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Examining Motivations to Walk the Camino de Santiago: A Typology of Pilgrims

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Abstract
The purpose of this article is to develop a comprehensive understanding of people's motivations for going on the Camino de Santiago pilgrimage using qualitative and quantitative methods. The methodology comprised qualitative research based on content analysis of 32 travelogue testimonies and quantitative research based on an online survey of prospective pilgrims ($N=228$). Three dimensions of motivation were identified using the following factor analyses: secular, spiritual, and religious. Then, a two-step cluster analysis was conducted to classify pilgrims into seven different types. The results revealed that pilgrims are not homogeneous in their motivations and that, except for two types with a total frequency of 4%, secular motivation is more or less present in all other types of prospective pilgrims. There are no "purely religious" pilgrims. Religious motivation always appears together with secular, spiritual, or, most often, both these forms of motivation. The findings suggest that secular motivation may be related to a need for exploration, the core motive underlying self-actualization.

Keywords Pilgrims · Typology · Motivation · Content analysis · Camino de Santiago

Introduction

In this research paper, we focused on the pilgrimage along the Camino de Santiago (the Way of St. James), which has experienced a tremendous increase in popularity over the last three decades. The route is arguably one of the best-known pilgrimage routes and one of two pilgrimage routes registered as UNESCO World Heritage sites.[1] Since 1987, when the Council of Europe declared the cultural importance of routes crossing all of Europe with the

[1] The 10 best pilgrimages for modern travellers, World Travel Guide, March 6, 2018,https://www.worldtravelguide.net/features/feature/the-10-best-pilgrimages-for-modern-travellers/.

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destination of Santiago de Compostela, the number of pilgrims on the Camino de Santiago increased from fewer than 3,000 to more than 347,000 in 2019 (Pilgrim's Reception Office, 2020). This figure is the yearly number of pilgrims who reached the city and obtained their Compostela certificate[2] issued by the Chapter of the Metropolitan Church of Santiago.

The Pilgrim's Reception Office collects data on reasons for walking the Camino. In 2019, approximately 11% of pilgrims declared that their motivation was "non-religious," about 40% stated that it was "religious," and 49% stated they had "religious and other motives." Pilgrims are given the choice of these three somewhat unclear motives. Additionally, they must declare a religious reason to obtain the Compostela, which casts doubt on the data.

To understand the current walker phenomenon in Compostela, the CETUR Spanish research center (2007–2010) carried out extensive quantitative research, wherein they conducted approximately 10,000 interviews with pilgrims walking the Camino between 2007 and 2010. They also explored the pilgrims' motives for undertaking the journey. According to the study, 28% of respondents attempted the Camino to express or think about their spirituality. About 18% walked the Camino because of their religious beliefs, while 17% of the pilgrims said it was the natural heritage of the route that had attracted them. About 12% had been attracted by the route's historical and architectural heritage. Of the respondents, 10% chose sport as their motive, while 8% explicitly declared that their journey was exclusively recreational. Of the respondents, 4% did not opt for any group of motives from the list. Therefore, there is a large discrepancy in the data on motivation between these two centers in Spain; according to the Pilgrim's Reception Office, 11% of pilgrims walked the Camino because of nonreligious motives, whereas according to the CETUR that percentage is 82%.

Pilgrims' Motivations

Motives for doing a pilgrimage to the Camino de Santiago have been subject to several analyses (Amaro et al., 2018; Chemin, 2011; Farias et al., 2019; Fernandes et al., 2012; Frey, 1998; Gamper & Reuter, 2012; Kim et al., 2016, 2019; Lois-González & Santos, 2015; Lopez, 2013; Lopez et al., 2017; Oviedo et al., 2014; Schnell & Pali, 2013). One of the most thorough and recent of these is the analysis by Kim et al. (2019). These authors set out to explore how pilgrims can be positioned in terms of Smith's "pilgrimage-tourism continuum" (1992) and found that the majority of pilgrims have some form of spiritual connection with the Camino. They concluded that the "Camino continues to be a religious place driven by inner goals, albeit in a more personal, interpretive, and spiritual way" (p. 1).

Perhaps the most convincing analysis of religious/spiritual versus tourist motivation was suggested by Smith (1992). Since distinctions between the terms *pilgrim* and *tourist* are becoming increasingly blurred, Smith argued that the pilgrim-tourist path should be redefined as two parallel and interchangeable routes, one being the secular, knowledge-based route and the other being the route of spirituality and faith. This notion received strong support in subsequent studies, which also showed that even greater diversity can be detected

[2] To obtain the Compostela you must make the pilgrimage for religious or spiritual reasons or at least with a searching attitude; cover the last 100 km on foot or horseback or the last 200 km by bicycle; and collect the stamps on the Credencial del Peregrino from the places you pass through to certify that you have been there. Pilgrim's Reception Office, n.d., accessed December 27, 2021, https://oficinadelperegrino.com/en/pilgrimage/the-compostela.

among pilgrims. For example, Gamper and Reuter (2012) conducted a survey of 1,147 pilgrims walking the Camino de Santiago. Their results revealed five types of pilgrims: the spiritual pilgrim, the religious pilgrim, the sports pilgrim, the adventurous pilgrim, and finally the cultural holiday pilgrim. Another study showing the variety of motivations was conducted by Riveiro García (2020). In this study, researchers identified six types of pilgrims: traditional, expert, traveler, modern, adventurous, and young.

Considering the complexity of the pilgrims' motives, Oviedo et al. (2014) suggest that individuals with "various, often contrasting, motivations and expectations walk side by side" on the Camino de Santiago pilgrimage route. and, therefore, the increase in the number of pilgrims over the last three decades cannot simply be seen as a "post-secularisation trend or a religious revival" (p. 433). This notion is largely confirmed in a recent study by Farias et al. (2019). They conducted a survey ($n=360$) examining atheist versus religious pilgrims' motivations using a 27-item scale that assessed six types of motivations and three larger dimensions: the religious dimension was assessed with (1) *religious growth* and (2) *community*; the spiritual with (3) *spiritual seeking* and (4) *search for life direction*; and the secular with (5) *sensation seeking* and (6) *closeness to nature*. If we consider cultural and sports motives as secular, we can also mention here the three dimensions of motivation in the study by Kim et al. (2016). They conducted a survey about motives with a sample of 104 Santiago pilgrims. The respondents were able to choose among four motives: spiritual (45%), religious (28%), cultural (24%), and sports (3%).

Schnell and Pali (2013) explored motivation in a sample of prospective pilgrims to avoid possible motivation changes during the pilgrimage. They assessed the pilgrims via internet platforms discussing pilgrimage. They found that pilgrims either traveled explicitly for religious reasons or, for a relatively large proportion of them (about two-thirds), in search of clarification (a quest). Schnell and Pali also measured the commitment to self-actualization before the journey, one week after returning from the pilgrimage, and four months later. They found that most pilgrims reported a strengthened commitment to self-actualization after the Camino de Santiago pilgrimage; additionally, according to the research, these changes occurred separately from the motivation for pilgrimage.

The motives for pilgrimage on the Camino de Santiago have also been subjected to several qualitative analyses. An anthropological analysis was conducted by Frey (1998), who focused on the rise in the number of pilgrims since the 1980s. The author, who had walked the route several times, claimed that contemporary pilgrims went to Santiago for a variety of motives that might change throughout the Camino. She differentiated between (1) religious motives (such as the fulfillment of promises, a crisis, the renewal of faith, or praying for others), (2) spiritual motives (personal searches or inner journeys of transformation), and (3) historical and cultural motives combined. Frey claimed that pilgrims noted the difference between religious and spiritual motives as well as the difference between orthodoxy and personal devotion.

Lopez (2013) examined motivation based on 63 travel narratives published on the internet by Italian pilgrims. She argued that 38% did not mention any motives. According to Lopez, 11% of pilgrims who considered themselves spiritual (they defined this aspect in their diaries) did not know their motive for walking the Camino: "I do not know the reason, because the Way has chosen me." Furthermore, 13% of secular pilgrims claimed to have a 'personal' motive (e.g., the loss of a beloved person); their decision stemming from something intimate.

In a recent qualitative study, Kim et al. (2019) analyzed online written accounts by pilgrims using a theoretical-thematic analysis. They found that despite the increase in secular motives, the Camino's identity is perceived to be more religious than nonreligious. They argued that "internally driven motivations emerged as a common element across religious, spiritual, and secular travelers" and that these "inner goals seem to continue to represent a greater motivational variation across different groups in a world where the religious and secular are increasingly ambiguous labels" (p. 15).

A qualitative study by Chemin (2011) also explored the motives of pilgrims on the Camino de Santiago. Along the way, the author conducted 56 semi-structured interviews with English pilgrims. He found that the surveys usually covered motives that were not essential or clear to the respondents. He found that it was often difficult, if not impossible, for the respondents to separate their motivation into specific categories. Furthermore, he claimed the pilgrims only became aware of their motives in the context of the interview—when asked about them and after giving the question some thought. According to Chemin, motives to walk the Camino differ, overlap, and coexist; they are often complex, multifaceted, sometimes unplanned and sometimes rationally articulated into a coherent narrative. As mentioned before, Frey (1998) found that it was not uncommon to see motivation changing during the pilgrimage. As a common feature in his interviews, he claimed one could experience a "call" to walk the Camino. This could be triggered by reading a book, through a personal encounter, or by pure coincidence. Although the idea of a "calling" appeared in various forms, it often represented a quest for self-actualization, according to Frey.

What is more, we can draw parallels between this idea of a "calling" and Radcliffe's (2005) "pilgrim itch." The author attributes motivation for pilgrimage to an expression of the pilgrim's urge ingrained in human nature. In his view, contemporary pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela are often hesitant and distrustful of what they believe—"suspicious of doctrine but believe that there is a journey to be made" (p. 10)—and although some of them do not belong to a church and do not perform religious practices, they are still comfortable going to the shrine and embracing the statue of St. James at the end of the journey.

Our review of the literature thus revealed certain ambiguities between qualitative and quantitative studies that may be related to the superficial nature of surveys compared to the emphasis on pilgrims in qualitative studies: (1) some pilgrims do not mention or do not know their motive (Lopez, 2013) and only become aware of their motives when they are asked about them and after giving the topic some thought (Chemin, 2011), (2) the surveys usually cover motives that are not essential or clear to the respondents, hence it is difficult for the respondents to separate their motivation into specific categories (Chemin, 2011), (3) some additional motives exist, such as taking time off to rethink one's life (Frey, 1998), (4) some pilgrims claim they got a "call" to walk the Camino (Chemin, 2011; Radcliffe, 2005), and (5) and some may change their motives as they walk the Camino (Chemin, 2011; Frey, 1998; Schnell & Pali, 2013).

These findings suggest the need for both qualitative and quantitative data for a better understanding of pilgrims' motivations. Therefore, we (1) adopted an interpretive approach by interpreting the pilgrims' understanding of motivation, (2) collected qualitative data from the pilgrims' travelogues since they presented authentic descriptions of the pilgrims' motivation that are not limited or distorted by the interviewing process, (3) validated and quantified the findings with a survey, (4) collected quantitative data from prospective pilgrims, (5) did not rely on a restricted range of possible motives and measured motivation with a

reliable scale instead of using a single item, (6) adopted a motivational measure developed in previous studies with pilgrims from the Camino, and (7) integrated the qualitative and quantitative results with correlation.

The Present Study

Our main aim was to create a typology of motivations for going on a pilgrimage to Santiago—a typology that bridges qualitative and quantitative research. The point of departure for our study was the hypothesis that although the motives are multiple and layered, we may distinguish three main dimensions of pilgrims' motivation—religious, spiritual, and secular. Accordingly, we set out to find an answer to the following basic research question: "How can the reported motives by the pilgrims at Camino de Santiago be empirically categorized into a typology concerning the three main dimensions of motivation?" We aimed to describe the most typical combinations of motives. By doing so, we intended to generate integrated support for a typology based on quantitative and qualitative evidence and to identify the most typical types of pilgrims walking the Camino de Santiago.

Method

To bridge qualitative and quantitative studies on the Camino de Santiago pilgrims' motivation, we divided the present study into two stages. In the first stage, we examined whether pilgrims think about their motives and how they understand them. This question was pursued on the basic assumptions of subtle ontological realism (Hammersley, 1992) and epistemological constructivism (Raskin, 2002). Accordingly, our study is based on the assumptions that (1) there is a real world that exists separately from our perceptions and theories and that (2) our understanding of the world (including the scientific world) is inevitably a construction stemming from our perspectives and standpoint. Based on the second point, we opted for an interpretive approach, according to which social reality is best approached through interpreting actors' understanding of events. Consequently, the first stage took shape primarily as a qualitative content analysis of 32 travelogue testimonies about the Camino de Santiago pilgrimage. Grounded in the assessed pilgrims' motivations, we sought to develop an evidence-based conceptual framework for further analysis.

In the second stage, we conducted an online survey (1) to verify, validate, and quantify the built conceptual framework and (2) to create a typology using factor analysis as an analytical tool. This procedure yielded meaningful results supporting our hypothesis, allowing us to distinguish three main dimensions of pilgrim motivation—religious, spiritual, and secular.

Our study did not require ethical approval as it analyses datasets obtained from published travelogues and online surveys, in which the data is anonymized (we used trusted software that does not allow linking between identifiers and responses).

Qualitative Content Analyses

In line with our chosen approach, we based the study on a qualitative analysis of 32 travelogues about the Camino de Santiago pilgrimage,[3] written by the pilgrims themselves, published in book form in the Slovene language and recorded in the Slovenian library information system COBISS (Co-operative Online Bibliographic System & Services). Most of the books (23) are the work of Slovenian authors, while the rest were written by authors from other countries and translated into Slovene. It is important to note that one book by a Slovenian author was written by the first author of this article, who has firsthand experience as a pilgrim on the Camino. This had a profound impact on our analysis for it supported the validity of our interpretations and added a much-appreciated sincerity, which is a crucial component in qualitative research (Tracy, 2010, p. 7). The seven non-Slovenian authors were two Frenchmen (Potdevin, 2013; Rufin, 2016), three Americans (Gray & Skeesuck, 2017; MacLaine, 2000), one Croatian (Kapetanović, 2017), and one Irishman (McManus, 2014).

We developed the typology of pilgrims as part of the research aimed at providing a data-based theoretical explanation of the Camino de Santiago pilgrimage experience in late modernity. The analysis was performed using computer data processing with QDA Miner software, wherein we imported and encoded the books as RTF files. Text coding was the central part of the data processing. In the first step, we applied single-stage open coding to establish inductive, content-driven concepts by analyzing the incidents or activities as potential indicators of each pilgrim's motivation. We identified five concepts that pertained to the category of motivation. Since our sample was pre-defined in size and content, data saturation, or the point when the "coding of new data yields fewer and eventually no new examples" of categories (Payne, 2021, p. 212), was not of crucial importance. Nevertheless, after processing all 32 cases, we found that our basic results stabilized after analyzing the first six cases as we did not identify any new concepts related to the category of motivation after that point. We suggest this is an indication that the entire sample of 32 cases yielded reliable results in terms of the final included concepts. Based on this suggestion, we are also able to assess the quality of the collected data—their richness, depth, diversity, and complexity.

In the next step, we used these codes to build an evidence-based conceptual framework for further analysis.

Survey

In the second stage, we developed an internet-based questionnaire using 1KA, an online survey software tool. We conducted an online survey[4] of prospective pilgrims. The data were collected between July 2020 and August of that same year ($n=258$). Since certain qualitative studies mentioned earlier reported that pilgrims' motives may change over the course of the Camino, we targeted the survey at prospective pilgrims, those who had made the firm decision to walk at least 300 km of the Camino de Santiago for the first time. The questionnaire was available in the English language. A link to the online questionnaire was

[3] The appendix contains a list of the analyzed travelogues.

[4] The data were fully anonymized, so ethical approval was not required.

placed in a Camino de Santiago prospective pilgrim group on Facebook called Camino de Santiago 2020/2021.

In the first section of the questionnaire, participants were asked to choose one or more statements out of nine, all connected to the reasons for their decision to walk the Camino. The list of statements represented the conceptual framework developed based on the analyzed travel narratives.

In the second section, we used the multi-item scale as a motivational measure. We did not want to rely on a restricted range of possible motivations and measure the pilgrims' motivation with a single item. We chose the 27-item scale[5] from an empirical study of pilgrims' motivations along the Camino de Santiago by Farias et al. (2019, p. 33). This is a reliable scale of religious, spiritual, and secular items describing motivations for undertaking the pilgrimage. Respondents could choose answers to the question "What are the reasons for my decision to cross the Camino that are important for me and what are less important?" on a seven-item scale.

The questionnaire also included a three-item scale of traditional religiosity to check the respondents' level of engagement with religion. This short measure asked about the respondents' frequency of religious practices and the importance of God to them (from 1 to 10). Scores for attending religious services and praying ranged from *several times a day* (1) to *never, practically never* (7).

Findings and Results

Demographic Information

Of the 258 respondents, 30 were excluded because they had been on a pilgrimage to Santiago previously. The average age of the respondents ($n=228$) was 48.67 years ($SD=12.72$); the youngest was 19 and the oldest was 77. In terms of gender, 25% were male and as many as 75% were female. The respondents were well educated; almost 78% of them had at least some college or university education.

Motivation to Walk the Camino de Santiago

Based on the content analysis of the travelogues, we identified five different concepts in the category of motivation: (1) *contact*, (2) *strong inner call, a need, or a strong desire*, (3) *self-examination of their motives*, (4) *personal motive*, and (5) *other pilgrims' motives*. These concepts occur in the analyzed books 222 times. With frequencies of code occurrence in all books, the percentages in the category of motivation, and percentages of code occurrence for all 32 cases are more thoroughly presented in the implementation matrix (Table 1).

The code *contact*, which is mentioned in the travelogues 21 times, captures how people learn about the Camino de Santiago route. As argued by Chemin (2011), both qualitative and quantitative research shows that first contact with the Camino happens rather randomly and largely through the personal experience of the individual. Results of the survey support that finding since the majority learned about the route by chance; approximately 44% of the

[5] We obtained consent to use this motivation measurement scale (Farias et al., 2019, 33) from Dr. Miguel Farias by email on December 16, 2020.

Table 1 Frequencies of code occurrence for concepts (see appendix for more information on the travelogues quoted here)

Code	Code frequency	% Codes	% Cases*	Reference Quotation from Travelogues (and Some Additional Explanations)
1. *Contact*	21	10%	50%	Skeesuck, a disabled American, traveled the route in a wheelchair assisted by his friend Gray. He found out about the trip while watching television: "It's all very familiar until he mentions the Camino de Santiago, or Way of Saint James, a nearly 800-kilometer pilgrimage route beginning in the picturesque Basque village of St. Jean Pied de Port, about five miles across the French border, and ending at the cathedral in Santiago de Compostela, where the apostle James's bones are said to be buried" (Gray & Skeesuck, 2017, p. 20). Sometimes a potential pilgrim can feel a "call" or a strong need to cross the Camino at the first contact. "[I]t hits me: This is the trip Patrick and I need to take. I haven't felt this sure of anything since the day I realized I had met 'the one'" (Gray & Skeesuck, 2017, pp. 20–21). "Since the Way called me, I couldn't give up her call. Ever since I first heard about the Camino de Santiago, I knew I wanted to compete with her" (Gričnik, 2014, p. 12).
2. *Strong inner call, a need, or a strong desire*	80	36%	88%	To express the call, urge, or strong desire to walk the Camino, French author Rufin used the word "virus" and Shirley MacLaine a "compulsion": "I had no choice. The Saint James virus had taken a deep hold on me. I do not know how I caught it. But after a silent incubation period, the malady had broken out and I had all the symptoms" (Rufin, 2016, p. 199). "There had been an impulse, almost a compulsion, that had guided us to drop our lives, put everything in suspension, and come to Spain, and none of us knew why. Some had escaped to the Camino" (MacLaine, 2000, p. 73). As Chemin (2011) found, our analysis shows that some pilgrims perceive the call as an inner call, an intuition, or a call of the soul: "The decision to follow the Way of Saint James (Camino) was guided entirely by intuition and I unconditionally listened to the voice within me" (Artnik Knibbe, 2016, p. 18). "Thank you, my soul, for calling me on this journey. Day by day I am more grateful that I heard and followed the call" (Vranjek, 2015, p. 175). Others, especially those who identify themselves as religious, interpret the call as a call from outside—from God, Jesus, or the Way itself: "The way is here. It doesn't go anywhere. I'm grateful to Her every day that She has chosen me and called me" (Udovič, 2012, p. 42).

Table 1 (continued)

Code	Code frequency	% Codes	% Cases*	Reference Quotation from Travelogues (and Some Additional Explanations)
3. *Self-examination of their motives*	56	25%	72%	The French pilgrim Potdevin (2013) wrote that he could not answer why he decided to walk the Camino. He only knew that he must go as soon as possible. At the moment he realized this fact, he started the process of self-examination of his motives: "Then I couldn't answer her many whys. . Why are you leaving? Why Saint James? Where is that? Why so far? Where will you sleep? Aren't you feeling well here? Are you running away? What do you think you will find?. . I could only answer her one question clearly. . .When do you plan to leave then?. . As soon as possible. I was in a hurry. . I didn't quite know what I was looking for along the way, or why I was leaving. So, I had to start somehow trying to understand. . I now opened the note randomly and boldly wrote down the reasons for my departure. A bold and imaginative endeavor that ended in the first defeat: I wrote about twenty good reasons on a piece of paper, but none were satisfactory. . Then I wrote on the next page: ''I am embarking on this journey to understand why I walk this path'''' (p. 7).
4. *Personal motive*	38	17%	53%	"There is nothing I wanted to prove. I wanted to fulfill my vow. To thank the Lord for all the gifts and grace that he had lavished upon me" (Kapetanović, 2017, p. 9). "I could walk the ancient route to Santiago, searching to recover the 'lost passion' and put together the fragments of my life" (McManus, 2014, Chap. 1, para. 9). "At the outset, I had simply decided to go on a very long walk on my own. I saw it as a sporting challenge, a means of losing a few kilos, a way of getting ready for the winter season in the mountains, a mental detox before starting to write a new book, a return to the humility needed after a period dominated by official functions and awards" (Rufin, 2016, Chap. 3, para. 12).
5. *Other pilgrims' motives*	27	17%	53%	"The experience of complete surrender to God and self is the motivation behind most people's attempt at the Santiago de Compostela Camino" (MacLaine, 2000, pp. 5–6). "Today, most people go on pilgrimages to mark a certain part of their lives, to be spiritually fulfilled, and to find a lost center in themselves. Many flock there for religious reasons to visit the tomb of the apostles. There are also many hikers, cyclists, and ordinary tourists" (Gričnik, 2014, p. 10). "The word pilgrimage evokes the image of religious fanatics crawling on their knees to the holy place. You don't see anything like that on the Camino. People go to Santiago today for a variety of reasons. Amateur athletes want to test their physical abilities in this way, some would like to get closer to themselves in solitude and solve some important problem that plagues them in life, while others feel that the Camino will serve as a source of strong spiritual inspiration" (Steblovnik, 2010, p 165).
	222	100%		

* Percentage of cases (N=32).

respondents found out about the Camino from another person (friend, acquaintance, or relative), whereas about 37% learned of it from a book, film, or other form of media (newspaper, radio, or TV).

Chemin (2011) also argued that one's first contact with the Camino could trigger a whole flow of events that were not "always guided by purposeful and rational decision-making" (p. 238). As previously noted, he claimed the idea of a "calling" to the route is a common feature among pilgrims. We coded the urge to go on the pilgrimage as a *strong inner call, a need, or a strong desire* to walk the Camino. This code occurs 80 times in the analyzed books. We developed the concept of a "call" in the first statement of the conceptual framework with these words: "I felt a strong inner call, a need or a strong desire that is difficult to describe rationally." We quantified agreement with this statement in a survey, and the survey showed that almost 46% of the respondents agreed (Table 2). Of the respondents, 50% perceived that "call" as a call of the psyche or soul, 26% as a call of God, and 19% as a call of intuition.

Our analysis of travelogue testimonies also supported Chemin's finding (2011) that many pilgrims do not know or at least are not aware of their motivations. People around them often wonder why they decided to walk the Camino:

> Why? That is the obvious question people ask themselves, even when they don't ask you directly. Back home, whenever you utter the sentence 'I walked to Santiago de Compostela', you will notice the same expression on people's faces. At first, astonishment ('What was he trying to find there?'), then, as they look at you out of the corner of their eyes, suspicion. They are drawing an obvious conclusion: 'This guy must have a problem.' You start feeling uncomfortable. (Rufin, 2016, Chap. 3, paras. 1–3)

The embarrassment of not knowing why one decided to walk the Camino can be explained by a conflict that Gergen (2009) termed "Rationality versus Emotionality" (p. 162). According to Gergen, conflict is expressed by a greater emphasis on the mind than on emotions. He believes that answering "I don't know" to the question "Why?" can be confusing. Nowadays, it is increasingly desirable to have a convincing justification for our actions. Additionally, the author argues that there is a widespread belief that we must attach a higher value to the expressions of love, sadness, and compassion. According to Gergen, this contrast between the emphasis on reason and emotion is the basis for conflict in relationships. He believes, on the same basis, that any act that seems purely emotional can be discredited because of its irrationality. Rufin (2016) explains his profound perplexity in his travelogue *The Santiago Pilgrimage: Walking the Immortal Way*:

> It is just as well that it goes like this. Because on the rare occasions when someone has asked me straight out 'Why did you go to Santiago?', I have found it very hard to reply. This was not a sign of embarrassment but of profound perplexity. Instead of admitting your confusion, the best solution is to offer a few leads, making them up, if necessary, to distract the curiosity of your interrogators and send them off on false trails: 'There were scallop shells carved on monuments in the town where I grew up' (Freudian trail). 'I have always been fascinated by the world's great pilgrimages' (ecumenical trail). 'I love the Middle Ages' (historical trail). 'I wanted to keep walking into the sunset until I found the sea' (mystical trail). 'I needed space to think.' This

Table 2 Frequencies of agreement to the statements derived from text labeled with category motivation

Statement	% N = 228	Reference quotation from travelogues
1. I felt a strong inner call, a need, or a strong desire that is difficult to describe rationally.	46%	"Since the Way called me, I couldn't give up her call. Ever since I first heard about the Camino de Santiago, I knew I wanted to compete with her" (Gričnik, 2014:12). "[…] it hits me: This is the trip Patrick and I need to take. I haven't felt this sure of anything since the day I realized I had met "the one" (Gray & Skeesuck, 2017:20–21).
2. I want to experience something new.	42%	"The energy that warms my whole body as I feel I know awakens in me an incredible need and courage to do something different, something completely out of my routine. Something that will catapult me. Camino? Of course. Ideal. The decision for it took about a second" (Artnik Knibbe, 2016: 34).
3. I want to withdraw from everyday life and think in peace about past events and people from my life.	39%	"That day started what made me on the Path. That was clearing up the past" (Jernejčič, 2014:29). "That the Camino is my path, and I have to deal with the past" (Artnik Knibbe, 2016:42). "Cleansing the soul and body, flushing out dusty memories, the past " (Lepej Bašelj, 2009:30).
4. I want to test myself.	35%	"I understood everything as a new challenge or test. Will you be able to? Are you strong and stubborn enough?" (Novak, 2004: 13). "[…] a new desire for this kind of experience was born in me" (Škarja, 2017:27).
5. I want to rethink what I want at all and how I envision my future.	35%	"What should I do with the rest of my life, and how should I use the years ahead of me to be satisfied and to use and develop all my potentials?" (Klug, 2018: 57). "[…] and free to do whatever I wanted in the future. That was the question, however . . . what was the future?" (MacLaine, 2000:3).
6. I want to take time just for myself.	32%	"[…] just taking some time for ourselves. And that for a whole month. To take a break. To step out of the whirlpool of needs and obligations. To think about what you have to do and what you want." (Brumec, 2016:22). "Need time for yourself" (Škarja, 2017:204).
7. I want to take the time to reflect on my faith and take the time to practice it.	24%	"I am going to the tomb of St. James to ask for myself, for my people, for the whole world. God help me to go deeper into myself and see myself in the realm of your love"(Kvaternik, 2015:136). "Here I am my Lord, reinforce my faith, don't let my soul be possessed by satanic words that may dissuade me from fulfilling my vow. You be the judge of the sincerity of my sacrifice and have mercy on me" (Kapetanović, 2017:9).
8. I want to get to know better another country and people in an active way.	23%	"My purpose while enjoying cycling was mainly to get to know the diverse landscape along the route from the geographical-historical-ethnological-tourist side" (Štuhec, 2011:23).
9. I don`t know - I decided without thinking about why I`m going to walk the Camino.	8%	"There had been an impulse, almost a compulsion, that had guided us to drop our lives, put everything in suspension, and come to Spain, and none of us knew why" (MacLaine, 2000:73).

last answer is the one most people expect, to the point where it is considered to be the 'correct' response. But it isn't self-evident. If you want to think, wouldn't it be better to stay at home, lie around in bed or an armchair, or, at a push, to go for a short stroll somewhere near and familiar?" (Chap. 3, paras. 6–8).

We developed the concept of "not knowing why" in the conceptual framework's second statement: "I don't know—I decided without thinking about why I'm going to walk the Camino." We quantified the agreement with the statement in our survey, and almost 8% of the respondents agreed.

Pilgrims often begin to wonder about the underlying reasons for their decision. Parts of the analyzed texts referred to the questions we marked with the code *self-examination of their motives.* Interestingly, we noticed that some still did not know why they set out on the journey, yet they mentioned some kind of personal motive related to their biography. For example, Slovenian pilgrim Nace Novak (2004) states that he does not know the reason for his embarking on the pilgrimage:

> Even today, it is not entirely clear to me what it was that made me embark on a project that most acquaintances considered crazy. I am not religious, I am skeptical of so-called new spiritual movements and as far as hiking is concerned, I must admit that until the Camino I was more a Sunday walker than an enthusiast who uses every free hour for a walk in nature. (p. 13)

Nevertheless, in his narrative we noticed that his *personal motives* were (1) to test himself: "I think the fact that I had never done anything like this contributed to the final decision. I perceived everything as a new challenge or test. Will you be able to? Are you strong and stubborn enough?" (p. 13) and (2) to find a life direction: "Although a job was waiting for me at home, I also came to get an answer to this question. I arrived in Spain with the feeling that I had turned in the wrong direction at one of the crossroads in my life and lost touch with my role and mission in this world" (p. 54).

At this point, we must mention the typology of pilgrims on the Camino de Santiago from a biographical perspective as constructed by Kurrat (2019). According to the author, the Camino de Santiago pilgrimage is a biographically induced form of acting. When it comes to the question "Why?" he answered: "People go on pilgrimage to balance their lives, process a crisis, take time off, make a transition between two phases of life or initiate a new start" (p. 17).

After we analyzed the sections codded as *personal motive*, we identified seven reasons to walk the Camino: (1) to experience something new, (2) to rethink my past, (3) to test myself, (4) to think about the future, (5) to take time just for myself, (6) to reflect on my faith and practice it, and (7) to get to know another country and its people. We transformed these reasons into seven statements that built the conceptual framework (together with the first and second statements described above). We verified, validated, and quantified the evidence-based conceptual framework in a survey. Table 2 displays the frequencies (expressed as a percentage) of agreement with each of the nine statements and references in quotations from travelogues.

In parts of the texts that are coded as *other pilgrims' motives*, the authors write about their opinions on why pilgrims set out on the journey. It is quite intriguing that the authors of travelogues often (1) do not know why they set out on the journey but (2) still choose one of the offered motives from the questionnaires about the motives for their journey and (3) state that they know other pilgrims' reasons for walking the route. For example, the following are quotations from Slovenian pilgrim Staša Lepej Bašelj (2009):

(1) “I still can’t answer why I went on the Camino and what the pilgrimage brought me. Each of us does something we can’t explain” (p. 89).
(2) “I sign the book and fill in the statistics that ask me about the reasons for walking The Way of Saint James. I circle cultural, religious, and others” (p. 15).
(3) “Today, many pilgrims set out on a journey for sporting reasons or to get to know other countries, culture, history, to meet and get to know other people, to seek contact with nature, with themselves” (p. 3).

The Three Dimensions of Pilgrimage Motivation

Following the hypothesis and using exploratory factor analysis with varimax rotation, we formed an empirically justified (three factors explaining 58% of the total variance of all included variables) and theoretically meaningful three-factor model (Table 3). In line with the hypothesis and meaning of the items, we derived the following three dimensions: spiritual motivation, religious motivation, and secular motivation.

All three can be described by one word: searching. Spiritual motivation is about searching for meaning and direction in life, trying to know the future, going on a quest to find

Table 3 Three-factor matrix with internal consistency

Item/Motivation	Spiritual Motivation	Religious Motivation	Secular Motivation
Internal Consistency (α)	0.909	0.922	0.782
Find myself	0.841		
Searching for meaning in life	0.810		
To look for a sign or direction in my life	0.791		
Find my deeper self	0.767		
Seek guidance for the future	0.765		
Find peace	0.746		
Seeking unity with the universe	0.682		
Coming to terms with a decision	0.661		
Trying to know the future	0.648		
Yearning for a simple life	0.528		
Strengthen my religious beliefs		0.921	
Grow in faith		0.896	
Be closer to God		0.889	
Having more time for prayer		0.888	
Find out more about my religion		0.842	
Being with my community		0.472	
Search of adventure			0.753
See interesting sights			0.744
Doing something different			0.684
Curiosity			0.632
Getting to know people			0.629
Enjoying myself			0.608
Being in nature			0.510

Extraction method: principal component analysis
Rotation method: varimax with Kaiser normalization
Rotation converged in five iterations

oneself, searching for one's deeper self and inner peace, seeking unity with the universe, coming to terms with a decision, and yearning for a simple life. The religious dimension is about strengthening one's religious beliefs, growth in faith, being closer to God, having more time for prayer, finding out more about one's religion, and spending time with a (religious) community. Secular motivation is about searching for adventure, seeing interesting sights, doing something different, curiosity, getting to know people, enjoying oneself, and being in nature.

The overall means for the three identified dimensions of motivation on a scale from 1 to 6 show that the least important motivation is religious ($M=3.66$). Secular motivation had the highest average ($M=5.53$), which reveals that the secular dimension is the most important one. The overall mean for spiritual motivation ($M=4.5$) is between the mean score for religious and secular motivation.

The Correlation Between the Three Dimensions and the Conceptual Framework

Secular motivation is strongly statistically correlated with two statements (Table 4). Prospective pilgrims who scored higher on secular motivation decided to walk the Camino to get to know another country and its people. As is the case with secular pilgrims, those driven by spiritual motivation are also more interested in new experiences.

Agreement with three of the statements is not associated with any motivational dimension: (1) not knowing why, (2) testing myself, and (3) taking time just for myself. Furthermore, the strongest correlation arises between religious motives ($r=0.622$, $p<0.01$), religious practice ($r=0.792$, $p<0.001$), and going on a pilgrimage to reflect on faith and perform religious practices ($r=0.622$, $p<001$). In addition, religious and spiritual motives also correlate with the three mentioned elements, although the correlation is substantially weaker. However weak, there is some negative correlation between secular motives and

Table 4 Correlation coefficients between three dimensions, traditional religiosity and statements (N=228)

Statement/Type (% of Pilgrims)	SPM	RM	SEM
Traditional religiosity	0.212**	0.792**	–0.128
1. I felt a strong inner call, a need, or a strong desire that is difficult to describe rationally.	0.193**	0.278**	–0.012
2. I want to experience something new.	0.190**	–0.140	0.275**
3. I want to withdraw from everyday life and think in peace about past events and people from my life.	0.291**	–0.074	0.051
4. I want to test myself.	–0.110	–0.034	0.108
5. I want to rethink what I want and how I envision my future.	0.316**	0.122	–0.027
6. I want to take time just for myself.	–0.041	–0.083	0.071
7. I want to take the time to reflect on my faith and take the time to practice it.	0.185**	0.622**	–0.089
8. I want to get to know another country and people better in an active way.	–0.099	–0.045	0.266**
9. I don't know—I decided without thinking about why I'm going to walk the Camino.	–0.077	–0.092	–0.028

Note. SPM=spiritual motivation, RM=religious motivation, SEM=secular motivation

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

religious practice ($r=-0.128$, $p=0.06$). It is statistically significant at the level of $p<0.1$ ($r=-0.128$, $p<0.1$).

Moreover, those scoring higher on religious and spiritual motivation share a statistically strong positive correlation ($p<0.01$) with an inner calling to walk the Camino.

The Seven Types of Camino de Santiago Pilgrims

We used a two-step cluster analysis to identify the most typical groups of prospective pilgrims considering the three derived dimensions. We used a series of procedures (select cases) to select and distribute respondents in all possible combinations (secular, spiritual, religious). For example, we ranked respondents with a high average ($M\geq4$) on the scale of secular motivation and low average values on the scale of spiritual ($M<4$) and religious ($M<4$) motivations as being the prospective pilgrims with secular motivation. An average of 4 was always chosen as the limit value. We used the ≥ operator for the defining dimension of each type and the < operator for the others. This is also evident in the presented example of secularly motivated prospective pilgrims; in this group, we selected those with an average secular motivation of at least 4 and with an average of other motivations below 4. We covered all possible combinations of the three motives in the described way, resulting in a total of eight combinations. No prospective pilgrim was categorized in one of the possible combinations (pure religious motivation). Consequently, we only considered seven types of prospective pilgrims in terms of their motivation to go on a pilgrimage for subsequent analysis. We thus identified two relatively "pure" types and five mixed types of prospective pilgrims. Figure 1 shows all seven types in terms of the average deviations from the mean of the entire sample ($\Delta=-3$ to $+3$).

The correlation between the evidence-based conceptual framework (nine statements) and the three identified motivational dimensions connects the qualitative and quantitative parts of the present study as well as further characterizes the following types.

(1) *Highly motivated pilgrims*. About 38% of our sample are highly motivated prospective pilgrims in all three dimensions. Consequently, those individuals will, in all probability, go on a pilgrimage. These pilgrims are driven by sensation-seeking motivations and the need to find a new direction in life. They also crave spiritual and religious growth. Through new learning and active experiences, they want to explore another country, get to know its people, take time for themselves, and test their abilities to get to know themselves better. They want to withdraw from everyday life to reflect in peace on the past and future, think about their wishes, and spend time thinking along with practicing their religion. Almost 56% of them felt a strong inner calling, urgency, or strong desire to go on a pilgrimage, which is hard to describe rationally.

(2) *Secular-spiritual motivated pilgrims*. Approximately 28% of our sample are above-average secular-spiritual and below-average religiously motivated prospective pilgrims who want to get to know another country and its people better. For them, an active new experience is an opportunity to withdraw from everyday life and reflect peacefully in solitude. They want to remember past events and people and think about the future. The urge to go on a pilgrimage was felt by 41% of above-average secularly and spiritually motivated prospective pilgrims.

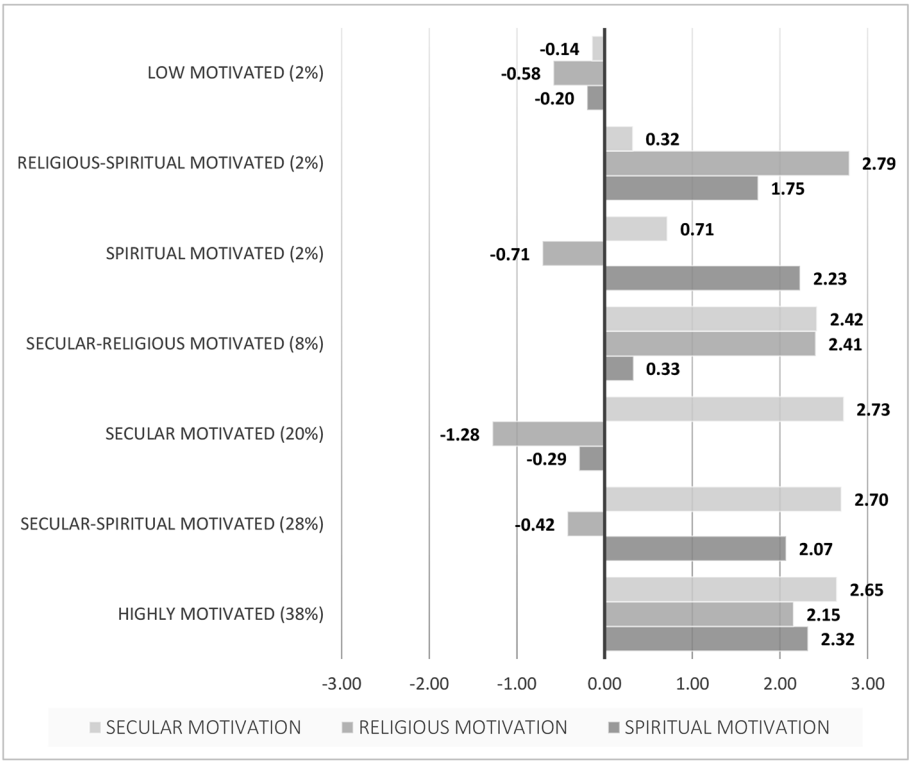

Fig. 1 Average deviations from the mean of entire sample (from −3 to +3)

(3) *Secular motivated pilgrims*. Our sample consists of nearly 20% of mostly secularly motivated prospective pilgrims (above-average secular and below-average religious and spiritual motivation), the majority of whom are driven by sensation-seeking motivations to enjoy the trekking experience. They are a relatively pure type of pilgrims, primarily focused on a physically energetic subjective experience. They crave new knowledge about and experiences in another country and with its people.

(4) Of the sample, 8% are *secular-religious motivated pilgrims*(above-average secular and religious motivation and below-average spiritual motivation). They mostly want to reflect on their religion and take time to practice it. They want to get to know another country and its people through new physically energetic learning experiences. A relatively high percentage of them felt a strong inner calling to walk the Camino (56%).

(5) *Spiritual, low-motivated*, and *religious-spiritual motivated* pilgrims (6%) are the three smallest groups, each consisting of approximately 2% of the entire sample. These are the only types of pilgrims for whom experience does not play an important role. They are driven by a desire for reflection (on self, faith, past, and future). Half of them felt a strong inner calling, urge, or desire to walk the Camino. We assume that pilgrims with a lack of motivation in all three dimensions (low-motivated pilgrims) would probably not walk the Camino.

Discussion

The whole process regarding motivation starts after the prospective pilgrims learn about the route. Upon first contact or even later, almost half of them receive a calling and feel an urge or a strong desire to walk the Camino. This desire may be present in prospective pilgrims for many years before the journey.

It seems the decision to walk the Camino is mainly emotional; therefore, many pilgrims do not know or at least are not aware of their motivations. Since it is socially desirable to have a convincing justification for one's actions nowadays, people often ask pilgrims about the reasons behind their decision. That could be the exact moment they begin to self-examine their motives. Sooner or later, they find some kind of personal motive that is usually related to their personal life. It seems that the answer comes after a process of rational consideration.

Although the motivations of pilgrims in late modernity are multidimensional, we can identify the three most fundamental dimensions. Pilgrims travel for secular, religious, and/or spiritual reasons. To some extent, all three motivations are present in each of the seven types. It is interesting that, according to our set methodology, we identified only two and not three relatively pure types of prospective pilgrims, leaving out "purely religious" pilgrims. Religious motivation appears exclusively in connection with the secular, spiritual, or (most often) both other motivations. Approximately 2% of pilgrims are mainly spiritual, and 20% are predominantly secular pilgrims.

Secular motivation is by far the most common. Except for two types with a total frequency of 4%, secular motivation is more or less present in all other types of prospective pilgrims. Therefore, the pilgrims' motivation is mainly a mixture of individualized "secular time off" (96%) or a late modern individualized search for oneself—either in terms of spirituality (72%) or in search of a more authentic attitude toward their religion (50%).

Further, a motivational measure developed by Farias et al. (2019) assesses six types of motivation that lead one to go on a pilgrimage. Using their 27-item scale, we identified the three fundamental dimensions. We incorporated *Spiritual seeking* and *Searching for life direction*—the two types of motivation from Farias et al.—into our study and linked them with one factor: spiritual motivation. Five *Religious growth* items are clustered into religious motivation. Finally, the most important—secular motivation—matches with *Sensation seeking*. When we analyzed the six items, we come to interesting conclusions. Three of them are items that represent values. As Farias et al. (2019) argue, they explicitly sought to incorporate Schwartz's (1992) sensation-seeking dimension into their study by including the following items: (1) value item *enjoying myself* from hedonism (2) value item *doing something different* from stimulation, and (3) value item *curiosity* from self-direction. Moreover, all six items together reflect a secularized pattern, which is potentially associated with qualities of Kaufman's (2020) need for exploration. Therefore, *enjoying myself*, *doing something different*, *curiosity*, *search for adventure*, *seeing interesting sights*, and *getting to know people* are the qualities of need for exploration defined as "the desire to seek out and make sense of novel, challenging, and uncertain information, and experiences" (p. 141). Accordingly, exploration is a specific need underlying self-actualization that helps people grow as a whole person. Furthermore, sensation seeking is also a distinct personality trait; among other things, it includes a desire to engage in new sensory experiences and search for adventure.

Kaufman (2020) claims the adventure seeker craves varied, novel, exciting, intense, and challenging sensations, and experiences. He reports studies linking the propensity to seek sensations with hedonism, feelings of happiness, and the desire for personal growth and contribution to others, along with greater openness to change. The search for novelty in particular drives people to realize their full human potential. We suggest that the Camino de Santiago pilgrims are driven by an irreducible and fundamental need for exploration, which is the core motive underlying self-actualization. It is thus not surprising that the main effect of walking the Camino is a boost in self-actualization (Brumec et al., 2022).

Our suggestion that pilgrims are driven by the need for exploration aligns with that of Kim et al. (2019); internally driven motivation emerges as a common element across religious, spiritual, and secular travelers, represents a greater motivational variation, and prevails as a unifying force across different groups, mainly or partially only for secular motivated pilgrims. In fact, all the identified qualities of need for exploration are items of secular motivation.

This study is not without its limitations. One was our assumption that we could validly determine the motivations of a convenience sample of prospective pilgrims. The survey was conducted exclusively in an online format. Consequently, we limited survey participation to individuals who had access to and were able to navigate the survey online.

Another obstacle was the limited reach of the sample; the survey was offered only to prospective pilgrims who were members of the Camino de Santiago 2020/2021 group on Facebook. In addition, it would be beneficial to collect data from pilgrims at a start point (e.g., St. Jean Pied de Port) and compare the results with those obtained in this study to see if there were significant differences.

The present sample appears to differ from the profile of the pilgrims who obtained the Compostela certificate. According to the Pilgrim's Reception Office (2020), in 2019 around 40% of Camino pilgrims reported having a religious motive and 11% a nonreligious motive (in our sample, there are no "purely religious" pilgrims, and around 50% are nonreligious pilgrims). Even so, we must not overlook the fact that, for two reasons, the comparison of our sample with the dataset provided by the Pilgrims' Reception Office is justified only to a certain extent. First, the official source is based on the number of awarded Compostelas—not all pilgrims go to the office to request the certificate. In their 1999 study, Fernandez and García point out that these account for 10.4% of pilgrims (Santos, 2002, p. 48). Secondly, to obtain the Compostela, pilgrims must cover the last 100 km on foot, while our survey was targeted at first-timers who had decided to walk at least 300 km of the Camino de Santiago route. The percentage of pilgrims with "religious and other" motives is almost the same in both samples. This is surprising because pilgrims must declare a religious reason to obtain the Compostela, which "favors false statements of their true motives" (Lois-González & Santos, 2015, p. 158); some "may falsify the real motivations for making the pilgrimage" (Amaro et al., 2019, p. 20). However, the observation that there are no "purely religious" pilgrims in our sample seems to support the thesis that religious motivation is always linked to mundane reality since the aim of religion is, according to (Roszak, 2022), to connect people's lives to the ultimate goal, i.e., to God.

Additionally, the present sample also appears to differ from the respondents' profile in the study by CETUR (2007–2010). According to CETUR, 82% of pilgrims walked the Camino because of nonreligious motives (this figure was around 50% in our study). As they measured motivation with a single item instead of a reliable scale, the comparison of our

sample with the dataset provided by CETUR is only valid to a certain extent (it is difficult for some respondents to separate their motivations into specific categories, e.g., religious vs. spiritual).

Conclusion and Implications

To conclude, despite the limitations mentioned above, the present study provides new empirically grounded knowledge about the motivations of Camino de Santiago pilgrims and confirms that pilgrimage studies should be extended beyond traditional religious studies. Secular motivation is by far the most common motivation; moreover, highly motivated pilgrims represent the largest group. Intermediate types of pilgrims, such as secular-spiritual, are more prevalent than exclusive categories such as "purely spiritual." The drive for exploration emerged as a common element across all types of pilgrims who were mainly or partially secular motivated.

Given that exploration is a specific need underlying the self-actualization that helps people grow as a whole person (Kaufman, 2020), our findings have important theoretical and practical implications. A pilgrimage like the Camino might serve individuals as an important tool for stimulating their well-being through self-actualization. Accordingly, studies measuring the drive for exploration and self-actualization before and after the journey are needed to validate and potentially modify the findings of this study.

Appendix: List of Analyzed Travelogues

Author of Travelogue	Author(s) of Published Book and Year of Publication	Year Walked the Camino	Book Title
1. Artnik Knibbe, Tjaši	Artnik Knibbe, 2016	2014	Vulnerable: Stories from The Way (El Camino de Santiago), 850 km Long Path of Presence, Awakening, and Grace
2. Božič, Saša	Božič, 2018	2018	Storyteller: 365 Inspirations of the Citizens of the World and a Story about the Path to Self
3. Brumec, Snežana	Brumec, 2016	2016	The Camino
4. Djura Jelenko, Saša	Djura Jelenko & Jelenko, 2010	2009	The Camino: A 800 km Long Experience
5. Jelenko, Vinko	Djura Jelenko & Jelenko, 2010	2009	The Camino: A 800 km Long Experience
6. Gliha, Franc	Gliha, 2018	2017	The Camino de Santiago "In Two Parts" 2017–2018
7. Gray, Patrick	Gray & Skeesuck 2017	2014	I'll Push You: A Journey of 500 Miles, Two Best Friends, and One Wheelchair
8. Skeesuck, Justin	Gray & Skeesuck 2017	2014	I'll Push You: A Journey of 500 Miles, Two Best Friends, and One Wheelchair
9. Gričnik, Ivan	Gričnik, 2014	2014	My Camino
10. Gričnik, Ivan	Gričnik, 2018	2014	From Santiago to Assisi
11. Jenko Simunič, N., & Jenko, B.	Jenko Simunič & Jenko, 2014	2013	Our Path

Author of Travelogue	Author(s) of Published Book and Year of Publication	Year Walked the Camino	Book Title
12. Jernejčič, Nataša	Jernejčič, 2014	2012	My Path: The Camino de Santiago
13. Kapetanović, Ivan	Kapetanović 2017	2016	Camino de Santiago: The Way of St. James, Lečevica—Santiago de Compostela.
14. Klug, Mojca	Klug, 2018	2015	Camino Francés: My Attempt to Escape the "Non-sense" of Modern Society
15. Kvaternik, Stanislav	Kvaternik, 2015	2011	My Pilgrimage: Along the Path of St. James in Santiago de Compostela
16. Lepej Bašelj, Saša	Lepej Bašelj 2009	2006	Camino: My Lonely Path or Cleansing of Soul and Body
17. MacLaine, Shirley	MacLaine 2000	1994	The Camino: A Journey of the Spirit
18. McManus, Brendan	McManus 2014	2011	Redemption Road: Grieving on the Camino
19. Močnik, Uroš	Močnik, 2009	2007	In 14 Days to the End of the World: A Journey into Inner Peace, The Camino
20. Novak, Nace	Novak 2004	2002	The Camino: From Nova Gorica to Compostela
21. Potdevin, Jean-Marc	Potdevin 2013	2008	Reset: The Mystical Experience of a Businessman on the Footpath to Compostela
22. Remškar, Eva	Remškar, 2017	2017	And Here We Go: Moms and Daughters at the Camino
23. Grešak, Mojca	Grešak, 2017	2017	And Here We Go: Moms and Daughters at the Camino
24. Rigler, M., & Rigler, M.	Rigler & Rigler, 2004	1999	You Are Blessed, Poor Man: A Pilgrimage along the Path of St. James to Compostela
25. Rufin, Jean-Cristophe	Rufin 2016	no data	The Santiago Pilgrimage: Walking the Immortal Way
26. Sluga, Rado	Sluga, 2017	2011	In the Embrace of the Trail: El Camino
27. Steblovnik, Mirjana	Steblovnik, 2010	2008	Buen Camino, Peregrino
28. Steblovnik, Mirjana	Steblovnik, 2012	2010	All Just Because of One Church at the End of the World: The Camino Portugal
29. Škarja, Petra	Škarja, 2017	2016	The Camino: From Slavery to Freedom
30. Štuhec, Jožef	Štuhec, 2011	2008	Across the Pyrenees to the Atlantic: A Little Different Camino
31. Udovič, Vladimir	Udovič, 2012	2010	I Am Alive, I Walk, and I Am Happy: A Travelogue of a Pilgrimage to the Camino
32. Vranjek, Bojana	Vranjek, 2015	2014	The Camino: The Mysticism of the Invisible World

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