

# “The Camino is Alive”: Minor Logics and Commodification in the Camino de Santiago

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## ABSTRACT

*The Camino de Santiago is a UNESCO World Heritage Trail which has become a symbol of the shared history and culture of European nations. In recent years, Spanish institutions and economic actors have perceived the Camino as an opportunity to promote tourism and to reverse the depopulation of rural areas of northern Spain. Consequently, the Camino has undergone a process of tourism promotion and commodification that has transformed it in various ways. Drawing on a long-term ethnographic engagement, this article explores the ongoing transformations of the Camino in the region of Maragatería (Spain), showing that commodification processes tend to bind the Camino to a physical structure, disregarding its intangible aspects. As institutional and market logics have been imposed on the Camino, the alternative logics of other social actors have been delegitimized and gradually expelled from the Camino. The alternative forms of reasoning of these actors facing commodification are analyzed through the concept of “minor logics.” The suppression of minor logics is interpreted as a self-destroying process that ultimately erodes the social creativity on which the Camino’s aura of authenticity as a tourism product depends. [Keywords: Camino de Santiago, tourism, pilgrimage, commodification, heritage, minor logics]*

## Introduction

Walker, there is no path,  
the path is made when walking.

—Antonio Machado, *Proverbios y cantares* (2003:XXIX, XXIX)

The Camino de Santiago (Saint James Route) is a European Cultural Route and is part of UNESCO's World Heritage list, officially named as the "Routes of Santiago de Compostela: Camino Francés and Routes of Northern Spain." The Camino can be interpreted as an example of common heritage, a form of social wealth reproduced and sustained by the "community of the Camino," an extended network of social actors comprised of pilgrims, civic and religious associations, tourism entrepreneurs, and public institutions and trusts. Traditionally, these social actors have organized non-profit shelters for pilgrims operating under criteria of solidarity and hospitality based on donations. Recently, however, promoted by institutions and business actors, the Camino has undergone a transformation towards its commodification as a tourist product. The Camino is now marketed in tourism fairs and travel agencies as a cheap travel alternative whose allegedly spiritual and transformative potential make it a unique experience. This alleged transformative potential of the Camino can be seen as a form of cultural heritage that rests on the livelihood of the Camino community itself and its social creativity. However, the rationalization and planning of the Camino creates a tension between the social creativity of actors in the Camino and its commodification. This becomes apparent in the emergence of a network of for-profit shelters that construct the Camino according to market logics: pilgrims become potential consumers as tourists, while *hospitaleros* (volunteers who serve pilgrims in shelters) become cheap labor. Market logic threatens to disarticulate the complex network that allows for the reproduction of the social creativity of the Camino, and its emotional and affective atmosphere, upon which the value of the Camino as a different tourism product ultimately rests. What are the different logics at work in the Camino, and how do these conflicting views reflect different understandings of authenticity and heritage? What practices and discourses emerge from the various actors involved in the Camino? What are the effects of overriding commodification on social creativity?

This article understands the Camino as a particular instantiation of one basic contradiction of capitalism: the conflict between commodification (a function of institutions and entrepreneurs under market logics) and social wealth understood as a commons (a function of social creativity). Understanding the Camino as a common form of heritage implies that it is not a tangible, consumable, appropriable, or exchangeable resource; that is, a non-rivalrous resource to which the logic of scarcity does or need not apply (Alonso González 2014a). Thus, in order for capital to be able to exploit and commodify a commons, it must be enclosed through different strategies that must be subject to analysis (Alonso González 2014b). Drawing on the theorist Kurz (2014), who advanced a Marxist critique of the value-form, this piece considers such a conflict to emerge as a result of the fact that the dominant social relation under capitalism (the value-form) does not adequately express the social wealth of the Camino. The tension between creativity and commodification has been explored by Suárez-Villa (2009). He argues that only social creativity without productive constraints can effectively generate wealth, and thus capitalist entrepreneurs need to find the necessary balance between creative freedom and the appropriation of surplus value through commodification (2009:15). But commodification is most effective when tangible resources are exploited. Intangible “resources” such as the Camino—non-perishable, not exhausted by consumption, and impossible to quantify—pose significant problems for commodification because they make it difficult to estimate how much value can be extracted and how long this will take (Macías Vazquez and Alonso González 2016). Under a neoliberal logic promoting entrepreneurship, institutions facilitate the arrival of actors who contribute nothing to the social wealth of the Camino. These actors capture value from the social wealth sustained by the Camino community, in the form of exploitation of the productive forces characteristic of postindustrial capitalism and its neoliberalization of space (Peck and Tickell 2002). Market logic requires the transformation of the social wealth of the Camino into two distinct features: 1) an intangible symbol for marketing purposes, and 2) a tangible route to maximize its potential for tourism exploitation. As a reaction to this logic that threatens their social reproduction, the actors working outside market logic—what I call “minor logic”—promote a heritage discourse based on the abstract and spiritual qualities of the Camino in opposition to its materiality.

Investigating the Camino is a complex task, since its wide geographical, temporal, and social dimensions make any analytical framework necessarily reductive. The Camino can be interpreted as much as a local reality as a "global form" (Collier and Lakoff 2005), a dynamic flow of people with great potential for reterritorialization: that is, of transformation while preserving its character as a social object (Bonta and Protevi 2004). It is also subject to different regimes of governance, technical agencies, institutional bureaucracies, and economic interests. In her ethnography of the Camino, Sánchez-Carretero identifies two main "logics": "The logic of the market, linked to the use of heritage as an economic resource, and the logic of the politics of identity, linked to the idea that heritage belongs to 'a group' and reflects and reproduces its identity" (2012:146). Her understanding of the different "logics" derives from the notion of "heritage regimes," which emerges from competing power relations between different actors. The conceptualization of heritage regimes serves to expand the notion of heritage to include governance and politics, rather than limiting it to an isolated tangible or intangible entity (Bendix, Eggert, and Peselmann 2012).

I build on Sánchez-Carretero's work and further expand it by developing a third regime within the Camino: the "minor logic" of marginal actors without voice in the Camino, individuals and groups subordinated to dominant policies and governance regimes of institutions and market dynamics. The notion of the "minor" is inspired by Deleuze and Guattari's (1986) work on "minor literatures" and "philosophies," and underscores the need to map subaltern, marginal, or lost cultures, classes, and social groups, so they retain their ability to express themselves in their own terms against the dominant patterns of compulsive repetition. Biehl and Locke have applied this notion to anthropological contexts, with the intention of tracing the "minor voices of a 'missing people' that speak within alternate 'universes of reference,' capable, perhaps, of one day propelling more positive social transformations" (2010:319).

The irreducibility of the Camino to a single logic makes it useful to conceptualize it as a form of dissonant heritage, a discursive and often conflictive arena in which different representations and governance strategies are negotiated (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996). This article makes a contribution to the literature on ethnographic and heritage studies about the Camino (Sánchez-Carretero 2016), engaging with the debate on the conceptual definition of heritage. Authors like Holtorf (2001) affirm that

heritage is a renewable and sustainable resource and that, consequently, we should not fear its destruction or disappearance. The underlying idea is that heritage is a currently occurring process that has no necessary relation with the past or material culture (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996). This study will not argue *against* the renewability (or otherwise) of heritage, but will rather show that this debate is misdirected. Heritage is neither renewable nor finite; it is a social process involving the construction of meanings and realities that relies on the social creativity of different actors imbricated in power relations and often participating in unequal socioeconomic relationships (Alonso González 2015). In line with Graham's (2002) understanding of heritage as a form of knowledge in constant tension between capital and culture, the Camino is explored as a field of conflict between social creativity and commodification, rather than simply as the result of the combined subjective perceptions of pilgrims or an official heritage entity declared by institutions under the authorized heritage discourse (Smith 2006).

These issues will be explored in the Maragatería region in Spain, a peripheral, poor, and depopulated area traversed by the Camino where I have carried out "heritage ethnography" (Andrews 2012) since 2007. Heritage ethnography combines qualitative methods to analyze historical, ethnographic, and material culture data, reflecting the complexity of heritage as a multidimensional process. This methodology sees heritage as culturally and temporally situated, analyzing it not as an intellectual representation but as it exists among "people as they actually are, rather than to an idealised projection of how they should be" (O'Neill 2006:45). Ethnography included participant observation and 72 semi-structured interviews with pilgrims, managers of public and private shelters, volunteers, politicians, and members of international pilgrimage associations in the Maragato villages of Murias, El Ganso, Rabanal, Foncebadón, and Manjarín. I became part of the Camino community myself, living as a pilgrim and understanding the underlying logics of the Camino from within. The article first presents the historical construction of the Camino as a heritage assemblage. Then, it analyzes the Camino in Maragatería and the market logic through the case of for-profit shelters. Finally, it explores the minor logics in the Camino focusing on two key sites: the *Taberna de Gaia* and the Templar Knights Shelter in Manjarín.



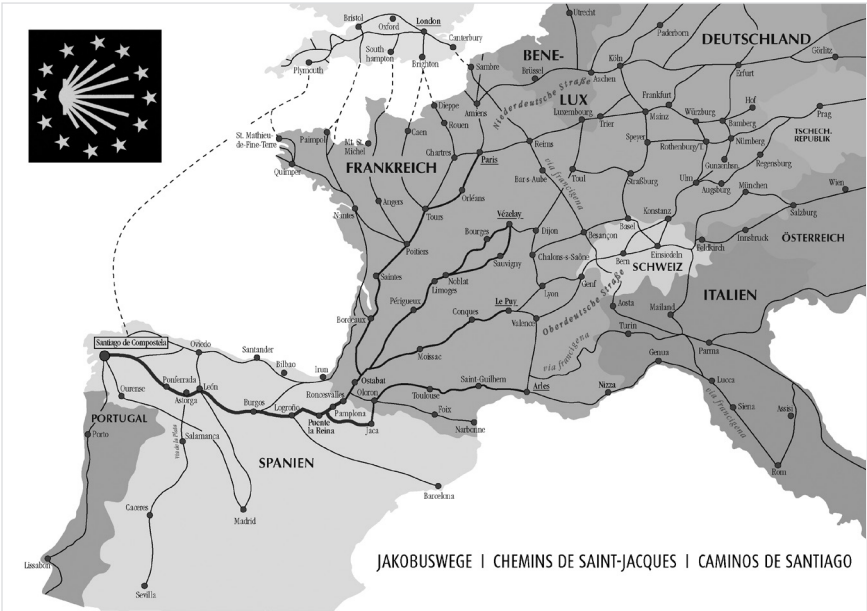
**Figure 1:** Location of Maragatería.

### **Institutions and the Construction of the Camino as Tangible Heritage**

The Camino de Santiago is a historic trail leading to Santiago de Compostela that has connected different parts of Europe through pilgrimage since medieval times. The most mystical narratives within the Camino community often emphasize that it is as old as the history of mankind, a flow of energy that people followed westward towards the sunset, oriented along the Milky Way, and associated with pre-Christian deities and rituals. Mythical narratives, Celtic Gods, and medieval chronicles mix with Buñuel's film *The Milky Way* (1969), New Age beliefs, and merchandising. The pilgrimage to Santiago started in the 8th century when the belief that the body of St. James had been taken from the Holy Land to Galicia became widespread. This process was related to the so-called Reconquista, strengthening Christian military forces, repopulating northern Iberia, and creating a security zone against the advance of Islam.<sup>1</sup> In the 20th century, the Camino was revitalized under the Spanish dictatorship of General Franco (1939–1975), when the mythology surrounding the apostle Santiago Matamoros (literally Santiago Moorish-killer) became a central narrative to legitimize the regime. Beyond the symbolic aims of the Franco dictatorship there were also sociopolitical interests behind the

revitalization of the Camino, which became a key resource in support of the repopulation of rural areas of northern Spain (Lacarra 1951).

In 1962, the Camino Francés (French Way) was declared national heritage, becoming the official and most transited route since then. The first attempt to promote the Camino as a tourism product took place in 1964, involving the creation of infrastructure and the recruitment of specialized staff (Gobierno de España 1964). The momentum of the Camino increased during the 1980s due to the priest of Cebreiro, Elías Valiña, who painted and signaled the Camino Francés with yellow arrows to guide pilgrims. After Spain joined the EU in 1986, the Camino came to symbolize the notion of a transnational and multicultural Europe, and it was declared the first European Cultural Route of the European Council in 1987 and UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1993 under landscape and historical criteria, causing a major debate on the challenges posed by the inclusion of a route in this category (Sánchez-Carretero 2012).



**Figure 2: The different routes to Santiago de Compostela.**

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The celebration of "Jacobean Years," the Holy Years of Compostela in which the 25th of July falls on a Sunday allowing for the celebration of the martyrdom of St. James, increased the influx of pilgrims to Santiago and demonstrated the economic potential of the Camino for institutions and entrepreneurs (Santos Solla 1993). Although in 1999 nearly 80 percent of pilgrims arrived to Santiago through the Camino Francés, there were many other routes including the Northern Route, the *Vía de la Plata*, and the English Way, which remained marginal in terms of the amount of pilgrims, public investment, and private companies involved in their promotion and maintenance (Mouriño López 2001). The main problem for the valorization and promotion of the Camino is that the "path" is not a material feature defined by its physical features. Instead, it is a combination of tangible and intangible elements, an assemblage of social practices and spatial features (Sánchez-Carretero 2012). Consequently, the definition of the Camino should be necessarily broad and dynamic. However, this goes against both institutional and market logics, which attempt to confine the Camino to a single material path in order to increase the influx of pilgrims, and thus economic revenues. The Camino is, therefore, a clear example of the social construction of heritage under what Ingold (2013) describes as an hylomorphic scheme: that is, a process whereby a pre-existing form is imposed onto a given materiality.

Many social actors with overlapping aims participate in the articulation of the Camino as a heritage assemblage, including associations of friends of the Camino, pilgrims, hospitaleros (volunteers), tourism entrepreneurs, the Church, municipal, provincial, regional, national, and supranational governments, and EU rural development agencies. Institutions and entrepreneurs tend to conceptualize the Camino as an economic resource, promoting its commodification through partnerships and trusts such as the Product Club "Camino de Santiago." The Club is an initiative by the Ministry of Tourism and Trade that aims to increase the quality of the services provided to tourists, creating a brand that recognizes businesses (restaurants and hotels) that are part of the initiative, and including them in the official guide of the Camino. The interests of entrepreneurs and institutions are territorialized and supported by EU programs such as LEADER, whose stated aim is to repopulate and reinvigorate the economies of rural areas. In regions such as Maragatería, this has involved channeling massive public subsidies to the creation of for-profit shelters and restaurants throughout the Camino (Alonso González 2015). Although demographic



problems have not been solved by this program, some villages—such as Rabanal, Murias, El Ganso, and Foncebadón—have certainly been reinvigorated during the summer months thanks to businesses associated with the “pilgrimage economy.”

The Junta de Castilla y León (JCyL), the government of the region in which Maragatería is located, lags behind other Spanish regional governments in the commodification of the Camino. In 1987, the JCyL created a commission for the revitalization of the Camino, which it modified and expanded in 1988, 1996, and 1997. The legislation explicitly defines the Camino in physical terms, as a band of 100 meters wide on either side of the path chosen as the “official Camino”: the French Route. The institutional fixation with defining the Camino as a physical feature has led to the paradox that other regions have established other official widths for the Camino: 30 meters in Galicia or 250 meters in Rioja. This absurdity is not so obvious from an institutional perspective. Institutions consider it fundamental to link a heritage object to a given materiality in order to territorialize it using bureaucratic logics (Herzfeld 2005). The JCyL drafted the first Regional Plan for the Camino in 2000, but its implementation remains partial by 2016. What is of interest here is the legal figure chosen to manage the Camino: a *Regional Plan of Territorial Scope*, an urban planning scheme. This shows that, for the regional government, the Camino is a physical feature to be ordered and shaped according to architectural criteria, in a similar fashion to a park or a residential complex. This is difficult to implement in practice, as the architects responsible for the design of the project recognized:

Perhaps this is not the most suitable legislative framework to address the evaluation of, and the challenge posed by, a Good of Cultural Interest of the significance of the Camino de Santiago, but this is the only planning instrument of territorial scope provided by the Regional Government. (Andrés Mateo and Masiá González 2011)

The project is loaded with traditional and essentialist notions of heritage and its management. The Camino is conceived as something existing “out there” and “back in time”; that is, as a physical structure of the past, such as a Roman road. Thus, the ultimate objective of the plan is the “protection, recovery, and revitalization” of the Camino (Andrés Mateo and Masiá González 2011). This reflects a concern for the authenticity of the JCyL

and its conception of heritage as something "given." However, in reality, the Camino is not "out there." Rather, it is a heritage assemblage that must be constantly sustained and recreated by different actors in their everyday lives. It is common knowledge in Maragatería that the Camino was never clearly defined: pilgrims have always followed one route or another, stopping in different villages, and even avoiding Maragatería by traveling straight from Astorga to Ponferrada. The institutions limit their agency to channeling the flow of pilgrims along a particular path. This material fixation of the Camino allows them to manage a concrete materiality and create a touristic product in order to extract economic profits. By concentrating the traffic of pilgrims along the same route, and thus focusing supply and demand, it becomes possible to establish profitable businesses such as hotels, shelters, restaurants, and shops. Understanding the social construction of the Camino as a result of power relations and economic interests explains institutions' ontological fixation on essentialism: although the Camino is continuously remade and cannot therefore be "protected and recovered" as claimed by official plans, institutions need to conceal this reality by enacting new and complex territorializations. The complexity of this process is illustrated by the many different architectural, urban planning, and legal stipulations that affect the Camino. The architects in charge of issuing the new heritage regulations for the Camino describe these overlapping plans in the following list:

- The site declared of Cultural Interest by Decree 2224/62 [...] and the delimitation of the area affected by the declaration, Decree 324/1999 [...] (generally a band of 100 meters on either side of the road).
- The area that includes the declaration of World Heritage Site by UNESCO.
- The initial area of study set by the Junta de Castilla y Leon, 1 km on each side of the axis of the Camino de Santiago.
- Villages traversed by the Camino.
- Villages not traversed by the Camino but located in its immediate environment and which are subject to an explicit reference in the UNESCO World Heritage declaration.
- The villages located in its immediate surroundings that have a significant feature or based on their typological or morphological interest. (Andrés Mateo and Masiá González 2011)



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**Figure 3:** Territorialization of the Camino at the entrance to Rabanal. The stone signal represents a scallop, symbol of the Camino, and a rainbow indicating the way to Matavenero, a hippie village. At the back, several panels display information by different institutions, including the municipal, provincial and regional governments, and the EU rural development group *Montañas del Teleno*.

Thus, for the JCyL, the Camino remains an ungovernable heritage object by 2016; it was difficult to define on paper and challenging to territorialize in practice. The difficulties of dealing with the tangible/intangible dichotomy in managing the Camino has led institutions to split tasks. On the one hand, the material territorialization and embellishment of the Camino involves adding signs and posters, or restoring heritage features, houses, shelters, etc. On the other, tourism institutions and entrepreneurs appeal to spiritual, mystical, and symbolic aspects in the promotion of the Camino. This dichotomous segmentation of the Camino between symbolic and material aspects ignores the complex set of practices and actors involved in the social construction of heritage, and the potential consequences of commodification on the social life of the Camino that sustains it.

### The Camino in Maragatería: Life Before Heritage

In her research on the Camino, Sánchez-Carretero (2012) refers to different heritage regimes that intersect with the two main logics at work in the Camino: market and identity logics. The regimes she detects are,

on one hand, the Church and municipal, regional, and national governments, and on the other, local people whose views might or might not be acknowledged within the Camino. In Maragatería, the low intensity of the territorialization of the Camino blurs these categories, creating a complex entanglement where institutional and market logics converge. This low intensity is shown, for instance, in that yellow arrows painted on the floor in the 1980s still constitute the main signs to guide pilgrims. The provincial and regional governments do not have a strong presence or investment in the area, nor do the two municipal Maragato governments concerned, Santa Colomba and Astorga. The key actor is the EU-funded rural development group *Montañas del Teleno*, which promotes the Camino as a heritage resource, producing guides and funding the establishment of tourism-oriented businesses. This involves the heritagization of dilapidated or abandoned vernacular houses, restoring them according to the aesthetic standards of Maragato architecture, and transforming them into restaurants and hotels.

In Maragatería, institutions have not engaged with the Camino under what Sánchez-Carretero (2012) describes as identity logic, referring to the attempt to reinvigorate communal, local, or regional identities through investments in the Camino. However, *Montañas del Teleno*, tourism entrepreneurs, and to a lesser extent the Church clearly follow market logic. Actors operating under this logic understand the Camino as a material resource for promoting the tourist industry and channeling EU rural development funds. Pilgrims are seen as potential consumers of a commodity (the Camino) to whom a quality product must be offered. To this end, rural development plans under the aegis of EU rural development funds encourage the neoliberal figure par excellence, that of the "young entrepreneur." This is done by channeling funding and resources for young entrepreneurs to create tourism-related companies, most often associated with the Camino in one way or another. From a critical standpoint, this individual is better understood as a "finders-keepers" figure (Hanlon 2014), someone who appropriates the social value created by other actors and society as a whole. The endorsement of this type of subjectivity, the "young entrepreneur" as a deliverer of wealth to poor peripheral regions whose main dedication is the exploitation of the Camino as a tourism resource, reflects institutional support for market logic and the commodification of the Camino. Once established, tourism entrepreneurs question the former ethics and logics of the Camino—that is, the set of unwritten

norms and behaviors considered to be the authentic spirit of the Camino by an extensive community of actors—by introducing concepts such as competitiveness, quality, shortages or profit margins, while at the same time putting pressure on institutions to support their interests.

The second heritage regime has to do with the views of local people. My ethnography reflects both a sense of development thanks to the Camino and growing disenchantment towards it. The elders often recall the times “when only five or ten pilgrims passed by the village each year, struggling to walk the Camino as best they could.”<sup>2</sup> Maxi Arce, a retired handworker, used to be part of a local association to shelter pilgrims under the Franco regime. In the 1960s and 1970s, he says, “pilgrims stayed in communal buildings, in the school or in the church. Sometimes we had to bring them home. At that time, Rabanal was almost entirely depopulated; there was nothing, not even a bar.”<sup>3</sup> During the 1980s, the influx of pilgrims increased and communal and church shelters overflowed. Back then, the work of pilgrims associations and brotherhoods was fundamental. The main association, comprising 2,000 international members, is the Confraternity of Saint James, created in 1983 with the stated aim to give something back to the Camino. Interestingly, many of the members of this organization see the Camino as an autonomous or abstract entity with a life of its own, which has given them something that they wish to pay back. Indeed, according to one of their representatives,

We gave money to rebuild a dilapidated house in Rabanal, because there was nowhere to stay in the Camino after Astorga.[...] In 1996, pilgrims were still afraid of going through Rabanal and Foncebadón. Up there [Foncebadón] it was abandoned and there were only sheep and dogs.<sup>4</sup>

The functioning of the shelter created by the Confraternity in 1991 encapsulates the logic of the Camino prior to its commodification. Everything was free for pilgrims, including bed, breakfast, and water, and only donations were accepted. Asked about the continuity of this philosophy in 2010, the manager, an English woman, boldly answered: “This is the spirit of the Camino.”<sup>5</sup> Things changed after the 2000s. The ancient inns that had closed their doors long ago were rebuilt and transformed into restaurants and hotels with EU rural development funds. This process coincided with

the return of former inhabitants of Maragato villages who had migrated to urban centers, and were now restoring their old houses or building second residences in their family villages. The convergence of both processes has resulted in a seasonal revival of villages such as Murias, El Ganso Santa Catalina, or Rabanal, while others like Manjarín and Foncebadón have mostly remained abandoned.

Despite this partial revival, the older inhabitants of Maragatería tend to deny the role of the Camino in the local economy. This disenchantment has to do with the fact that most new businesses are owned by foreign entrepreneurs and with their subjective experience as all year-round residents; villages are alive during summer and then empty for the rest of the year. A conversation with a retired man in Murias sums up this view: "This thing, the Camino, this gives nothing, man, this leaves no money here. Murias was repopulated when they opened new mines in Astorga, for example. But this stuff, shelters and all, it gives nothing."<sup>6</sup>

In a similar way, conversations with local residents about the Camino often contain ironic affirmations hiding a subtle sarcasm that represents a hidden transcript against it (Scott 1990). When I asked Paco, a retired peasant from Murias, whether he had walked the Camino ever in his life, he replied: "Yeah, I've walked it many times. Every day, with my sheep, up and down the road."<sup>7</sup> The relationships and solidarity bonds between pilgrims and locals are also broken due to the arrival of many subjects that generate distrust among people, such as thieves or prostitutes. The general feeling in Maragatería is summarized by an elder from El Ganso: "Now, no one would bring pilgrims home or to the church. People are afraid of theft, and one does not know who you're bringing home."<sup>8</sup> The dissocation between local residents and the Camino shows how it is becoming an abstract, deterritorialized entity. This deterritorialization is a consequence of commodification, which tends to rationalize the schedule of the Camino based on predetermined stages, and the economic resources of pilgrims.

### **The Political Economy of Shelters: The Market Logic**

Despite the relevance of shelters in the Camino, they have been largely overlooked by scholars. Interactions among pilgrims and other actors of the Camino community are performed mostly in shelters. These spaces function as contact zones, sites where transculturation occurs, as different cultures meet and interact with one another (Pratt 1991). Shelters also

serve to negotiate subjective identities in and out of the Camino, articulating the relationships between local people and the Camino community, including volunteers, entrepreneurs, and pilgrims. But shelters are not only spaces for the intersubjective negotiation of identity; they also facilitate different actors to share and discuss their ideas about what it means to be a pilgrim, what constitutes a shelter (or not), and ultimately, about what the Camino is and what it means.

There are different types of shelters, from the most austere ones owned by the church and neighbors' councils, to well-equipped public shelters and private and luxury hotel-shelters and hostels. Pilgrims undergo rather different experiences if they stay in non-profit and for-profit shelters. Non-profit shelters establish an ethical relationship that contributes to the enchantment of the Camino: the pilgrim is expected to thank her hosts for the hospitality received, and at once is greeted by volunteers, who share work, time, and space with them. For-profit shelters tend to promote an instrumental and disenchanting relationship mediated by economic interests, and associated with the provision of a service under a commercial logic, in the sense described by Weber (1958). Instead of a community of guests and hosts, these shelters promote a relationship between individual producers and consumers. Accordingly, the consumer can demand quality reflecting the price paid. The kind of experience deriving from both situations thus differs. The first creates reciprocal relationships based on human exchange and the economy of the gift (Godelier 1999); the second establishes fetishistic relationships and makes value judgments from the perspective of consumption, a form of instrumental reason reinforcing market logics typical of heritagization processes (Alonso González 2015).

Shelters are not only places for the negotiation of identity, but sites of social conflict which are subject to public debate and legal regulation. Conflicts usually revolve around prices and the deployment of volunteer labor. A controversial issue is the use of volunteers working in exchange for bed and board in for-profit shelters receiving public subsidies, which is considered an aberration by non-profit shelters. For-profit shelters are also criticized because they work on the basis of a supply-and-demand logic, only operating in the peak season and then closing for the remainder of the year in order to avoid losses, thus leaving pilgrims without accommodation at various stages of the Camino. Moreover, until the legal reforms of 2009, for-profit shelters were not considered businesses and thus avoided taxation, insurance expenses, and health inspections.

In turn, for-profit shelters claim that non-profit shelters constitute unfair competition for their businesses and should, therefore, be banned from the Camino. This argument is reversed by non-profit shelters, which argue that before the proliferation of for-profit shelters they used to have benefits based on donations during the summer months that allowed them to open throughout the year to meet pilgrims' needs. Thus, the conundrum is that market and minor logics come into tension in the Camino. This means that market logics commodify the Camino thus disarticulating the network of social creativity behind the minor logics that sustain the "other" Camino, that build up of pilgrims walking for spiritual reasons, with little money, and those who prefer to avoid peak periods.

In 2009, the JCyL attempted to assuage this controversy by creating a policy with three categories of shelter organized according to price, with the important nuance of not explaining the difference between for-profit and non-profit shelters. This supported the profits of private shelters by not allowing pilgrims to make an informed choice. Confusion increased because shelter policies and categories differ in each region. Consequently, pilgrims only understand the logic behind shelters when they arrive to Santiago. Nonetheless, this policy also had positive results. It forced for-profit shelters to legalize volunteers, pay taxes, and undergo health controls. The Regional Association of Entrepreneurs of the Camino protested against the measure and threatened to go on strike in the winter of 2010. Back then, a critical volunteer told me sarcastically that there would be no problem if they went on strike, because "to go on strike one must be first open and running!"<sup>9</sup> Indeed, the fact that for-profit shelters close in winter is widely known and a public issue that is often discussed on TV and radio news (RTCyL January 29, 2010).

The following words of the president of the Association reflect a market-logic and his will to maintain the deregulation of the Camino, which helps confuse pilgrims about shelters' choices. He stated that: "so far, no public administration had legislated the sector and it had worked to perfection hitherto" (as quoted in Almanza 2010). "Moreover," he continued, "these regulations have not been agreed with the alma mater of the Camino, that is, the shelters." He harshly criticized the JCyL for not banning non-profit shelters: "It is wrong to think that low-cost shelters are better for pilgrims, rather, they encourage the influx of beggars to the Camino." As a result of the new legislation, he concluded, "only the ecclesiastical shelters will



remain and the pilgrims will stop walking the Camino.” For him, the alma mater of the Camino are for-profit shelters, overlooking the fact that pilgrims had walked the Camino for centuries in a system based on the existence of non-profit shelters and volunteers. He also establishes classes within the Camino and abject subjects, such as beggars. Here, he is not referring literally to beggars, but implicitly to those walking the Camino without money for ethical or political reasons, as well as to subcultural groups such as punks or hippies. This logic contrasts to the Catholic and supportive logic that permeates the non-profit sector of the Camino, for whom, as one volunteer told me “all pilgrims are pilgrims, regardless of their social background.”<sup>10</sup>

But the binary division between market and minor logics implies a simplification of a rather complex reality, and overlooks the fact that many for-profit shelter entrepreneurs have a special, long-term relationship with the Camino. For them, the Camino is not only business, but a way of life, and owning a for-profit shelter ensures an enduring attachment to the Camino community. The history of the owner of a for-profit shelter in Murias, for instance, encapsulates the complexity of this relationship:

I got the drug of the Camino, the healthy drug. I walked it three times, first from Astorga alone, then with a church collective, and then again alone from Roncesvalles. I liked it so much that I was hooked, I wanted to keep living in that world, and I became a volunteer. I had been treated well and I wanted to give back to the Camino, and that is how I started. First, I stayed in Burgos for a few years, then in Logroño, and then in Hospital de Órbigo. Then, after many years of living that way, my sons wanted to build a shelter for me to attend. They told me: “why don’t you stay here, close to your wife and close to the Camino?” And then they bought this traditional Maragato house, and we got a subsidy from the LEADER [EU rural development funds] to restore it. And it has been five years since then already. And thanks to the support of the volunteers; here we are, struggling to endure in the Camino.<sup>11</sup>

This man created a “School of Volunteers” that ensured him free labor in his shelter in exchange for bed and board. However, volunteers did not tend to stay long in his shelter. As one of them told me,



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**Figure 4: For-profit shelter in Murias.**

He used to give me food and drink, but then he said I could only have water, not even a Coke. [...] All this even though I played the violin and the bagpipe all nights for the pilgrims for free while they were having dinner, and they were all happy and leaving good comments online and in the visitors' book. And I was actually running the place: he wouldn't even pass by, and I know that in July and August he was making a lot of money there. [...] So I said: man, go to hell, and I left.<sup>12</sup>

In a later interview, this shelter owner restated the traditional discourse of solidarity of the Camino community: "I do not care whether they are hippies or priests, I attend everyone equally, and that is the key to the Camino: everything must be the same for all."<sup>13</sup> This kind of discourse and micropolitical power practices are paradoxically common in shelters of the Camino. However, the discourse of mutual support disappeared when discussing troublesome questions, such as non-profit shelters in Maragatería. During the interview, two new volunteers were present. One of them had been working in the church shelter of Foncebadón, and spoke positively about the Templar shelter, his leader there, Tomás, and the Gaia tavern. The shelter owner, however, cut him off mid-sentence, saying that

he knew more about this topic because Tomás was from his hometown, Murias:

This guy, he got to Manjarín in 1993. And he does not charge anything to sleep in his shelter. He saw a bunch of abandoned stables and moved into them. He says he is a Templar knight, and does Templar weddings, he does all he wants. He is not registered [as a self-employed entrepreneur], he does not have running water or anything, and they have repeatedly tried to get him off the Camino. All he has is for pilgrims, yes, but if he gives you a glass of water, you cannot tell whether it is black or transparent, I mean, cleanliness is conspicuously absent there...and he lives from donations! And it has been repeatedly demonstrated that the Camino cannot work through donations! [...] And I have seen these people [the “hippies”] serving meals in Foncebadón, in that place...Gaia, the tavern of Gaia...and just looking at their nails you can tell how they live.<sup>14</sup>

By linking “dirt” with “illegality,” he was subtly arguing for the illegitimacy of these actors in the Camino, connecting them with the hippies who symbolize the illicit others par excellence in Maragatería, as people in the region often consider them as atheists, dirty, hybrid, impure, etc. This speaker’s dislike of Tomás must be situated in relation to two conceptual axes. First, he decries Tomás within the value system of the Camino community, in which martyrdom and sacrifice are highly regarded as symbols of purity and authenticity. Secondly, we are presented with the paradox of the speaker and other shelter owners in El Ganso, Santa Catalina, and Rabanal arguing that “one cannot live on donations,” while Tomás and his Templar community have lived on donations themselves for more than 20 years. What he means, in effect, is that one cannot make profits through donations under market logic.

### **The Camino is Alive: Minor Logics**

Besides the market and institutional logics, there exists what I call, following Deleuze and Guattari (1986), a minor logic in the Camino. Minor actors do not function in the same way as social minorities reaffirming their identity dialectically against a hegemonic identity; that is, they do

not operate according to identity politics. On the contrary, they affirm their otherness and alterity (not their differences) through what Mol (1999) has called ontological politics—world-making practices that open the door to the emergence of alternative temporalities, spaces, and ways of life. Although many pilgrims and volunteers are part of the minor logics and contribute to the reproduction of an alternative Camino, this logic tends to be expelled from the Camino by institutional and market logics. I will present two sites in two different villages depopulated in the 1960s that encapsulate the minor logic: the Gaia tavern in Foncebadón and the Templar shelter in Manjarín.

When Enrique Notario started visiting Foncebadón in the 1990s,

There was only an old woman and her son there. [...] I discovered the magical character of the place and that Foncebadón was the Monte Irago, a sacred place where one of the mythic geese of the Camino was situated. I wanted to build something there, a place where people could gather and talk. And I decided to create a medieval tavern.<sup>15</sup>

Enrique is a wood and pottery craftsman, and he began building the Taberna de Gaia with his own hands, without public subsidies:

Subsidies? I refuse them! No one ever helped me, and I don't want it. I'm not an NGO, you know? I have a business of medieval hostelry, and I want it to be as it is. I haven't done it for the Camino or for the pilgrims, but for people, for human beings.<sup>16</sup>

Since 2000, some entrepreneurs began to see the economic potential of Foncebadón, and a hotel and a hostel were set up next to his tavern. What Enrique calls into question is not the market logic that now prevails in the Camino and in Foncebadón, but its ethics:

I don't like how Foncebadón is changing. My approach is one that respects the symbolism and the surrounding landscape, the past of the place. Look around and see if the new things created have something to do with the local stuff. All this is just done for the hell of it, around an alleged business that is called Camino de Santiago. When

people say: “the Camino de Santiago is becoming a business”... Well, look, that is not the problem. The problem is what kind of business: this is becoming a tricky business, a business with cheaters, and that is the negative thing. This has become an issue of eating cheap, sleeping cheap and walking fast [...] People say: “we are going to recover a medieval route.” That is not true. That [the past] has nothing to do with this. This has simply become a seedy business.<sup>17</sup>

The epistemological turn of Enrique entails shifting focus from the commodification of a supposedly preexisting “authentic trail,” to the kind of behaviors and relationships that people establish. This begs two key anthropological questions set out by Descola (2013:112–113). The first, identification, concerns processes of identity-building defining the set of differences and similarities established between a self and others; the second, relationship, has to do with the norms regulating the relationships between different beings. That is, Enrique is concerned about the kind of pilgrim identities that are being constructed by market logics, and the kinds of relations established by the unwritten set of norms of the Camino:

What does it mean to “be a pilgrim”? If you want to walk, you can walk all over, and wherever! No, people say: “I go to Santiago!” Well, what is the point, getting to Santiago, or absorbing the Camino? Is it about learning or about reaching some place? If it is about getting to Santiago, you can go by plane, by car, as you want. In the past, people went to Santiago as quick and as comfortably as they could afford. Bishops would never walk the Camino centuries ago. They would go in chariots or whatever, and if they would have had a Mercedes, they would have gone with it.<sup>18</sup>

From his perspective, the Camino is an autonomous entity, it is “alive”: one can learn from it and absorb it. Enrique reverses institutional logic; the Camino cannot be reduced to a physical feature to be walked, it is an inner journey aimed at learning. Enrique also criticizes the New Age twist of this journey and the individualist logic of self-sacrifice that prevails: walking a lot and suffering the wounds of the Camino, resting little and socializing even less. Enrique goes beyond the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy (Smith 1981) to show that even atheist walkers follow neo-Puritan logics emphasizing the virtues of physical pain, deprivation, and exclusivity, connected

to the rational and individual achievement of a goal. For him, there is an instrumental logic underlying this attitude that is no different from the tourist seeking to consume the Camino experience and is in line with a global tendency under neoliberalism towards the commodification of experience (Goulding 2000).

Enrique refuses to define the archetypal pilgrim, as the Camino has changed greatly over time, and so has pilgrimage. He does not define the authenticity of pilgrimage or the Camino as a spiritual search for enlightenment or individual self-discovery, but as establishing symmetric and respectful relationships with other pilgrims and with the Camino, and *believing* in it. This is, then, an identity relative to the cultural rules governing the Camino. Following Herzfeld, these rules can be considered "relations between relations, or what we might call metapatterns. [...] Such patterns allow individual agents to organize the otherwise chaotic indeterminacies of social existence" (1992:69). Authenticity is defined by belief in the Camino and the rejection of market logics embodied by for-profit shelters:

Who these people think they are to judge Tomás? Tomás is authentic; he believes in what he says and keeps his word, when he raises his sword, when he does Templar weddings and when he sees the Virgin. The others claim to do the same. But they are in the Camino because they thought they were going to do great business, and everything they do is subsidized.<sup>19</sup>

Unlike Foncebadón, the situation in Manjarín was more challenging for pilgrims. The village was deserted and presented extreme weather conditions. In 1993, Tomás left his unionist job in Madrid and decided to open a shelter there. His endeavor was supported by his fellows of the *Orden del Templo Resurgida* (Recovered Order of the Temple), which boasts hundreds of members across Europe. He decided to rebuild a dilapidated house and create a non-profit shelter based on donations: "I thought it was necessary to be there and give pilgrims a hot coffee, shelter, and warmth."<sup>20</sup> He proudly states that after his initial investment of 50€, he has already provided shelter, breakfast, lunch, and dinner to more than 55,000 pilgrims by 2016. Tomás aims to bring Manjarín back to life. He rejects modernity and the alienation among individuals it entails, insisting on the need to abandon urban life and return to nature. However, he bitterly complains about how institutions try to evict him, both through legal and

violent means. This is why, he claims, they lack running water and electricity, their dogs have been poisoned a number of times, and their buildings have been burned.



**Figure 5:** Shelter of the Templar Knights Order in Manjarín and Cruz del Ferro.

On the numerous occasions that I visited and stayed in this shelter between 2008 and 2014, it always had a cozy and friendly atmosphere. Tomás is no longer alone here. Several houses have been built around the shelter. Although Manjarín is not legally recognized as a village by the state, it now numbers 20 inhabitants during summer. After the 2000s, Tomás started providing seasonal hosting for members of the Order, beggars, or lovers of the Camino, who eventually became permanent members of the community, which ranges between four and eight people. The second-in-command is a Basque mason who spends most of the year building churches and shelters across Europe. The shelter functions as a convent with strict work schedules. They all spend the winter “reading and doing monastic life, living in an austere way.”<sup>21</sup> Bed and board are free for pilgrims, and the shelter subsists on donations and grants from the Order and others who want to “give back what was given to them here.”<sup>22</sup> But there is much more to it.

There is agriculture, animals, and the Order of the Temple, whose fundamental objective is to protect the pilgrims above all without



asking anything in return, contrasting with the savage commercialization that prevails today; if they want to leave donations they can. In fact, it is precisely those who cannot leave donations who need more attention and care. Because institutions have included the Camino in their tourism marketing campaigns, this is now crowded with people who are not pilgrims, they may only learn to be so when they reach Santiago.<sup>23</sup>

Tomás is well aware of institutional policies on the Camino and how commodification leads to a process of abstraction, which he rejects:

People in the lower Maragatería say that our place is full of crap in order to encourage pilgrims to stay in their shelters. Those people should be wiped away from the Camino, because all these shelters treat pilgrims badly and have people working for them for free. They are undercover businesses [...] The Church could have prevented this situation by encouraging the control and management of the Camino by associations; that is how it should work. But you know, the Church also wants to line its pockets. And that's it. They are creating a spectacle rather than supporting a concrete reality. But if they want to invest millions in tourism they should go to the Costa Brava and leave the Camino.<sup>24</sup>

Tomás further illustrates the deterritorialization of the Camino from its social context:

In 1993 it was authentic; pilgrims would be sheltered in churches, in houses, by the local councils. But now this does not happen anymore, local people do not see it anymore as a human issue, as someone needing a shelter, but as a business and thus something alien to them.<sup>25</sup>

Despite feeling that the instrumental values of competitiveness and individualism gradually erode the "authentic" Camino and its personal relations, Tomás believes that "the Camino has a life of its own, and it will be managed by pilgrims again in the future."<sup>26</sup> Against most academic definitions of pilgrims, for Tomás, these are the result of a process of becoming: "pilgrims do not exist, they are forged in the Camino."<sup>27</sup> Tomás states that



he is still willing to endure hardships in his shelter to help the “authentic pilgrims,” those who consider the Camino as a spiritual journey. He does not equate spirituality with religion; rather, spirituality means being open to new relationships, to give and receive, to share and to cooperate. Only by following these ethical principles can people become pilgrims along the Camino. In a similar manner to Enrique, Tomás condemns those who walk the Camino looking for a miracle, some form of external redemption that might solve their personal problems. But becoming a pilgrim only takes place through effort and solidarity, and in opposition to the instrumental reason of modernity described by Weber (1958). Tomás does not conceive becoming a pilgrim as a rite of passage (Feinberg 1989), but as a socio-political construction. He insists that pilgrims are happy in his shelter, far away from the superficial entertainments of modern life:

Here there is spirit, there is a space for sharing...look at them [the pilgrims], there is no television, no rock music, no computers, nothing. But they are sitting there, chatting, knowing each other, just calm. That is it!<sup>28</sup>

The physical arrangement of the shelter forces pilgrims to share space and time. They are received by a member of the community and offered drink and food. Instead of the individual tables that characterize most shelters, here there are only two large tables where all pilgrims sit and chat. Tomás usually joins them and tells stories about himself and the Camino. However, most pilgrims already know who Tomás is, as he appears in most guidebooks and websites, in connection to a key symbolic milestone of the Camino that he keeps clean and watches over: the *Cruz del Ferro* (Iron Cross). To his dismay, Tomás’s Templar masses have become tourist attractions, and many pilgrims adjust their walking schedules to reach Manjarín on time for them. The transformation of a ritual into a show derives from the tourism promotion of the Camino as experience, and tourism tends to transform real places into images for consumption (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2012).

Tomás is well aware of the commodification of his figure. He has forbidden taking pictures and recordings during Mass in the attempt to break with the logic of the spectacle. Spectacles involve a break of personal relations through a symbolic segmentation between performer and public, which entails the objectification of the former (Handelman 1997). In

fact, for the spectator "the spectacle is made distant from the self, since color and images are objectified out there by the seeing eye" (Herzfeld 2001:269). To counter this process of reification, Tomás and his fellows go on to embrace all pilgrims and encourage them to embrace each other, breaking the separation and the atmosphere of consumption of a tourist performance. The fact that pilgrims enjoy the place was confirmed in my interviews, and by the large number of postcards and letters, as well as a significant amount of financial support, that he receives from around the world from individuals who found staying at the Templar shelter to be a transformative experience. Several long-term couples, and marriages, started in the shelter, and two weddings took place there as a tribute to Tomás.

During my ethnography, most pilgrims complained about the commodification of the Camino and their sense of being treated as an economic resource. This experience had nothing to do with their previous expectations about the Camino as a spiritual and solidarity path. They also stress the transformations of individual subjectivity, spatiotemporal perception, and the relations with nature and people elicited by the Camino. Asked about their best moments, they usually refer to situations and experiences distanced from the commodified Camino and related to a spiritual or community feeling, such as the Templar shelter. In Manjarín, Marco, an Italian pilgrim, tried to express this feeling:

Everyday life is influenced by that which was before, there is a kind of flow, everything is influenced by that which the others ahead of you have left behind, and then those things that you leave influence those who come after you [...] it is the first time in my life that I've felt a collective consciousness [...] Just looking into each others' eyes we understand each other, there is no need to talk, and this makes me think that, I don't know, maybe we should have it in society broadly.<sup>29</sup>

The minor logics in the Camino allow for the preservation of social creativity and its materialization in sites where other spatial arrangements and temporal structures take place, giving birth to different patterns of relationality. These minor spaces reproduce the social diversity necessary to guarantee the sustainability of the Camino community, and the influx of new volunteers, walkers, or pilgrims willing to give something back. As

Connolly argues, “dissonances between zones of time help to nourish a certain modesty about what you are and a spirit of presumptive generosity toward other constituencies” (2007:142–143). And this is precisely what places like the Templar shelter or the Gaia tavern do, in the face of institutional and market logic.

### **Conclusion: Heritage Between Minor Logics and Commodification**

This article has explored the different logics at work in the Camino de Santiago, involving the increased abstraction of the Camino from its context and the contestation of institutional and market logics by minor actors. The Camino is undergoing a process of institutionalization that implies its bounding as a physical feature and its commodification to ease the appropriation of value by entrepreneurial actors. The arrival of these actors to the Camino community has elicited a conflict about the representations of pilgrims and their authenticity. This is a key issue given that defining what is an authentic pilgrim entails claiming legitimacy for some kinds of actors in the Camino and expelling others through what Saldanha (2007) has defined as processes of purification that filter undesirable bodies and subjects (e.g., beggars) from certain places. Instead, the minor logics of actors such as Tomás or Enrique do not judge or exclude pilgrims beforehand while, in turn, forging other kinds of pilgrims by prioritizing some forms of relationship among people in the Camino.

The analysis of the different logics at work in the Camino confirms that the value-form is not the adequate form of expressing the social wealth of the Camino. It thus supports Suárez-Villa’s (2009) argument about the difficulties faced by institutions and entrepreneurs in managing the balance between the freedom required for social creativity to thrive, and the need to control it to appropriate benefits. The case of Tomás in Manjarín exemplifies these contradictions: while Tomás advocates values of solidarity, mutual support, and the need to give something back to others and the Camino, tourism entrepreneurs appropriate the value created by the individual and other similar actors without giving anything back, in what Hanlon (2014) defines as finders-keepers behavior. However, like many other minor actors, Tomás constitutes a tourism attraction who contributes to the symbolic value of the Camino, particularly because he is perceived

as *authentic*. But Tomás (and authenticity) cannot be planned or managed under institutional logics, which only attempt to fix the Camino to a material support, excluding alternative logics. A contradiction is evinced in the inflated heritage rhetoric expressed by institutions and entrepreneurs, and the conspicuous absence of a heritage discourse among minor actors, for whom the Camino is not an abstract entity detached from social relations. In turn, this demonstrates the self-destructive potential of market logics: social actors operating under minor logics tend to be expelled because they are denounced as unfair competition by for-profit entrepreneurs, thus eroding the appeal of the Camino for tourists in the long run by losing its aura of authenticity.

The contribution to the field of heritage studies made here stems from this analytical insight: if the value of the Camino depends on its social perception, and this in turn results from a dialectical confrontation between different actors and their underlying logics, then heritage is neither renewable nor finite. It is a dialectic process of construction based on preexisting processes and social relationships overridden by conflict. The conundrum is not, then, whether or not we should fear the destruction of heritage (Holtorf 2001). Rather, what matters are the kinds of social relationships, identities, and political subjectivities generated in the process of constructing a heritage assemblage, and the necessary conflict that ensues between the attempt to bring things to a standstill that commodification implies, and the dynamism inherent to any form of social creativity. The economic crisis in Spain since 2008, the decrease of national pilgrims, and reductions in EU funding for tourism investment, have led many for-profit shelters to the brink of economic collapse. Maybe, what Tomás predicted in 2009 will come true sooner than expected:

I am sure that the Camino will change again. It will wiggle a bit and will get rid of all these parasites. It will go back to what it had always been: a route for pilgrims, managed by pilgrims. ■

#### Endnotes:

<sup>1</sup> The conquest by Christian kingdoms of Islamic southern Spain dominated by Muslim forces.

<sup>2</sup> Interview 65, July 2010.

<sup>3</sup> Interview 10B, August 2010.

<sup>4</sup> Interview 66, July 2010.

- <sup>5</sup>Interview 66, July 2010.
- <sup>6</sup>Interview 65, June 2010.
- <sup>7</sup>Interview 67, June 2010.
- <sup>8</sup>Interview 10A, August 2009.
- <sup>9</sup>Interview 68, February 2010.
- <sup>10</sup>Interview 69, July 2010.
- <sup>11</sup>Interview 70, August 2009.
- <sup>12</sup>Interview 68, February 2009.
- <sup>13</sup>Interview 70, August 2009.
- <sup>14</sup>Interview 70, August 2009.
- <sup>15</sup>Interview 28, May 2010.
- <sup>16</sup>Interview 28, May 2010.
- <sup>17</sup>Interview 28, May 2010.
- <sup>18</sup>Interview 28, May 2010.
- <sup>19</sup>Interview 28, May 2010.
- <sup>20</sup>Interview 29B, July 2009.
- <sup>21</sup>Interview 29C, August 2010.
- <sup>22</sup>Interview 29C, August 2010.
- <sup>23</sup>Interview 29B, July 2009.
- <sup>24</sup>Interview 29C, August 2010.
- <sup>25</sup>Interview 29B, July 2009.
- <sup>26</sup>Interview 29B, July 2009.
- <sup>27</sup>Interview 29A, January 2012.
- <sup>28</sup>Interview 29D, June 2011.
- <sup>29</sup>Interview 30, July 2010.

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#### Foreign Language Translations:

"The Camino is Alive": Minor Logics and Commodification in the Camino de Santiago

[**Keywords:** Camino de Santiago, tourism, pilgrimage, commodification, heritage, minor logics]

'El Camino está vivo': Lógicas menores y la mercantilización del Camino de Santiago.

[**Palabras clave:** Camino de Santiago, Turismo, Peregrinaje, Mercantilización, Patrimonio, Etnografía]

"朝圣路活过来": 圣雅各朝圣之路的小逻辑与商品化

[**关键词:** 圣雅各朝圣之路, 旅游业, 朝圣, 商品化, 遗产, 小逻辑]

"Camino еще живое": Мелкие логики и коммерциализация Camino de Santiago

[**Ключевые слова:** Camino de Santiago, туризм, паломничество, коммерциализация, мелкие логики]

"O Camino está Vivo": Lógicas Menores e Mercantilização no Camino de Santiago

[**Palavras-chave:** Camino de Santiago, turismo, peregrinação, mercantilização, património, lógicas menores]

"طريق القديس جيمس حي": المنطق البسيط وسلعة طريق القديس جيمس بسنتياغو  
 كلمات البحث: طريق القديس جيمس بسنتياغو، السياحة، الحج، السلعة، الميراث، المنطق البسيط

