jeffrey Charest:

I want to thank my travel partner, trip navigator, my friend, and mother, Christine, for all your love and extremely strong belief in me. You always believed in me—even in the darkest moments. This thesis and degree is in part yours, because I would not be here without you. I am so thankful the Route 66 trip finally happened—even getting lost in St. Louis! I will always remember and cherish the birth of T-Rex and T-Rex driving! (And Rest in Peace, Banerjee!)

Last but certainly not least, I would like to thank my husband, Jeff. Thank you for all your help and suggestions on various assignments and thesis drafts. Thank you for believing in me even when I could not believe in myself. I could not have done this without you! Your faith in me has been just amazing. The fact you still love me after this journey is even more amazing! Thank you Jeff, I love you! However, I am not promising I won't drag you to more car shows and Route 66 events.

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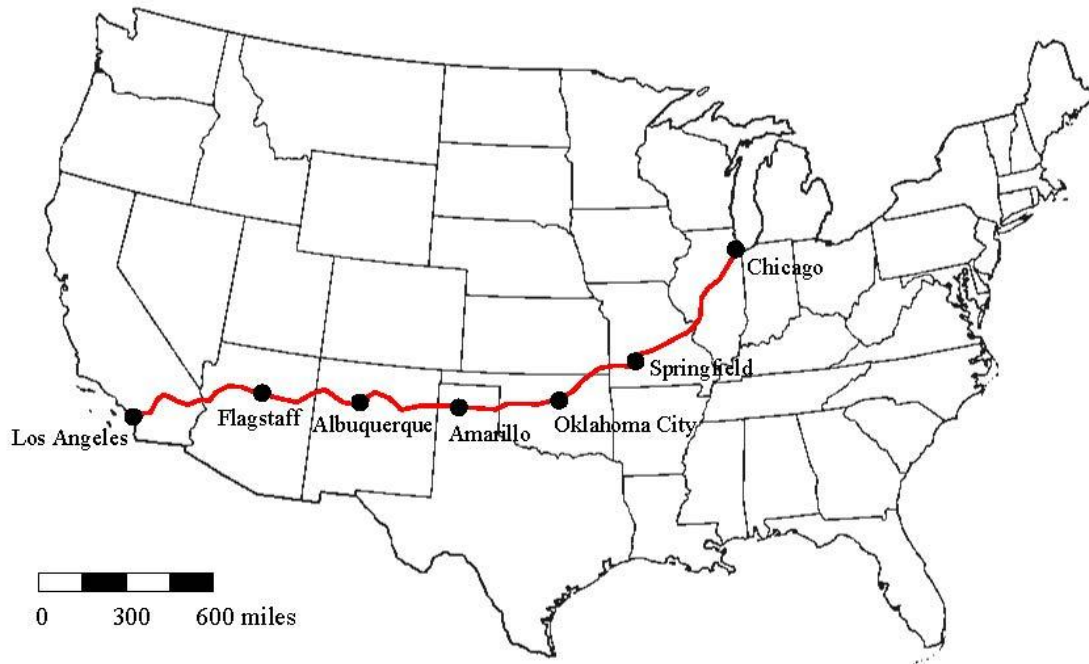
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## Chapter 1

### Introduction



**Figure 1. Map showing Route 66 and major cities.**

From 1926 until the signing of the Federal-Aid Act in 1956 that funded 41,000 miles of interstate systems in the United States (Keane et al. 2004:28; FWHA 1977:254-255), Route 66 served as the main U.S. highway connecting Chicago, Illinois to Los Angeles, California. The road passed through eight states: Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and ended in California. Changes to alignments occurred over time with road shifts and removal of segments. The final decommissioning of Route 66 occurred in 1984 with the bypass of Williams, Arizona by Interstate 40. Despite the seeming demise of Route 66, the late 1980s saw the road regain popularity as an American cultural icon attracting both Americans and foreign visitors (Scott and Kelly 1988; Wallis 1990). Associations such as the Route 66 Association in Arizona, backed by Angel Delgadillo of

Seligman also served as an impetus to promote and preserve Route 66 (Association: About the Historic Route 66 Association of Arizona).

Flash forward to 2015, 31 years after Interstate 40 bypassed Williams. We are currently in the middle of an intense Route 66 rebirth. Route 66 associations exist in all eight states the road passes through, and international associations exist as well. This rebirth has created an influx of Route 66 events in the United States and draws in travelers from all over the world. For example, in 2014 the International Route 66 Festival in Kingman, Arizona drew in both local and foreign visitors. Speakers at the conference portion of the festival included Dries Bessels from the Dutch Route 66 Association, Wolfgang Werz from the German Route 66 Association, and Zdenek Jurasek from the Czech Route 66 Association. Stuttgart, Germany will host the first European Route 66 Festival in 2016. Events include a book signing by Route 66 author, Jim Hinckley, tourism vendors for all Route 66 states, German and European tour operators for United States travel, exhibits, car and motorcycle rental information, Harleys and vintage American cars, and entertainment including country, rock, and rockabilly music. The coordinators expect attendance from the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Sweden, the Czech Republic/Slovakia, and the United States (1<sup>st</sup> European Route 66 Festival). In Arizona, the Fun Run, discussed later in this thesis, has seen over 800 participants and an even higher number of attendees (Annual Historic Route 66 Fun Run). Some Fun Run participants travel from foreign countries to attend the event. Besides Route 66 events, a plethora of books have been written and documentaries made on the subject, including book and documentary versions of *Billy Connolly's Route 66* (Connolly and Uhlig 2012) and the Czech Route 66 Association's most recent production, *Route 66 Revisited*.

Understanding this rebirth means understanding traveler motivations of American and non-Americans along Route 66. To explore traveler motivations fully, we must understand road culture, nostalgia, and the identities that individuals create for themselves while traveling the Mother Road. Perhaps one of the best ways to explore traveler motivations is via understanding Route 66 travel as a form of pilgrimage. This study explores the Route 66 travel experience by placing it in the context of the anthropology of pilgrimage and the anthropology of travel/tourism.

I argue that Route 66 travel is a form of secular pilgrimage that includes many of the characteristics of a traditional pilgrimage. Route 66 pilgrimage includes secular variants of shrines, “holy” people, and pilgrimage centers. I chose to explore the phenomenon of Route 66 using an anthropological approach focusing on the anthropology of pilgrimage. I focused on the anthropology of pilgrimage and Victor Turner’s concepts of liminality and *communitas* due to the nature of Route 66 as a popular destination among American and international travelers.

This thesis also examines literature on the differences and similarities among tourism, heritage tourism, and pilgrimage. I found that tourism, heritage tourism, and pilgrimage of Route 66 are heavily tied to concepts in myth, nostalgia studies, identity creation, and authenticity. As discussed later, these concepts tie in to liminality and *communitas* within the anthropological constructs of a pilgrimage framework. Concerning authenticity, travelers in this study expressed an interest in experiencing the “real” America and sought out “authentic” experiences during their travels. In addition to this, travelers often identified with differing types of travelers—some looking for an authentic historic experience while others searched for nostalgic elements along the road.

Even shrines exist on Route 66. As part of the overall experience, my research indicated that “shrines” played an integral role in Route 66 as a type of pilgrimage. Based on my research, the “shrines” encountered are not limited to physical buildings. They also include individuals who play an important role to the Route 66 experience, including Angel Delgadillo. The Route 66 experience as studied from the anthropology of pilgrimage indicates that for some travelers, Route 66 travel goes beyond the realm of tourism and falls squarely into the realm of pilgrimage.

### *Purpose*

The purpose of this thesis is to illustrate that travel of Route 66, particularly by foreign travelers, can be seen as a type of pilgrimage. International travelers serve as the focus of this thesis. My research shows that these travelers tend to undergo the biggest undertakings and transformations during their journeys. All travel exceptionally long distances to come to America, and many must work through language barriers to engage in the American experience. Travelmath.com calculates that a flight from Auckland, New Zealand to Chicago, Illinois takes almost 17 hours (on a non-stop flight). The trip to America also can be financially significant. Some of these individuals have stated they traveled to the United States to fulfill a bucket list item, or because it was a trip of a lifetime. This thesis intends to understand the motivations of these travelers and to explore why they undertake this type of journey.

In addition, this thesis serves to explore Route 66 as a pilgrimage destination. Exploring Route 66 as a type of pilgrimage is a relatively new concept and very little on Route 66 travel exists in pilgrimage and heritage tourism literature. I am aware of only two Northern Arizona University theses exploring Route 66 through either tourism or pilgrimage

and they include Michelle McNulty's study on tourism and tourism branding and promotion in Flagstaff and Courtney Carlson's study on Route 66 motels on the National Register of Historic Places using the theoretical frameworks of pilgrimage and national identity formation. My intentions for this thesis are to help add to Route 66 studies, provide insight to travelers and those who work along the road, and to promote Route 66 travel awareness. I also hope that this thesis will help foster an anthropological perspective for programs like the National Park Service Road Ahead Initiative.

## Chapter 2

### Study Significance

The interest in the Mother Road has spawned international Route 66 associations from Canada to Brazil, from Europe to Japan. In the United States, all of the eight Route 66 states have associations. The National Park Service and the World Monuments Fund have become involved with Route 66's future. In fact, in 2008, the World Monuments Fund placed Route 66 on its watch list, "to draw attention to the complex challenge of preserving not only an iconic cultural landscape, but a historic American experience" (Listokin et al. 2011:7). A study conducted by Rutgers in collaboration with the National Park Service Route 66 Corridor Preservation Program and the World Monuments Fund and funded by American Express (Listokin et al. 2011), assessed the economic impact "of Route 66: tourism and travelers, museums, Main Street, the Mother Road's people and communities, and opportunities for enhanced preservation" (7). Their research found that travelers on Route 66 came from all 50 states (84.7%) and that 40 foreign countries were represented (15.3% of total respondents). In this study, most foreign travelers came from Europe or Canada, and of those, most came from the United Kingdom, Germany, and the Netherlands. Australia and New Zealand made up 63 of their 4,178 respondents (16).

In McNulty's study, 273 individuals responded to tourism questionnaires with 21% of those respondents visiting internationally (McNulty 2007:39). Also in McNulty's study, travelers knew of and planned to visit the Grand Canyon and Route 66 over any other local destination (41). She reported that 71% planned to visit Route 66 and that this statistic was even higher than the percentage planning to visit the Grand Canyon (42).



We know that travelers from around the world come to America to travel Route 66, but why is Route 66 so important? One traveler told a reporter that, “In Europe, it’s very much the epic American road trip...It’s the novelty of a bygone era” (Healy 2011). Zdenek Jurasek of the Czech Route 66 Association stated, “It is a life dream for these people to go on Route 66 because many years ago we were a communist country and many people dreamed of Route 66 because Route 66 is well-known” (Smith 2015).

In my research, I received many comments that explained different reasons for Route 66 travel similar to those above. As the research process continued, I saw that Route 66 is more than just a tourist destination. Travelers undergo a transformative process—whether they are American or international. The experiences travelers seek are heavily tied to the symbolic nature of Route 66. Route 66 encompasses nostalgia (Americana), small town U.S.A., simplicity, freedom and wide-open spaces, and nation-defining historical events. The symbols along Route 66 influence and shape the travelers’ experiences. These experiences form an American identity for the traveler—one that they would not experience if they had stayed home.

The pilgrimage experience leads to the altering of the identity of the traveler. Travelers enter a liminal state where they leave their normal lives to engage in out of the ordinary experiences and share their experiences with others along the road (Turner 1978). In terms of international Route 66 travelers, they go to great lengths to reach America. They must leave the comfort of their own home and own country, and sometimes their native language so they can participate in the “authentic” American Route 66 experience. The journey is not mere travel or tourism. Rather, Route 66 travelers engage in a secular pilgrimage that entails challenges, “shrines,” “pilgrimage centers,” and life altering

experiences. For some, this is a trip of a lifetime, something they can check off their “bucket list.” Others plan to return. However, for all of them, they undergo an identity forming experience.

## Chapter 3

### Historical Background

Route 66, the “Main Street of America,” encompasses 2,448 miles (Antonson 2012:3). The road’s evolution from early beginnings to its modern iteration as a tourist or pilgrim destination contributed and continues to contribute to the deep and meaningful symbolism of Route 66 and helps to preserve the tangible and intangible elements of the road. Alignments have shifted over the years, segments sit in ruin, some segments sit under the ‘modern’ Interstate 40, but the road’s history is rich. In *Hip to the Trip: A Cultural History of Route 66*, Peter B. Dedek (2007:63) writes:

Like Route 66, many old U.S. highways functioned as major auto and truck routes, but only Route 66 earned a widespread, international following. Its role as a cultural symbol contributed more to the fame of Route 66 than its significance as an actual highway.

Many people believe Route 66 has more significance than any other route in America—or in some cases, the world. Besides representing freedom and a bygone era, the road and its associated structures represent many personal histories from those who traveled it in pursuit of a better life during the Great Depression to those who undertook the quintessential American road trip. Dedek (5) writes:

To some contemporary enthusiasts, the highway is a symbol and remnant of the good old days’ of the 1950s, which they believe was a moral and upstanding period of American history. For others, the highway represents the beginnings of the freewheeling road culture of individuals such as Jack Kerouac, who helped spawn the cultural changes of the 1960s. Others see Route 66 primarily as the road of migration and ‘flight’ of the Okies and, later, of GIs returning from the Second World War looking for a new life in California. To most Americans, Route 66 represents the quintessential American highway and the route through the Southwest where the Old West lives on.

Route 66’s symbolic history illustrates the importance of the road within American culture.

Dedek (63) believes that three events occurred that cemented Route 66 in the minds of

Americans: John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*, Bobby Troup's song, *Route 66*, and *Route 66*, the television series.

The 2006 Disney Pixar film, *Cars*, more recently contributed to the interest of Route 66 in popular culture, as well. In *Cars*, a race car finds himself stranded in Radiator Springs, a Route 66 town bypassed by the Interstate (Antonson 2012:11). The following quote from *Cars* extracts one of the film's morals about Route 66 and its place in history:

Sally: Forty years ago, that interstate down there didn't exist.

Lightning McQueen: Really?

Sally: Yeah. Back then, cars came across the country a whole different way.

Lightning McQueen: How do you mean?

Sally: Well, the road didn't cut through the land like that interstate. It moved with the land, it rose, it fell, it curved. Cars didn't drive on it to make great time. They drove on it to have a great time.

Segments of Route 66 have been part of larger trails and roadways over the years including the Beale Wagon Road. The Beale Wagon Road, Atlantic and Pacific Railroad, National Old Trails, and the National Park-to-Park Highway all initially formed from prehistoric trails that provided links to trade and water sources (Cleeland 1989:E1). The Beale Wagon Road and the transcontinental Atlantic and Pacific Railroad served as early templates for construction (Stein 1996:E2). The Beale Wagon Road, surveyed in 1857 and 1858 by Lieutenant Edward Fitzgerald Beale, traveled along the 35<sup>th</sup> parallel from Fort Smith, Arkansas ending at the Colorado River. In 1859, Beale and his crew constructed an approximately 1,000 miles of road (Keane et al. 2004:37). Federally funded, the Beale road cost \$120,000. In the 1880s, surveyors for the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad followed the path of Beale's road (Cleeland 1989:E1).

Other early segments of Route 66 include the Lone Star Route running from Chicago to Beeville, Texas, U.S. 66, 67, and 59, the National Old Trails from Baltimore to Los

Angeles, U.S. 50 and 66, the Ozark Trail from St. Louis to El Paso, U.S. 66, 277, and 80, the Santa Fe Trail from Independence, Missouri to Santa Fe, U.S. 56 and 66, and finally the Will Rogers Memorial Highway, Chicago to Los Angeles, U.S. 66 (Kaszynski 2000:42).

In 1912, one of the many Good Roads Associations, The National Highways Association, fought for the development of a national highway system (Keane et al. 2004:16). This decision led to the formation of the National Old Trails Road Association (Dedek 2007:30). The road was named for the linking of old trail segments (Cleeland 1989:E4) such as the old Beale Wagon Road. The goal of the National Old Trails Road Association was:

to promote a coast-to-coast highway concept that followed existing railroad alignments and roughly paralleled a series of old wagon roads, including Beale's Road. The 'National Old Trails Road' followed the old Cumberland Road from Washington D.C., to St. Louis and from there traced the old Santa Fe Trail southwest to Albuquerque, then up to Santa Fe and then followed the approximate path of the Santa Fe Railroad tracks across western New Mexico, Arizona, and down into Southern California (Dedek 2007:30).

Besides Route 66 having roots along the Beale Wagon Trail and the National Old Trails Road, the National Park-to-Park Highway traversed much of the Old Trails Highway, later Route 66, through Arizona and California (National Park-to-Park Highway Map; The National Old Trails Road Map). The National Park-to-Park Highway served to connect western National Parks further opening up the west (Repanshek 2009).

The National Old Trails Road became Route 66 in November 1926 when Congress approved a highway numbering system fought for in part by Cyrus Avery (Dedek 2007:33). Avery, an Oklahoman with interests in oil, real estate, and coal mining pushed for a better road system, particularly one that included Oklahoma. In July 1913, Avery joined the Ozark Trail Association, and by 1914, he served as Tulsa's county commissioner (Antonson

2012:77-78). Avery also functioned as the Associated Highways Association president, which included 42 of the good roads groups (Dedek 2007:33). By 1923, he became Oklahoma's highway commissioner and focused on roadway improvement in the state (Antonson 2012:79). In addition to his many affiliations, he led the American Association of State Highway Officials, which recommended a uniform method for highway numbering. In 1925, Congress passed a bill that would allow a committee to form a uniform highway numbering system (Dedek 2007:33). The numbering system centered on geographic location. All north-south routes received odd numbers, and all east-west routes received even numbers (Cleeland 1989:E4). In the end, Avery obtained the numbering system he fought for and "secured 415 miles of the new route within Oklahoma—more miles than any other state...Route 66 would form 2,400 miles of what soon became an 80,000 mile network of federal highways" (Antonson 2012:85). Concerning Route 66, Avery stated, "We designed Route 66 as the most important highway in the US and it will carry more traffic than any other road in America" (Kelly 2014:37 in *Show Me Route 66*). In order for Route 66 to serve as a viable roadway, paving needed to occur. Paving of Route 66 began on the eastern and western ends first. Paving completion occurred in 1937. Pavement types ranged from concrete to bricks (Scott and Kelly 1988:24-25).

During World War II and after World War II traffic and travel increased along Route 66. By 1956, the interstate system slowly began bypassing sections of the route (Krim 2005:129). The interstate system grew out of the need for roadway expansion. The Federal Highway Administration of 1944 authorized and initiated a plan to connect major cities and industrial centers via an interstate highway (Cleeland 1989:E7). In 1944, Congress passed the first Federal-Aid Highway Act for the interstate system (Keane et al. 2004:26; FHWA

1977:272). In addition, the end of WWII caused a major western migration event as many traveled or moved to the west. This western expansion further supported the need to create an interstate system (Cleeland 1989:E7). By 1954, Congress passed a Federal-Aid Highway Act to fund these new roadways (Kaszynski 2000:163). Route 66's demise came in 1956 when Eisenhower signed the Federal-Aid Act that would fund 41,000 miles of interstate systems (Keane et al. 2004:28; FWHA 1977:254-255) slowly bypassing Route 66 in all eight states. By the 1980s, Interstates 55, 44, 40, 15, and 10 (Dedek 2007:66) had entirely replaced Route 66.

In 1984, Williams, Arizona was the last town bypassed. The commemoration of the event included a performance of "Get Your Kicks on Route 66" by Bobby Troupe (Cleeland 1993:15). During this ceremony, a state highway official whispered to Dennis Lund, the Kaibab National Forest recreation officer, 'I don't know why everyone's making such a fuss. Route 66 is like an old can of tuna—once you've used it up, you throw it away' (Dedek 2007:66; Teri Cleeland, Personal Communication, October 21, 2013).

Not everyone agreed with the state highway official's sentiment. Some along Route 66 did let go of the road, but others fought to keep the road alive. In 1987, Juan and Angel Delgadillo, businesspersons in Seligman, Arizona, worked with others to form the Arizona Route 66 Association. The group focused on promoting Route 66 travel (Cleeland 1994:3). Angel Delgadillo has since retired from the association and from his barbershop business, but he still makes appearances at the shop and gives a foreign traveler a shave or haircut. Angel and Vilma Delgadillo's Original Route 66 shop serves as a pilgrimage location in itself (Plate 1). During the summer months, travelers must dodge packed tour busses and motorcycle groups while continuously circling around Angel and Vilma's and the Sno-Cap

seeking out a spot to park. Inside the gift shop, flocks of travelers speaking French, German, Dutch, and Japanese seek out their perfect piece of Route 66 memorabilia to take home.



**Plate 1. Stickers in the window at Angel and Vilma’s Original Route 66 Shop in Seligman, Arizona.**

In 2001, The National Park Service established a preservation program to help promote and preserve Route 66’s cultural heritage (Savage 2002:26). The program’s roots lie in the Route 66 Study Act of 1990 and Public Law 101-400. The Route 66 Study Act presented options for management of Route 66, and included the National Park Service involvement to: protect resources, designate Route 66 as a National Historic Trail, no action at all, create a commemorative highway status for the road, and lastly designate the road as a National Heritage Highway. In addition, the Study Act served to explore additional aspects of Route 66 heritage (Dedek 2002:13).

The Route 66 Special Resources Study, aided in the enactment of Public Law 106-45. In turn, Public Law 106-45 enabled the Route 66 Corridor Preservation Program (History and Significance of U.S. Route 66). Route 66 received the status of National Heritage



Highway and a partnership between the National Park Service and local groups emerged (Dedek 2002:14). This program offers preservation and research assistance for associated properties including road segments and provides grants to aid in the preservation process. The program also assists individuals and agencies with interpretation needs and management planning (National Park Service Route 66 Cost-Share Program). The Route 66 Corridor Preservation Program will end in 2019 (Kaisa Barthuli, Personal Communication, July 28, 2015), however, in 2013, a roundtable consisting of organizational leaders and stakeholders met to develop Route 66: The Road Ahead Initiative. Their working mission

includes plans for a representative elected board, and working groups/committees that will promote tourism, preservation, Route 66 Associations (advocacy), economic development, and education. The goal is a fresh, inclusive approach for Route 66 that represents all stakeholders — everybody with dedication and passion for the Road. (Route 66: The Road Ahead Initiative).

We cannot predict the physical future of Route 66, but because of its rich history, the preservation efforts made by governmental agencies, and the popularity of the road amongst tourists from across the world, Route 66 has become a destination travelers purposefully seek out. As will be seen, travelers experience both tangible and intangible aspects of the road through which they explore identities, memories, heritage, and nostalgia through their travels. These travelers seek an experience out of the ordinary.

## Chapter 4

### Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

Studies of pilgrimage and tourism suggest that the lines between the two have continued to blur in the twenty-first century (Collins-Kreiner 2010:444). Turner and Turner (1978) state,

a tourist is half a pilgrim, if a pilgrim is half a tourist. Even when people bury themselves in anonymous crowds on beaches, they are seeking an almost sacred, often symbolic, mode of *communitas*, generally unavailable to them in the structured life of the office, the shop floor, or the mine (20).

Turner uses Arnold van Gennep's framework concerning rites of passage. According to Gennep, there are three phases that include "separation, limen or margin, and aggregation" (Turner and Turner 1978:2).

Gennep and Turners' idea of the process of liminality is illustrated through the extrication of oneself from everyday life in order to carry out a pilgrimage (Margry 2008:27). In both pilgrimage and tourism, individuals leave their normal routine to encounter atypical experiences and then return to their normal lives (Reader 1993:6). According to Michalowski and Dubisch (2001:166), "one is in a different time and place, symbolically speaking from ordinary life" when they enter into the liminal state. Caton and Santos' (2007) study on heritage tourism explores travelers' experiences on Route 66 and illustrates an example of a liminal encounter. According to one particular traveler in a group of motorcycle tourists, many participants were older office workers who spent most of their time indoors using their mental muscles and not used to physical challenge. He stated that many had never even ridden on motorcycles before and found themselves outside of their comfort zones in unusual situations (379).

When travelers enter into liminality, “the ordinary divisions and distinctions of society are dissolved, at least for the time, and participants enter a state of equality and shared experience” (Michalowski and Dubisch 2001:166). This state symbolizes the concept of *communitas*. Turner (1992:58) defines *communitas* as “a relational quality of full unmediated communication, even communion between definite and determinate identities, which arises spontaneously in all kinds of groups, situations, and circumstances.” *Communitas* can cause barriers between cultures, as well as social distinctions, to diminish (Dubisch 1996:69; Zwissler 2011:333; Margry 2008:21). Caton and Santos describe the process travelers in their study underwent:

For the Europeans, traveling Route 66 was liberating, in that it provided an opportunity to interact with people from other social backgrounds in a setting that deemphasized income and status. At the outset of the trip, their interactions felt awkward, but ultimately, they were able to transcend their normal expectations and form diverse new friendships. They also felt that the tour had been an exercise in teamwork... (383).

This quote illustrates the transformative processes of liminality and *communitas*. These travelers left home and drove Route 66 on motorcycles with a tour group, challenging themselves and sharing the experience with fellow group members. Through this process, they created friendships and memories that they reincorporated back into their daily lives.

The Pilgrim’s experiences result in a transformation that causes an individual to return to his or her normal life but as a different person than before he or she left (Dubisch 1996:67). In some cases, individuals encounter feelings of loss (Frey 2004:105) as they return home to their everyday routines. Frey continues to say that pilgrims “live in societies where there is little if any social or ritual recognition for the homecomer” (105). In certain circumstances, pilgrims form associations to maintain the connections made during their pilgrimage (105). In my own experience, I encountered a feeling of hollowness after my

journey ended. I avidly read Route 66 travel books to attempt to continue the adventure and keep the connections I made alive.

### *Defining Pilgrimage*

As the differences and similarities between pilgrimage and tourism continue to blur according to some anthropologists, the definition of pilgrimage becomes increasingly more difficult to pinpoint. Traditionally, when people think of pilgrimages, they tend to think of religious locales such as the Camino de Santiago, Lourdes, or Mecca, but not all pilgrimages are religious in nature. According to Turner and Turner (1978:6), “All sites of pilgrimage have this in common: they are believed to be places where miracles once happened, still happen, and may happen again.”

The term "secular pilgrimage" further complicates the more recent ideas of what a pilgrimage entails (Margry 2008:20). While Turner and Turner are still credited with creating the theoretical framework and underpinnings of pilgrimage, newer concepts defining pilgrimage have since developed. Dubisch (1996:68) describes pilgrimage as a “journey to a place that is conceived as special. It is ‘different’, but different in a particular way, for this place possesses powers that one does not find at home.” Based on Morinis (1992), Porter (2004) defines pilgrimage

as any journey undertaken by a person in quest of a place or a state that he or she believes to embody a valued ideal...Pilgrimage centers are the embodiment of these intensified ideals, which represent ‘the collective ideals of the culture.’ These collective ideals, in turn, can be understood as ‘sacred’ in that they ‘are the image of perfection that a human being sets out to encounter or become on a pilgrimage...it is the pursuit of the ideal (whether deified or not) that defines the sacred journey’...Although *Star Trek* conventions are admittedly secular forums, they are forums that are understood by many fans to embody cultural ideals (161).

A traditional non-secular pilgrimage contains a journey, religion or spiritualism, individuals or groups, and sacred places (Margry 2008:17) amongst other characteristics.

Margry states that the main goal of a pilgrimage is sacred, religious, and involves a “cultus object” (for example a sacred relic, a statue, or a shrine) (29). Without these, he says there is no pilgrimage. In addition, a typical traditional pilgrimage also includes a difficult to access centrally located place (Doss 2008:132). Part of what makes a pilgrimage special and different from typical tourism is a focus on romanticized ideas of challenges and hardships along the way (Margry 2008:17). Sacred places are sometimes situated in remote, difficult to access, or dangerous places. For example, Hindi pilgrims must cover the final 30 miles of the journey to the Amarnath cave shrine on a dangerous mountain path (Preston 1992:36). In Greece, challenges during a pilgrimage can even include crawling to a shrine on hands and knees (Dubisch 1996:69). The difficulties of the traditional pilgrimage magnify the experience and bring the pilgrim closer to a spiritual level. The dichotomy between suffering and ecstasy is found throughout religious ideologies. In order to reach the ecstatic, a pilgrim must go through a trial of suffering: “The special relationship of affliction and holiness, which began with Christ’s Passion, was one of the enduring traditions of Christianity” (Atkinson 1985:214).

With the narrowing of differentiation between pilgrimage and tourist travel, some are beginning to feel pilgrimages are becoming too touristic and a lack of hardship make these pilgrimages too luxurious (Zwissler 2011:331). The penance elements are missing from secular pilgrimage, but pilgrims on Route 66 do encounter hardships. Pilgrims sometimes choose and accept hardships as part of the journey, but sometimes pilgrims encounter unwelcome hardships as well.

### *Pilgrimage and Tourism*

Schramm (2004:134) writes that within the more recent literature “the framing of pilgrimage within the discourse and practice of the tourism industry is far from unusual.” Newer studies on secular pilgrimage (Margry 2008; Badone and Roseman 2004) focus on travel to sites such as Jim Morrison’s grave, motorcycle pilgrimages, and *Star Trek* conventions. Reader (1993:5) says that pilgrimages, according to the popular understanding, do not need to limit themselves to religiosity. Newer types of pilgrimages also include what Campo (1998:42-51) calls “symbolically rich sites.” He names Disneyland, Graceland, celebrity haunts, Super Bowl sites, and locations of the Olympics as examples of symbolic sites.

As pilgrimages have taken on more similarities to tourism, and pilgrimage sites have expanded to secular locations, the definition of pilgrimage has shifted. Eade and Sallnow (1991:5), “advocate analyzing each specific pilgrimage in terms of its particular social context and its ‘historically and culturally specific behaviours and meanings.’” For this reason, anthropologists can explore the potential of secular pilgrimages and tourism to non-traditional sites. Badone and Roseman (2004:2) further support this idea: “rigid dichotomies between pilgrimage and tourism, or pilgrims and tourists, no longer seem tenable in the shifting world of postmodern travel.”

Within the studies of pilgrimage and tourism, researchers, including anthropologists, have explored how the intersecting between the two creates meanings within a larger framework of pilgrimage and tourism studies. Margry (2008:29) sums up intersecting journeys based on Badone and Roseman (2004). He says that

The concept does not imply that tourism and pilgrimage are interchangeable. Intersections between the two only come to the fore when tourists allow themselves to be carried away...by the sacred experiences of the shrine or the pilgrimage.

As the pilgrim transitions from the everyday to the liminal, they move beyond their limitations. According to Pretzer (2004:267), travel “provides heightened—and broadened—sense of self.”

Nelson H.H. Graburn suggests that tourism is not unlike pilgrimage in that there are “structured break[s] from ordinary reality” (Hummon 1988:181). In his opinion, liminality occurs through the movement from one space to another, and as in “other rituals, tourism produces an iconography of sacred symbols and objects, memorialized in landmarks, souvenirs, and travel writing (181).

Badone and Roseman support the argument for the blurring of lines between pilgrimage and tourism by stating that structural differences between sacred “centers” and the “Other” have led to a transformation that has created “the new variety of ‘pilgrim-tourists’” (Badone and Roseman 2004:10). The concept of “pilgrim-tourist” has further shifted into the idea of cultural tourism. Of cultural tourism, Boissevain (1996:21) says that

cultural tourists are interested in the lifestyle of other people...their history, and the artifacts and monuments they have made. Thus this category also includes what some have called ethnic and historical tourism...Cultural tourism may be contrasted with recreational tourism—stereotypically focused on sun, sand, sea and sex.

This suggests that many modern day tourists seek out cultural experiences more in line with pilgrimages. Cultural tourists may appear to have more interests in common with the secular pilgrim.

### *Heritage and Cultural Tourism*

According to David Lowenthal, “Heritage is a malleable body of historical text subject to reinterpretations and easily twisted into myth.” (Donovan 2001:229). Heritage

tourism also focuses on both “interpretation and representation of the past” (Smith 2003:37). In terms of Route 66 as an American heritage site, Ann R. Carden (2006:58) states, “Route 66 has transcended to an almost sacred level.” In fact, Rutgers University in collaboration with the National Park Service and the World Monuments Fund conducted a study on Route 66 focusing on the Road’s “historic preservation, economic landscape, and heritage tourism” (Listokin et al. 2011:7). In 2008, Route 66 was listed on the World Monuments Watch “to draw attention to the complex challenge of preserving not only an iconic cultural landscape, but a historic American experience” (7). For foreign travelers, Route 66 has become an icon of American culture (Hurt et al. 2012:36). Heritage sites can develop into destinations that provide visitors with experiences that seem authentic (Shackel 2011:3). Often authenticity can be disputed, however.

The concept of heritage tourism now falls under the category of cultural tourism in some contexts (Roseman 2004:71). Cultural tourism has been defined:

as an exchange of information on lifeways, customs, beliefs, values, language, views of the environment, and other cultural resources. This exchange is always uneven; the challenge in planning for cultural tourism is to ensure that the exchange takes place as equitably as possible, in a manner seen as appropriate by members of the host community (Guyette and White 2003:169).

In relation to travel on Route 66 by European travelers, communities have found it necessary to establish museums and make historic sites accessible to interested parties (Hurt et al. 2012:36). In some instances of pilgrimage, the sense of community sought, means the search for what has been deemed as “a form of immortality or self-transcendence through identification with a timeless heritage—cultural, architectural, and material, or natural—that persists beyond the individual lifetime” (Badone 2004:184).



## *Myth*

Griffin and Hargis (2008:42) state “The past is memorialized in monuments, museums...and sacred and quasi-sacred commemorative rituals; it is packaged and sold as heritage tourism...and repeatedly drawn on as a repository of moral and practical lessons.” Heritage and cultural tourism lead to myth, nostalgia, and identity as they relate to pilgrimage, travel, and Route 66. Route 66 mythology includes ideologies of the open road and the road genre, and includes the “search for the elusive ‘American Dream’” (Ireland 2003:474). Of pilgrimage, Campo (1998:2) writes:

It is through ritualization which differentiates them from other types of social action, and the working of the human imagination that they [pilgrimages] can acquire their timeless, mythic qualities and sacrality. Ritualization (or commemoration) and imagination enable pilgrimages to take place.

Within a road genre pilgrimage, a traveler sometimes seeks out mythic representations, nostalgic experiences, and experiences tied to identity building. Ireland (2003:475) discusses the iconography used in the American West including cowboys, pioneers, and shoot-outs. He says that:

The West is associated with images of the frontier and the idea of freedom. East-West movement is the most common direction of passage in this genre, as travelers follow the traditional route of settlers and American Manifest Destiny. Therefore, this westward pilgrimage is often associated in this genre with a physical and spiritual movement from the constricted ‘Old World’ culture of the East to the wide-open spaces and freedom of a seemingly unclosed western frontier (475).

People traditionally travel Route 66 from east to west (Sean Evans, personal communication). Perhaps traveling the Road east to west is a byproduct of multiple reasons including the mythology of the west, the influences from the Great Depression and *The Grapes of Wrath*, and the road trips of the 1950 and 1960s to California and Disneyland.

As part of the mythos of Route 66 pilgrimage and travel, one must also consider the idea that Route 66 travel and pilgrimage can be construed as a “quest for the sacred”, characterized by a ‘pursuit of the ideal’” (Morinis 1992:15). For many Route 66 travelers, nostalgia for the past is this “pursuit of the ideal.”

### *Nostalgia*

The word “nostalgia” comes from Greek origins: “*nostos*, meaning ‘return,’ and *algos*, meaning ‘pain,’ ‘nostalgia’ literally means ‘a painful yearning for a return home...’” (Meltzer 2006:33). Classic Greek authors used nostalgia as a theme, for example, Homer’s *The Odyssey* employs the theme of nostalgia to express Odysseus’ strong desires to return home (33). According to Michael Pickering and Emily Keightley (2006:920), nostalgia now means, “longing for what is lacking in a changed present...a yearning for what is now unattainable...” Olivia Angé and David Berliner (2015:2) believe that this “permeates present-day discourses and practices.” They state that “*retromania*” (3) has invaded modern times and that a “nostalgic craze” glorifies the past.

Route 66 travel has become increasingly analyzed by researchers (Carden 2006; Caton and Santos 2007; Hurt et al. 2012; Listokin et al. 2011). Many researchers find that nostalgia plays an integral part in travelers’ Route 66 experiences. Caton and Santos’ (2007), however, argue that nostalgia theory does not fit within the experiences of travelers in their study, and furthermore they argue that their participants enjoy being part of a “living legacy” (380), but travelers’ interests lie outside of historical importance. They state that

participants did not appear to hold a predominantly past-oriented view of the site. Second, to the extent that history was a salient element of the experience for participants, none of them seemed to come away from the trip with a “rosy” view of the past. Third, rather than seeking and experiencing familiarity along Route 66, participants sought and experienced challenge and personal growth. Finally,

participants revealed themselves to be active constructors of their experiences, rather than passive recipients of information (380).

The results of the present study, along with those of other researchers, have demonstrated that nostalgia cannot be so easily dismissed, and that the role of nostalgia is important in exploring how Route 66 has become a destination for so many American and non-American travelers. Carden (2006:57) states that “between 1990 and 1995, the number of vehicles touring on Route 66 multiplied a hundred times. No longer a sign of old age, Route 66 was now a sign of nostalgia.” Dedek (2002:209) agrees that the then current wave of Route 66 travelers was due in part to nostalgia.

Caton and Santos (2007) argue that travelers do not actively engage the past when seeking a nostalgic experience. I argue that travelers seek nostalgic experiences along Route 66 as a way of participating in the past. Many travelers of the road know that often the modern experience on Route 66 is sanitized, but they also know and understand the history of Route 66. Respondents noted traveling Route 66 due to its connections to *The Grapes of Wrath* and *On the Road*. Some individuals directly discussed the history of the road: “...love driving and the history associated with 66 was a big drawcard.”<sup>1</sup> This person later stated, “Those making the trip in the early days were very brave.”

*Route 66*, the television series, often receives credit for inspiring individuals to travel the road (Carden 2006:56). The show aired between 1960 and 1964 on CBS in the United States. Buz and Tod, two itinerant bachelors, travel across America in a Corvette looking for work and finding themselves in unusual situations. The show’s writer, Stirling Silliphant and its producer, Herbert B. Leonard, wanted the show to have meaning and added “liberal social

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<sup>1</sup> All respondent responses are italicized.

values” into their story lines (Mills 2006:76). In an interview with Ron Warnick of *Route 66 News*, George Maharis (Buz) stated that two of his favorite episodes focused on drug use. In “Birdcage on My Foot,” the viewer learns Buz formerly used drugs. In “A Thin White Line,” Tod receives a drug similar to LSD at a party (A chat with George Maharis). In addition, the show also dealt with topics such as racism and abuse. The gritty quality of the show and its approach to social issues of the 1960s makes *Route 66* unusual. Mills (75) writes: “Mirroring both the Beats and liberal politicians, *Route 66* empathizes with subcultures disenfranchised from mainstream society.”

Those citing *Route 66* as their inspiration for traveling the road clearly do not seek the negative elements of the past, but instead they participate in an informed nostalgia.

Carden (2006) states that

Thousands of tourists now come from all over the world to experience Route 66. Some of these tourists are likely to be motivated by education and the desire to learn about America’s history and culture...Still others are no doubt motivated to escape to a time when life may be perceived to have been easier and more carefree (57).

Furthermore, Kibby (2000:40) presents additional arguments for nostalgia as a motive for driving Route 66:

Heritage tourism represents a way of recuperating the past for contemporary tourists, and is part of a wider nostalgia for traditional social values, and an appreciation of the way things were, or at least are perceived to have been. [This] collective nostalgia is usually based on a reconstructed or mis-remembered social past; on an idealized or romanticized history.

Travelers understand that Route 66 history includes the migrations of the Dust Bowl, segregation, and the mistreatment of humankind, but they still engage in Route 66 as what Dedek (2002:247) calls a “lost, generally happier era in American history.” This relationship between travelers’ understanding of history and the nostalgic motivations for traveling Route 66 are complicated.

Dubisch (2015) describes the “seduction of the past” in terms of new age pilgrimages, but her argument also applies to Route 66 pilgrimage in terms of nostalgia. She argues that

By connecting with the material remains of an envisioned past, a connection established not simply through visiting archaeological and other sites, but also through a series of collective and individual narratives and rituals, this past is constructed, experienced, and tied in meaningful ways to the lives of the pilgrims themselves (145).

Route 66 as seen in terms of its material remains connect pilgrims to both “collective and individuals narratives and rituals” (145) encountered by both travelers and those historically associated with the road. Travelers of Route 66 seek out specific locations for their physical significance along the road, but they also seek the stories associated with those locales (Plate 2). Narratives, as with Dubisch’s new age pilgrimages, create an alternative to the present state and a vision to the past (146) for Route 66 pilgrims as well. In terms of Route 66, pilgrims create an alternative to the present and interpret a version of the past. With our access to information in the age of the internet, it is now much more difficult to ignore history. Route 66 travelers are well informed of the road’s positive and negative history. They acknowledge and accept the negative history of the road, but they feel nostalgia for the positive history.



**Plate 2. Old drive-in theatre in Sapulpa, Oklahoma**

*Identity*

While traveling Route 66, some people seem to adopt a different persona. In the case of foreign travelers, they leave themselves behind and adopt a persona completely separate from their own history and culture in order to have an “American” experience through an adopted American identity. The adoption of a distinctive differing identity is based on the same concepts as Turner’s liminality and *communitas*, “a moment in and out of time” (Turner 1974:238). In Caton and Santos’ (2007:383) Route 66 study, they found that:

For some of them, making the trip became part of their identities because it represented a challenge they had mastered or because it had been a major turning point in their lives. For others, the trip was a way to share a part of their identity.

To do a trip such as a Route 66 motorcycle journey, travelers must “stretch beyond their normal comfort zone, challenge themselves, and defy the expectations of those around them” (379). Badone (2004:184) discusses this type of experience in terms of pilgrimage:

“These travelers seek a form of immortality or self-transcendence through identification with a timeless heritage—cultural, architectural, and material, or natural—that persists beyond the individual lifetime.” These individuals follow the theme of what Ireland (2003:476) calls “transformation of identity or rebirth.” He argues that these themes are present in the road genre and are important parallels to cultural and historical understanding in America (476). During conversations on Route 66, people often cite *Easy Rider* and Jack Kerouac’s *On the Road*, both of these sources well known to American road culture. Ireland describes the characters in *Easy Rider* not as outsiders, but as “modern-day cowboys traveling across America on iron steeds—in an attempt to place themselves within the traditional American national narrative” (475).

Route 66 travelers adopt and perform American identities while traveling the road in several ways. Many foreign travelers are Americanophiles (Watson 2000:119), lovers, or at least admirers of American culture. Some travelers express this through the vehicles they choose for their Route 66 experience. Eagle Rider, a Harley Davidson Rental company, provides Route 66 tours in the United States. Kiwis on Tour provide Route 66 travelers from Australia and New Zealand with rented Ford Mustangs. For these travelers, American brands signify an important part of the overall experience.

#### *Authenticity*

Myth, nostalgia, and identity along Route 66 lead to a very important part found in pilgrimage and in heritage tourism: the authenticity of elements along the route. These elements, secular or non-secular, play an important part in the experience of the pilgrim or traveler. Shackel (2011:2) states, “Authenticity is ascribed value, and once an object, place, or culture is assumed to be authentic it becomes associated with a sense of the past.” He

further says, “Heritage places oftentimes become destinations...The places become destinations that are perceived as pristine, with unspoiled cultures and landscapes” (3). In the Caton and Santos study, some travelers found more authenticity in Route 66 local businesses and attractions than they found in other parts of the United States:

There’s nothing fake there...There’s just real stuff. You can go and have a lot of fun and go to Disney World and see big shows in New York, but it’s not the same. I guess there are shows [on Route 66], like in Oatman, but it’s different to me. These guys that do this [wild west] show, they *live* in Oatman. I think one is even the mayor. (Caton and Santos 2007:378).

The experiences individuals either have as pilgrims or as tourists are more valued when they perceive the experience as authentic. One author believes authenticity to be not “an absolute value but rather as a culturally and historically situated ideal that is *believed* to exist by individuals or groups of individuals in specific social settings” (Badone 2004:182). The point of authenticity in terms of cultural heritage pilgrimage and tourist sites like Route 66 does not depend on the actual reality or myth of a site, but instead “whether meaningful guidelines emerge from...previous structures or units of experience in living relation with the new experience” (Turner 1986:36).

Journeys along Route 66, whether seen as a pilgrimage or as a travel experience meet some if not all of the criteria for being considered as a pilgrimage. Many individuals must undergo extremes to obtain their goals (Caton and Santos 2007:379). Many Route 66 travelers immerse themselves in American culture, the language, and adapt themselves to ways that are more “American.” The afore mentioned characteristics are contrary to the characteristics of tourism and being a tourist: “The tourist travels for pleasure, and the tourist ‘gaze’ is shallow and transformative, constructing what is observed to suit the tourist’s preconceived images” (Dubisch 1996:71). Individuals along Route 66 also find sacrality in



places, like Angel Delgadillo's Barber Shop, the Blue Whale of Catoosa, or any one of the hundreds of people, places, and landmarks along the way just as do pilgrims to Graceland (Doss 2008; Campo 1998), to Jim Morrison's grave (Margry 2008) and to *Star Trek* conventions (Porter 2004). Coleman says, "all pilgrimages must contain both a journey and a goal" (2002:362). In the case of Route 66 travel, the journey includes both a physical and experiential goal. Physical challenges include completing the entire journey or perhaps completing the journey on a motorcycle. Experiential goals include visiting particular locations, visiting certain Route 66 figures, or experiencing something out of the ordinary.

## Chapter 5

### Methods for Data Collection

In 1984, Interstate 40 bypassed Route 66 in Williams, Arizona. Since the 1984 bypass, interest in Route 66 has surged, making Route 66 a popular destination for individuals worldwide. Based on a simple Google search, there are nine international Route 66 associations and eight American Route 66 associations for each state the road passes through. The European Route 66 associations plan to hold the first European Route 66 Festival in Germany. To celebrate the 90th anniversary of the Mother Road, the yearly International Route 66 Festival will occur in Los Angeles, California. Why is Route 66 such an important worldwide phenomenon? I wanted to understand why Route 66 travel has become so popular amongst travelers from both the United States and countries around the world. In this thesis, I wanted to explore the international fascination with Route 66, Route 66 travel as a form of secular pilgrimage, and how travelers define “nostalgia” and how it relates to their experience of Route 66.

#### *Driving Route 66*

Victor Muntane Pavillard, a Route 66 traveler and author stated “There is no other way in the world that best exemplifies the adventure of traveling by road, a kind of spiritual journey we know where to start but not where it ends” (Route 66 *Mi Sueño y Pasión*). This quote demonstrates what lies at the heart of this thesis. In order to understand the allure of road travel, I decided that part of my thesis research would include driving all accessible portions of the road. First, by driving Route 66, I experienced the road and its culture on a personal level, allowing myself to explore the journey as a possible pilgrimage (Plate 3). This opportunity allowed me to have my own experiences without relying solely on other

individual's accounts. I was able to come to my own conclusions based on personal experiences. Second, I attempted to talk to travelers and business owners (though I found this to be difficult, as I will later discuss).



**Plate 3. Devil's Elbow, Missouri and the trusty steed, Banerjee.**

Ever since my junior year of high school, my mom and I had dreamed of driving Route 66 from start to finish. John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* and the nostalgia for my mom's childhood in the 1950s and 1960s inspired us. When I made the decision to drive the road as part of my thesis research, my mom accompanied me. From Flagstaff, we drove to Chicago, mostly on I-40 with a brief non-related stop in Illinois. Our Route 66 adventure began on June 16, 2014 as we made our way through downtown Chicago to Dwight, Illinois, where we stayed for the night. See the appendices for a complete trip itinerary. My mom's role as navigator was integral to the Route 66 experience. She consulted Jerry McClanahan's *Route 66: EZ66 Guide for Travelers*, which we used as our main navigation guide. This guide provides travelers with turn-by-turn instructions on how to drive all accessible portions

of Route 66, as well as providing interesting facts and alternative directions for older Route 66 alignments (Route 66 has been re-aligned many times since 1926). We chose a very fluid trip itinerary, knowing only that we needed to complete our journey start to finish in about three weeks. On average, we drove approximately eight hours per day, with stops made for lunch, restroom breaks, and sight-seeing/data collection.

In my original research strategy, I planned to interview travelers at random Route 66 stops about their travel motives. My daily notes from June 17, 2014 illustrate my frustration: *“We’re not coming across many people at our stops. Decided to try stopping at a site for ten minutes and talk to people if available then move on.”* On June 19, 2014, my notes read, *“No contacts as hoped.”* I discovered when we did encounter people on the road, there was no clear way to determine if people were locals or if they were travelers like us. This made any participant observation extremely difficult. License plates proved unreliable to identify who were travelers versus who were locals because many foreign travelers often fly into Chicago or Los Angeles, rent a car or motorcycle, and travel the road. Other identifiers sometimes marked individuals as international travelers. Sometimes motorcycle riders will display flags on their bikes indicating their country of origin. I often saw this at the Grand Canyon.

At many of the stops we made, my mom and I talked to the proprietors. Some of these individuals included a woman at the Odell Standard Oil Gas Station in Illinois, Mr. and Mrs. Joe and Wilma Douffet in Galena, Kansas, Melba the Mouth, of Cars on the Route in Galena, Kansas, a proprietor at Motel Safari in Tucumcari, New Mexico, and a proprietor at the El Trovatore in Kingman, Arizona, amongst others. These individuals provided excellent information and many, when asked why foreign travelers chose to drive Route 66, stated similar ideas. According to many working along Route 66, international travelers choose

Route 66 because of the vastly open road and because nothing like 66 exists in their countries of origin. Travelers validated this, as I will later discuss. The information provided by proprietors was useful, but I needed more data.

### *Questionnaires*

After returning from the trip and realizing I did not have an adequate amount of data, I decided to create two questionnaires using Survey Monkey. I collected data using two self-administered questionnaires. In order to determine who I should send the questionnaire links to, I first started with a list of individuals provided to me by my key informant Sean Evans, an archivist at Northern Arizona University's Cline Library Special Collections and Archives and long time Route 66 enthusiast. Sean has collected an impressive number of contacts during his long association with the road. These individuals included Route 66 association members, authors, travelers, and business people. I contacted some of these individuals to see if they could recommend additional respondents. To further broaden my number of informants, I contacted various Route 66 associations, enthusiasts, and others through email and social media. A total of 73 individuals responded.

I created two questionnaires—one for travelers and one for Route 66 interpreters. I defined travelers as any foreign or American respondent that traveled or travels Route 66. Travelers included all Route 66 association members from any country. I included foreign travelers in this category even if they conduct Route 66 tours, because these individuals travel a long distance to come to America. Also their tour businesses are located outside of the United States. The interpreter survey asked questions about living, working, and services provided on Route 66. This survey included business owners, American tour group operators, authors, and visitor bureau employees amongst others. Questions included:

### *Traveler Questions*

- 1) Where are you from?
- 2) How did you get interested in Route 66?
- 3) Have you traveled Route 66 before?
- 4) Why do you want to travel Route 66, or why have you traveled Route 66?
- 5) If you are planning on a Route 66 trip, how many days will you travel Route 66? If you have already traveled Route 66, how long was your trip?
- 6) If you plan to travel Route 66, what type of transportation will you use? Will you go with a tour group or a self-guided trip? If you have traveled Route 66 before, what type of transportation did you use? Did you go with a tour group or a self-guided trip?
- 7) What have you learned about America through Route 66?
- 8) What stops along Route 66 would you like to make, or what stops along Route 66 did you make?
- 9) Have you or will you use any guidebooks, maps, web sites or GPS programs to decide on what stops to make, or places to stay?
- 10) Is there anything else you would like to tell me about your Route 66 experience?

### *Interpreter Questions*

- 1) If you were not raised along or near Route 66, what was the draw?
- 2) When did your affiliation to Route 66 begin?
- 3) How long have you worked on Route 66, or how long have you been interested in Route 66?
- 4) What segments of Route 66 have you traveled?
- 5) In your experience, what countries do tourists come from?
- 6) What seems to be the most predominant modes of transportation by these tourists?
- 7) What have tourists told you about their American experience?
- 8) What do you think would make Route 66 travel easier?

9) What difficulties have tourists reported in traveling 66?

10) What information have you provided to tourists interested in Route 66?

### *Additional Data Collection Opportunities*

Fortunately, I found additional data collection opportunities. During the International Route 66 Festival in Kingman, I made additional contacts and attended talks presented by several foreign Route 66 travelers. One of these presenters, a traveler from the Netherlands, I met again in March 2015. At this time, I conducted informal interviews with him and his family. We talked extensively about their experiences on and motivations for flying to America to drive Route 66. I found that their motivations mirrored the same reasons many of the proprietors gave me.

Another unplanned opportunity for data collection occurred in the fall of 2014. While working on a photography project in Seligman, Arizona, I sat in front of the Delgadillo's store observing various individuals and looking for good opportunities for the perfect Route 66 shot. A group of European bikers on Harley Davidsons pulled up right in front of Angel and Vilma Delgadillo's shop. I watched as Angel Delgadillo pulled up on his bicycle, took the travelers inside to his barbershop, and gave one of them a shave. Did a European traveler really come all this way for a shave from the Angel of Route 66? Even months later when I interviewed Angel for this thesis project, we had to stop the interview so he could take photos with tourists—predominantly Asian travelers this time. I could not recruit any of these individuals due to language barriers. From both events, I found it clear that foreign travelers include Angel and the Delgadillo's gift and barbershop to be a pilgrimage spot along Route 66. Chapter 6 includes a discussion of Angel's shop as a pilgrimage center.

A total of 73 respondents completed the questionnaire. I based the analysis in the following chapter largely on the responses from the survey. The in-person interviews corroborated in detail the results of the questionnaires. The experiences I had traveling Route 66 allowed me to understand individual's responses and allowed me to understand Route 66 as a type of pilgrimage. I found that my data are consistent with my initial assertions about Route 66 travel. Many individuals engage in pilgrimage whether they realize it or not and many foreign travelers on Route 66 experience some form of nostalgia (even for something they never had before).



## Chapter 6

### Research Findings and Discussions

I collected the majority of my data for this thesis between March and August 2015 using surveymonkey.com. A total of 65 individuals responded to the traveler survey (Table 1). Eight individuals that I deemed as “interpreters” answered questionnaires regarding their experiences providing information to travelers. Interpreters included anyone providing information to tourists and/or living and working on Route 66. The interpreter responses provide further evidence for traveler motivations. Lastly, I conducted a formal interview with Angel Delgadillo in Seligman, Arizona.

**Table 1. Questionnaire Respondent's Country of Origin**

Country of Origin	Number
Australia	3
Belgium	1
Canada	1
Czech Republic	1
Germany	1
Italy	7
Netherlands	9
New Zealand	34
Switzerland	1
United Kingdom	3
United States of America	2
Unknown Origin	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>65</b>

Among the respondents, there were predominantly two types of travelers, those who traveled by motorcycle, and those who traveled by car (Table 2). A few individuals traveled by RV or tour bus. Most motorcycle travelers toured in groups and hailed from Europe, while the majority of the New Zealand travelers participated in a tour group that rented new Mustang Convertibles. Most of the Italian travelers stated they would or had traveled by car, as did the two Americans, one German, and the three participants from the United Kingdom. Participants mentioned both a Jawa 21 and Harley Davidson motorbikes as their form of

travel. These participants all were from Europe. During observations I made at Angel Delgadillo's gift and barbershop, motorcycles appeared popular among German travelers as well. One individual from overseas mentioned traveling Route 66 in a rented classic 1965 Mustang Fastback. Another respondent opted for a British classic car from 1930:

*Then 50 years later a fellow pre-war Austin Seven owner suggested a trip on Route 66. He persuaded us that it was affordable and we started planning – making contact with many R66 people and assns. Eventually we, that is 5 Austin 7 crews, made it to the US to drive the mother Road in August 2006.*

Comments travelers made often identified them as belonging to either car or motorcycle culture. It is remarkable that many foreign visitors mentioned their love for a very American car culture. Many expressed “*Classic car ownership*” as part of, if not the sole reason, for wanting to travel Route 66. Several individuals expressed Route 66 as being an integral part of owning classic cars. A respondent stated “*Have always been interested in classic cars and the whole classic motoring experience, and Route 66 is part of that.*” Another respondent called the drive on Route 66, “*One of the iconic must do's of classic motoring.*” Others identified more with muscle cars and hotrods. Of Route 66, one respondent said, “*It's always been associated with the hotrod scene. I'm very much into hotrods and the culture associated with them.*” Another individual could not quite remember how their interest in Route 66 began, but she knew it had to do with being “*18/19 years old and had got a 38' Chevy sedan.*”

From the research process, I have found that those from the Netherlands, Germany, and the Czech Republic tended to travel Route 66 via motorcycle, while Italians, New Zealanders, and those from the United Kingdom chose to travel by car. Of course, this is not always the case, as Billy Connolly (United Kingdom) has documented his travels on Route 66 via motortrike. As discussed in Chapter 2, motorcycles and classic cars are popular

amongst Route 66 pilgrims who adopt an “American” identity and seek out American brands to enhance the experience (Plate 4).

**Table 2. Travel type and vehicle by country**

Country	Tour or Self-Guide	Vehicle Type	Number of Travelers
Australia	Tour/self-guided	Harley and car	1
	Mustang Tour	Mustang	2
Belgium	Self-guided	Rental car	1
Canada	Self-guided	Privately-owned or rental car	1
Czech Republic	Self-guided	Jawa 21 motorcycle	1
Germany	Canadian Route 66 Association/ self-guided	Car	1
Italy	Self-guided	Car	6
	Self-guided	Unknown	1
Netherlands	Motorcycle Tour	Motorcycle	5
	Self-guided	Motorcycle, car, and/or RV	4
New Zealand	Mustang Tour	Mustang	20
	Mustang tour with some self-guided trips	Mustang	1
	Tour	Car	2
	Tour	Bus	1
	Tour	Unknown	1
	Self-guided	Car	5
	Self-guided	Unknown	1
	Self-guided	Mustang	2
Self-guided	RV	1	
Switzerland	Unknown	Car	1
United Kingdom	Tour	65 Mustang Fastback	1
	Self-guided	Car	1
	Self-guided	1930 British Austin Seven, second time modern car	1
USA	Self-guided	Car	2
Unknown	Mustang Tour	Mustang	1
	Self-guided	Porsche Turbo 911 turbo 930	1
<b>Total</b>			<b>65</b>



**Plate 4. Harley Davidson motorcycles outside of Angel and Vilma's Original Route 66 Shop, Seligman, Arizona.**

*Pilgrimage on Route 66*

People come from all over the world to travel Route 66. Are these travelers tourists or pilgrims? I argue that many Route 66 travelers are pilgrims seeking out a journey beyond just a typical vacation. Through analyzing traveler motivations and understanding of Route 66, I will demonstrate that many do consider Route 66 travel as a type of pilgrimage.

As previously discussed, traditional pilgrimage involves a journey, religious or spiritual in nature, with sacred places (Margry 2008:17) and hardships involved. Sometimes driving 2,448 miles on a motorcycle or in a classic vehicle on "Dirt 66" (McClanahan 2013) provides challenges for the traveler. Route 66 has always presented challenges to its travelers as illustrated in the realist novel, *The Grapes of Wrath*:

All day they rolled slowly along the road, and at night they stopped near water. In the day ancient leaky radiators sent up columns of steam, loose connecting rods hammered and pounded. And the men driving the trucks and the overloaded cars

listened apprehensively. How far between towns? It is a terror between towns. If something breaks—well...” (Steinbeck 1976:161).

Up until the 1950s, Route 66 travelers could only get to California via Oatman, Arizona. Today travelers have the choice to travel the original road or bypass the famous donkey-filled town. The road to Oatman is notorious for its narrow two-lanes, lack of guardrail, and steep ascent. Travelers still opt for the more “authentic” road to Oatman despite its many risks. Route 66 covers varied climate zones and passes through the Mohave Desert, which can exceed 100 degrees Fahrenheit in the summer months. A motorcycle traveler from the Netherlands stated, “*When we were doing Route 66, it was over 40° C. That was very warm; no worries. Always better than rain.*” The equivalent temperature is 104 degrees Fahrenheit. Another respondent stated: “*...the scenery/climate in the different states is always interesting to see and feel.*”

The sometimes-subpar conditions Route 66 travelers face when they choose to stay at motels proved to be another source of discomfort. “*The poor dirty motels became a major problem. Even, if it is a franchise...for example, it might be very dirty and over expensive...I have friends who got sick and don’t want to travel out to the US anymore. Bed bugs, etc.*” Bumpy poorly maintained roads, excessive heat, tornados, and other factors can all create challenges for Route 66 travelers. Additionally, interpreters named poor signage as the number one complaint they received from travelers.

#### *Authenticity and the American Experience*

Experiencing an “authentic” America and experiencing nostalgia are both common themes expressed to me by my respondents. Many travelers I communicated with had specific reasons for traveling to America. Most individuals mentioned either wanting to experience the “real” America, specifically areas away from cities. One American traveler

said, *“I was interested in seeing the countryside. The route passes through small towns and places that are often bypassed by the highways...Rural America is often overlooked.”* Another respondent from England said, *“I’d like to see the real U.S. not just the cities I’ve flown to on business...”* Two Italians and one Australian respondent shared similar sentiments about wanting to experience the “real” America, further illustrating the desire Route 66 travelers have for authentic experiences. When asked, “Why do you want to travel Route 66?” thirty-one percent of travelers included history in their responses. My research findings illustrate that travelers go to great lengths to participate in and experience American and Route 66 culture. These travelers engage in experiences created by both the travelers themselves and by businesses along the road. The traveler finds value and authenticity in these experiences.

Recalling Shackel’s (2011:2) discussion on authenticity and the ascription of value, Route 66 becomes authentic in the eyes of its travelers and therefore becomes associated with the past. People perceive Route 66 as more “authentic” than other roads. On long bypassed sections of Route 66, some original elements, road designs, architecture, and towns remain, albeit sometimes almost or completely abandoned. Along other segments, the road remains but progress has removed much if not all of the original character. Much of the road from San Bernardino to Santa Monica has lost its originality. Despite the loss of physical integrity of some Route 66 stretches, individuals still find authenticity in symbolic features along the way. Stops along Route 66 cater to traveler expectations in terms of the Route 66 experience and use of symbols associated with the expected ideologies to create “authentic” experiences for travelers. For others, just driving accessible stretches of Route 66 proves

authentic enough as some stretches still contain original paving, curbing, bridges, and associated abandoned architecture.

Walsingham, in England, created a medieval feel for pilgrims. A journalist quoted by Coleman (2004:59) stated, ““Part of yesterday I spent in the Middle Ages for I passed through Walsingham, pausing to visit the Shrine of Our Lady. Walsingham itself is truly Medieval in atmosphere.”” Williams, Arizona offers a similar experience of this type of town. Williams, famous for being the last town bypassed by Interstate 40, has employed Route 66 symbols. Along the main road there are at least three diner-style restaurants, a historic steakhouse, one gas station museum, many gift shops with Route 66 memorabilia selling the ubiquitous Elvis Presley and Marilyn Monroe souvenirs, and several historic bars. Williams has worked hard to preserve its historic past for the pilgrim and traveler populations.

Route 66 travelers notice the sense of history, myth, and authenticity on Route 66.

One Italian respondent stated:

*Why Italian people come to USA to travel on Route 66? Because USA are legendary for us and we grow with the American myth. As you know in Italy we have a lot of museums, monuments, fantastic sea, etc ...but we don't have a mythical road. This is the real reason why we come to travel on Route 66.*

Individuals traveling Route 66 seem to seek out an experience as close to “real” as possible. For some, however, “real” means a constructed authenticity and reflects the mythological and legendary Route 66. According to one survey, one-third of the Oklahoma Route 66 sites studied featured classic vehicles and motorcycles (Hurt et al. 2012:31). According to the Galena Mining and Historical Museum’s Facebook page, the museum contains a 1919 Model T, and 1924 Model T, and a 1931 Model A truck. Back in Oklahoma, Hurt and others (2012:45) state:

Like most other Route 66 museums and historic sites, the motorcycle collections are frequented by many international tourists who view mobility as representative of American culture. Route 66, in their view, is the ultimate expression of American personal freedom on uncrowded roads through rural areas and small towns. A healthy dose of nostalgia for past times turns classic American cars and vintage motorcycles into enduring and irreplaceable symbols of individual freedom.

Many individuals, both travelers and interpreters, stated that Europe does not have the great expanses and open roads that America has, nor do they have the climate zone shifts. These elements make Route 66 so special to foreign travelers. Some respondents indicated that nothing like Route 66 exists in their countries.

In my research, individuals mentioned “*seeing old cars, motorbikes,*” “*every motorcycle or car museum possible,*” and “*Harley Davidson dealerships.*” One individual rented a classic vehicle from a company that rents classic cars to travelers. Some tourists rent Harley Davidsons from places like Eagle Rider who offer travelers with tour options including partial to full Route 66 trips. During my research, I have even found that some individuals ship their own vintage vehicles or motorcycles from overseas in order to drive Route 66. The pilgrim's desire to experience authenticity includes traveling Route 66 via motorbike or classic car. As the heyday of Route 66 occurred in the 1950s and 1960s, classic cars are closely associated. Car shows on Route 66 are also quite commonplace. Arizona Route 66 car shows include(d) Kingman's Chillin' on Beale Street and the Fun Run, and Flagstaff's discontinued Route 66 days. Springfield, Illinois hosts a yearly car show (15<sup>th</sup> Annual International Route 66 Mother Road Festival) as does San Bernardino, California (Home). In addition to car shows, many Route 66 towns host events with vendors, classic vehicles, conferences, and events laden in nostalgia. In 2014, the International Route 66 Festival in Kingman even featured a drive-in movie event and a sock hop. These types of



events resemble historic re-enactments that allow individuals to participate actively in a recreation of the past.

Besides authenticity, many travelers discussed the vastness of the country, the beautiful scenery, and the varying landscapes they encountered while on Route 66. Many travelers found their journeys enlightening based on what they learned about America both historically and visually. Perhaps two of the most relevant responses came from New Zealand travelers. One stated, “*There’s a long way between anything in the middle of the country. Wide open spaces with everyone jammed on the coast...*” and another who noted that travel in America was “*almost like travelling through different countries.*” One of the interpreters stated, “*America is so different from their countries. They love the wide-open spaces. They can return to our country several times and not see the same states or landscapes.*” Others have heard similar responses concerning the vastness of America. David Dunaway quotes a woman from the University of Amsterdam, who stated,

To Europeans, what makes America, America is the vast territory... That is the image of the west, the one that has dominated so many Hollywood films. So, The road through that western territory is what makes America. Route 66 has become a kind of pilgrimage for us to experience America...everything we are not (Dunaway 2001:170).

#### *Liminality, Communitas, and Traveler Identity*

Other features that differentiate a Route 66 pilgrimage from tourism are Turner and Turner’s (1978) concepts of liminality and communitas. Route 66 travelers embark on a pilgrimage journey rooted in experiencing America, instead of religion or spiritualism. These individuals enter a liminal state through their experience, which leads to both driving the road and socializing with fellow travelers and those living and working on Route 66. Michalowski and Dubisch (2001:166) state: “During the liminal time of pilgrimage, various

transformations can take place, a different sort of life can be led or envisioned, one can come in touch with other, different worlds.” This process results in travelers experiencing *communitas*, an oneness, with other Route 66 participants. This enhances the person’s overall Route 66 journey.

Somewhere between entering a liminal state and achieving *communitas*, individuals undergo a shift in identity. Based on responses provided by participants, multiple kinds of self-identification occurred for individuals. Individuals identified themselves with different groups, which included history re-livers and authenticity seekers, nostalgia seekers, American dream seekers, and car enthusiasts. These identifiers are not mutually exclusive and sometimes these self-identifiers overlapped. I identified these varying groups based on the answers to several questions including, “What have you learned about America through Route 66?” and “What stops along Route 66 would you like to make, or what stops along Route 66 did you make?”

The first group identified themselves as history re-livers and authenticity seekers. They seek out experiences that make them feel that they are reliving the past. These people want to know what life was like historically (Plate 5). The history re-livers expressed sentiments such as:

*We make a lot of stops by the old stuff from the route, like: gas stations, ghost towns like Glenrio (gives me goose bumps), the old cities and towns, the Blue Whale, an old drive-in, Grand Canyon. And a whole lot more of nice old diners and restaurants and hotels and motels to sleep in like the Wigwams in Holbrook or Munger Moss. I love the old style (I was born in the wrong time).*



**Plate 5. Unidentified building west of Endee New Mexico on Dirt 66.**

These individuals travel Route 66 to see what America *was* like and not as is today: “*We wanted to travel the original road as much as possible and see America as it was more than in its more modern state.*” In tourism, travelers tend to want to see and learn about history, but in this category, individuals want to see, learn, and experience the past as if they were actually there. A respondent evidenced this stating that the trip fulfilled a lifelong dream “*following in the footsteps of others who made the trip.*” Another individual stated that he or she “*...stopped at a lot of small places like restaurants and places that existed when the route was first opened.*” These travelers experience an imagined historical version of historic Route 66.

Some people’s reasons for wanting to drive Route 66 had personal ties, including the respondent from New Zealand, who stated that they “*grew up in the 40s/60s.*” Television arrived in New Zealand in 1960, exposing the small island country to the rest of the world,

including America (The 1960s, New Zealand History). The influence of media provided some respondents the desire to travel and understand American culture in the 1950s and 1960s, creating an American identity for a foreign traveler.

In the case of my mother, a British American who spent the mid to late 1950s and much of the 1960s living in America, her traveler identity resonated with the history re-liver. She stated, “*I felt like I would be sharing some of my life, my childhood with her. And, as in the Simon and Garfunkel song, we went to look for America.*” For my mom, it was important that I experience in her past. Our liminal experiences tied to re-living memories of her youth and the nostalgia of the 1950s and 1960s. For me, our journey through Oklahoma strongly tied to the plight of the mythical but historically based Joad family.

These responses somewhat fit in well with Caton and Santos (2007) findings. In their study, they state that

...the experience was about connecting with history, not by romanticizing the past as a lost golden era, but by choosing to participate in an ongoing dynamic cultural legacy, which is rooted in the past but continue to spur new encounters that become part of the participants’ biographies in the present (384).

Individuals mentioned visiting historic buildings, diners, and garages: “*Lot of business during the golden ages of mother road and then R66 has been left alone as the small towns and villages*” one traveler commented. This hearkens back to Shackel’s (2011: 3) discussion of tangible material culture accessible to visitors (and to the important role authenticity still plays in Route 66 culture (Plate 6).



**Plate 6. Endee, New Mexico.**

The following response from Angel Delgadillo helped to solidify the connections between traveler, authenticity, and nostalgic ideologies.

*What are they looking for? Back when I grew up here, I had been in business for years, I didn't realize what the world was looking for until after we formed the Historic Route 66 Association of Arizona in '87, and people started coming to America, and I began to listen to people. They are coming to experience being in a little community like Seligman which is very much America of yesterday. They are looking for the real, real America of yesterday. Not that New York City is not America of yesterday, but the big cities have lost so much in our high tech way of living. Seligman still looks the same as it did when I was a growing boy, so, naturally, they're traveling, some of them are traveling from one end of Chicago to Santa Monica or a little bit of it, but they are all experiencing America of yesterday traveling on Route 66. But especially Seligman, because Seligman is a little town where Route 66 got its historic rebirth. No other community from Chicago, Illinois to Santa Monica has that title, so the tourists are keying in on us.*

According to Angel, the popularity of Seligman along Route 66 has everything to do with its authenticity and its place as a representative small town of America. Angel's observations

agree with the observation of travelers and support the idea that Route 66 travel serves as a pilgrimage in which to seek out authentic experiences.

A section from *The Grapes of Wrath* ties well to the authenticity seekers who encounter liminal experiences tied to realism:

Along 66 the hamburger stands...Board-and-bat shacks. Two gasoline pumps in front, a screen door, a long bar, stools, and a foot rail. Near the door three slot machines, showing through glass the wealth in nickels three bars will bring. And beside them, the nickel phonograph with records piled up like pies, ready to swing out to the turntable and play dance music, 'Ti-pi-ti-pi-tin,' 'Thanks for the Memory,' Bing Crosby, Benny Goodman...The walls decorated with posters, bathing girls, blondes with big breasts and slender hips and waxen faces, in white bathing suits, and holding a bottle of Coca-Cola and smiling—see what you get with a Coca Cola. (Steinbeck 1976:208).

This passage illustrates a snapshot from Route 66 history. Steinbeck provides a realistic description of a stand along Route 66. Even Steinbeck's description contains an idealized representation of a Coca-Cola girl, which harkens back to the idea of an alternate time in history.

In my research, respondents identified with a connection to the mythical past. An interpreter stated that travelers have told them "*The Route 66 experience encapsulated the romanticized image of America. It is a living, breathing time capsule.*" Campo (1998:42) writes that "Ritualization (or commemoration) and imagination enable pilgrimages to take place." Perhaps this is most evident with those who experience a mythical nostalgic past while traveling the road, "*It is like going back into the past. The old towns. And meeting and talking to the people.*" When asked why they wanted to travel Route 66, another individual cited, "*The myth of the Route 66 and the extraordinary history that surrounds it. In particular, the great migration of the Dust Bowl.*" The Dust Bowl exodus was not a time that people remember fondly, but the mythos surrounding it and the romanticization of the

event intrigue visitors. None of the respondents mentioned the racial inequalities occurring in America during the heyday of Route 66. Black travelers had to rely on The Green Book to find safe hotels, gas stations, restaurants, and other establishments across the United States (The Green Book 1949). What we see glossed over and sanitized is the racism and poverty along Route 66. The following comments illustrate this: “*R66, we believed, showed us what the US was like in the 50/60s – mostly family run motels, cafes and restaurants*” and “*Have enjoyed the nostalgia of the memorabilia and the old cars and diners etc. along the way.*” Some individuals stated that they purely experienced the fun and nostalgia of their journey. Many respondents mentioned classic vehicles, old diners, and one respondent even answered, “Why do you want to travel Route 66, or why have you traveled Route 66?” with “*Because of the nostalgia of a time when rock n roll was the thing.*” This entrance into mythical nostalgia is carefree, stereotypical, clean, and happy, but as previously discussed, these travelers also realize the negative events in Route 66 history.

Some individuals’ nostalgic experiences tied to the actual road. When asked why one individual wanted to travel Route 66, she or he responded with, “*Because I wanted to drive the American dream!*” Another said, “*I have traveled Route 66 just to living my American dream.*” Other individuals associating to the road itself called it “*the road of the dreams,*” and another called Route 66 “*a motoring legend.*” Some respondents see the road as “*Iconic.*” The myth of the “American Dream” tends to be synonymous with Route 66 and nostalgia. Ireland (2003:474) talks about the journeys taken in stories that seek out the American dream and the obstacles that people must face during their journey. The American dream concept ties to Route 66 history and perhaps ties to the history seekers/re-connectors

who mentioned Route 66 and *The Grapes of Wrath* (Plate 7). The journey the Joads took to California to seek out the Promised Land is in itself a literary pilgrimage.

Highway 66 is the main migrant road. 66—the long concrete path across the country, waving gently up and down on the map, from the Mississippi to Bakersfield—over the red lands and the gray lands, twisting up into the mountains, crossing the Divide and down into the bright and terrible desert, and across the desert to the mountains again, and into the rich California valleys (Steinbeck 1976:160).



**Plate 7. This was a reminder of the tenacious turtle from *The Grapes of Wrath*; Rainbow Bridge in Kansas**

Route 66 travelers also identified with car culture in coming to America to seek out what they believe to be the true American experience. These travelers merged Mustangs and Route 66 culture and created an American identity for themselves. As they take on this identity, they pass into a liminal state leaving their position as foreign traveler and fulfilling their American experience. “*We have a 1969 Mustang car and we have always wanted to travel to the USA so when we heard thru a friend that this guy...was conducting tours to the USA to travel down Old Mother Road we had to do it.*” One respondent stated, “*I guess I am*



*interested because of the relationship with Mustangs – love USA.”* The association between Route 66 and Ford Mustangs was an interesting find and further shows that foreign travelers encounter an associative identity shift when Route 66 is concerned. This identity shift serves as part of a Route 66 travelers’ liminal experience where they find themselves between their own culture and that of both American and Route 66 cultures.

Route 66 travelers may or may not be cognizant of the fact that they make associations to cultures besides their own, but in making these associations, they are experiencing *communitas* in multiple ways. Many individuals shared in *communitas* by traveling in groups, and through their experiences meeting Americans. Most participants stated that they traveled in some sort of tour group, while others traveled with significant others, friends, or Route 66 associations. One Italian respondent stated she or he traveled “*alone or with a couple of friends,*” while the German respondent stated that he traveled “*Partly in a group, The Canadian Route 66 Association, and I also travel on my own.*” For many travelers, it was important to travel with “like minded” individuals: “*Thoroughly enjoyed doing Route 66 with a group of like minded people.*” A respondent from Italy stated, “*...the best thing was to share my passion with many people I met along the way.*” *Communitas* during the journey was experienced by those not only traveling in groups but by individuals who chose to interact with others along the Route—whether fellow travelers or the individuals working along Route 66. Caton and Santos (2007:383) discuss how travelers of varying social statuses interacted. Status and income inequalities were deemphasized.

Even those who only travel Route 66 segments experienced *communitas* with their fellow car club members. A respondent stated,

*It is an excuse to be with a bunch of car pals, and to take our classic cars on a nice wide open road. We also enjoy seeing other classic cars and meeting people with like*

*interests from all over....my fellow car enthusiasts all have one thing in common...we love the open road and association with like minded people...from all over the world.*

This respondent refers to the Fun Run, an event through the Historic Route 66 Association of Arizona. Hundreds of cars enter and drive 140 miles between Seligman and Topock/Golden Shores, Arizona over the course of a weekend. The event includes a large car show held in Kingman and other events bringing together classic car communities, Route 66 fans, and others for a weekend of festivities. Some individuals make the Fun Run a yearly event,

*I love all the cars, and everyone is in a great mood...and we have friends from Europe who come over just for the run...they love the wide open spaces on Route 66 because in Europe the roads are packed. I love the friendliness and cars and it is just a great annual event, and the Delgadillo family from Seligman started this whole thing and I love them to death.*

Another respondent from Canada stated, “*Enjoy the people we have met. Seems like family...We do the Arizona Fun Run every year. We are on the road for 4 to 9 days. We also do the International Festivals and drive the road 8-12 days.*” Other events occur worldwide bringing together the Route 66 community. The International Route 66 Festival in 2014 was held in Kingman, while another festival was held in Illinois this year. Currently, the European Route 66 associations plan to hold the first European Route 66 Festival in Germany next summer (2016).

The Canadian participant who stated, “*Seems like family*” also stated, “*People everywhere are the same. We all want the same things. Place to live safely, food, and friends.*” Angel also stated a similar idea, “*I have learned that we are all the same. We just talk...different, in a different language, but the compatibility that we share for each other is awesome.* Many participants’ American experience included feeling a sense of community with the local individuals they visited. Often, individuals commented on the enjoyment they received meeting new people. Some focused on meeting new American friends. Others

commented on the “*kindness of the people.*” Several interpreters reported that travelers have shared similar sentiments with them.

Some respondents were more specific about the communities the road passes through, “*it was great stopping to talk to different people, listening to their stories and experiences.*” Another individual stated she or he “*enjoyed the small community.*” When asked what they learned about America through Route 66, one individual stated, “*that it’s not all about big cities.*” In terms of authenticity, a traveler stated, “*Meeting the people in towns along the way. Feel like I meet real Americans who were welcoming and it was fantastic.*” One could argue that these travelers passed through a liminal state and took on an American identity via their communal experiences with fellow travelers and locals in American cities and towns.

Travelers also found through their experiences that Americans and those from abroad share many similarities. A common remark from travelers was that they learned of the friendliness of the American people: A tour manager stated, “*People outside the USA have a perception of Americans based on what they have seen on TV. What our tour people learn is that the REAL Americans are friendly, honest, and lovely people.*” A respondent from the United Kingdom said, “*What I’m mainly looking forward to is coming home and telling everyone their preconceived ideas of Americans are simply wrong, just as with everywhere else I’ve been.*” Concerning what they learned during their Route 66 experience, a New Zealander said, “*Learnt about the culture, but more importantly the real characters and the genuineness of the ‘real American’ people once you get out of the cities.*” Another New Zealander said, “*We have also learnt that people of the USA are so welcoming and friendly very much like Kiwis.*” A respondent shared, “*...I need to come back to see more as I have*

*fallen in love with the country.*” The boundaries of identity have blurred for this particular individual.

Route 66 attracts travelers from across the world and several travelers observed and noted this fact: *“The route connects people from all over the world. I made friends in the USA, but also in other countries just because of the common interest in the route.”* Another stated, *“...a lot of people became good friends...”* A traveler from the United Kingdom warned, *“DON’T do it in a camper van or with a caravan – one of the principal attractions of traveling R66 is meeting PEOPLE on the road and won’t meet many cocooned in your own ‘box.’”* One individual noted that Route 66 travel was *“...as much about the people you meet as the road itself.”* An American traveler shared this sentiment when reminiscing about meeting Joe and Wilma at the Mining and Historical Museum: *“I think the place that stands out in my mind is the museum at Galena. No, not the museum, but the couple... That couple is what you travel 66 for.”*

#### *“Sacred” 66*

A secular pilgrimage on Route 66 does not contain traditional religious shrines. Instead, Route 66 pilgrims have created their own stops that they consider significant and symbolic of the pilgrimage experience. These places and people hold important meaning for Route 66 travelers. In some instances, site and site steward cannot be separated. Some sites and their stewards include(d), Gary Turner and the Gay Parita Sinclair Gas Station in Paris Springs, Missouri (Gary Turner passed away in early 2015), Joe and Wilma Douffet and the Galena Mining and Historical Museum in Galena, Kansas (Joe Douffet passed away in the summer of 2015), “Melba the Mouth” of Cars on the Route, an old Kan-O-Tex service station in Galena, Kansas, and Angel Delgadillo and his gift and barbershop of Seligman,

Arizona. These types of Route 66 characters devote themselves to providing interpretation to travelers. Individuals such as these serve as advisors (wise people) of the road sharing its history and lessons.

Route 66 “shrines” include abandoned towns and buildings, roadside attractions and curiosities, in-use diners, restaurants, bridges, motels, museums, and stretches of road (Table 3). Many travelers find these places significant and symbolic for varying reasons. Most respondents never mentioned why a location was significant or of interest to them. My research did reveal that the Painted Desert Trading Post and Two Guns have nostalgic and historical significance, and I suspect that most of the other above-mentioned places also have nostalgic and historical significance to the visitor. In some cases, individuals find personal significance in locations.

**Table 3. A sample of Route 66 “shrines” and their locations.**

Site	Location
Standard Oil Gas Station	Odell, Illinois
Gemini Giant	Wilmington, Illinois
Lumberjacks	Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, Arizona
Chain of Rocks Bridge	Madison, Illinois
Munger Moss Motel	Lebanon, Missouri
Blue Whale of Catoosa	Catoosa, Oklahoma
Route 66 Museum	Clinton, Oklahoma
Pony Bridge	Canadian River, Oklahoma
U-Drop Inn	Shamrock, Texas
Cadillac Ranch (not actually on Route 66)	Amarillo, Texas
Midpoint Café	Adrian, Texas
Blue Swallow Motel	Tucumcari, New Mexico
Painted Desert Trading Post	Petrified Forest National Park, Arizona
Two Guns	Two Guns, Arizona
Wigwam Village Motel	Holbrook, Arizona and San Bernardino, California
Roy's	Amboy, California
Santa Monica Pier	Santa Monica, California

Dries Bessels and his wife's interest in Route 66 began after seeing a photograph of the Painted Desert Trading Post. Dries' dedication to his Route 66 shrine has extended to a pictorial representation of the Painted Desert Trading Post in the form of a tattoo (Plate 8). The trading post has become an important shrine to him.

*[sic] When people ask me what brought on my interest in Route 66 my main answer is 'the Painted Desert Trading Post.' The first time I saw a picture of it was when I saw the first book of Russell A. Olsen titled Route 66, Lost & Found – volume 1...We had previously been in the area in which the Trading Post is several times but were oblivious of the fact that Route 66 runs through that same area and that this building is still there in the prairie...Once you are there you will see that all that is left is an empty shell, bringing on memories of another time when this was a busy road with thousands of travelers...They could stop here to refresh, get some food, buy souvenirs and talk to fellow travelers. All that you will find now is the silence of the prairie and, if you listen well, the soft rumbling of the trucks on the interstate a few miles away (Painted Desert Trading Post).*



**Plate 8. Dries Bessels' tattoo of the Painted Desert Trading Post. Photograph provided by Dries Bessels**

The Blue Whale of Catoosa became an important Route 66 "shrine" for me (Plate 9). Between 1970 and 1972, Hugh Davis constructed a large whale at the site of the family's pond and included slides and diving areas on the body of the whale. Davis built the whale as

an anniversary gift for his wife, Zelta. Due to the public's interest in the whale, the Davis family opened the whale and pond to the public and allowed fishing, swimming, and picnicking (The History of the Blue Whale). Today, people no longer swim at the Blue Whale, but they do stop to walk around the grounds, take photos, and visit the small gift shop. The gift shop includes a brief history of the whale and a photograph of a bride and groom standing at the mouth of the Blue Whale. Prior to visiting, I did not know the history of the location, but I knew I needed to stop and visit the site. I found the site intriguing and unusual. The simplicity and purity of this site made the Blue Whale an important “shrine” for me. On a later road trip, I managed to visit the Blue Whale once again.



**Plate 9. The Blue Whale of Catoosa, Catoosa, Oklahoma**

Traditionally a pilgrimage “shrine is a rupture in the ordinary domain, through which heaven peeks” (Morinis 1992:5). In a traditional pilgrimage, a shrine builds religious identity

(Margry 2008:15). In secular pilgrimage, travelers have made an effort to arrive at their destination. Therefore, the destination (or “shrine”) has already been ascribed value by the pilgrim. The authenticity of a location determines the value of a Route 66 “shrine.” Turner and Turner (1978:10) describe the end of a pilgrimage as time where a pilgrim finds freedom from the mundane, and finds himself “circumscribed by symbolic structures: religious buildings, pictorial images, statuary, and sacralized features of the topography, often described and defined in sacred tales and legend.” The journey on Route 66 relieves a traveler from the “freedom from the mundane.” The destinations along Route 66 are often highly recognized among travelers as the types of “sacred” places Turner and Turner describe. Pilgrimage centers often curate shrines and relics (Morinis 1992:5). Pilgrimage centers along the road exist, but only one serves as the “Mecca” of Route 66.

*Case Study: Angel and Vilma’s Original Route 66 Shop*

Seligman, Arizona is about seventy miles west of Flagstaff. Angel Delgadillo began his barbershop business in the pool hall his father built and worked in that building for twenty-two years. The current barbershop lies within Angel and Vilma’s Original Route 66 Shop on Seligman’s later alignment of Route 66 (Plate 10). The current barbershop contains the barber chair his father purchased in 1926 (Oral History). One entire wall of the barbershop is covered in papers, dollar bills, foreign money, business cards, and photographs left by visitors. The theme carries on into the main gift shop. One photograph depicts the Delgadillo Orchestra. The Delgadillo Orchestra, in which Angel, his brother Juan formerly of the Sno-Cap next door, and other Delgadillos played in, made their rounds in Northern Arizona with their last gig in about 1979 (Oral History). Angel, now 88-years-old, still gives shaves and haircuts to Route 66 pilgrims who journey to the barbershop to meet “The Angel



of the Route” (The Angel of Route 66). Concerning Seligman, Angel says, *“It has become a destination. It has literally become a destination.”*

My first encounter with Angel and his barbershop did not occur during the initial phase of data collection. My mom and I tried twice, on our way out to California, and on our way back, to stop and visit the barbershop, but tour busses and vehicles lined the Seligman



**Plate 10. Angel and Vilma’s Original Route 66 Shop, Seligman, Arizona**

streets. We simply could not find a place to park. Later Angel stated, *“With motorcycle groups and cars, it's getting difficult to find a parking space here. They're having to park all in the side streets.”* We already knew from the various Route 66 documentaries that Angel Delgadillo was a “Holy” individual along the road, so we were not surprised that we were unable to stop. Months later on a chilly fall day, my husband and I sat in front of Angel and Vilma’s

watching travelers wander the town, leave gift shops with bags likely holding Route 66 souvenirs, and step back on to tour busses. A group of Harley Davidsons pulled up to the curb in front of us and maybe fifteen or so Europeans parked their Harleys and mingled in front of Angel and Vilma's shop. Angel, himself pulled up on a bicycle. Angel and the motorcycle tour leader chatted in English. The travelers all went inside and we followed. Once inside, Angel got ready to give a shave, using a straight razor, to one of the motorcycle pilgrims. The man's fellow travelers gathered around to watch.

During my two visits to Angel and Vilma's Original Route 66 Shop, I noted that memorabilia filled this average size shop—everything from Route 66 to Elvis, and books like *The Tropic of Route 66* in Japanese. Angel and Vilma's website has the capability to translate into 90 languages. On my first visit when signing the guest book, I noted visitors came from New York, Ohio, Salzburg, the United Kingdom, Scotland, Japan, Canada, and Germany. I noted the number of newspaper articles from foreign countries discussing Route 66—one in Swedish, one in German. The walls of the gift shop contain clothing patches, an old army bag, a small koala stuffed animal, foreign bills and coins—some bills signed—signed plastic mock Route 66 road markers, and foreign license plates, some of which contain signatures (Plate 11). In the window of the gift shop, travelers have left stickers of various associations and groups—a way of claiming they really made it to a Route 66 “sacred” spot. This phenomenon occurred at the U-Drop Inn in Shamrock, Texas and the Standard Oil Station in Odell, Illinois, which also contained a board covered in foreign bills and business cards. At the Galena Mining and Historical Museum, in Kansas, Wilma Douffet told us that travelers leave behind cigarette lighters from their countries of origin to add to the existing display. Samuel Sánchez y Sánchez (2016:164) writes

Losing or leaving things behind, then, is a creative and dynamic process for reinvention of the identity of pilgrims who ‘inscribe themselves onto the route through the objects and signs they leave behind and endow it with meanings that are encountered, experienced, and imbibed by subsequent pilgrims.’”

Travelers who leave behind something at Route 66 sites, especially sites with important individuals associated with them like Angel and his family solidifies the idea that for many, Route 66 travel is more than just a vacation. These individuals encounter a long journey in which Angel and his shop serve as a pilgrimage center. Those lucky enough to interact with Angel undergo an identity-transformative experience during their journey. If a traveler meets Angel, she or he can really say they have traveled Route 66 and fully experienced the journey. Meeting Angel fulfills a quest for many travelers—he is the wise man of the Route providing travelers with awe-inspiring stories about the re-birth of Route 66 and the determination of survival. Angel illustrates his impact on travelers through the following story of a German traveler who went to see Angel for a shave:

*Yesterday or day before, I shaved a person from Germany, and he came here and told me that his friend (I had shaved him two years before) told him to come here. This is happening all the time. I'm already going home at 10:30, whatever, a motorcycle group parks in there across the street...He comes running before I could get away and hands me a letter from his friend back in Germany to give to me.*

Based on my research, travelers have assumed varying identities while traveling Route 66. Some individuals travel Route 66 in search of historical experiences—following in the steps of the mythical but historically based Joad family. Other travelers seek out nostalgic experiences that include the perfect combinations of diners, rock and roll, and classic cars. They have entered liminal states and experienced transformative events, including events that take place at Route 66 pilgrimage centers. Some individuals go as far as leaving mementos of themselves—identifiers to their countries of origin at Route 66 sites—in order to share in their communal experiences with other travelers and create meaning. For

some this journey became a life changing experience. Many travelers expressed that their preconceived notions about America and Americans changed during their journeys. Many deemed their Route 66 experience as the best trip ever: *“Billed as one of the best road trips in the world, we thought it would be good to do with some mates, and it lived up to expectation.”* Some respondents noted that they wanted to repeat their journey: *“I can’t wait till I get to come back and explore more of the amazing USA. It is a marvelous place.”* My results show that travelers on Route 66 often transcend the role of tourist and find themselves in deeply meaningful experiences as road pilgrims.



Plate 11. Inside Angel and Vilma’s Original Route 66 Shop, Seligman, Arizona

## **Chapter 7**

### **Conclusions and Recommendations**

#### *Conclusions*

“And the concrete road shone like a mirror under the sun”

--John Steinbeck

As we near the 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Route 66 in 2016, I think of Cyrus Avery’s statement that Route 66 was designed as America’s most important and most traveled road (Kelly 2004:37 in *Show Me Route 66*). Route 66 became the main artery between Chicago and Los Angeles from 1926 until the interstate system slowly replaced segments of the road. When Interstate 40 bypassed that last segment in Williams in 1984, it seemed as if Route 66 died, but the road slowly resurrected. Thanks to people like Angel Delgadillo and others like him who have fought and continue to fight to keep the road and its town alive. Route 66 slowly began to shine again. The fight to keep 66 alive is ongoing, but due to the increasing interests of American and foreign travelers, there is hope. Travelers’ desires to experience Route 66 continues to grow and helps keep the road alive.

This thesis has examined the Route 66 phenomenon in terms of predominantly foreign travelers. This thesis has also examined Route 66 travel as pilgrimage. Research has shown that Route 66 is a destination for American and international travelers alike (Listokin et al 2011, McNulty 2007). People from all over the world make the long journey to America to drive the 2,448 miles of road on motorcycles, classic cars, bicycles, and likely any other mode of transportation available to them. Route 66 has symbolic importance in both American and foreign cultures. The road represents nostalgia, small town America, freedom, and important historical events, which pilgrims want to experience or re-experience. Whether individuals realize or not, they often embark upon a pilgrimage on Route 66. Route 66

travelers leave their everyday lives to pass through a liminal state, in which they experience out of the ordinary events. They travel the road, visit “shrines,” and “pilgrimage centers,” all of which allow them to engage in Route 66 culture and further allow them to incorporate themselves into the larger Route 66 community. This incorporation into the Route 66 community helps them build *communitas* with proprietors, locals, and other travelers, diminishing barriers that may normally exist in everyday life. In the Route 66 world, the sense of community breaks down differences. Even when language barriers prevail, we still have Route 66 in common and can often communicate through the road. When the pilgrimage ends, and the travelers return home, they sometimes feel loss as they undergo the reincorporation process. Their experiences on Route 66 affect them as they apply what they have learned and experienced to their post pilgrimage lives. I believe for many, these lessons are deeply personal. In my experience, the longing for the road and the companionship of my mother deeply affected me. I turned to reading Route 66 guidebooks in order to rekindle the journey. My mom also felt a sense of loss and longing for the road.

During the travel process, pilgrims seek different types of experiences, and through this process, they create their own “American” identities. In my research, I found that some individuals sought historical and authentic experiences. The expectations of authenticity vary from individual to individual, but these travelers search for the original road segments, dilapidated buildings, and experiences that bring them closer to those who traveled the road before them. These travelers sometimes cite *The Grapes of Wrath* as inspiration. Others search for a more sanitized nostalgic experience. These travelers likely realize Route 66 history contains negative events, but they choose to focus on the fun side of Route 66. These pilgrims want to see old diners, hear rock and roll, and perhaps buy some Elvis and Marilyn

memorabilia to remember their American experience. Another group of travelers sought out the “American Dream.” These travelers seem to want to experience the road and learn about America. The trip fulfills a deeply personal desire for these individuals. Lastly, some travelers focus solely on the idea of the classic car. These travelers want to experience Route 66 in a “cool” old or new classic car. For many this means renting a new Ford Mustang. These travelers seek a fun experience that they can perhaps check off the “bucket list” or enjoy with friends or family. For some of the travelers, these identities can overlap depending on what they hope to gain from their experiences on Route 66.

Regardless of their traveler identities and motivations, Route 66 pilgrims plan to visit “shrines” or they discover them. These “shrines” provide important or significant personal meanings to the individuals. In an email discussion on Route 66 “sacred” places, Sean Evans writes:

*I believe each of us (from that category of what Jim Conkle calls ‘roadies’ does have that favorite place on the road, or favorite stretches of the road that are for us emblematic of the road/travel experience (current or past), and maybe even favorite people. Is that rational? Can that be defined? Maybe not- but that probably feeds my belief in the irrational outlets we all harbor that fulfill some need we all have- and yes, for some, these are quasi- (or actual) religious activities, or our hobbies, or what-have-you.*

For each individual, a sacred place on Route 66 varies. Individuals might not have a perfectly rational reason for what draws them to that particular thing or person on the road, but they find meaning in that object or person that deeply affects them.

For some travelers, shrines include museums and Harley Davidson dealerships. At least one of my respondents emphatically noted that they stopped at as many Harley Davidson dealerships as possible. Others tend toward the quirkier side of Route 66 and find meaning in roadside attractions like the various muffler men or the Blue Whale of Catoosa.

For me, the Blue Whale of Catoosa served as one of my personal “shrines” along the road. The Blue Whale’s simplicity and innocence spoke to me as I imagined families picnicking and swimming in the heat and humidity of an Oklahoma summer. In another moment in Oklahoma, I encountered a turtle on the road, and that segment of road became another “sacred” place for me as I remembered the turtle in *The Grapes of Wrath*. For others, towns and buildings serve as “sacred” places. For Dries Bessels, the Painted Desert Trading Post holds great meaning. His tattoo depicting the old building illustrates this. Other travelers find that their “shrines” include “wise people” and include Gary Turner at the Gay Parita, the Douffets at the Galena Mining and History Museum, and Melba “the Mouth” at Women on the Route. I argue that Angel and his barbershop has become the number one “shrine.” Angel himself has become a destination, and a highly significant “pilgrimage center.” The inability to find parking in the summer months in Seligman speaks to this.

This thesis builds and adds to previous secular pilgrimage research,<sup>2</sup> helps to explore the changing definition of pilgrimage, and adds to the study of Route 66. Route 66 survives largely due to the individuals who dedicate themselves to the road and its culture. The road’s own identity continues to be transformed as new generations replace the older generations, buildings crumble as others gain a new life, and stretches of road disintegrate into the landscape. As more and more international travelers make their pilgrimages along the Mother Road, new alliances form. This journey of a lifetime often deeply affects travelers as an experience they would never find in their own country. For them, Route 66 is a pilgrimage. Route 66 is America.

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<sup>2</sup> Badone and Roseman 2004; Coleman 2002, 2004; Campo 1998, Doss 2007, Michalowski and Dubisch 2001; Margry 2007; Porter 2004; Reader 1993; Roseman 2004



### *Recommendations*

Little research on Route 66 as a pilgrimage exists yet travelers from all over the world come to the United States to drive the Mother Road. Studies, such as Rutgers collaborative research with the National Park Service Route 66 Corridor Preservation Program and the World Monuments Fund (Listokin et al. 2011) usefully assessed the economic impact of Route 66. Smaller city and state-based studies exist such as McNulty's (2007) thesis on tourism and tourism branding in Flagstaff and Oklahoma's 2007 Zogby International Survey that explored knowledge of cultural heritage in the state (Hurt et al. 2012). These studies all provide useful data, but additional studies on Route 66, as a pilgrimage, would benefit Route 66 associations, local governments, and the National Park Service in determining traveler needs, motivations and preservation needs. For example, in my own research, I found that many individuals (including myself) would like to see better signage on the road. This example applies to any Route 66 traveler—tourist or pilgrim, but better signage enhances the experience for all. Understanding what draws an individual to Route 66 and knowing what sites they deem “sacred” can aid in determining preservation priorities. Additionally, understanding Route 66 as a pilgrimage can provide important information on what travelers want out of an authentic experience. An authentic experience includes everything from staged gunfights in Oatman to rock and roll playing in Mr. D's in Kingman. In 2019, the National Park Service's Route 66 Corridor Preservation Program will end (Kaisa Barthuli, Personal Communication, July 28, 2015), meaning that the current program that works to assist individuals and agencies with preservation and research assistance (National Park Service Route 66 Cost-Share Program) will leave the Route 66 community with the burden of management planning. My hope is that this thesis will inspire

others to further research Route 66 as a pilgrimage and that others will expand on this research to help find new and better ways to keep the road alive.



**Plate 12. Santa Monica Pier, The “end” of the road, Santa Monica, California**

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### **APPENDIX A-Author's Route 66 travel itinerary**

June 10, 2014: Flagstaff, Arizona to Santa Rosa, New Mexico

June 11, 2014: Santa Rosa, New Mexico to Claremore, Oklahoma

June 12, 2014-June 16, 2014: Branched off from the interstate and Route 66 for an unrelated side trip.

June 16, 2014: Chicago, Illinois to Dwight, Illinois

June 17, 2014: Dwight, Illinois to Livingston, Illinois

June 18, 2014: Livingston, Illinois to Cuba, Missouri

June 19, 2014: Cuba, Missouri to Joplin, Missouri

June 20, 2014: Joplin, Missouri to Claremore, Oklahoma

June 21, 2014: Claremore, Oklahoma to Hinton, Oklahoma

June 22, 2014: Hinton, Oklahoma to Tucumcari, New Mexico

June 23, 2014: Tucumcari, New Mexico to Santa Fe, New Mexico

June 24, 2014: Santa Fe, New Mexico

June 25, 2014: Santa Fe, New Mexico to Flagstaff, Arizona

June 26, 2014: Flagstaff, Arizona

June 27, 2014: Flagstaff, Arizona to Needles, California

June 28, 2014: Needles, California to Pasadena, California

June 29, 2014: Pasadena, California to Santa Monica, California; Santa Monica, California to Kingman, Arizona

June 30, 2014: Kingman, Arizona to Flagstaff, Arizona

## APPENDIX B-Route 66 Associations and Links

Route 66 Association	URL
Arizona Route 66 Association	<a href="http://azrt66.com">azrt66.com</a>
Belgium Route 66 Association	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/belgiumroute66association">https://www.facebook.com/belgiumroute66association</a>
Brazil Route 66 Association	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/BrazilRoute66Association">https://www.facebook.com/BrazilRoute66Association</a>
California Historic Route 66 Association	<a href="http://www.route66ca.org/Home.php">http://www.route66ca.org/Home.php</a>
Canadian Route 66 Association	<a href="http://www.route66.ca/">http://www.route66.ca/</a>
Czech Route 66 Association	<a href="http://www.r66.cz/">http://www.r66.cz/</a>
Dutch Route 66 Association	<a href="http://www.rte66.nl/">http://www.rte66.nl/</a>
French Route 66 Association	<a href="http://www.ablazedigital.com/r66/">http://www.ablazedigital.com/r66/</a>
Hungarian Route 66 Association	<a href="http://r66.hu/">http://r66.hu/</a>
Kansas Historic Route 66 Association	<a href="http://kshistoricroute66.com/">http://kshistoricroute66.com/</a>
New Mexico Route 66 Association	<a href="http://www.rt66nm.org/">http://www.rt66nm.org/</a>
Oklahoma Route 66 Association	<a href="http://oklahomaroute66.com/">http://oklahomaroute66.com/</a>
Route 66 Association in Italy	<a href="http://www.lastrada66.com/rt66/">http://www.lastrada66.com/rt66/</a>
Route 66 Association of Illinois	<a href="http://www.il66assoc.org/">http://www.il66assoc.org/</a>
Route 66 Association of Japan	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/route66jpn">https://www.facebook.com/route66jpn</a>
Route 66 Association of Kansas	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/KansasRoute66Association">https://www.facebook.com/KansasRoute66Association</a>
Route 66 Association of Missouri	<a href="http://missouri66.org/">http://missouri66.org/</a>
Route 66 Germany	<a href="http://www.germany66.org/cms66/">http://www.germany66.org/cms66/</a>
Texas Old Route 66 Association	<a href="http://rt66oftexas.com/">http://rt66oftexas.com/</a>