

Mobile Technology Survey on the Camino de Santiago, April 2015 With Follow-Up in March & April 2016ⁱ

By Nancy L. Frey, PhD
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Mobile Technology Survey Project: Why?

From 2008 on I began to observe on my frequent trips on the Camino de Santiago that people wanted to connect to the Internet while on pilgrimage. As the years progressed and internet and mobile technologies evolved, it became apparent that use of mobile devices on the Camino was becoming generally more normalized (first cyber cafés, then portable laptops and then ‘smartphones’). I wanted to confirm this observation by conducting a survey and finding out just how frequent and extensive mobile technology use was in practice. The purpose of the research was to establish on any given day in 2015 general mobile technology habits and attitudes among a random population of Camino participants arriving in Santiago de Compostela and who were at the Cathedral’s Pilgrim’s Office to apply for the **Compostela Certificate**ⁱⁱ.

Mobile Technology Survey Project: Who?

For the majority of people on the Camino in the 21st C, the idea of ‘getting the Compostela’ is now synonymous with ‘doing the Camino’ and it is a central goal for many, but not all, pilgrims who make the Camino de Santiago pilgrimage. To receive the Compostela Certificate the bearer needs to attest to having some kind of religious or spiritual (or at least an “attitude of search” since 2016) motive for doing the pilgrimage (the Cathedral’s Canons that govern the Pilgrim’s Office allow the personnel to employ a very liberal definition of religious) and to have walked a minimum of 100km (or cycled or ridden on horseback 200km) along one of the established Caminos that lead to the Cathedral which holds the tomb of the Apostle St James the Greater in Santiago de Compostela.

The vast majority of statistics about the Camino de Santiago pilgrimage that researchers use come from the data that the Pilgrim’s Office collects on a daily basis and publishes on the official website on a monthly and yearly basis (since 2004).ⁱⁱⁱ These statistics are imperfect for various reasons including the fact that they do not account for people who do the Camino but do not apply for a certificate or who do the Camino in sections.

The anonymous survey was administered to a representative group of 51 pilgrims who were asked to provide basic data about themselves, how they prepared for the Camino, whether or not they carried a mobile communication device, how and when they used the device(s), any rules they established for themselves regarding tech, the impact of their personal and other participants’ utilization of tech and finished by asking about motives for going on the Camino, their evolution and what the experience meant to the participant. An additional Follow-Up Survey was conducted one year later (March and April 2016) by email to the participants who provided emails and the results are also reported.

Summary of Conclusions

In sum, the survey demonstrates that by 2015 the presence of mobile technology in the Camino is extensive and participants who are on the Camino are very tolerant of its presence. The expectations that participants bring with them about “what the Camino is” or how a pilgrim “should act” in the space of the Camino are not universally shared related to mobile technology. Both positive and negative aspects of mobile technology use, as reported by participants, are discussed and explored. Perception of participant mobile tech usage varies (less, the same or more on the Camino) from real usage on the Camino and these variations are explored as well how and when mobile tech is employed. It was common for people to find themselves using mobile technology “less on the Camino” than in normal life due to personal limitations, WiFi limitations and because “it just happened”. A special section is dedicated to Facebook as this was cited as relevant for 15 of the 51 participants. A substantial discussion is included

on participants' motives for doing the Camino as well as the observation that motives no longer appear to evolve as they did in the 1990s. The main motive given for doing the Camino in the 2015 survey group falls under the category of "experience" where the Camino is an "experience" worth having. In terms of what the Camino means to people, there is a strong focus on the pilgrimage as an "inner journey" (i.e., time for contemplation, reflection) and supportive of the self but appears to be less oriented towards "others", i.e., community-oriented despite participants enjoying the ease of social relations on the Camino.

Mobile Technology Survey: Specifics and Administration

The **MobileTech Survey** [a copy of the survey in English and Spanish is located on the website in pdf format called **2015 Mobile Technology Usage Survey** and **2015 Encuesta Electronica**] of participants on the Camino de Santiago pilgrimage was conducted on Saturday 4 April 2015 (the day before Easter, Resurrection Sunday). This day was chosen because there is a high affluence of pilgrims arriving in Santiago during the Holy Week. The Pilgrim's Office reported that 1248 people had arrived the day before on 3 April 2015. Between 9:30am and 3pm I sat at a granite table with benches outside of the Pilgrim's Office, (Rúa do Vilar, 1).^{iv} It was a cold, sunny morning. The Dean of the Cathedral Don Segundo Pérez gave me permission to conduct the survey. From 9:30-11am there was little to no line and I approached people after they had received their Compostela Certificate. From 11am-3pm there was a steady stream and a line formed that was about 50-people long. It was harder to conduct the survey when people were in line because they were concerned about the possibility of losing their place in line if they participated in the survey. I approached some people after they were done getting the Compostela and others while they were in the line and assured them that they wouldn't lose their place in line if they did the survey.

It was evident that some people had just arrived that morning to receive the Compostela and others had already arrived, dropped off luggage somewhere else, and had come back to the office to get their certificate. It is an odd moment in the journey, the arrival. Often there are mixed feelings, a great sense of fatigue and let down, mixed with joy, at the achievement. One older Anglo man with a big backpack and who had clearly been on the road for awhile, after he received the Compostela, just sat outside, looking at the Compostela certificate with a huge grin on his face. Others would take pictures of themselves with the Compostela Certificate. I saw a number of people with document tubes that are on sale in a souvenir shop next door for people to roll up their certificates and place inside to prevent damage to the document. One young woman who was on her fourth pilgrimage with her father, her father's 15th, was looking for a place to put hers when I asked them about taking the survey. They acquiesced. I commented that she could get a tube nearby and she said "No, that's okay," and just folded it in half and half again and pushed it into her pack.

To get as representative a sample as possible, I asked a wide group of people if they wanted to participate by selecting people of different ages, nationalities (with an emphasis on Spanish as the majority, as according to the statistics), people alone, people in groups, people with a friend, etc. It was also evident to me who had been on the road longer, so I also approached participants who appeared to have made both longer and shorter journeys along the Camino de Santiago. Both people holding mobile phones in their hands while in the line as well as people who were did not have phones visibly out were also approached. The vast majority of people I asked to participate agreed but I did receive several "No's" from people who claimed to be "too tired", or were simply not interested. Several people said they would do it after they got their Compostela but then disappeared out the back door of the Pilgrim's Office. The majority of people were willing and interested. Potential survey participants were approached and I explained that I was an anthropologist who had previously conducted a study in the early 1990s and that now, in 2015, I was exploring the changes in the Camino de Santiago with the major change being the incorporation of digital technologies into the experience. Would they be willing to take an anonymous survey about their mobile technology usage and the Camino experience?

The simple table above provides the general overview of the 51 participants. The surveys are numbered from 1 – 51 in order that they were returned to me (1 is the first survey and 51 was the last). To facilitate the reading of the article, I prepared another PDF article that gives the written answers given by the participants to the survey questions. The information provided in the table is what each person wrote in whatever language they wrote it in (several Italians read English or Spanish surveys and answered in Italian). Translations of the text are included in most cases in the table. Not included in the table is information regarding how the participant prepared as I was more interested for this project in motives for doing the Camino, habits while on the Camino and reflections at the journey's end. **NOTE: The full responses to the survey are located in another PDF document on the website called: Table of Responses: Mobile Tech Survey on the Camino de Santiago in the Supporting Documents.**

In addition to the responses written on the surveys, the answers to the follow-up questions in the **post-survey interviews** I conducted are included by each participant's survey number in another PDF document. **NOTE: This document is located in Supporting Documents on the website and is called: Follow-Up Interviews During Mobile Technology Survey.** The follow-up interviews were essential for filling out contradictory data provided in the survey by participants or to get further answers to key questions on usage and attitudes. Additional written comments made by the participants and my observations for each participant are included.

Summary of Responses to Mobile Tech Survey Questions & Discussion

The following discussion highlights the major themes that I have extrapolated from the all of the surveys detailed in the **Table of Responses: Mobile Tech Survey on the Camino de Santiago** (Please see additional PDF) as well as the **Follow-Up Interviews During Mobile Technology Survey** (Please see additional PDF) section found in the Supporting Documents on the website. The numbers in parentheses refer to the participants ordered from 1 to 51 and correspond with the **Table of Responses**. To see the full questions asked, refer to the Supporting Documents PDF entitled: **2015 Mobile Technology Usage Survey**.

Question #1 - Mobile Tech Carried

One of the central goals of the survey was to assess the prevalence of mobile phones on the Camino de Santiago, how and when participants use these devices and the participant's perceived impact of digital technology usage, if any, on the pilgrims' experience of doing the Camino. Of the 51 people surveyed, 48 people carried mobile phones. One additional participant took a tablet instead of a phone but it was not set up for phone usage and she did not use it to make calls. She did use her tablet when she had WiFi to send emails and photos to a limited number of friends and family. The other two people did not have a mobile phone and intentionally did not communicate with anyone off the Camino by digital means at the end of the day. I also asked if they borrowed someone else's device to communicate in any way while on the Camino. Neither one did. In sum, there are 2 of 51 people who did not have a mobile device and who did not communicate with home or the outside world during their time on the Camino. These two people were a 56 year old Turkish man (#37), a retired computer scientist, who walked from St Jean Pied de Port (France) in 23 days, and, a 52 year old Australian woman (#48), who is a teacher and walked from Sarria in six days.

When asked if they would make the same decision again regarding tech media now that they had finished the Camino, they both responded that yes they would because "This is spiritual trip of life" (37) and "It was freeing to be without it" (48).

In addition to mobile phones, survey participants were asked (Question #7) to specify other tech devices (tablet, laptop computer, digital camera, wearable wrist monitor, GPS device, other) they had with them on the Camino. In addition to the 48 phones, 15 also reported that they carried digital cameras, 4 had GPS devices, 4 had tablets, 2 had fitness watches, 1 had an iPod, and 1 a Kindle.

Questions 8 & 9: Mobile Tech Habits in Daily Life vs Tech Habits on the Camino

Questions 8 & 9 were designed to compare people's tech habits between daily life and on the Camino to see what impact the experience of being on the Camino might have on tech usage. All 51 participants answered this question. Of the 51, 44 indicated that they used tech media "Less on the Camino" than at home, 4 said usage was "same as home", 1 said they used tech "More on the Camino" and 3 wanted to qualify their answer. Question #9 asked people to indicate how many times per day they used tech on the Camino (1-5, 5-10, 11-15, 15-19, 21+/day).

I don't believe that these responses reflect true usage vs. perception of usage based on how people described how they used their tech media on the Camino (Question #10). Most people (30 of 51) circled 1-5/day, 14 said 6-10/day and four people marked 21+/day. It is likely that people are not aware of how frequently they use their devices as studies show that self-report usage of smartphones and real usage rarely correlate.^{vi}

In addition, cultural differences may be significant in mobile phone usage as studies in different nations show varying numbers in respect to, e.g., how many times per day people look at their phones to check WhatsApp (or other similar platforms), notifications or messages, etc. In general, across the board, frequency of smartphone device use has progressively increased over the last decade in the general population as more applications and services become available making it more and more 'necessary' for day to day communications and life activities (social, travel, economic).

Nonetheless, 18 nationalities were consulted in the survey and there were some evident differences in how the forms were filled out and care taken with answering which could be based on individual differences and/or cultural differences related to filling out forms, depth of response, expectations about "honesty" in reporting, etc. The follow-up interviews helped mitigate these differences by exploring the questions more deeply with the individuals involved and were extremely valuable to gathering a richer understanding of the subject.

Furthermore, the point of the question was not to establish a simple dichotomy between being "Tech connected and/or disconnected" on the Camino but to try and understand how people use their devices in these different spaces in potentially different ways and their perceptions regarding their usage. *Daily life now requires a certain level of connectivity to function in mainstream society (work, social life, travel, economics, etc) and once habituated to these patterns it becomes difficult to see that other patterns of connectivity are possible.* Walking the Camino does not require a high level of connectivity or any, for that matter, *but the perception now is that you "need" tech to do it. The need is there because we are so dependent upon it and this completely changes the mental atmosphere of doing the pilgrimage.* Is having tech handy and facilitate many aspects of the experience? Yes, of course, but that does not mean that it makes the journey "better". On pilgrimage easier is not always better. All types of ritual experiences have a "getting out of your comfort zone" quality that is diminished when we give ourselves mental crutches to smooth over all the bumps. Rather than digging in deep to the internal process that pilgrimage has traditionally offered (as a rite of passage), we end up staying more on the surface when we allow ourselves to keep our minds blissfully and, often totally unconsciously, occupied in the Cloud Camino.

1 - Less on the Camino

After receiving the fifth questionnaire I began to notice the pattern of **Less on Camino** being a frequent answer. I began to ask people to explain more specifically this response. Of those 44 who answered "Less on Camino" roughly half (21) explained further by short interview. Of those 21, nine contemplated decreasing tech usage prior to starting the Camino because they wanted to limit usage in some way (5, 14, 15, 22, 26, 31, 37, 40, 48). The other 11 indicated that decreased tech usage 'just happened' (in Spanish, '*surgió*') on the Camino for various reasons (12, 16, 19, 21, 23, 24, 27, 28, 33, 47, 50). I did not ask everyone this question in informal interviews but the result gives a good indication that there is awareness more or less consciously among a majority of participants that their tech usage was Less on the Camino or that it decreased as they walked (at least this was their perception).

The obvious and common answer for why people used tech less on the Camino is simply circumstantial and well represented by the Canadian suicide counselor's response: the "whims of WiFi" (#32; also 33, 35, 42). He meant that if you don't have WiFi access you can't connect. Many non-Spanish pilgrims do not buy local Spanish SIM cards for their phones and only use their phones when they have free access to WiFi, thereby having an externally imposed connectivity limitation. WiFi access is normally limited to stops along the way in cafés that have WiFi and accommodations that have WiFi. On a side note, as one Spanish pilgrim commented to me in a different context, in the 21st C Camino, the first question that you ask when you reach an accommodation is "Is there WiFi?" Having access to free WiFi is very much demanded and desired by pilgrims. Pilgrim accommodations typically advertise their features on blackboards outside their accommodations and "Free WiFi" is typically at the top of the list. This more limited usage ("whims of WiFi") is more true for non-Spanish pilgrims than Spanish pilgrims as Spaniards will have local connectivity on flat-rate plans meaning that it would be more of an effort to be disconnected, if that were their choice.

The next most common answer as to why people used tech less on the Camino (12, 35, 42, 49, 50) was the observation and realization that the person "didn't need it as much" as in daily life which requires more use for work, social life, life planning, habits and communications. The 16 year old Swedish girl traveling with her mother (#35 and 36) commented that the "forced not using" was good because "there was no need for it". She didn't think though that this would impact her home usage. A 28 year old Spanish web designer (#50) explained that he used tech less because he was enjoying himself and only used tech "*lo justo necesario*" (i.e., the minimum necessary). In his case he self-reported 6-10/day usage and carried a phone, tablet and camera which he used to send messages, take photos, communicate with friends and family, get info, book ahead, WhatsApp, Facebook, contact with a Forum and for GPS. The 'minimum' for him is fairly connected though his impression was that "*Había menos necesidad. Lo usas en el trabajo y en el Camino no es necesario.*" (Translated from the Spanish as, There was less need. You use it in work and in the Camino it's not necessary.) He explained further that the Camino had been a very good experience and that "the experience is the people you meet." He found that asking people directly [for help or information] is better and easier ("La experiencia es la gente y preguntar es mejor y más fácil."). I asked him if he thought he'd take this back home and he responded that it would be great if he could but the people in the city are different. He then added "*no veo posible desconectar con el trabajo*" (I don't see disconnecting possible with work). I asked him what disconnecting signified to him. He answered with two words: "*paz, positiva*" (peace, positive).

Another small group intentionally went to the Camino intending to use tech media less. Their reasons included wanting vacation time to be less connected (14, 31), that the Camino was an opportunity to try and be less connected (5, 40, 49), a belief that "it's important not being connected" in the Camino (15, 36) or that being in "nature" and "tech connectivity" don't go together (23, 47). When asked to explain further why they wanted to limit tech usage, a common response was that tech usage is "distracting" – that it distracts one's "focus" away from why they are on the Camino – thinking, experiencing, enjoying the moment (16, 21, 26, 27, 32, 37). An Australian woman explained, "It's [connectivity] just such a part of everyday life. We have an over reliance on it. I just wanted to be by myself in my own space." (48). She described herself as a frequent tech media user in her daily life and found her decision to limit her tech usage in the Camino "freeing, wonderful." It allowed her to be more "mindful" and more present. (48)

Work obligations often force people to be more connected than they would like even if they want to be less connected in the Camino. In one case, the conflict generated by bringing work to the Camino caused strife between a Spanish couple. They (#30 & 31) had been planning to do the Camino for a couple of years and both came with the stated desire to use tech less on the Camino. As a computer tech person, he saw this as an opportunity to disconnect, see the countryside alone with his partner. He thought that using tech more could impact that experience together. I asked if he thought it had been true and he said yes, but they still ended up talking about work on the Camino. He explained that in all their vacations they attempt to reduce connectivity. As our conversation evolved, it became evident that his tech usage was an issue between them on the Camino and it

interfered with their couple dynamic. At one point she turned to him and said firmly: *“En las proximas vacaciones, vas a apagar el móvil”* (translated as, On our next vacation, you’re going to turn off the phone.) She further suggested that he should actually leave it at home, not just turn it off. It turns out that as a tech person, his boss calls him frequently and expects an answer even when on vacation. She was clearly irritated by this. She answered for him saying that *“lo dice al trabajo pero no respeta”* (he complains at work but they don’t respect his wish). He didn’t really think much would change. The dilemma of people being obliged to take work home with them in their free time and being “on call” all the time even on vacation impacted this couple negatively. He kept his phone on all day and would take calls from work if they came in. This caused a sore spot between him and his wife as it took away from their ability to be in the here and now together without distractions of any kind.

Within the group that used tech media less on the Camino because it “just happened” without making that decision before starting, I asked them to explain this change further. Several people realized that “it [smartphone usage] takes away from the present” (30, 31, 48), that they “didn’t feel like it” (in Spanish, *“no tenía ganas”*) (24, 47, 50) or that “you don’t miss it” (47). In discussing this further, several people commented that they realized that in daily life, when bored, they reach for the phone to fill the time. On the Camino they felt “relaxed”, “entertained” with nature and the company and, in general, “good “ (i.e., a state of well-being) and consequently they had no need to fill up gaps of ‘bored’ time as they would at home. Another woman explained that she used it less because on her bike it wasn’t “convenient” and there were many things to see and people to meet. She added that if she was paying attention to the tech, she’d be missing what was going on around her (29).

2 - More on the Camino

The one person who wrote **More** on Camino is a 26 year old Spanish woman who indicated that she used tech media 6-10/day on the Camino but only at the end of the day. I did not ask her further questions about her survey answers to assess the accuracy of her statement. The data she provided is contradictory considering she is from Spain and would be on a data plan which would allow her phone connectivity all day. She did not indicate that she turned off her phone only that she had a rule to use it at the end of the day. The activities she described using included receiving messages, taking pictures, maintain contact with friends and family, information searches, messaging (WhatsApp or similar) and a Camino App for services and info. It’s unlikely she was only, e.g., taking pictures at night time or sending and/or receiving text messages at night (though it is possible).

3 – Same on the Camino and Other

There were four people who indicated their usage was the **Same** as at home (1, 25, 28, 51) and two who provided an “other” (15, 32) category. Within usage there were more self-identified minimal and heavy users (based on frequency per day and my own observation). A 44 yr old English woman (#1) indicated that she used tech media minimally at home and on the Camino to take pictures and communicate with family as she had left her 16 year old boy at home and wanted to keep contact with him. She did feel “guilty about using my smartphone to check in on Facebook.” On the other hand, the 23 year old Chinese man (#25) had a smartphone and tablet that he used frequently (21+) at home and on the Camino – “nothing changed” he said. I observed him with his phone, using it compulsively, the entire time he was in line (approximately 30 minutes), while he was filling out the form and while I interviewed him. He checked his phone repeatedly during the survey and as soon as he was done continued to use and look at the phone. He had a friend he was travelling with who also had his eyes glued to his screen during the entire process and who did not participate in the survey. I asked him about his tech habits and what kept him on his phone, he said it was his girlfriend who missed him and worried about him so he needed to keep in touch with her.

Those who wanted to qualify their answers responded that they had a similar amount of usage as at home but used their phones differently on the Camino. For example, the 23 year old German student (#15), who walked from Bilbao in 23 days told me that she uses tech media more in daily life but gives it a different usage. On the Camino she used the TrackWay app but doesn’t at home. In both circumstances she checks email but less on the

Camino. She added that she used her tech when by herself and “it’s important not being connected” all the time. I asked her why and she responded, “Because I’m not at home and not on Facebook. I don’t need to tell everyone what I’m doing.” She commented about few more tech habits on the Camino and then ended with “It’s [the Camino’s] about walking, it’s not about electricity.” A 21 year old Croatian student on bicycle from Pamplona said also that he used tech about the same as at home but differently. He mostly used his tech to check maps and take pictures but his communications were very limited, just simple messages “I’m here. I’m alive. That’s it.”

Question #10 - How Mobile Tech is Used on the Camino

After asking about usage on the Camino, the Question #10 tried to find out more specifically what people were doing with their tech media on the Camino. Participants were given a box with 23 different options of usage from a) Just for emergency to w) To Skype or Facetime. There is a lot of subjectivity in this question and I had the impression that people skimmed over the box and filled it out with differing accuracy. Even with the differing attentiveness to answering the question, there are some categories of usage that stick out. In addition, I believe the responses to this question show the problem with perception of using tech Less on the Camino and real usage as many times those people who said they used it 1-5/day indicated activities that require more than 1-5/day usage. It’s evident that people use their mobile phones for a very broad array of activities on the Camino in 2015.

The most frequently checked responses related to **maintaining communications** with family and friends. The categories are indicated by letters and the numbers represent the number of people that checked each category:

- b) Check messages (28),
- e) To keep in contact with friends (25)
- f) To keep in contact with family (37),
- q) To contact other pilgrims (13).

Another popular activity is using messaging services like WhatsApp: i) To send SMS, WhatsApp, Instagram, to Tweet, etc (24).

People also shared experiences through platforms such as Facebook: l) To post or check-in on Facebook (or similar platform) (15).

Contact was also maintained in less numbers via j) To write and post blog entries (3) or w) Skype or Facetime or like (4).

After contacting family, the next most popular reported activity with the phone is d) To take pictures (35).

In addition to communication, people used their mobile phones **to get information** from different sources:

- g) To get info on Camino services (albergues, restaurants, routes, etc) (18);
- h) To book ahead accommodation (8);
- n) To use Camino App or similar instead of guidebook (5);
- p) To read, post a question or answer on a Camino forum (4);
- u) To use an App to e.g., Track Your Walk (5);
- v) To establish your location with GPS (13).

In addition to communications and info, people also use their devices for **entertainment and keeping aware of the larger world**:

- c) To receive notifications (10);
- n) For entertainment when walking (5);
- o) For entertainment in down time (8); and to
- s) To check sports, news (4).

Write in “other” responses included: alarm clock (1), listen to music (2), look at weather (1), read on Kindle (1).

Only one person indicated that they used their device to work but in further interviews several other people were taking work phone calls and dealing with work even if they were on vacation and they did not indicate this on their surveys or check that box.

1 - Facebook

I decided to look more closely at people’s comments regarding their usage of Facebook as it appeared in multiple responses and generated mixed feelings: (1) To post or check-in on Facebook (or similar platform) was marked by 15 people. In the comments, the use of Facebook on the Camino appeared in a negative way on multiple occasions (1, 2, 36, 40, 48, 49) as did another user-driven posting platform, Reddit (32).

One 59 year old USA woman (49) had given Facebook up for Lent and decided to continue that on the Camino as she was aware that her posting on this platform was “ego driven” and about “pride” and she didn’t want to be part of that cycle. She found herself still looking at Facebook while on the Camino but she didn’t post. She indicated it allowed her to free up her mind.

A 26 year old Irish woman (2) wrote when asked if she’d change anything about her mobile tech habits that “Yes, I don’t want to use Facebook or Instagram as much.”

The 44 year old Swedish mother (36) also indicated she would “probably skip Facebook” because not being informed about what other people are doing would be positive “It would give a mental rest that is needed.”

A 24 year old German woman (40) said that she had decided beforehand “no Facebook, I need to get away”. When pressed further she explained that she’d been living in the UK and that she was on Facebook all the time for planning and felt that she “needed to have a change.” She said she realized that “there’s a life apart from technical things, Facebook.”

A 52 year old Australian woman (48), who had decided to go tech free on the Camino, explained that tech is “such a part of everyday life” and we have an “overreliance” on it. In daily life she said “It’s usually with me at all times – Facebook, Whatsapp, email.” Being away from it on the Camino was “freeing, wonderful” and her intention upon return was to try and limit her use “especially Facebook.”

The 24 year old Canadian man (32) explained a very similar situation with his relationship to the reddit.com site. He wrote on the survey that a rule he had for himself for the Camino was “Never going on reddit.com since I do at home a lot.” Giving it up was described as positive and he indicated “simple things are more noticeable”. As a consequence he felt “happy,” grounded” and it was easy going. He added, “The Camino removes distractions.”

All of these participants are describing how in some way that Facebook (or Reddit) engages their attention in a negative way away either as an ego-driven engagement with the net, as an absorbing and distracting activity and/or has addictive qualities. The Camino becomes an opportunity to get away from or reduce its presence in their lives. Studies show that active Facebook users have increased anxiety and depression.^{vii} Most of them indicated heavy Facebook usage prior to doing the Camino and the difference was notable. No one indicated they regretted their decision to reduce their usage and rather attributed it to positively enhancing their experience by allowing them to be less distracted and focusing on the events in their immediate surroundings. There tended to be an emphasis among non-Spanish participants having more guilt feelings related to use of these platforms (USA, UK, Australia) that would probably relate to cultural differences.

Other people in the survey used Facebook and it may have also had positive impacts for those communicating the experience with those at home but no one chose to mention their usage in a positive context.

Question #11 - Personal Rules Regarding Device Usage

Survey question #11 asked, “Did you have any personal rules about how and when you used your mobile tech, for example, when walking, in your accommodation (in the morning or after walking), or when stopping for breaks, or when sleeping?” I wanted to try and establish whether or not people came with preconceived ideas of how their media tech might impact their experience and/or if they developed rules along the way. Of the 51 responses, 46 described their rules (three didn’t answer and there were two tech-free people). Of that group 10 indicated that they had no rules regarding tech usage on the Camino (3, 9, 10, 15, 18, 24, 25, 28, 36, 44, 50). Within this group two stated they didn’t think of themselves as heavy users and didn’t feel a need for rules (16, 36).

Most people within the survey group had some kind of “rule of usage” either self-imposed or circumstance-imposed (WiFi availability) regarding their tech media usage in the Camino. For those who did have rules, the most common rule (18 people) was to use tech media “at the end of the day” or “in the accommodation”. Another six indicated that their rule was only when they stopped or when there was WiFi. Another four wrote “*lo menos posible*” (in English, as little as possible) or something similar. Three said, “not when walking.” Individualized rules included, “once per day” (1), “when I’m alone at some place”(11), “music only”, “use for camino-related information or taking pictures only when walking and search and send messages only when I’m wired [has WiFi connection]” (16), “while walking only in case of emergency and to activate GPS” (39), and “no music, no reddit.com” (32). One person indicated (5) that he definitely thought about this before starting the Camino and it was evident that several others had specific pre-conceived limitations they wanted to impose upon themselves in the Camino (32) more or less successfully (31).

Question #12 - Upon Reflection at end of Camino Would you Change Tech Habits?

Question #12 asked, “Now that you’re done would you change anything about your mobile tech habits on the Camino?” to find out how people valued their decisions and experiences related to their tech usage on the Camino. Of 51 participants, 12 did not answer the question, 27 said “No” (two of whom qualified their answers) and 11 said “Yes” (with seven explaining further) and 1 person said “Maybe”.

Of the two people who said “No” they would not change their tech habits, a 24 year old Italian student explained that “it is easier to travel like this and I try not to use technology too much”. She explained she had only looked at the phone at the end of the day to write family and friends and not while walking. The other No response came from a 37 year old Korean interpreter who wrote, “No, I had reasonable habits and rules, I guess.” I asked her to explain further and she said she only connected when “wired” due to WiFi limitations and that actually “it was good, really good to have a rule using tech.” She didn’t think though that she’d be able to maintain that in daily life. Considering that South Koreans are the most active social media users in the world, her response is not surprising.

Seven of the 11 participants who said “Yes” they would change their tech habits gave further detailed responses that mostly had to do with further limitations of tech activities: “I don’t want to use Facebook or Instagram as much” (2), “*completamente*” (meaning in English, totally) with less focus on the phone(5), “*tomar más tiempo para mi y menos para el móvil*” (in English, take more time for myself and less for my phone) (8), “*Igual menos Whatsapp durante el día y limitarlo al final de la etapa*” (in English, Probably less Whatsapp during the day and limit it more at the end of the day) (30) and “I would use my mobile even less because the Camino is a place for me, God and the persons I meet on the Way” (34).

Question #13 - Self Perception of Tech Impact on Pilgrimage

Question # 13 aimed to determine self-perception regarding using tech media during the pilgrimage and asked: Did the use of your mobile tech impact your pilgrimage in any way? Yes, No How? All participants answered this question except three, the two that did not take mobile tech (37 and 48) and a Japanese man (51). Of the 48 responses, 20 said yes and 28 said no. All 19 “yes” respondents qualified their answer with an explanation whereas 6

of the 29 “no” respondents gave further explanation. *It’s evident that a majority of people did not perceive or believe that the use of mobile tech impacted their pilgrimage.*

For those who qualified their answers (both yes and no responses), they gave both positive and negative impacts to tech. In general the positive impacts related to using the mobile device as a tool for communication and access to information. Nine people mentioned how it positively facilitated communication, helped with maps, info and distances to *albergues* (the word in Spanish for pilgrim accommodation), GPS location, taking instant photos, and booking accommodations (4,12,16,17,24,42,43,45,49). Several people also mentioned how the mobile device served as an access point and tool for emotional support via communications with others, music or giving a feeling of security, as a young Korean woman wrote, “I can feel secure from using mobile phone”(11). A 30 year old Hungarian woman wrote, “Besides keeping contact with family/friends and taking pictures, I received some questions through SMS from a priest that helped deepen my meditation” (34). A 21 year old Brazilian man said that “when I was feeling run down, I’d listen to music and it’d cheer me up and encourage me” (44). A 34 year old Spanish man mentioned that having tech allowed him to share the Camino with those at home and they became pilgrims in a way too through his blog diary (31).

On the negative side, answers focused more on the “inner experience” rather than the benefits of tech as a tool. *In general tech usage negatively impacted the inner experience and limiting use of tech was deemed positive.*

*A 44 year old English woman felt “guilty” for checking Facebook with her device (1).

*Having forced limited use of WiFi and connectivity had a positive impact on several people:

A 37 year old Korean woman said “it was very useful when I use apps” but she recognized when I interviewed her that “it was very helpful” not having WiFi all the time as it helped her “focus” more (16).

A 44 year old Swedish mother realized that it was “disturbing not to disconnect” from daily life on the Camino and she would probably forego checking Facebook if she did it again (36).

Realizing that maintaining communications with home and friends are time consuming, a 24 year old Italian student wrote that he “would take more time for me and less for the mobile phone” (8).

In a similar vein, a 35 year old Portuguese woman was relieved that the Camino gave her an excuse not to connect all the time: “It feels good not to be in contact, and not to always have others be in contact with you...its good. The Camino is a good excuse, you don’t have to answer messages.” When she reflected further on how mobile tech might have impacted her Camino, she realized that in daily life “everyone expects answers quick” and it was nice to have the Camino as an excuse to not answer (46).

Other respondents answered in a similar way: “without a phone we can be further from daily life” (13), It’s “relaxing” and “gratifying” not using media tech (23), “I didn’t need the phone to live the experience” (47).

A 23 year old Peruvian woman had mixed feelings on the impact recognizing that she felt helped when she needed it but that probably she should disconnect herself from her phone more (in Spanish, *Me he sentido ayudada cuando lo necesitado y considero que deberia desengancharme un poco del móvil.*) (39).

In sum, for those who responded to the question with further answers, *tech is seen as a as a positive tool for accessing information and logistics but one’s connectivity level can interrupt the inner experience by keeping you connected more closely to daily life rather than being “in” the Camino.* Other than the woman who received meditation exercises from a priest, no one said it helped them connect more deeply with the Camino or the pilgrimage experience. Furthermore, the majority of people do not perceive that their tech media usage impacts their pilgrimage. *People now take technology for granted in their lives and don’t necessarily see how their use of it plays a role in how they live an experience such as the Camino de Santiago pilgrimage.*

Question # 14 - How Other People's Usage Impacted Pilgrimage

Question # 14 sought to ascertain how participants experience and perceive the use of tech media by other pilgrims on the Camino: Did other pilgrims' usage of mobile tech devices impact your own pilgrimage in any way? Yes No How? As in Question #13, I asked a yes or no question and then asked people to explain further with a written comment. On this question, 5 of 51 did not respond, 12 of 51 said "Yes" (and all 12 qualified their answers - #s 2, 11, 15, 16, 18, 30, 32, 34, 38, 41, 43, 48), and 34 of 51 responded "No" (and 3 of the 34 commented further - #s 22, 47, 49).

Among the 12 that circled "yes" other pilgrims' tech usage impacted their experience, two Koreans (11 and 16) gave **positive impacts** related to benefiting from others' apps or information. The same young Korean woman who positively valued her phone because it gave her a feeling of 'security' said "Yes, They were searching for useful information about next village we have to pass and I could walk more meaningfully." The implication is that since she was not worried about where she was going because of the information the phone provided (albergues, bed bugs, info from Korean posts she followed, etc), she relaxed more walking. I think it's significant both positive tech responses were from two of the four Koreans (by the way, not traveling together) surveyed whose cultural attitudes regarding tech, travel and "knowing" may impact their responses. One of the 12 responses (from a young Brazilian man #43) was ambiguous (he observed that he saw apps or devices he'd never seen before on the Camino).

The other 9 "yes" responses gave examples of behaviors that impacted them **negatively** and came from participants from seven different nationalities (Ireland, Germany, Italy, Spain, Canada, Hungary/Romania, Brazil, Australia). Behaviors related to using tech while walking such as talking on their phones (1, 34, 48) or playing loud music (30, 32, 34) creating "noise pollution" (48) were characterized as "annoying", "distracting" or "out of place". Two people mentioned general "overuse" (38 and 41) and one person specifically mentioned being bothered by seeing "children glued to game apps while eating dinner" (2). She did not say specifically how this impacted her but may be a general observation about this behavior being "out of place" on the Camino where perhaps she has an expectation that people will be more present and may reflect general cultural attitudes currently common in Europe that criticize using technology to entertain children at meals and especially in restaurants in public. Finally, in the evening accommodation setting two people mentioned how device use disrupts rest and sleep: a German woman commented that "lights of the display from the mobile tech in the night" (15) and a young Italian man commented in Spanish "*La gente no duerme la noche!! por culpa del móvil* (translated as, People don't sleep at night!! because of their phones.) (18). I asked him to explain further and he mentioned the lights and the pings of notifications which were a bit annoying.

The majority of those surveyed responded that they *didn't feel impacted* by others' use of mobile tech. Of the three who qualified their answers, an American woman said it didn't bother her but "it seemed out of place to see others on the phone while walking" (49). A Spanish man indicated that "what other pilgrims do is their own business" (47) and a Canadian woman wrote "No one bothered us with their 'tech time.'" (22). Her turn of phrase is intriguing because it implies that people have a sort of sacred "tech time" that ought to be respected where each person can go into their little world/bubble and disconnect from their surroundings and as the Spanish man says, that's their own business. **There is a highly prevalent idea that "the Camino" is only when you are walking and the rest is "free time" rather than being a global experience of getting away [what I refer to as a bracketed time away from daily life] and people's unwritten rules about tech usage reflect this.** For example:

*Don't use when walking but when I stop, yes.

When a person stops to rest now, it quickly becomes a habit to fill up that "empty space" by entering the mental space of the "Virtual Camino" by pulling out one's phone and checking apps, notifications, messaging, sending photos, connecting with home, seeing what's ahead, etc, . A "time out" from life (as one of the motives for going on the Camino) is not conceptualized in a more global way on a mental level that encompasses one's entire day's and

night's activities. The concept that doing the Camino might signify simply - hanging out, walking around, exploring, sometimes being bored, meeting new people, wandering, reflecting on the day, feeling lonely, etc – has fallen to the wayside as digital technology potentially fills in all those little gaps that normally arise in the pilgrimage experience.

Constant interruption of the time away and always “keeping busy” alters significantly the ‘out of time’ feeling that one typically acquires as described in my book *Pilgrim Stories*. Walkers typically developed a new sense of space and time by slowing down and walking after several days. Without mental distractions it is easier to stay in that space of the limen where the inner world often flourishes to the surface in unexpected and even uncomfortable ways. Today it is much easier to avoid this process and experience the moment at hand because it is easy to return to the comfortable and familiar emotional environment of the Internet (the Virtual mental Camino) where the mind is kept perpetually stimulated with extraneous news and information. Doing the Camino is more stressful now than pre-Internet past because one typically has to maintain active many mental, virtual connections that did not exist before.

Isolationism is another side-effect of habitual social media use on the Camino. The new norm in social relations on the Camino is to respect others’ “Tech Time” when most people have their periods of connectivity to another reality somewhere in the Cloud. Consequently, pilgrims mentally disconnect from where they are and who they are with on the Camino to spend part of their Camino time mentally in the Cloud, usually at end of day. Still in 2015 WiFi is mostly available in bars and lodgings along the way. In the afternoon it is common to see people huddling around the WiFi connection, writing blogs, emails, reading news. Their bodies are on the Camino but their minds are elsewhere. Because many social and emotional needs are sated through that mental connection to the Cloud, it becomes less necessary to make an effort to socialize where you are. People become little self-contained units with their brains somewhere else, more dependent upon the Virtual world and less engaged with the immediate surroundings.

Question #15 - Motives

In question #15, I wanted to find why people do the Camino in 2015. Rather than giving people a list of options, I let them use their own words to define their motive and asked, “Why did you go on the Camino initially?” Of the 51 surveys, all participants answered this question. One response was illegible. Some people gave multiple reasons for doing the Camino and consequently the totals do not compute to 50 responses. After tabulating all of the different motives given, I grouped the responses into the following categories that emerged upon review of the data: the “Experience” (23), Personal (14), Mental Rest (10), Travel (7), Relational (5), Nature and Landscape (5), Spiritual (4), Religious (3), Physical Challenge (3), Miscellaneous (3), Don’t Know (1).

In the category of the “**Experience**”, the idea of “having the experience” (8) or wanting a “new experience” (7) were the most common responses. I also included in this group those motivated by “word of mouth” (5), “adventure” (1), “just to do it” (1) and “fun” (1). *I was surprised by this result as I did not conceive of this as a category in the mid-1990s and now it is the most commonly stated reason for doing the Camino.* Is this semantics or a generalized change in travel trends and motivation for doing the pilgrimage to Santiago? People now travel to “have experiences” and often to check off a destination on their “bucket list” (i.e., a real or mental list of travel destinations a traveler wants to visit). In the survey no one specifically indicated that the Camino was on their “bucket list” of destinations but this could also fit in with seeing the Camino as an “experience” worth having that people hear about “word of mouth” and that often appears on lists of “top destinations” and “top walks in the world” in magazines and online articles.

The second most popular category was a mixture of different “**Personal**” reasons the most common being “personal challenge” (4). The other motives included in this group are “find myself” (3), “personal reasons” (2), “know oneself” (1), “find oneself” (1), “perspective on life” (1), “away from normal life” (1), “new chapter in life” (1), and “break from routine”. This category reflects people wanting the Camino to be a time to take a look inside of

themselves outside of the context of daily life and see what there is. There is not necessarily a specific goal mentioned. This might be what I would have called in the 1990s an “inner journey.”

Similar to the previous “Personal” category but more specific is the desire to find in the Camino “**Mental Rest**” from the stress of daily life. The motives indicated here include “have some peace” (3), to “relax the mind” (2), to “think” (2), “clear the mind” (1), “reduce anxiety” (1), and “reflect” (1). These pilgrims came with the expectation that they would be able to have a period of time which would allow them to have reduced mental activity or an opportunity to think.

In the “**Travel**” category participants said they were on the Camino as a “vacation” (3), “to visit new places” (2), as a “new way to travel” (1), and to “try new routes”. I think this category is different than Experience because people specifically used the word to have an “experience” rather than wanting to visit new places and see new things as you do when you travel. The person who said “adventure” could also be included in this “travel” category.

The “**Relational**” category means those people who did the Camino not primarily for their own interest but to accompany friends or family (4) or “to spend time with daughter” (1). They were there to share the journey with someone else rather than doing it for another specific, personal reason.

The attraction of “**Nature**” (3) and more specifically the “Landscape” (2) led me to create this category Nature/Landscape. I also included this category as it was frequently mentioned in the mid-1990s as a reason for wanting to do the Camino.

I was surprised to see that “**Spiritual**” (4) and “**Religious**” (3) (with one of these being a religious vow or promise) were given by relatively few people as a motive. In the mid-1990s these categories were very popular and I described them extensively. What people now call “Personal” may be “spiritual” but it is not part of the language to describe the journey. This result is particularly curious considering that these 51 people were in line to get the Compostela Certificate. To receive the certificate the church ask participants to give their motive for doing the Camino and they report publically three categories – Religious, Religious-Cultural and Cultural Only. Religious or religious-cultural motives are required to get the Compostela Certificate (there is an alternative for those who only report a ‘cultural’ motive). In April 2015, the statistics given by pilgrims to the Cathedral office are as follows:

“Motivación que expresan personalmente los peregrinos. (Self-described Pilgrims’ Motives)

Religiosa 6.453 (36,41%)

Religiosa-cultural 9.533 (53,79%)

Sólo cultural 1.736 (9,80%).”^{viii}

Assuming that my sample was roughly representative of a typical group of pilgrims on a given day in April, it’s curious to note how the claimed motives on the survey vary so greatly from the categorization provided by the church. Little has changed since the 1990s. *Participants want the piece of paper and are willing to bend the truth and check the religious or religious –cultural box to get it. The Church is also happy because they can continue to demonstrate to the world that most people still journey to Compostela for religious or religious-cultural reasons – 90%!*

Speaking of “**Cultural**” motives, it appears that the church needs to update its motive categories as its relevance has diminished significantly. In the 1990s one of the categories of motives that I described was Culture (remarkable collection of monuments, churches and works of art on the Camino) and/ or History (the sense of the past and history of the Camino, nostalgia for a medieval time, walking in the footsteps of ancestors, etc). In 2015 not a single person gave either “culture” or “history” as a motive to go. ^{ix} **Curious update written in 2019: Please see note “ix”:** *The Pilgrim’s Office in Compostela eliminated the motive “religious-cultural” in 2016 and added in its place “an attitude of search”. I can imagine the former Archbishops rolling in their graves.*

Another popular 1990s motive was “**Physical Challenge**”. In 2015 three people mentioned being drawn to the physical component: sport (2) and “like to hike” (1). Maybe those who said “Personal challenge” (4) meant the “physical challenge” but they didn’t specify and a personal challenge could have many different meanings so I did not include it here.

Finally, the last category “**Miscellaneous**” category included motives that didn’t seem to fall into any of the others: the Camino “was a present from grandparents” (1), “to learn from others” (1), “health” (1). There was also one person who wrote “I don’t know”. This didn’t surprise me as it was common to find people in the mid-1990s who weren’t sure why they were there but just knew it was the right thing to do.

Question # 16 - Evolution of Motives

Question #16 followed up from the previous question as I wanted to find out if people’s motives evolved from the beginning to the end. I asked, “Did your motive(s) change from beginning to end?” A key observation I made about the Camino pilgrimage experience in the 1990s dealt with the evolving nature of a pilgrim’s motives from start to finish of the experience. People typically thought that the Camino would be, for example, a religious experience, a physical challenge, and/or a great adventure (to name a few common pilgrim motives) or maybe they weren’t even sure why they were there. As people went and had their ups and downs, the Camino typically evolved into something else and unexpected. When I interviewed people at the end, I frequently heard that, e.g., what started out as a mere physical challenge became a profound, inner growth experience. *Analyzing the results from the survey, I was struck by the number of people (40 of 51) who indicated that their motivations and/or expectations of the Camino did not change or evolve over the course of the experience.* Even given a margin of error of understanding in the question, it is significant that *perception of change is not evident*. The typical response was “I thought the Camino was going to be x and it was.” There were nine people (17, 20, 26, 32, 33, 37, 42, 44, 47) who did answer yes, e.g., “it made me rethink things” (#17), “I became slower and more relaxed over 14 days” (#32), “It became a journey to prove to myself I could do it” (#44), “Yes, I surpassed the challenges” (#47).

For a 22 year old German woman (#20) the Camino was a disappointment. She went to have “time to think” but her motive changed; “In the end I was bored and looked at the Camino more as a sportive thing and tried to get as much out of my body as possible.” For her the Camino evolved from what she hoped to be an inner journey in a beautiful landscape to a more physical journey to get done. “I realized that it’s not the walking which is fun, but walking in nature or on top of big mountains. The Camino Portugués was boring. Boring landscape, next to roads and not quiet at all.”

Two participants neither answered yes or no (#16 and 34) and a 37 year old Korean woman qualified her response with “Well, I’m not sure if I find the reason. But I guess I know what I have done and will do next at least” (#16). A 30 year old Hungarian/Romanian woman (#34) used an arrow on the form to point to her previous answer regarding why she was on the Camino where she wrote, “Initially I came to the Camino to see the landscape, shortly before starting I decided to take seriously the religious aspect too.” In essence, her motive changed before she started the Camino rather than during the Camino. Summing up her experience she wrote, “I don’t think it changes my life but it brought me closer to God and it was good to walk along the path that many people walked searching for a remedy to their pain. I imagined hundreds of tired, honestly praying pilgrims in the course of hundreds of years.”

Overall, there is less sense of discovery, surprise and growth and/or evolution than I expected. I checked to see if there was a correlation based on length of time on the Camino and five of the nine spent 6 days or less on the Camino and the other four spent 15-25 days on the Camino. I consistently found in my research that sense of change is not necessarily related to length of time on the Camino. While a longer time on the Camino gives the participant greater opportunity to enter fully the experience, it’s no guarantee that this will occur. And sometimes, people can be

on the Camino a very short time and feel very powerfully moved. The ripeness and readiness of the individual to receive the experience is fundamental.

I do not believe that this is true for the “heavily connected” tech and social media user. I do believe that there is a necessary detox period (sustained disconnection) that takes at least a week to 10 days for the mind to settle down (based on other interviews and research). Heavy regular usage inhibits the individual to enter the Camino on a mental level as the brain is patterned and conditioned by heavy usage and stimulates the user to seek further mental stimulation.

Question #17 - What the Camino meant to participants

The last question (#17) asked “What has this Camino experience meant to you?” Here I wanted people to describe in their own words what they got out of the Camino. I realize now that I used the word “experience” in the question unconsciously. I must have already been aware on some level that that is now how people talk about their travels, as ‘experiences’ that we have, and I utilized that language. Just as the result of question #15 showed that “having an experience” or “a new experience” was now the main motive for doing the Camino (which was a surprise to me as an outcome). I don’t know why I didn’t just say “What has the Camino meant to you?” In any case, that is how I phrased the question and here are the responses. After analyzing the results, I believe that the concept of having an “experience” is sufficiently normalized in contemporary travel vocabulary and the fact that in the motive question the idea that experience already spontaneously arose, that I don’t think it would have mattered if I had just written: What did the Camino mean to you? One person left the question blank. A certain segment of participants want an experience and then they have an experience which they then define with different adjectives. It’s kind of a vacuous response - Everything is an “experience”, isn’t it?

The concept of an “**experience**” stood out in the responses as 12 of the 51 described what the Camino meant to them from simply “an experience” (#12) to an “indescribable experience” (#48). Other qualifiers of experience included “new” (14), “very good” (17), “unforgettable” (18), “special” (19), “gratifying” (23), “more” (24), “great personal” (27), “earned” for future (35), “unique” (45, 50). Others simply stated the Camino was “fantastic” (18) and “incredible and indescribable” (43) and in two cases the Camino simply meant “a lot” (15, 39). Overall doing the Camino is viewed very positively as a life experience, something that enriches your cumulated set of life experiences. While I believe this was generally taken for granted that the overall act of doing the Camino was a “good experience” participants did not frame their responses in this fashion. Now people travel and do the Camino to “acquire experiences” or check items off their “bucket list” and then go on to the next one. Curiously no one used the expression spiritual or religious experience to qualify the nature of “the experience.” Rather the focus is mostly on a value-judgment of the experience as if they were “rating the Camino” for a Trip Advisor survey on “would you recommend this to a friend”.

I was surprised that only one person responded “I don’t know yet” (13). In the 1990s it was very common to feel a range of mixed emotions, including confusion, upon arrival in Santiago. The joy of arrival was mixed with the uncertainty of the future and the sadness at seeing a great experience come to an end. People often didn’t know what the pilgrimage meant to them and would only find out in the months to come, upon return.

Values relating to **friendship, group bonding and relationships** also stand out in the responses (1, 6, 10, 11, 18, 22, 30, 31,39) emphasizing the continuing importance of social contact and relationships.

Self-discovery (10, 26, 37) and **personal achievement** are another major theme (3, 4, 39, 44, 46, 47,) as people found that they can “go beyond themselves” (39, 44, 46, 47), attain a “personal goal” (10, 33, 47) or “discovery my limits” (8, 44). The Camino also meant meeting a “physical challenge” (36, 38), learning about the body (49) or “motivation to keep walking” (24, 39).

Described also as an inner journey, the Camino allowed **contemplative mental time** (2, 7, 42, 48, 26, 30, 41, 48) to, for example, “clear my mind” (2), “be with myself alone, something in daily life I don’t achieve in a long time” (10), “think about the past and the future” (42), “peace” (26, 30, 41) and “quiet reflection” (48). For one it led to the conclusion that “I want to be more present” (2).

While the pilgrimage clearly supports the self, very few responses focused on the Camino as something that fostered an “other” oriented-ness, for example, as way to “learn from others” (49), or as a way to “walk with others in the past” (34) or as something that gives “appreciation for daily life” (11) or as a way “to see goodness in others” (30). One of the striking characteristics of the Camino of the 1990s was a commonly referenced feeling of ‘gratitude’ for those along the way, their fellow pilgrims, life, etc. In a number of cases, this gave rise to a desire to give something back to the Camino.

Five of the respondents described **spiritual** (3, 39) and/or **religious** meaning coming from the Camino by feeling “closer to God” (34, 49) or a “renewal of religion” (22).

Another small group described the Camino as a **touristic/sightseeing experience** or physical experience with statements such as “time off work...and a few nice days walking” (1), “fresh air and exercise” (22), “routine” (28), “cultural visit doing sport” (29), or to “discover new places” (8).

There were also three “**negative**” responses that the Camino did “not [mean] a lot...it was boring” (20), that it is “not a special way” (16, 21). The latter two thought that it had been positive on a personal level even if they did not like the Camino as a route. The first person did not like the Camino on any level except as a physical challenge.

A 23 year old German student (#15), who walked from Bilbao in 23 days, simply responded to the question of what the Camino mean to you by responding - “a lot”. I asked her to expand on her answer after she turned in the form and she explained that there were “moments when I found it to be another big adventure” and the Camino was part of a 2 year round- the-world travel experience she was having. I asked why she did the Camino and she said chose the Camino del Norte because she’d heard about it 2 years previously, she wanted to learn Spanish, and she wanted another adventure. She added she would never do the Camino Frances because it is “very touristic, crazy” and she needed peace, quiet. Considering that she had been on the Camino for 23 days and had a lot of time to walk, think and reflect, I was surprised that she stayed on the surface in her answer. It is possible that she did not want to share anything more personal but she gave no indication otherwise. A new trend in travel, especially in young people, is that doing the Camino now forms part of a larger multi-month or year travel experience rather than a specifically desired, focused on activity to engage in.

Finally, one Spanish man (#9) wrote that the Camino meant to “return”. He had done the Camino 15 times and the Camino is about “coming back” to it again and again. He also harkened back with nostalgia to the days gone past along the Camino with less commercialization and more community.

In sum, The Camino of the 21st C is more self-oriented, less community-oriented. All about me! Experiences. What people say and don’t say. Concepts that are out “inner journey” – it’s still there but people don’t talk about it as such, spiritual, religious, feeling part of something bigger than myself, history, culture. Now it’s the experience: sharing it, having it and capturing it!

Will your tech habits change after the Camino?

When asked if they thought the discovery of the difference between daily life usage and Camino usage would have any impact on their daily life habits, a couple of people indicated that they might try to change the habit of using tech to fill time when bored by, e.g., taking a walk instead or talking with his family (47). Others saw themselves “slip[ping] back into the old patterns” (48).

On a side note this is reminiscent of what I observed in “the return phase” in the 1990s, that it’s common to compartmentalize the realities- daily life and Camino – and many people see little way to integrate the two or even try to. In the Camino it’s “easy” to feel all these wonderful things and disconnect. Changing something about one’s daily life is much more difficult and few people are willing or prepared to do so. Mentally it’s easier to see the two worlds as parallel realities that are impossible to bridge. I believe this is one reason why people love to return to the Camino over and over again because in the Camino people feel more ‘free’ whereas in daily life they feel more trapped by circumstances and routines. Furthermore, people give themselves permission in the Camino to do what they don’t feel they can in their daily lives.

My sense about the connectivity was an awareness on the part of many people in the study that they used tech less, felt this was positive to be less connected but, for the most part, they did not think this would have much impact on their daily life (it is not necessarily a value to take home – I want to be less connected).

I believe it is very significant that the **Follow-Up survey** (See also the PDF in Supporting Documents: **One Year Follow-Up Mobile Tech Survey**) received such a poor response in part due to the relatively small impact the experience had on their lives. I asked about connectivity, many people reflected in the moment that it was positive but it wasn’t an easy value to take home. *Our connected lives simply take over when we’re back in our routines.* One of the two people who did respond to the Follow-Up questionnaire already had the value before starting the Camino clearly in mind that disconnecting on the Camino would be positive for her experience. She consciously wanted to get away from her daily life tech media usage routines and patterns. It is evident that most people are unaware of how their connectivity potentially limits their experiences of themselves and the world. If they are aware and continue in the same pattern, they either don’t mind and accept it as part of normal daily life, or compartmentalize it (as above).

Survey Follow-Up: One Year Later

I sent a follow-up email with questions on the return home to the 33 of 51 participants who provided emails (37 of 51 gave emails but four bounced back repeatedly despite trying different possible emails) **on 15 March 2016**, almost a year later to try and find out how they felt about the Camino in retrospect. As on the initial survey, I guaranteed their complete anonymity in my use of their responses. In the Follow-Up Survey I asked open-ended questions in three areas: **1) the return home** (reactions of friends and family, how they felt), **2) the Camino’s impacts** on their lives, if any and what it meant to them, and **3) their perception of impact**, outcomes, reflections, if any, of **their tech media usage** (non-usage) in the Camino and any changes, if any, related to tech media and personal habits.

By April 27th I had received zero responses. I was surprised that not a single person in a pool of 33 responded. On April 27, 2016, I resent the follow-up email to try and stimulate a response from someone who might have thought about responding and didn’t follow-through at the time but might with an extra nudge.

The second sending on April 27th produced two responses on the same day; a Spanish man (#26) and an Australian woman (#48). The Spanish man wrote to acknowledge the request and that he would get back to me over the weekend because he was too busy during the work week. He did not follow-through. He described himself as being a lawyer with a high-stress job. Even though he only had three days on the Camino, he looked forward to some quiet time and knew that tech was potentially distracting. On May 3rd another completed follow-up message came in from a Canadian woman (#22).

The 52-year-old Australian woman (#48) answered the questions completely. I believe it is very significant that this Australian woman is one of the two survey participants who elected ahead of time NOT to carry tech media on the Camino because she indicated in 2015 “I wanted to be totally tech free of technology and my need to use it.” She added, when I asked her to elaborate, “it’s just such a part of everyday life, we have an overreliance on it.” She did not communicate with anyone back home and had prepared them ahead of time saying she would seem them

again upon return. She made this decision during her preparation for the Camino and after speaking to a colleague who had also not taken tech media and decided that's what she wanted too. She explained, "In daily life it's usually with me at all times – Facebook, Whatsapp, email." She wrote on her 2015 survey, "It was freeing to be without it." In further conversation with me in 2015 she said she valued the experience of being "uncontactable" while on the Camino and her disconnection allowed her "to be more mindful and not thinking about how I was going to explain everything." Her Camino was motivated by a desire for "self exploration and to do something spiritual." She walked the Camino Frances in six days from Sarria.

In her 2016 email response, one year post-Camino, the Australian woman wrote:

"it was very soon business as usual. Everyone asked about the Camino experience. I told them I enjoyed it...the walk, the time spent in nature, the people I met, the sights I saw. Everyone thought it sounded like an amazing time and adventure. Some people were impressed that I did the walk. I have been telling this year about my experience last year."

In terms of the Camino's impact on her, she mentions that she continues her "meditation practice, which I was able to do while walking the Camino" and that she returned to Spain in Easter 2016 to go to a yoga retreat. She might want to "do other parts of the Camino." In her words, "The Camino was a special experience that I won't forget. I did it around my birthday, so that will always be special to me."

Finally, she reflected on the role of tech media in her Camino experience with this response:

"I was really happy that I decided not use [sic] media and technology during the Camino. When I go away for other retreats or weekends, I try to limit my use of devices. During my daily life I still tend to rely on media devices, for social media, too much. I really should try to limit my time, especially at home where I can control the amount of time I spend on my phone and laptop. If I did the Camino again I would definitely make the same choice and NOT use my phone or computers during my experience."

The 62 year old Canadian woman (#22) was also an unusual participant in terms of her connectivity because she was one of the three people in the survey who did not have a mobile phone. She chose instead to take a WiFi-only connected tablet to take pictures and to email home occasionally. She also used a land-line to call home from a Western Union office in Lisbon before she started the Camino but commented that "the world has very few payphones for prepaid calling cards anymore" and it was inconvenient. During the initial interview in April 2015 she explained that her principal reason for not having a phone was economics: I "decided a mobility device would cost more – data pkg cost, wanted to take pictures and email them home." Her Camino was motivated by the death of her father for whom she had been the principal caregiver and this experience "marked a new chapter in my life." She also shared with me that professionally she had been a telephone operator for a major company and "always felt pressured by time" and consequently she resisted the influence of tech in her life. When her father was alive and she was his caregiver, he was the one who insisted that she get a mobile phone for 'safety'. She retired early from the telephone company because she was considered an "older user" of tech and they wanted younger people who were "born in the crib with it." In her daily life at home she did not consider herself a very active user. In April 2015 she walked the Camino Portuguese with cousin as a companion from Valenca do Minho in six days.

In the 2016 follow-up email survey she explained her further travels post-Camino. She did not return home immediately but continued traveling around Spain and Portugal as part of this being "a new chapter in her life." It is evident that her love of history influenced greatly her itinerary and the depth of connection she felt to the places she visited. In Salema, Portugal she commented: "I saw myself being here about 30yrs ago..its [sic] where the whole trip stemmed from." It seemed apparent that the whole trip was, in essence, her Camino not just her six days on the Camino Portuguese. When she returned to Canada she commented a year later in 2016:

"I have learned that when returning home people say they want to see your pictures & hear your stories, but understandably they can't totally relate unless they have been there themselves. And how enjoyable it is to chat with someone who has been to the same places as yourself. I have been to Central America, hiked Hawaii a number of times, walked the West Highland Way in Scotland, seen as much of Scotland in 6 wks as one is able, the same for the Wicklow Way Hike and southern Ireland, "sail & rail" to Tenby Wales to see where my Great Grandparents gave birth to my Grandfather, sat in the same church as they did many years ago....It's all about personal journeys."

She did not make mention of her father in the 2016 follow-up response. In the 2015 survey, she had indicated that his passing marked a new chapter in her life and led to doing the Camino.

In terms of the Camino's impact on her she wrote, the "Camino and other walking/hiking trips are addicting." She went on to explain other trips she is planning, this time in England doing the Coast to Coast trail and following the great poets (Wordsworth, Shelley, Yates, Keats, she named). She further remarked that:

"I try every day to be 'mindful' & aware of my closeness to God. I walked the Camino last spring with my cousin...., who has a Masters in Theology. We were both brought up with the United Church & Anglican Church but I know I am welcome in all of God's Houses. It was wonderful to take in the daily Mass not only with [my cousin] but also after we parted ways Easter Monday. Even with travelling Mexico (rural & cities) and with Catholic based Republic of Ireland I still did not feel comfortable with religious protocol of the Catholic Church. That changed on this trip, almost on a daily basis I went to Mass.I don't understand Gaelic, Portuguese nor am I in the least bit fluent in Spanish – it doesn't matter in the House of God."

Apparently in part the Camino allowed her to reach a new level of comfort in her religious practice every day, wherever she is, not feeling limited by language barriers or even needing to be in a specific church.

In terms of the role tech media played in her Camino she wrote:

"Before this trip I had never brought a "device" with me-- I researched whether to bring a cell phone, use prepaid calling cards as I had done in Scotland/Ireland... I chose a tablet. I was able to email my husband, [my cousin] emailed his wife, I took tons of pictures with the thing, and when I wanted to watch a movie or YouTube I had my entertainment!! I would probably bring a tablet again -- no data charges!! Besides the world has very few payphones for prepaid calling cards any more:)....I did also have to buy a charger/voltage converter to charge the tablet, but that was very little expense or weight. I also journal my journeys."

She made no further comments or reflections about the impact of her usage or lack thereof may have had on her experience. In her daily life, tech/social media is not particularly important and consequently it appears she takes this same attitude into her travel experiences as well. Her choice not have a smartphone on the Camino was not based on wanting to limit her tech activity because she feels too connected in her daily life (like #48) or that because the Camino is a spiritual trip and tech plays distracts from connecting within (#37). Her choice appears to relate principally to economics (thought it would be "cheaper") and her personal attitude towards tech: it was not something she welcomed into her life with open arms (got a phone because her father insisted, doesn't wear a watch and was retired early from her job in part because of not being sufficiently 'tech savvy') and it is not particularly important to her now. She uses tech for email communications and practical matters but does not feel overwhelmed by tech/social media or a need to distance herself from it.

Though for different reasons, the fact that both women who answered the follow-up survey were two of the three most minimally connected participants while on the Camino is significant. On one hand, the Australian woman (#48) wanted a "mindful" Camino experience with her mental world focused in the present moment and, on the other hand, the Canadian woman (#22) chose to travel in a minimally connected way (making phone calls on landlines, using a tablet with only WiFi capabilities) because tech connectivity and social media are not important to her. In both cases, their families were prepared mentally to not receive regular and frequent communications lifting

that mental weight of the “necessity to connect” very common in contemporary travel to constantly remind that “I’m okay”. The old expression, “No news is good news” went out the window with the advent of tech media. Both of these women, because of these choices, were more present in the experience and probably more connected to me during the survey and interview process. They also both thought the topic was significantly important to answer a follow-up email.

One Year Follow-Up: Why didn’t anyone else answer?

How people respond to follow-up questions (20+ years ago via snail mail and now via email), reflects changes in patterns of communication and their evolution pre-internet and in the Internet Age. Significant differences include response rate and response content. Doing research pre-Internet the vast majority of people responded to requests for follow-up. In fact, many thanked me for giving them an opportunity to reflect on their experiences and in writing about them as it helped give the participant perspective and meaning on the cumulative nature of the pilgrimage experience. Pre-Internet people did not have simple outlets or expectations to share their lives moment by moment like they do now through Camino Forums. I have spiral bound books of the photocopies I made of the long handwritten, sometimes soul-wrenching, letters I received from pre-Internet pilgrims post-experience. People accumulated experiences within themselves and did not share them with the same frequency that is now part and parcel of daily communications. Nowadays responses tend to be much shorter, employ a more limited vocabulary using common, positive adjectives and lack emotional depth. Today you “enjoy” the Camino as an “amazing” or “special” “experience” and even “life-changing” but the tendency is to stay more on the surface. *In the Information Age people share constantly and consequently feel less need to share. Experiences are more quickly regurgitated rather than stored inside and mulled over before being processed and shared.*

SURVEY OBSERVATIONS AND PERSONAL CRITIQUE

The Interview Process

Surveys can provide basic data about a subject but do not necessarily elicit complete responses that would occur in a formal or informal interview. Motivation, interest, time, honesty are all factors that can lead someone to provide more or less complete answers. Some people filled out the surveys thoroughly with care and others provided very short answers in a rush. Getting people to reveal motives or deeper feelings and attitudes on a subject is not easy with an impersonal form. Doing follow-up interviews when the survey was returned to me was crucial for soliciting additional information not reflected on the survey itself. Many of these further conversations offered great insights and reflection points. *Even with its limitations, the survey offers a glimpse into general trends, habits and patterns of behavior among pilgrims arriving in Santiago de Compostela in April 2015 who wanted to solicit the Compostela Certificate.*

In order to get better, more complete answers in the future, I would only ask two or three people at a time and when they were finished I would do follow-up on several key questions. I discovered early on that I needed more data about question #8 – comparing tech use in daily life vs. tech use on Camino. The most common answer was “Less on the Camino”. I began to ask the participants a follow-up question when I reviewed the survey with them: Was this “Less On the Camino” answer based on a decision made before coming to the Camino or something that occurred while on the Camino (*fue una decisión antes o algo que surgió en el Camino*)? *This was a very interesting additional question because many people came to the Camino without thinking about their tech habits but found that on the Camino they needed and wanted to use it less because they felt so good on the way.*

The other question that needed additional follow-through was question #12 – Would you change anything now that you’ve completed the Camino? Typically, when I asked people about their tech habits before and during, they only

began then, in that moment, to reflect on the difference. Consequently, the next question, how might these habits change after the Camino? was something of a non-question and participants typically didn't respond to Q12 in the positive (yes, I'm going to change my habits) because it was not something they had reflected upon before I asked them. But once I asked participants to reflect in the follow-up interview process, it was common for participants to provide additional reflections on changes they might or might not make related to tech once they returned home.

CONCLUSIONS: General Discussion of Results

By 2015 the presence of media technology devices and their associated platforms (apps, social media platforms) in the Camino is extensive and people are very tolerant of their presence. Of the 51 people surveyed, only three people did not have a mobile phone device (one of these three had a tablet for WiFi but no incorporated phone service) with them and specifically chose to do the Camino "tech free". Neither of the two "no phone" pilgrims mentioned the concept of doing a "digital detox" (i.e., a conscious decision to not use digital devices for a period of time to disintoxicate oneself from what feels like or is addictive behavior) but they did believe pilgrimage and mobile technology usage were incompatible. Ease of communication with friends and family and as an information source are the two main motives given for carrying mobile devices.

Despite this tolerance it is evident that unwritten rules regarding behavior and etiquette with media tech exist and can be breached on personal and social levels. The expectations that people bring with them about "what the Camino is" or "how a pilgrim should be/act" in the Camino are not universally shared concepts. It is interesting to explore what those "Camino culture" rules regarding mobile devices currently are and how these change rapidly as a reflection of larger trends in mainstream society that people bring with them to the Camino. The survey shows that there are also cultural differences regarding the use of mobile devices and the level of potential awareness about how the internalization of the Camino may be impacted by using tech media that needs to be taken into account when surveying mobile tech usage.

A surprising result were the large number of people who just found themselves using their tech "less in the Camino" because they just felt good enjoying the nature, there was no need or simply it was a imposition based on WiFi access limitations. Typically at the end of the day, those who used their devices "less on the Camino" would use the media tech for contacting friends and family.

Another discovery of interest was the development of a new motivation that did not exist in the 1990s called "experience." At the same time there was a sharp decline in "culture/history" as a motive for doing the Camino de Santiago pilgrimage. Also the vast majority of participants claimed no change in motive from the beginning to the end of their pilgrimage. In my research of the 1990s, the journey "grew" and evolved as the pilgrim experienced the self in a variety of new and sometimes awkward circumstances. Typically, the journey outcomes did not match original expectations. The survey results showed that people sought a special "experience" and then they had a special "experience" and thereby fulfilled their expectations. The survey results show that in the 2015 Internet Age pilgrimage experience the participant generally receives from the Camino what they expect/anticipate with less discovery, surprise and evolution of motives.

In 2015 it's a highly prevalent idea that "doing the Camino" is only when you are walking and the rest is "free time." Pilgrims' unwritten rules about tech media usage reflect this trend. People generally don't use their devices when walking (except to take photos, check GPS, look up information, contact other pilgrims via messaging platforms) but they do when they stop at a bar or café or the end of the day and will engage more fully with the device. When the pilgrim stops to rest or take a break, the habit has developed to quickly fill up the "empty space" by checking, writing, contacting, connecting with home, messaging, looking at sports, etc. The Camino is no longer a global "time-out" that encompasses the entire experience (the hanging out, walking around, reflecting on the day, etc.) In 2015

there is now constant interruption of the bracketed time away and the mind is kept stimulated with extraneous news and information every day unless when consciously chooses to limit their mobile device activities.

These new habits can create an effect of isolationism. The new norm in social relations on the Camino is that each person has their accepted moments of tech connectivity to another reality from where they are bodily/physically and the participant disconnects mentally from their surroundings, usually at end of day, huddling around the WiFi connection, writing blogs, emails, reading news. It becomes more difficult to relate as a group if fellow travelers are off connected mentally someplace else. The trend is that pilgrims are becoming self contained units with their minds someplace else with social needs met through their digital activities. There is less need to look to the immediate present to meet social needs if these needs are being met through a virtual platform. Despite this, pilgrims still value highly the social aspect of the Camino when they do interact with other pilgrims from around the world.

The impact of incorporating media technologies into the pilgrimage experience has had both positive and negative aspects. On the positive side, participants value the convenience smartphone apps allow for obtaining information or the joy of sharing the journey with family and friends. On the negative side, digital technologies (including social media platforms) are described as distracting to the pilgrimage experience. Participants acknowledge that the utilization of message apps like Whatsapp or social media platforms such as Facebook or Reddit messages are not vitally important to their pilgrimage experience and serve primarily to distract them from where they are (limit one's ability to "focus" as in the Korean examples). Not having constant WiFi (usually because the participant did not have a local SIM card for their smartphone) allowed some participants to be aware of the difference of using digital technologies "less on the Camino" but there was little evidence to suggest that a generalized outcome of doing the pilgrimage would be a resolution to limit one's digital connectivity in daily life to feel that same connectedness with the world around them as on the Camino. There is some generalized awareness that media technologies are potentially distracting but there is little evidence that participants actively reflect on this and modify digital habits accordingly except in a minority of cases.

Doing the Camino de Santiago pilgrimage potentially helps the pilgrim diminish the amount of mental distraction they would normally be subject to in daily life, particularly when their usage is limited by not having access to constant data roaming or WiFi. When WiFi is available (primarily rest stops and end of day accommodation) the tendency is to refer to the smartphone for any number of random usages of which many simple serve to distract the mind or take the user on a random mental journey through extraneous messages, recommendations, news, etc. Minds crave that distraction too and get accustomed to it. But when participants remove the constant connection and give their minds a break, they employ words such as peace, calming, "groundedness" and ease of stress to describe how they feel. The mind needs sustained distraction-free time to settle down especially in this highly digitally connected world we are creating. People are evidently aware of this when on the Camino but in general don't try to resist it or modify their behaviors around media tech despite knowing that it could be impacting their experiences.

ⁱ The research for this paper was conducted between April 2015 and April 2016. I analyzed the data and wrote the paper between April 2015 and May 2016. I have not sought publication for this research and analysis. I have revised and edited the May 2016 of this Tech Survey paper and made it easier to read in March 2019. I have also sent the May 2016 version of this paper to several interested academics. I would like to give special thanks to Professor Robert Nickerson at San Francisco State University in the Department of Information Systems, who generously read the survey and encouraged me to turn it into a publishable, academic article in 2017. He encouraged me to make numerous modifications to transform the piece into a proper academic paper. While these suggestions were excellent, I wanted to keep the raw data visible to those interested in going deeper and keep the researcher's voice active in the process of administering the survey and the subsequent analysis of the data. His work also involves mobile technology usage on the Camino de Santiago. See for example his article: Nickerson, Robert C. and Eng, Jamie, "Use of Mobile Technology and Smartphone Apps on the Camino de Santiago: A Comparison of American and European Pilgrims" (2017). 2017 Proceedings. 20. <https://aisel.aisnet.org/capsi2017/20>

The results from the mobile technology survey were also used for my Keynote Address at the Confraternity of St James in London on 28 Jan 2017 entitled "The Smart Camino: Pilgrimage in the Internet Age". I have made that talk accessible in both print and video format on my **Walking to Presence** website (www.walkingtopresence.com) dedicated to sharing my research on this topic: Print: <https://www.walkingtopresence.com/home/research/text-pilgrimage-in-the-internet-age> Video: <https://www.walkingtopresence.com/home/research/video-pilgrimage-in-the-internet-age>.

ⁱⁱ To read about the Compostela Certificate and its history see the Pilgrim's Office of the Santiago Cathedral's article called, "The Compostela" on their official website at the following link: <https://oficinadelperegrino.com/en/pilgrimage/the-compostela/>. Retrieved: 22 Mar 2019.

ⁱⁱⁱ The official website of the Pilgrim's Office in Santiago de Compostela provides information on a wide range of services associated with the Cathedral including the statistics: <https://oficinadelperegrino.com/en/>. Retrieved: 22 Mar 2019.

^{iv} Since conducting this research the Pilgrim's Office has changed locations to a much larger, more modern facility in a renovated Convent off the Cathedral Square at Rúa Carretas, 33.

^v Pilgrim's Welcome Office Statistics. April 2015. <http://peregrinosantiago.es/eng/pilgrims-office/statistics/?anio=2015&mes=4>. Retrieved May 5, 2016.

^{vi} Beyond Self-Report: Tools to Compare Estimated and Real-World Smartphone Use. Sally Andrews, David A. Ellis, Heather Shaw, Lukasz Piwek, PlosOne: October 28, 2015, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.013900>. A Nottingham Trent University study asked people to self-report estimated daily Smartphone usage in 18-33 year olds and then tracked real usage with an app on their phones that monitored web activity. They conclude that these figures do not correlate (real usage is more frequent) and they urge caution in taking self-reported data at face-value. Participants checked their devices on average 85 times/day (typically in frequent, short bursts) and spent a total of about 5hrs/day browsing the web and using apps. This time was roughly double what people were aware of and represented about 1/3 of their waking hours.

^{vii} Maldonado, M. (2015). The Anxiety of Facebook. Psych Central. Retrieved on May 23, 2016, from <http://psychcentral.com/lib/the-anxiety-of-facebook/>

^{viii} Pilgrim's Welcome Office Statistics. April 2015. <http://peregrinosantiago.es/eng/pilgrims-office/statistics/?anio=2015&mes=4>. Retrieved May 5, 2016.

^{ix} It is now 2019 and I am just about to publish this work. When I was doing further research in 2016 I was very surprised to discover that indeed the Canons of the Cathedral in Santiago did change the motives for pilgrims who would like to get the Compostela Certificate. The Pilgrim's Office has eliminated "religious-cultural" and in its place has substituted "Make the pilgrimage for religious or spiritual reasons, or at least an attitude of search." What a remarkable amplification of the definition of a religious journey the Cathedral has made! Now all one needs to acquire the certificate is an incredibly vague "attitude of search". And clearly pilgrims don't go to Compostela for cultural reasons as they did in the past. Retrieved from Oficina del Peregrino, Dec 18, 2016: <https://oficinadelperegrino.com/en/pilgrimage/the-compostela/>.