

Everyday mobilities, place and spirituality:
Constructing subjective spiritual
geographies in contemporary Bristol, UK

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Abstract: The New Mobilities Paradigm (Urry, 2007) and contemporary geographies understand places as sites of movement and flow that are dynamically related to other spaces (Massey, 1994). However religious places are traditionally treated as static or fixed entities and privilege institutional, rather than personal, spatialities of religion. As contemporary sociologies of religion (Heelas and Woodhead, 2005; Davie, 2006) recognise a shift from communal obligation models of social life to an emphasis on personal fulfilment and wellbeing, geographies of religion (Kong, 2010) have also addressed the individual's spiritual practices and beliefs outside of the 'official' institutional spaces of religion.

This research examined the interaction between everyday mobilities and personal spiritual practices of Baptist church and Buddhist meditation centre attendees using a mixed methods approach (participant-observation; questionnaires; diary-interviews) to evidence a variety of practices at home, work, recreation and the journeys made between such sites. Local and global flows of virtual, communicative and imagined mobilities in the churches and meditation centres were also identified.

Participants were found to thread together a variety of sites on their everyday time-space paths into what I term 'subjective spiritual geographies' in which they could engage and maintain their spiritual practices and beliefs. Participants drew upon a wide range of materials and mobilities in both pre-planned 'strategic' and improvised 'tactical' sets of response to situations and in doing so created critical spaces of contemporary secular, mobilities infiltrated society.

The thesis contributes to existing geographies of religion literature by evidencing the personal spiritual practices of the individual as well as local and global scales of religious places of congregation. It builds upon this literature by suggesting the implication of a range of mobilities is a key component in constructing places for spiritual practices and destabilises assumptions of the identity and distinction between 'religious' and 'secular' spaces.

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Chapter 1: Everyday mobilities, place and spirituality: Introduction, context and rationale

Sacred spaces and places have traditionally been conceptualised as fixed and unchanging, as the centre of pilgrimage, ritual and worship, and in opposition of the non-religious or profane spaces. Yet more recent geographical and sociological accounts of place pay attention to the relationality of space to other places and the network of flows and mobilities that construct 'place'. This thesis examines the nature of sacred space and place in everyday contemporary British society, characterised by such flows of people, products and information. The increase in speed and mass accessibility of everyday corporeal and virtual mobilities has emerged as part of a wider subjective turn of contemporary society away from centralised sources of authority.

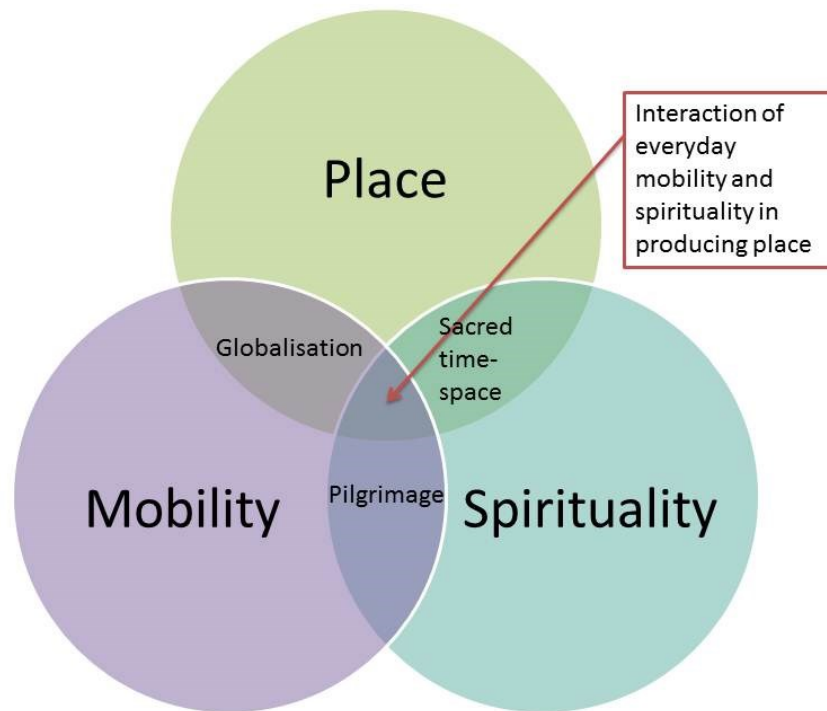
Mobility has traditionally been perceived as a threat to the existence of 'place' (Cresswell, 2015) however this thesis argues that everyday mobilities are a constitutive element of the temporality and spatiality of religious and spiritual phenomena. This builds on recent literature in geography to examine personal scales of religion and spirituality, outside of the official spaces of religion. The practices and activities evidenced by participants in this thesis will demonstrate not only the centrality of mobilities to sacred spaces but also the continuing need for mooring points and places to integrate and order the flows of mobilities to contribute towards the development of personal spirituality.

Since the beginning of the 21st century geographies of religion have moved away from a tendency towards descriptive approaches such as the mapping the distribution of buildings,

settlements, populations or investigating links between environment and theology (Gay, 1971; Park, 1994; Sopher, 1967). Instead more recent work in geography and sociology of religion has re-assessed the unofficial spaces of religious practice and recognised the enhanced position of the individual over the institutional narrative of the religion (Holloway and Valins, 2002; Kong, 2010; Yorgason and della Dora, 2009). Yet these studies have often implied traditional interpretations of these spaces as static or fixed. When the dimension of movement has been analysed, the extraordinary or large-scale journeys of pilgrimage, tourism and migration, rather than everyday journeys, have usually been privileged. This appears to be out of synch with lived experience of religion and spirituality when considering the amount of time and the centrality of mobilities and flows to everyday lived space.

This thesis addresses the need for a focus on how everyday mobilities interacts with and impacts contemporary practices of religion and spirituality and investigates the negotiation between the religious and secular as a creative dialogue in the construction of place. This thesis, as Figure 1 illustrates, examines the implications of mobilities and spiritualities in the individual's construction and relationship with place through meaning-making, performance and global connections as part of what I will term a 'subjective spiritual geographies' that will be outlined later in this chapter.

Figure 1: Positioning the thesis



1.1. Context and rationale: disenchantment of everyday time-spaces

1.1.1 Geographies of religion and spirituality

This thesis contributes to the geographies of religion and spiritualities field and responds to Kong's (2001a) call for research into religion beyond the official spaces, in this case, with a focus on the moorings of the church or meditation centre. Reflecting a shift towards subjective understandings of religion that has occurred in contemporary Western society (Davie, 1994; 2006; Heelas and Woodhead, 2005), geographers have addressed the construction of religious and spiritual identities, spaces, attitudes and practices orientated around the personal rather than institutional scale, in turn re-assessing the role of 'place' in these accounts.

1.1.2 Place

Academic discussion and theorisation of 'place', in distinction to 'space', emerged in reaction to the mid-20th century 'quantitative revolution' of the social sciences including human geography. Moving away from an understanding of space as uniform, Euclidean and knowable through positivist methods, humanist geographers of the 1970s began to think about why certain spaces become enriched with social, cultural meaning as well as economic development. Place, for the humanist geographers, was a conduit for being in the world and different places imposed different types of being in the world (Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1974; 1977). In the actions, performances and experiences of certain spaces, people create, renew and transform meaning in places (Cresswell, 2015). Such conceptualisations of place are characterised by fixity and permanence, exemplified in the work of Yi-Fu Tuan:

Place is an organised world of meaning. It is essentially a static concept. If we see the world as process, constantly changing, we should not be able to develop any sense of place. (Tuan, 1977, p179)

Whilst there is an unchanging ontological essence to Tuan's concept of place, this is a subjective perspective of organising meaning in time and space. In this sense Tuan recognises that the same space can accommodate different forms of place for different people and at different times. An office building will have a different meaning for maintenance staff than the chairperson and occupy the offices at different times and for different purposes: the chairperson will manage the company during the 'business hours' from the office and the cleaners will occupy the same space after hours (Tuan, 1977). Places simultaneously

accommodate, generate and impose different meanings, temporalities and rhythms for different occupants (to be elaborated on in Chapter 2).

Later developments through the 1980s and 1990s resulted in geographers re-conceptualising place to recognise the dynamic relationality, or interconnectedness, of place to other places, and a site of contestation between individuals and the agencies of State and Capital. A key thinker of this movement, Doreen Massey, argues that places are often implicated in the developments of other places due to the social, cultural and economic relationships that are embedded within place (Massey, 1994; 2005). A relational approach to place has gained acceptance since publication in the early 1990s. More than ever, due to the abundant embeddedness of mobile technologies that connect the individual with the global scale and the international movement of people and goods between countries, the faraway is localised as food, images, texts, objects and news become an immediate and taken-for-granted part of everyday life.

This brief overview (to be expanded in Chapter 2) has outlined place as a site for the organisation of meaning and power relations, as a medium through which the individual is influenced by and influences wider social, cultural and economic institutions. However as Massey's dynamic conceptualisation of place prefigures, the acceleration and mass availability of different forms of mobilities interacts and re-shapes experience of place. On this note, the new mobilities paradigm, which seeks to examine this issue, is now addressed.

1.1.3 The New Mobilities Paradigm

The new mobilities paradigm, first signalled in a series of publications in the mid-2000s (Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 2006; Larsen, Urry and Axhausen, 2006; Sheller and Urry, 2006; Urry, 2007), examine the ways in which the availability and saturation of mobilities and connections shapes everyday life for many people. As an interdisciplinary field of enquiry it

seeks to understand the sociological, geographic and anthropological consequences and dimensions of mobilities. This includes addressing the concern that mobilities disrupt the settling of people in place and erodes the local distinctiveness of place (Cresswell, 2015).

Contemporary Western society is dominated by multiple scales and forms of mobility. The Department for Transport (2014) reports that passenger kilometres travelled by road and rail per year in Great Britain increased from under 200 billion to over 700 billion (124.3 to 435 billion miles) between 1952 and 2012. Additionally communication technologies enable instantaneous contact and information on a global scale. Surveys for the Office for National Statistics (2015) classified 86% of UK adults as 'recent users' (in the preceding three months) of the internet. The necessity and ability to move is often taken for granted, only becoming visible when disruption due to weather, accidents or technical breakdown occur.

Traditionally the time-spaces of mobilities, the car, the bus, the train and other forms of transport have been overlooked in favour of the destinations to which these journeys lead. Mobilities literature have re-evaluated these time-spaces and their effects on place, creating a more nuanced picture in which the social and human qualitative experience of contemporary mobilities time-spaces is explored as well as the power relations that are enacted through the discipline and regulation of travel. Consequentially previously overlooked issues of travel-time or social relations extended on a global scale become central to constructing a sense of place and generating meaning for the individual on a daily basis. The individual becomes central to analysis within mobilities literature as Urry argues:

The person rather than the place or home is increasingly the new 'portal', the new centre of each social network. Each individual and their specific network is key, while place, home and context seem to be become less significant in structuring networks. (2007, p274)

An example of Urry's argument is that people often provide mobilities (telephone and email) rather than moorings (home or work address) for their contact details. Such personalisation corresponds with wider social changes and shifts in research from institutional scales to personal narratives of experience as signalled earlier by Kong (2010) in the study of religion in geography and sociology.

1.1.4 Changing religious landscape of the UK

A partial detachment from the moorings of institutional religion has also occurred during this time. Few sociologists (notably Bruce, 2001; 2002; 2013) and geographers remain convinced that the secularisation predicted for the UK in the mid-20th century has or will occur. Instead most will agree that a transformation in the engagement with religion and the emergence of 'spirituality' as a popular term of identification has been observed. This reflects the wider transformation in society as the increased acceleration and accessibility of everyday mobilities aids a shift of cultural activities to privilege subjective, individualised engagements over community based obligations and mooring. Religious communities are no longer automatically based on proximity and an obligation for collective worship but instead increased mobility and individualism has promoted communities based on shared spiritual interests, attitudes and beliefs (Davie, 2006; Heelas, 1998; Heelas and Woodhead, 2005; Turner, 2011). Personal spirituality is not fixed to particular locations such as the church but fluid and boundless across space and time. Hence in the last 15 years there has been significant geographic interest in the personal beliefs and practices of individual beyond the official spaces and discourses of religion and in the everyday lives of many people (Brace *et al.*, 2011; Holloway and Valins, 2002; Kong, 2010; Yorgason and della Dora, 2009). Echoing Durkheim (1961) in the regard that if religion is a reflection of the society and its values then as society changes, religion will also change and adapt. Western society has become more individualised and mobilised than ever before, religious practice has followed suit.

1.1.5 Section summary

Religious beliefs, values and attitudes are still present amongst UK adults and to these individuals, constitute a key aspect of existence (Davie, 1994; 2006). Mobilities research has sought to reclaim the marginalised and maligned spaces of mobility by examining the layers of significance and complexity that they represent to their inhabitants. This thesis aims to critique the mainstream secular discourse of mobility time-spaces. Instead examining how these time-spaces can be transformed and transformational for personal spirituality reflecting the subjectivisation of the religious landscape during the 20th and 21st centuries. It examines the spatiality of the shift from fixed proximity-based community to fluid subjective personal interest-based religious practice and networks; to re-assert and make visible the individual's spiritual beliefs and practices, the more-than-rational dimension to humanity, in everyday time-spaces of mobilities.

1.2. Research questions

Main research question: How do the multiple forms of mobility that are embedded in contemporary British society transform and impact upon the individual's construction of spiritual practices and their experience of place?

Sub-questions

1. How are everyday time-spaces of mobility used for engaging in religion and spirituality and how do such practices inflect the relationship between people and the spaces they travel through to construct a sense of place?
2. How are the rhythms and habits of spirituality that emanate from religious sites embedded within the socio-economic schedule and subjective landscape?

3. How do multiple scales of virtual, communicative, corporeal, physical and imaginary mobilities from the personal to the global combine to co-construct place-identity and a subjective spirituality?

1.3. Thesis structure

Chapters 2-3 assess the contextual background and set out the theoretical framework for this research. Chapter 2 firstly reviews literature surrounding the construction of 'place'. Eliade's binary of sacred and profane space is then critically evaluated with reference to contemporary research before a discussion of 'place-temporality'. Chapter 3 begins by outlining the new mobilities paradigm. This literature recognises the infiltration, and significance towards social relations, of the multiple scales of mobilities within daily life for millions of people in contemporary western society. A survey of the literature of geographies of religion and spirituality is then made to position the thesis in this field.

Chapter 4 sets out the methodology that was employed in this research. The research was predominantly qualitative and ethnographic. Phase one employed participant-observation at the churches and meditation centres. Initially this was to familiarise the researcher with the site, the people who attended, the procedures and activities that were performed and how the people involved understood and spoke about these places. As the participant-observation continued, it also became apparent that these sites were also places that curated and distributed other forms of mobility as part of a wider network, circulating information, images, ideas and objects.

Phase two employed questionnaires distributed to attendees of the churches and meditation centres. The questionnaire mixed quantitative and qualitative, open and closed questions to explore the transport modal choice of participants and the use of these time-spaces for activities that contributed to their religious or spiritual practices. Phase three comprised the

main research component, diary-interviews. A seven day diary generated by each participant that evidences when and where the participant engages with a form of religious or spiritual practice. Interviews were used to elaborate this data, to probe into particular areas of interest and clarify unclear entries into the diary. The diary-interview method developed and analysed a participant narrative to understand their perspective and motivations for such activities. Each method is evaluated and rationalised for the data it contributes to the overall project. The data analysis stages and framing epistemology are also outlined in this chapter.

Chapters 5 and 6 address research sub-question 1 with a primary focus on mobilities and flows. Discussion of the data begins in Chapter 5 with an analysis of the journeys to religious centres, as the departure for a subjective geography of religion for the participant. Such journeys are often made on a weekly basis and their shared characteristics with forms of pilgrimage are considered. As will be seen, the practice of travelling to the church or meditation centre can produce a range of social and personal significances and meanings for the individual that act to construct the experience of place.

Subjective geographies are expanded in Chapter 6 as it addresses journeys that are made for mundane, everyday purposes. In doing so this chapter attends to the first research sub-question, asking how corporeal travel in everyday time-spaces can become sites of religious and spiritual practice and how such practices are formed through a dialectical relationship between the person and the place. A variety of everyday journeys are considered that operate outside of official spaces of religion (the church or meditation centre) for purposes such as commuting or for leisure and utility.

Turning to a moorings perspective, Chapter 7 addresses research sub-question 2, examining the way everyday mobilities and different time-spaces generate rhythms and can be utilised as part of the daily schedule for religious and spiritual practice. This is framed in two channels. Firstly, the use of specific time-spaces as part of a habitual routine drawing and motivating the

individual to remain disciplined in their spiritual practices such as worship, prayer, contemplation, mindfulness and meditation. There is then an examination of time-spaces that can act upon the individual to allow for moments of calmness and renewal. The motivational factors for these time-spaces are outlined as well as the interaction between these practices and the overarching socio-economic schedule that inflects a great proportion of the day. Time and space are understood as undifferentiated elements with rhythm, habit and routine embedded within the participant's constructions of place whilst remaining open to the disruption of these places due to forms of enchantment.

The assemblage of multiple scales of mobilities – the personal, the local and the global – and their moorings are analysed in Chapter 8, which address research sub-question 3. Part one explores the individual's construction of religious and spiritual practices within global circuits of mobility, finding that participants drew upon a wide range of de-territorialized globalised resources in order to re-territorialize these in their set of practices. The second part examines the different scales of mobilities assembled and held together within the sites of churches and meditation centres featured in this research; exploring the channels in which these sites are embedded within local and global circuits of mobility that incorporate and entangle information, ideas, images and people. This entanglement informs the local and contributes towards the process of place-making, acting from a distance to transform the content of place. The embedding of these multiple circuits of mobility, and particularly the ways in which the global becomes entangled with the personal, expands the perceptions of place. Secondly these findings reveal place and sacred space to be dynamic and relational processes rather than fixed and unchanging.

Throughout these chapters, I argue that everyday mobilities are constitutive elements in the formation of what I term 'subjective spiritual geographies': Patterned networks of places threaded through the individual's time-space path, often non-coded and within a secular

discourse of space, that are used as part of personal spirituality. The thesis will draw on the work of de Certeau (1988; de Certeau *et al.*, 1998) in narrating how the individual can manipulate pre-existing discourses of time-space to create critical spaces that affords them power to negotiate the identity of place. Through regular repeated engagement with mobilities in daily and weekly rhythms a stabilisation of these time-spaces occurs which allows the individual to construct informal places for practices such as prayer and meditation. Religious and secular discourses of space are intertwined in these moments of spiritual practice (Knott, 2005a). The implication of everyday mobilities, the opportunities they afford, or constraints they enforce, act to inform, transform and pattern these time-spaces for the participants in this research, making meaningful subjective geographies for spiritual practices and constructing a sense of place in mobility time-spaces of temporality and flow.

Chapter 2: Literature review part 1: Place, space and time

This chapter outlines the theoretical framework regarding the construction of space, place and time that underpins the research. In doing so it addresses the acceleration of globalising processes of standardisation and universalisation in aspects of social space that many argue have alienated local character and significance, eroding the sense of 'place'. Spaces become characterised by mobility, flows of information, people and products and efficiencies; a 'disenchantment' of society (Weber, 1992) that discourages pausing and social interaction (see Urry, 2007, p74-5). Chapter 3 will then explore the 're-enchantment' of such time-spaces, challenging the hegemonies of rationalisation, secularisation and displacement of religious and spiritual significance to the margins of public discourse.

Conceptualisations of space and place are first outlined with reference to the humanistic geographers of the 1970s and later developments in Marxist geography. The challenge to 'place' by the rationalising forces of capital and mobility is then discussed in terms of 'non-place' and 'placelessness' before a discussion of how the global and local can combine to produce place with the concept of 'glocalisation'. Attention is then drawn to discussion of sacred space, firstly as an ontological category and then as a social construction. The second part of the chapter addresses the role of time, rhythm and discipline in supporting and making room for spiritual practices. This also includes a discussion on Eliade's division between sacred and profane time. Through this discussion a conception of place as dynamic yet understood as nodal point for spatial, temporal and rhythmic relations will emerge.

2.1. Place, sacred space and glocalisation

2.1.1 Place

Chapter 1 has provided a brief outline of some of the conceptual discussion surrounding 'place', in particular with an overview of Tuan's observation that place is a stabilisation of processes that allows for a world of meaning. Tuan's comments are echoed by his contemporary Edward Relph:

Places are fusions of human and natural order and are the significant centres of our immediate experiences of the world. They are defined less by unique locations, landscape, and communities than by the focusing of experiences and intentions onto particular settings. (1976, p141)

He continues to assert the importance of place as a key element of human existence:

Places are not abstractions of concepts, but are directly experienced phenomena of the lived-world and hence are full with meanings, with real objects, and with ongoing activities. They are important sources of individual and communal identity, and are often profound centres of human experience to which people gave deep emotional and psychological ties. (1976, p141)

Relph frames the discussion in terms of 'authenticity' of place; the openness of place for humans to connect with the world. Authenticity necessitates the local distinctiveness of place to be visible (1976). Relph is critical of post-war planning and architecture that impose single-purpose, functional buildings and street designs that lack co-identity with their locality. Such

designs represent the values of only a few in society rather than all of those who are resident (Relph, 1976). Conflict between the planners of space and the people who use the space was also being explored around the same time by Marxist geographer Henri Lefebvre, who is discussed later in this chapter.

There are of course problems in the humanistic geographers' view of the world rooted in the human-centredness of their analysis. In particular, it is often a masculinist account of 'man' imposing his will on the world as at the centre of place, neglecting the matters of gender, class or ethnicity who may find themselves 'out of place'. As the character of place is rooted in intentionality (Relph, 1976), whether a person is in or out of place, is welcomed or rejected, finds hospitality or fear in a place differs from person to person. Most notably the 'home', traditionally thought of as where the dweller is most 'inside' place, can also be a place of fear and alienation in the case of domestic abuse (Rose, 1993 cited in Cresswell, 2015). This is not necessarily a permanent binary as people maybe inside and outside of the same place at different times; the victim of domestic abuse may feel safe ('inside') when the abusing partner has left the house but unsafe ('outside') when they return. Temporality is therefore a significant component of place identity, discussed later in this chapter.

Such criticism led to the Marxist Geographers rejecting overly humanistic and masculinist reading of the concept of 'place' as suggested by Tuan, in favour of identifying the economic conditions that are imposed upon the individual by the forces of State and Capital (Gregory and Urry, 1985). In this approach, space and place are instruments by which people are oppressed and alienated from power. 'Place' is framed as a tool by which boundaries are drawn between those *in place* who control its identity and those who are *out of place* who are excluded from sharing this power. Cresswell (2015) compares two studies by Harvey (1996) and May (1996) who identify that for inhabitants 'place' is often constructed as a concrete, fixed and bounded concept. When the boundaries of place are transgressed, the occupants

begin to feel *out of place*. May's (1996) study revealed that many long term residents felt that the Stoke Newington in east London was losing its white working class identity and alienated from their hometown due to a combination of incoming immigrant and middle class groups moving into the area. Similarly, Harvey (1996) uses an example of a murder in his hometown of Baltimore to demonstrate that the concept of 'place' was used as a set of socially constructed boundaries to include desirable and exclude those who were undesirable and did not fit in place. These studies echo Tuan's and Relph's view that, for those inside, 'place' is a way of understanding and ordering the world. Yet the underlying tension of Harvey's and May's work is that, despite the protestations and attempts by residents to preserve a static, recognisable identity of place, the areas they occupy in major Western cities are continuously subject to material and population change and multiple claims for identity due to the increased mobilities and globalisation.

The residents in Harvey's and May's studies construct an identity of place through developing boundaries that distinguish the inside ('us') from the outside ('them'). Organisation of a world of meaning in Tuan's and Relph's terms is also apparent in other 'place-making' performances. Cresswell (2015) traces a commonality in acts of place-making such as the raising flags asserting nationality in politically disputed areas to more banal acts of the student moving around generic furniture and putting up posters in their new halls of residence. It is through such performances that people make places meaningful to them; through deciding what to put in the space, what to keep and what to exclude; what activities are encouraged in one space, what is allowed and what is prohibited. In this realm power is exercised, respected and transgressed. However it is in the transgressions that 'place' is reaffirmed or transformed.

'Place' then is a contested term between the centralising influences of remote instruments of capital and State powers against the social construction of boundaries that exclude undesirables from its inhabitants. Places draw together and filter diverse groups of people,

objects and ideas yet establish a core unity between these entities to produce what Cresswell (2015, p18) calls 'a way of understanding the world'.

Since the early 1990s sociologists and geographers have commented upon the globalisation of economics, politics, media, culture and social relations and the consequences for 'place'. Does the universalisation and uniformity of globalised products, images and organisations evident from a short walk on the high street in any major Western city erode the local and contingent? In other words, do global mobilities *displace* 'place'?

There is a tendency to think of the globalisation as a consequence of modernity and accompanying that the extension of social, political and economic relations as unique to this epoch. However it should be remembered that throughout human history humans have endeavoured to explore and establish these relations on global scale (Robertson, 1995). Globalisation in this reading refers therefore to the speed of these relations and the multitude of these relations, accelerated by recent technological advancements. Information, ideas and images can pass through national borders and travel thousands of miles instantaneously at the click of a button. Religion and the products (images, materials, ideas) of religion capitalise on the advantages of such mobility (Caputo, 2001; Hopkins, Kong and Olson, 2013; Hunt, 2001; Turner, 2011). Not only does this speed and access allow for global and faraway religious objects (material and non-material) to be present on an unconscious everyday basis but for masses of these objects to be present within the everyday (Brown and Lynch, 2012; Hjarvard, 2008).

In this sense, the globally distant and absent penetrates and shapes the locally present; globalisation facilitates extensive social relations in terms of distance and intensive social relations in that they can re-organise domestic and personal features of life (Giddens, 1990; Urry, 2002; 2007). As Massey (1994) illustrates with a fictional account of an English pensioner in their inner city home eating British style fish and chips from a local Chinese takeaway

watching an American film on a Japanese made TV, the global Other is made present on a mundane basis. Twenty years on from Massey's account, this could be extended in the contemporary context by suggesting he or she is also chatting on Facebook to their daughter who lives in France whilst using Twitter to discuss the latest political events to a potentially global audience. Massey goes on to describe her local high street in Kilburn, London as with any high street in any major British city where foods, magazines, music and other cultural objects from across the globe are present and a concrete part of many city dweller's reality. These observations suggest that socially constructed boundaries of 'place' are highly porous to certain kinds of cultural and economic channels (Massey, 1994). Places are dynamic entities, subject to changes and decisions occurring elsewhere in the world. British cities often illustrate this dynamic as over time they accommodate different incoming social, demographic and ethnic groups who materially and culturally change the locality with their presence. Mobilities do not erode place but are part of its construction as the interweaving of flows and encounters creates a complex and multi-textured sense of place (Amin, 2002; Appadurai, 1996; Massey, 1994; 2005; Simonsen, 2008).

2.1.2 The disenchantment and colonisation of everyday space and the challenge to religion

This research draws upon the disciplines of geography and sociology to investigate the religious landscape within a late modern, mobile and urbanised society. In doing so, it draws upon a tension inherent within sociology of religion for much of the last century, the often posited binary of the rationalism of the secular defeating the 'irrationality' of religious or spiritual thought. This assumption is present from the very beginnings of the discipline in the sociologies of Durkheim and Weber. Writing in the early 20th century after witnessing much of the great social transformation that had occurred in the previous century, both thinkers

predicted the decline of religion in society as a result of industrialisation and the rapid rise of capitalism.

Max Weber argued that Northern European forms of Christian Puritanism and the doctrine of predestination far from discouraging this-worldly activity, actually helped to create conditions in which capitalism would thrive. In seeking reassurance and in a state of 'existential anxiety' about their fate, the believer seeks to demonstrate their salvation by embodying traditional Christian values of honesty, frugality and industry in this-worldly life (Weber, 1992). For the Puritan, life becomes a unified system of work exemplifying these qualities whilst wastage of time or effort becomes an unvirtuous activity. The Puritan rationalises time and effort to minimise such waste, developing efficient methods to attain this-worldly profit. If the Puritan finds a more efficient means of production, he or she should take this as God's way or gift by putting such procedures into practice. This viewpoint greatly affects the wider economy as workers or sites of production that do not rationalise in such way risk being overtaken by those who employ rationalised methods. Eventually, Weber suggests, that these values are internalised; Christian beliefs are no longer required as such actions and processes become ends within themselves as industry and capital seeks more efficient means of production to increase net profits.

With increasing scientific knowledge, application and classification of the world, natural or more-than-human phenomena is brought under regulation and discipline of the human-knowable domain (Bennett, 2001; Latour, 1993; Scott, 1998; Whatmore, 2002) as an exercise of power (Bauman, 1998; 2000). Nature is transformed from an entity of existence for itself into a resource to be mapped, manufactured and mined for the accumulation of capital (Scott, 1998). As the world becomes increasingly knowable and readable (Thrift, 2004), society moves into a state of disenchantment as magic and charisma is displaced (Bennett, 2001; Weber, 1992). Religion has been displaced in the public sphere by secular institutions that have

appropriated many of the social functions of the church (education, healthcare, welfare) in much of 20th century Europe. Scientific-technological knowledge, as seen above, demystified and disenchanting the world. This project is never complete but the underlying assumption is that, in principle, the world can be entirely knowable and calculable (Bennett, 2001) inspiring a drive for knowledge, efficiency and control achieved through rationalisation.

Weber's pessimistic reading of a linear progression towards a cold and disenchanted world is countered in some measure by his own recognition that some forms of magic and charisma still prevail in the modern world (Bennett, 2001; Lee, 2010; Weber, 1992). The world is not disenchanted yet but is on this trajectory towards calculable objectivity (Bennett, 2001). Jane Bennett (2001) criticises Weber (along with other proponents of disenchantment) for the underlying assumptions of his work. In particular, the world Weber views is one where scientific rationalism is antithetical to human wellbeing and meaning-making. Disenchantment is traced back to the Protestant Reformation's assertion that ultimate transcendence of God from the immanent world, encouraging Christians to abandon the search for the sacred on the profane Earth (Bennett, 2001). The polarisation between the sacred and the profane intensifies in later theologies notably of Rudolph Otto, whose notion of the absolute terror the Divine inspires in humanity, and spatialized in the work of Eliade (to be discussed in Section 2.1.5).

Bennett calls for a reassessment of this 'disenchantment', identifying ways in which individuals can find enchantment through an engagement with the world that responds to the sensorial experiences available:

To be enchanted, then, is to participate in a momentarily immobilizing encounter; it is to be transfixed, spellbound...You notice new colors, discern details previously ignored, hear extraordinary sounds, as familiar landscapes of sense sharpen and intensify. (Bennett, 2001, p5)

Forms of enchantment can happen within the extraordinary spaces and journeys of pilgrimage as the work of Maddrell and della Dora (2013) suggests where the combination of natural landscapes and human-made modulation of the sensorial stimulation in holy sites are orchestrated to affect the visitor. Also, in more mundane spaces and journeys: Edensor (2003) identifies the sensualities of driving on the motorways where sudden shifts of perspective can produce surrealistic effects; commuter cycling can open up 'sensescapes' of adrenaline and risk producing 'sensory indiscipline' in otherwise sanitised environments of the everyday (Jones, 2012). As will be seen later in the thesis, several of the participants reported experiences that tie into these notions of enchantment and resonate with Bennett's assertion that the unplanned, the uncanny and the awe-inspiring moments can insert transfixing moments into the everyday.

This tension between disenchantment and enchantment is to be explored throughout the thesis and is discussed later in this chapter with reference to Augé and wider processes of globalisation, mobility time-spaces are bureaucratised and removed from contingent human relations or communications. Bureaucratisation alongside rationalisation of working methods in the specialised division of labour has been linked to increasing individualisation and, as discussed later, subjectivisation in society (Bruce, 2002) eroding the social ties of community and place. In reference to this issue and the position of religion in unifying society and constructing narratives of 'place', the work of Durkheim will now be briefly discussed.

The second of the 'classical' sociologists of religion, Emile Durkheim, was concerned by the accelerating pace of rationalisation and application of industrial methods such as Taylorist management and the specialised division of labour leading to a fragmentation of society. Pre-modern social relationships, based on direct person-to-person contact without separation of different components of the economy, had very suddenly been replaced by bureaucratic relationships with specialised division of the economic means of production (Bauman, 2000).

This issue is exasperated further in the contemporary age of mobility when considering the increasing distances travelled or communicated between the sites of home, residence, education, recreation and utility that undermines traditional proximity-based communities. Durkheim (1961) argued that the rituals and symbols of religion had a unifying function for community. Despite criticism of generalising from 19th century British ethnographic data of aboriginal tribes in Australia to more complex and diversified societies, Durkheim's ideas of the unifying functions of religion and its reflection of the beliefs and values of the society have remained influential within sociology.

Durkheim suggests that as long as there is some form of society, there will always be an underlying human need for religion as a means of representing this society and its beliefs and values. As this society changes, and its beliefs and values change, the religion will also transform to reflect these changes. In this respect, Durkheim has, so far, been proved correct. Even as contemporary western society enters (presumably) advanced stages of capitalism and rationalisation, religion and religious forms still prevail as a significant factor in many people's lives. Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 3, the religious landscape to become more fragmented and personalised in line with the 'subjective turn of modern society' (Taylor, 1991 cited in Heelas and Woodhead, 2005). Durkheim is positing the significance of social relations as underlying religion, and by extension spirituality, as a constant feature of the human experience even as interactions become increasingly mediated through communication technologies. The basis for community has however shifted, from one rooted within proximity to certain places and people to a community reliant upon shared values, attitudes or interests (Sinha *et al.*, 2007; Urry, 2007). Yet the overarching umbrella of 'religion', the shared patterns of belief and practice support and socialise the community

As this section has discussed, a tension exists within the conceptualisation of 'place' as being open and closed to the world outside its boundaries. Durkheim's work suggests that this

tension can be overcome through an approach that incorporates the unifying features of religion, updated for contemporary society. Durkheim's has been largely overlooked by the new mobilities literature yet represents an approach that can make sense of how religion and religious identity can produce stability and solidarity in temporary, ever-changing and unstable flows of mobile societies.

Like Weber and to a lesser extent Durkheim, Henri Lefebvre (1991) argues that nature and natural state of humans is threatened by the 'anti-nature' tools of modernity in the abstraction of human communication and rationalisation of human labour in production rather than work. Marxist themes of alienation are combined with a Nietzschean concern for freedom from the constraints of bureaucratic power structures to expose the power relationships embedded within social space and time (through the generation of social rhythm). For Lefebvre, social space is the result of designs of how this space is purposed and therefore a tool of control and domination (1991). In the case of Western industrial societies, this tool is operated by the agencies of capital. Subtle, unglamorous and partially hidden from view, decisions of ownership and planning that segment the city into industrial, recreational and residential zones impacts upon the everyday life of those subject to the exchange of currency (also Abler, Adams and Gould, 1971; 1958). Workers are compelled to travel to the industrial zones to labour before being shipped back out to the suburbs where living costs are lower. Low income workers are therefore mobilised on a local level around the city to seek an income but are immobilised by the anchoring of their income to the local area and inability to move further away than the area where they can physically access employment (Massey, 1993). Such spatial distribution and range can be too large to allow a sense of homeliness, permanence or community, challenging construction and identity of 'place'.

Everyday social space is controlled by governmental and commercial organisations removing agency of those who dwell within these spaces. Lefebvre (1991), develops a threefold method

for analysis of space to expose the operation and resistance to power that is embedded within and produces social space:

1. Spatial practice, the actual use of space by the actors who dwell within.
2. Representations of space encompass the designs of technocrats as a tool to impose and execute ideology within space. This includes the planned functionality of space for production or reproduction of demand for capital in industrial, recreational and retail locations.
3. Representational Spaces (referred to here as 'spaces of representation') are where the actor encounters and interacts with these designs resulting in subordination, resistance or a more complex combination of these two dynamics.

Movements 2 and 3 acknowledge the alienation of the individual from the space that surrounds them but movement 3 (spaces of representation), Lefebvre, opens the possibility for resistance to the imposed order. A more empowering critique of social space is elucidated by de Certeau (1988) (see Chapter 3) who argues that the individual finds artful and playful means to resist dominant hegemonic claims to place.

2.1.3 Loss of place?

Massey's conceptualisation of place has recognised the reality of different connections and relationships that constitute place. However the concern amongst the humanistic geographers, as indicated by Tuan's comment on the static nature of place, was that mobilities and globalisation would undermine the distinctive qualities of places. This section explores this issue, firstly examining Tuan and Relph's concerns before discussing later echoes of this 'connotation of loss' (Simonsen, 2008) with the work of Augé.

In his book *Space and Place*, Tuan (1977) points to the complications that mobility can bring to 'place' when he discusses the interrelations between the routine movements between home,

work and holiday. Whilst these locations are different places, they can be combine and re-combine different elements (people; objects; ideas) taken from each other and eroding the distinctions between them. Since the time of Tuan writing this in 1977, this issue has become ever more complicated with the proliferation of the internet-enabled computers and smartphones that have emancipated work-based and social interests from temporal and spatial locations to be accessed anywhere, anytime. Chapter 3 will pick this issue up again in reference to the (lack of) separation between everyday life and the liminal phase of pilgrimage.

Relph (1976), writing at the same time, identifies this as 'placelessness', where the site and materials of place are disconnected from its local surroundings, undermining authenticity. In contemporary society this is seen in the uniform high streets or chain shops and restaurants that offer identical sensory experiences regardless of geographic location: For example the taste of American fast food that is reproduced to a standard recipe across the world from Kentucky USA to Keighley UK. Other examples concern the consequences of tourism not just on pre-existing sites of interest that become centred around the sites of interest as defined by tourist boards, hotels, souvenir shops and guide books but the 'other-directed' places of Disneyland that are existentially inauthentic, pointing the tourist to other sites for reference (Relph, 1976). For Relph mass culture, the homogenisation of places and alienation of the building or people to the locality is of central concern as place is connected with the existential condition of humans and universe of meaning is destabilised. Roads, railways and by extension the mass accessibility of the internet and telecommunications not only impose a sense of placelessness on the landscape but facilitate the spread of this placelessness as a highway 'starts everywhere and leads nowhere' (Snow, 1967 cited in Relph, 1976; also Urry, 2007).

Transport spaces are used by Marc Augé's (2008) to illustrate his concept of 'non-places': Highly regulated spaces that reflect the disenchantment and fragmentation of society and the

dis-placing of the individual reaches a crescendo in space in which global capital has colonised, alienating those who dwell within. Despite criticism, *Non-places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity* identifies a potent challenge to place-making in contemporary society. Augé's exploration of 'non-places' conceptualised modern spaces as characterised by limited, mediated and scripted human communication, continual flows and remote ownership or control that act to alienate those who dwell within. Designed to be compatible, readable and facilitate movement through panoptic legibility and standardisation (Brewer and Dourish, 2008; Latour, 2005), minimising interruptions of flow and thus benefiting Capital (Bissell, 2011). For Augé, airports were exemplary of non-places in containing universal, simplified signs and graphics that work to homogenise and de-territorialise locality. These signs, graphics and instructions allow the traveller to find their way around the space whether they are in London or Beijing. More recent researchers have applied non-places to spaces used on a daily basis, the motorway, public squares where information is exchanged on billboards, screens and images (Jensen, 2009).

Augé's work is not without criticism as several scholars contest that 'non-places' are in actuality sites of complex socio-cultural and economic interactions (Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 2006; Merriman, 2004). Edensor (2003) additionally argues for more-than-travel reading of such non-places. In his example, the motorway can be a site of sensorial redistribution of these spaces entangled in place-specific associations of memory and emotion. Vision however still forms the primary sensory stimulus even when taking into account Edensor's recognition of enhanced sensations of movement. More-than-travel time-spaces of mobility are discussed further in Chapter 3. Despite criticism, Augé's work still expresses a powerful sense of dislocation and alienation as homogenous global entities insert themselves and contest the heterogeneous local. The local is often overshadowed by the global-universal. Globalisation processes of universalism, standardisation and the inclusive effort to accommodate plural and

diverse groups of different people can lead to a homogenisation and universalisation of formerly heterogeneous cultures.

An effect of globalised non-place can be found in the Brand's (2012) study of the increasing number of 'multi-faith spaces' in the UK in public areas such as airports, universities and attractions, where once Christian-centred chaplaincies would be found. Brand (2012, p220) identifies that multi-faith spaces either remove all symbols and signs of specific religions and cultures from the space or include as many different religious symbols and signs into the space as possible to avoid offending anyone in particular by equally offending everyone. Whilst the latter is extensively found, intensifying contestation of this space between different religious groups (Gilliat-Ray, 2005), the former option is increasingly being utilised with religious imagery reduced and abstracted to symbols such as candles or stained glass that acts for all faiths (Brand, 2012). The shift in emphasis towards 'multi-faith' spaces in the UK is indicative not just of a demotion of the privileges traditionally afforded to Anglicanism but also of an inclusivist and universalist agenda. Space is no longer 'for' any particular religious group (to echo Massey, 2005) and even if, as Brand suggests, nobody in particular is offended neither is anybody in particular is welcome.

Augé's 'non-places' can also become spaces of resistance and religious practice precisely because of their globalised, anonymous uniformity and lack of locality. Yang's (2005) study of unauthorised Christian home prayer groups utilising the anonymity of McDonalds' chain restaurants in the Chinese city of 'Nanfang' (Yang's pseudonym) to evade the attention of the police. The use of a Westernised space within China also produced associations of the group with aspirations to modernity and democracy, demonstrating that the context in which religious practice manifests impacts upon the meaning generated (Knott, 2005a). The interchangeability of the McDonalds was exploited by the group when they were arrested by the local police and forced to sign an agreement not to meet again in the McDonald's

restaurant. This was not a problem for the leaders as there is no shortage of other McDonald's in Nanfang exposing the globalised interchangeability of this space as its local utility for this group. When considering the de-codification and management of public religion in the UK, as with chain shops, restaurants and businesses, it is tempting to suggest that the universalising tendency of globalisation processes work to homogenise the heterogeneous, eradicating the local. However as Robertson (1995) and Massey (1994) argue, this would neglect the agency of the local when instead the local and the global act and intertwine together to transcend the homogenous-heterogeneous, universal-specific tensions.

2.1.4 Global and the local

As Yang's case suggests, the global and the local therefore interact and can mutually reinforce each other and this is further underlined in this section. Firstly, global organisations may use universal and standardised processes to preserve and exploit the local such as tourist sites which require and sell local resources and culture (Eriksen, 2007; Robertson, 1995). The global becomes a substantial component of the local and the local becomes a substantial component of the global (Massey, 1994). As has been demonstrated above, global symbols, signs and products become a significant part of our daily lives as people drink coffee imported from South America, wear jumpers made in Vietnam, use computers designed in California and built in China, all constructed and performed by the dweller in their locality. Social, emotional and memory associations are intertwined with mass produced globally universal materials leading to Massey's (1994) 'global sense of place' for the individual and Simonsen's (2008) intertwining of mobility and place.

Secondly, despite the potential of extended social relations on a global scale, most internet traffic and telephone calls are made within local or national scales and domestic television shows are more popular than international programmes (Eriksen, 2007). Correspondingly, Ellegard and Vilhelmson's (2004) argue that despite extended forms of mobility, the local, and

in particular the home, still acts as a gravitational force upon activities. Globalisation is a very concrete part of everyday life in providing the technological medium for mass communication however the friction of distance is still a factor of global circuitry of movement. Despite great technological strides, the (capability) constraints of living still ensure that for most people, certain time-space stations are required for biological and psychological functions (Hagerstrand, 1970) which serve as nodes around which the individual's world is orientated. The body, and its constraints, are central factors determining the extensiveness of local-global networks as technology has not completely overcome the limitations imposed by biology. Solid may have given way to liquid modernity (Bauman, 2000) but this liquidity is still icy as the local still has a gravitational effect. The intertwining of globalised communication and technologies with the local's influential role in the lives of most people, leads to Roland Robertson's (1995) concept of 'glocalization'. Although ungainly, Robertson's term refers to the cultural hybridity that occurs when the local blends or collides with the global to generate a new 'glocal' culture rather than replace the local and contingent with the global and uniform (also Amin, 2002; Appadurai, 1996; Hefner *et al.*, 2013).

Globalisation replaces local diversity with global diversity (Amin, 2002; Mels and Timmerman, 2013). Global artefacts, information and ideas criss-cross each other and accumulate at certain locations to create and perform 'place' that illustrate the 'throwntogetherness' of place (Massey, 2005). This was further explored in the context of public transport by Wilson (2011) as she argues that transportational vehicles and routes such as the bus bring a diverse range of nationalities, cultures, languages, ethnicities and religions together in often side by side intimate encounters. Processes of globalisation thread the co-presences of global others into the everyday locality of those who dwell within places rather than the global simply replaces the local (Amin, 2002; Simonsen, 2008). Through these banal encounters cultures, religions and prejudices are often challenged or reinforced as the dwellers experience co-presence with the other (Haldrup, Koefoed and Simonsen, 2006; Hjarvard, 2008; Wilson, 2011). Different

branches of a family of cultures or religions that have never encountered each other maybe brought together through shared economic locations (Bluck *et al.*, 2012; Burchardt and Becci, 2013) yet align with each other in order to form a political and material presence.

Movement and communication also act to change the social construction of place. As alluded to earlier in the discussion of Massey's work, theorisations of 'place' have moved beyond bounded spaces with stable identities. Instead place is understood to be the product of socio-economic relations of other places, open to the import of people, objects and ideas as well as the export of their own refashioning of these properties. Global processes of mobility and circulation have transformed our understanding of place. Along with other objects, these circuits of mobility, often in response to the demands of diasporic communities, religion and its material and non-material products, are increasingly encountered as part of everyday life (Urry, 2002). It is not just that religious objects, ideas and images permeate many aspects of daily lives, acting to educate, challenge and reinforce possible orientalist perceptions (Haldrup, Koefoed and Simonsen, 2006; Hjarvard, 2008) but there is sustained and unregulated proliferation of these phenomena. From popular media that draws upon occult literature (Bartolini *et al.*, 2013) to the availability of holistic and esoteric goods such as candles, incense and Buddha images in supermarkets and interior design shops (Harvey and Vincent, 2012), such traces of religion are embedded within everyday life. On a larger scale there are tensions within geopolitical events reflected into local and communal tensions between or within religious groups (Hunt, 2001). Global processes inform and shape local interactions of religion and spirituality.

2.1.5 Sacred and profane space

Western society is often represented in discourse as secular in character, in order to inclusively accommodate the pluralism which globalisation brings. Liberal secularism, the viewpoint that society should be governed in accordance with laws devised solely by humans, is framed as the

dominant and normative political ideology of Western Europe including the UK (Olson, Hopkins and Kong, 2013; Turner, 2011; Woodhead, 2012b). This is also a viewpoint expressed through space and, more subtly, through time (discussed later in this chapter). Classification, quantification and representation of the mechanics and politics of space constructs a world in which cause and effect is known and understood, any non-material or magical explanation is discarded; a 'disenchantment' of space (Weber, 1992). The consequence of such classification of space is the categorisation and polarisation of space into the categories of religion and secular. This classification perpetuates the notion of fixed boundaries and the power relations this entails yet has also been advanced by several scholars of religion such as Mircea Eliade.

Following Weber, Eliade (1957) criticises processes of modernisation and industrialisation that have created a world of disenchantment or 'desacralisation'. He observes that the home, once built so that humans could live in accordance and in proximity to the Centre or the Real, is now a mass produced, interchangeable and devoid of meaning. Colonisation and classification of nature by science has transformed the religious dimension of the world into ideological and secularised world. Despite this, Eliade maintains that 'religious man' can still differentiate between sacred and profane space. To this end he develops an ontological concept of the *hierophany*, an irruption of the numinal world into the phenomenal world, forming the centre around which 'archaic' humans structure their living arrangements around. The *hierophany* holds together sacred and profane worlds in the same space.

Eliade's definition of the sacred is drawn from theologian Rudolf Otto's (1936) conception of the Divine as complete opposition to the profane that inspires terror and awe in humanity. The numinous manifests as 'place' where the individual can feel positioned as an object to the infinite subject of God (Otto, 1936). As sacred space has been colonised through the process of industrialisation and rationalism, the world becomes a homogenous, formless and non-meaningful expanse for non-religious humans. Previously 'disordered' nature was the 'chaos'

to be ordered through the establishment of a religious community in the metaphorical slaying of the monster (Leppman, 2011); contemporary secular, modern and nonhuman processes of bureaucratic ownership of land are now Eliade's monster to be slain. The strength of this work, the phenomenological interpretation of sacred space for the believer, also carries the difficulty in recognising the wider consequences of dividing the world into sacred and profane space. There is an underlying power relationship based upon the claiming of space as either religious-sacred or profane-secular that Eliade refers to expresses in the metaphor of slaying the monster.

The polarity of the sacred and profane asserted by Eliade has been critiqued in recent decades. As with the binary categories of 'masculine' and 'feminine', 'religion' and 'secular' and 'sacred' and 'profane' both complement and reinforce the meaning of each other (Knott, 2005a; Woodhead, 2012b). These categorisations are commonly used by both religious and secular institutions to assign function to space, officially ruling in and out aspects of religion which may be found within (Knott, 2005a). The religious-secular dichotomy is so well established that if a place is not classified in discourse as religious then it must be secular (Knott, 2005a). The polarisation of sacred and profane space leaves Eliade open to criticism that what he terms as homogenous, profane space is in fact varying in significance and meaning for humans (Holloway, 2003; Shiner, 1972). Eliade posits too much human meaning in the numinal side of the sacred-profane distinction, neglecting the modifications of humans make to space (Ivakhiv, 2003; Kong, 1991). Religion and spirituality, it is claimed by Eliade's critics, cannot be cleanly removed from secular space despite the 'disenchantment' and rationalisation of Western society.

2.1.6 Social construction of sacred space

In reading sacred and religious space as drawn from a numinal source, the social, corporeal, economic or political relations of space are disregarded (Anttonen, 2005; Kong, 1991).

Building upon Durkheim's understanding of the sacred as a sociological function, Jonathan Z. Smith critiques Eliade as he argues no space is inherently sacred or profane with a personal anecdote of working on a farm in New York:

Each morning, to my growing puzzlement, when the boss would step outside after completing his ablutions, he would pick up a handful of soil and rub it over his hands. After several weeks of watching this activity, I finally, somewhat testily, asked for an explanation: 'Why do you start each morning by cleaning yourself and then step outside to immediately make yourself dirty?' 'Don't you city boys understand anything?', was the scornful reply. 'Inside the house it's dirt; outside it's earth. You must take it off inside to eat and be with your family. You must put it on outside to work and be with the animals.' (1978, p291)

Soil is either called 'dirt' or 'earth' depending whether it is inside the house or being used to grow plants; these distinctions are made relative to ideological or cultural motivations. A boundary is constructed but is recognised as socially constructed. Sacred spaces are generated through discourse and this becomes evident when considering the contestation between religious traditions for certain places. For example, Stonehenge is a sacred space for neo-Druids, commercial site for tourists and representation of UK heritage for people in Britain and overseas. A similar example is illustrated in the competing practices occurring and contestation of naming at Uluru/Ayers Rock, Australia of tourists and the aboriginal owners, the Anangu (Stausberg, 2011). Alongside the alternative names given to the rock, climbing and photography are contentious issues due to the sacredness of the rock. Yet tourism brings a welcome contribution to the local economy. Such spaces become sites of contestation

between religious communities, local authorities and tourists for authority and power over the practices and representations.

This discussion of the social construction of sacred or religious space will be resumed in more detail in the next chapter with further reference to Knott's (2005a) spatial analysis of religion and contemporary work on geographies of religion and spirituality. However one last point to make on the consequences of globalisation on sacred space is that sites of religious and spiritual activity accommodate a diverse range of global presences within the spaces they produce. Concrete experience of religious globalisation does not occur 'out there' on the macro-scale but 'in-here' on the everyday micro-scale in the homes and localities of religious attendees and practitioners (Kong, 2013). The churches and the meditation centres in this research accommodated a wide range of visitors and members from different backgrounds who were pulled into the site by often a single common spiritual interest or need. As well as the human actors involved within these sites, there were a range of material and non-material non-human actors pulled and mediated through the venue by visitors, members and leaders from local, national and global geographies. Globalisation for the participants in this research (see Chapter 8) was an everyday, concrete, although often unspoken, reality. Given the capacity of religious and spiritual venues to bring together such diverse arrays of human and non-humans, it is surprising that the 'throwntogetherness' of globalised actors has been neglected within geographies of religion.

2.2. Time, rhythm and discipline in the making of place

Time is a co-agent in the production and construction of space and place yet due to its abstract, non-concrete composition can be difficult to analyse. Since Hagerstrand's (1970; 1975) 'space-time paths', studies in time-geography tended to treat 'time' as a form of currency, of which the individual is afforded a limited amount of every day and 'spent' this budget on a set of short term and long term activities and projects. There is a risk with this

form of representation that social and emotionally significant events and activities of an individual's life are reduced to an abstract and atomised series of two dimensional appointments (Edensor, 2010b; Rose, 1993). Although Hagerstrand's aim was to reveal the constraints and pressures underlying individual behaviour rather than the psychological consequences and so does not necessarily imply his ignorance of these dimensions (Gren, 2001), representing everyday life in such format does concretise this effect. With an awareness of the socio-economic power structures of time, recent critical geographies and sociologies (Glennie and Thrift, 2009; May and Thrift, 2001; Zerubavel, 1979) have examined the unevenness and alliances with political and economic capital. Patterns of activities often occur due to coupling or clustering effects with other activities. This section will explore this channel, firstly through socially produced rhythms and then a deeper examination of the historical entanglements between religious and secular time. Religious and spiritual activities never occur in isolation but are temporally distributed in dialogue with secular activities and responsibilities.

2.2.1 Rhythmanalysis

After examining space (Section 2.1.2), Lefebvre's final project investigated the social production of urban spaces with a focus on cities and towns as sites of the intersection of multiple, contrasting and alternating rhythms. In *Rhythmanalysis* (2004), Lefebvre positions the study of rhythm as central to the study of everyday life:

The everyday establishes itself, creating hourly demands, systems of transport, in short, its repetitive organisation. *Things* matter little; the *thing* is only a metaphor, divulged by discourse, divulging representations that conceal the production of repetitive time and space. (2004, p7 (italics in original))

Whilst the focus on rhythm is an essential component of the study of everyday spaces, this should be as part of an overall survey within the broader area of temporality. Time is used by individuals to establish and maintain boundaries between different projects, responsibilities and activities as therefore deserves a separate set of enquiries from those of place. Rhythm, however, plays a dynamic role within the everyday timescape as demarking the interventions and disruptions and introducing heterogeneity to otherwise homogenous, linear narratives.

Rhythm requires repetition as well as the introduction of new elements into the score of everyday life. Power structures and relationships are embedded and expressed in daily rhythms on multiple scales (Lefebvre, 2004). A process further explicated by May and Thrift (2001) as they observe that the technologies of time and speed are relevant to the economic worth of a place to the network: London and Paris were connected by telegraph long before London was connected to Bristol due to the importance of the French stock exchange to London's economy. Geo-capitalism transcends political borders causing an unevenness in the spread and distribution of the network. Modern conceptions of time are not therefore democratic but instead determined by economic and political conditions. Time, like space (Lefebvre, 1991; Massey, 1994; 2005), is not neutral but structured by power relations. Furthermore the modern preoccupation with time as exemplified in the demand for quicker modes of production, delivery times or athletic achievements (Bale, 2011) is resisted by grassroots movements such as the 'slow food' movement (Andrews, 2008). Time is an arena for contestation and competition between alternative political visions. In these terms, the participants of this research had to negotiate between competing demands for their time from the often busy rhythms of contemporary society characterised by modern privileging of speed and efficiency and slower rhythms of underlying spirituality.

Everyday hundreds of millions of workers wake up, attend a place of work or education, and return to their families with approximate synchronisation (Edensor, 2010a; Shove, Pantzar and

Watson, 2012). Social and economic relations must be co-ordinated in order for tasks and objectives to be achieved (Hagerstrand, 1970). Yet this co-ordination also disciplines the individual, habituating them into compliance with the overarching socio-economic schedules (1970). The socio-economic schedule is the result of the rationalisation of industrialised working hours which has stabilised between the hours of 0830 and 1800 for millions of people in the workforce (Edensor, 2010a). The body becomes conditioned and habituated to these routines with the biological requirements and processes of eating, digesting and sleeping being relegated to the hours around the needs of capital (Edensor, 2010a; Lefebvre, 2004; Zerubavel, 1981). A tension emerges, throughout the literature, between biological-cosmological rhythms and artificial-mechanical rhythms. The former characterised by cyclical motions (diurnal rhythms, for example) and latter by linear progressions through time and space (Lefebvre, 2004). Resultantly temporal sequences of different rhythms are constructed that signify and lend meaning to different times of the day (Lefebvre, 2004; Zerubavel, 1981). Lefebvre, along with Catherine Regulier in the second part of *Rhythmanalysis*, observed the interplay between different rhythms as they rose and fell throughout the day in Mediterranean cities but this analysis of urban spaces has also been studied elsewhere in hospitals (Zerubavel, 1979) and urban environments (Degan, 2010; Wunderlich, 2010; Zerubavel, 1979).

Throughout these analyses it is the body that is often identified as the site of rhythms as it is through the sense organs that different rhythms are perceived, lived and potentially resisted (Edensor, 2010a; Lefebvre, 2004). Similarly it is the body that adapts and is disciplined into the schedules and co-ordination of contemporary society. The body is regulated when to sleep and how long to sleep for, when to eat and, in recent times, educated on what to eat in order to be at its healthiest and most economically productive. As Heelas and Woodhead (2005) note, conservative churches have traditionally attempted to channel bodily appetites into 'acceptable' expressions that are socially beneficial. Potts (2010) additionally identifies the

elective manipulation of the body rhythms by the individual in order to work with increasing productivity through the process of 'life hacking'. By imposing a rhythm of regular but intensive ten minute periods of activity followed by short rest periods, the rhythms of the body and in particular its concentration span can be optimised for working efficiency. The establishment of discipline and habitualisation through rhythms corresponds with Lefebvre's (2004) notion of *dressage* but in this example, it is employed by and for individual as exercise of self-empowerment.

Habitualisation has positive and negative connotations; uninterrupted processes in which the docile body is subject to the exploitation of capitalism (Bissell, 2011). However habit can also be seen as the locus of embodied knowledge that liberates the mind from minor trivial activities in order to concentrate on larger, more significant projects. Without the cultivation of habit the individual may be continually overwhelmed by complex and demanding processes in their everyday engagements (Bauman, 2000; Bissell, 2011). The body within modernity has been conditioned both voluntarily and by association with the wider community. Such conditioning to social rhythms can socialise diverse and extensive communities. Edensor (2006) has examined different scales of official and unofficial rhythms from widely observed etiquette to TV schedules and calendrical events that synchronise and produce a sense of nationality. In this aspect, there are traces of Durkheim (1961) and his observation of ritual at prescribed periods during the calendar in order to produce social unity. Following on, Chapter 7 explores the ways in which participants demarked specific areas for the cultivation of habitual moments of contemplation, meditative and mindfulness practice and prayer within modern spaces of flows and mobility.

2.2.2 Religious and secular time

There is a historical continuity between religious forms and time-based discipline. Time-keeping has been an established feature of monasteries with a disciplined structure of prayer

throughout the day, Glennie and Thrift (2009) have also identified the role of local churches in public timekeeping in more recent centuries. Churches – and church bells – in Western Europe have been central to public time-keeping, structuring and dividing the day between working, rest and curfew hours for the local population (Glennie and Thrift, 2009; Thrift, 1988). Weber (1992), in citing the works of Benjamin Franklin also finds importance in the Protestant focus on time and in the Puritan reading, ensuring that time was not spent ‘idling’ for it costs both the payment for time otherwise spent working and the work that could have been produced. This is part of his larger project to establish the link between the Puritan forms of Protestantism and the northern European rationalist drive for efficiency which results in later 19th century time-keeping and Taylorist management systems of production within the industrial sector. Time constitutes a central qualitative role within industrial capital (Thompson, 1967). Typically, these forms of time-keeping have privileged artificial clock time over natural, cosmic time that informs religious forms without a radical separation between the human and the transcendent.

The reconciliation of the radical separation between profane clock time and mythic-sacred time is not fully resolved. Instead the two time-scapes exist independently but interdependently, momentarily synchronising in parallel motion before falling out of rhythm one more, recognised as a ‘double time’ composing the religious and secular domains.

Mythological time looking back towards a national ‘golden age’ has often been employed by political agents to cement their power in their contemporary context (Bhabha, 1990 cited in Edensor, 2006). In this sense the mythology of a nation is a resource that helps to frame contemporary events. Events of recent history have demonstrated this, for example with President-elect Barack Obama’s re-enactment of Abraham Lincoln’s inaugural journey from Springfield, Illinois to Washington DC in 2008 (Stewart and Ruane, 2008) used to position Obama firmly within the history of landmark presidential administration. ‘Double time’ is thus recognised and employed by political institutions to legitimate their authority and historical

positionality but other forms of double time are often drawn upon from beyond the secular-national mythology into religious mythology.

A form of 'double time' is also recognised by Eliade in counterpart to his description of sacred and profane space. As well as the underlying reality of the divine manifesting itself in the hierophany, it also enters into the time-scape through ritual re-enactment as sacred time (1959). Eliade sees this re-enactment as a key part of constituting space. In the process of re-enactment, humans not only repeat the primordial act of creation but enter into mythical-sacred time to transform chaos into order as a process of creation. Eliade (1959) cites examples from Babylonian civilisation planning settlements as they envision forms of paradise, Spanish and Portuguese conquistadores using the Cross to consecrate the 'chaotic' lands of the New World as well as, like the British, French and Dutch, naming the spaces of America after those in Europe. Once the believer begins the ritual they enter into mythical time. It is these acts of re-creation that generate a meaning for the surrounding time (Eliade, 1959). Just as the *hierophany* breaks up the homogenous space of the profane, the mythical-sacred time breaks up the homogeneity of profane time. Uniting and establishing order to the events of the profane into a grander cosmic narrative.

For Eliade then, sacred time stands in contrast to profane time, within which people spend the majority of time. Contrastingly, profane time is linear in shape and following Weber, disregards the shackles of religious commitment to be driven not by the search for human meaning but economic development. As has been discussed, Lefebvre also charts the break between cyclical cosmic rhythms and linear rhythms of modernity and the deconstruction of this binary through modernising technological processes. Electrical lighting and air-conditioning amongst more recent technological developments such as electronic communications have broken down the distinction between day and night and enabled the working day to continue independently of the environmental conditions. The detachment

from locality and contingency is a key feature of non-places (Augé, 2008), exemplified in 24 hour supermarkets or airports where the inhabitant is removed from external conditions and local time is temporarily distanced. Local time is only discernible by artificial 'clock time' displayed on regulated screens at strategic intervals dependent on the context; supermarkets have a vested interest in the customer losing track of time and increasing the likelihood of spending more. On the other hand, an airport may be keen to maintain the passenger's awareness of time to ensure they do not miss their flight and occupy the space any longer than necessary.

Even within these spaces, time can still be detected by observations of rhythm (Lefebvre, 2004) as, for example, the number of people around or shops open at 2am in an airport departure lounge will be less than at 2pm. Additionally specific temporal and spatial sequences that occur at specific times often continue into these 24 hour environments that indicate the local time (Zerubavel, 1981) such as the arrival of certain groups of workers or the timetable of meals (breakfast; lunch and dinner) that suggest certain times of day. Resultantly it can be suggested that time has a qualitative character co-present with the quantitative dimension. Place can form an integral part of the temporal character (Tuan, 1977), spaces of relaxation or out of the ordinary experience of times such as holidays having a specific geographic location external to everyday locations.

Recognising the qualitative is present within the quantitative leads back to Lefebvre's (1991) production of space: The representation of time in the quantitative domain and a practice of time in the qualitative character that brings about the transcendence and reconciliation in the third phase of spaces of representation or, in this adaptation, times of representation. This can then be mapped back to Eliade's dual concepts of mythical-sacred and profane time. When the believer enters into ritual time, they are simultaneously present within contemporary, profane present moment and the moment of cosmic creation (Eliade, 1959).

Like his conceptualisation of sacred and profane space, Eliade's separation of time should not become reified. In both Eliade's and Lefebvre's work there is a reconciliation of the opposites of sacred and profane into the lived time of the believer; the extraordinary enters the ordinary (Lefebvre, 1991). In this case, the binary between clock time and 'natural' or cosmic time (Glennie and Thrift, 2009) can be deconstructed and instead, a parallel circuit of rhythms where the two domains overlap and intersect at specific points united in the body of the individual.

Earlier the body was framed as a passive recipient of social conditioning through economic rhythm and co-ordination however the perseverance of qualitative time and the central role of the individual in establishing the cosmic within the profane suggest that there is an increased sense of agency maintaining social rhythms. Bureaucratic hegemonies on public time and its liquidation is not an all-pervading homogenous, friction free flow as seen with the work of Augé, is contested by the multiple, narratives, the qualitative, the emotional and the characterful perception of time from the individual perspective. Habit has the dual abilities to empower and repress the individual. On the one hand, habit can liberate the mind from being clogged up with the minor details of day to day life in order to concentrate on more significant and substantial projects. On the other hand, habit can also reduce the body to a docile state that accepts the prevailing social conditions unquestioningly when direct intervention is not present (Bissell, 2011). Furthermore the individual can adapt modernist ideas of establishing habit to their benefit. By using such tools as time management and organisation, they not only insert habits and routines that have religious and spiritual significance but also use these habits to challenge other forms of social hegemonic (re)production. As will be seen later the continual engagement and repetition of habit produces effects that are not confined to the time-space that these routines occupy. Habits, qualitative perceptions of time and social rhythms become enveloped within the processes of the day and orientated around the body.

They inform and frame other aspects of the individual everyday worldview, challenging the fluidity and frictionless flows of non-places.

2.3. Chapter summary

This chapter has outlined much of the theoretical framework underlying the research of the thesis with particular attention to the conceptual understanding of space and place. The discussion began with the evolving conceptualisation of place in critical geography literature, from which a relational approach has emerged, as utilised by theorists such as Massey, which recognises the mutual interconnectedness and interdependence of people, other places and events. Places are not fixed entities but are produced and re-produced through discourse, practice and performance, continually being modified by agency located outside of their constructed boundaries (Cresswell, 2015; Harvey, 1996; Lefebvre, 1991; Massey, 1994; 2005; May, 1996).

Globalisation has had profound effects on the construction of place and perception of locality. In order to manage and process flows of people and objects as part of a larger network (non-)places become universalised, removing local characteristics in favour of homogeneity. Lefebvre and Augé are amongst thinkers who observe the abstraction of messages and instructions into spaces dominated by signs and symbols. Communication between humans is mediated by nonhuman actors in technology and graphic interfaces that work upon the human to direct and encourage certain behaviours whilst discouraging undesired and illegible actions. Significant for this research is the impact of the rationalised, globalised spaces of mobility (to be discussed further in Chapter 3) on relations between people and place. Despite the criticism of Tuan and Eliade outlined in this chapter, their work also presents a critique of modern, rationalised, neo-liberal and geo-capitalist manifestations of space and place. Notions of ontologically determined sacred space awaiting discovery by believers along with a polarisation of space in sacred and profane space can and should be discarded. However

Eliade does seemingly capture a sense of the unpredictability, the instability and unbounded potential of the reality beyond what is immediately present.

These multiple claims and possibilities for space and place are taken up by Lefebvre as place becomes a site of contestation between the modern rationalist designs of capital and the inhabitant's own perception and use of space (1958; 1991). It is within this context that creative negotiation occurs in the discourse and identity of social space, generating significance and meaning of the space. As discourse, practices and performances of the individual are recognised, place becomes subjectivised; there are multiple claims on place and multiple occupations of the same place within different rhythms and times of the day. It is the intersectionality of time and space with the individual and the collective relations that generates a sense of place and their subjective sacred space. Sacred, religious or spiritual space is formed, deformed and re-formed in meaning-making performances that the local and the unique within the impersonal and the universal. Chapter 3 will further develop the notion of place-making specifically within time-spaces of mobility before discussing and situating this research in geographies of religion and spirituality literature. Following this chapter and Chapter 3, this thesis will explore the subjective sacred space and place-making of the participants as they journey through everyday life, drawing on a range of mobilities to construct place.

Chapter 3: Literature review part 2:

Mobilities and religion in a changing society

Chapter 2 has outlined much of the theoretical framework underlying this research. This chapter will identify the gaps in current mobilities and geographies of religion and spirituality literature in order to position this thesis within these debates. Mobilities pre-suppose systems and networks that organise and control flows, necessitating some degree of immobility of people and objects to enable these circuits to work (Urry, 2007). In turn the landscape inscribed with systems and networks impacts upon those who dwell within such socio-technical environments that have been discussed in Chapter 2 through the lens of Augé's (2008) 'non-places' and Relph's (1976) 'placelessness'. This chapter recognises the socio-technical and economic construction of such environment yet also argues that this does not imply absolute determinism over how these landscapes are consumed.

The work of de Certeau is discussed in the first section with reference to the agency he assigns to the individual despite the commercialisation and centralisation of everyday space and place. This framework is then deployed to understand time-spaces of mobilities as more-than-travel time arenas in which travel-time use can accrue significances beyond a mere functional journey but instead play a key role in place-making. The third subsection develops de Certeau's work in reference to the geographies of religion and spirituality field. Recent developments in sociologies and geographies of religion will be outlined and demonstrate that place and the practice of place is a creative negotiation between the institutional and preconceived representations of space and the individual's engagement with space. Observing this, time-space can then be opened up for analysis of the construction of sacred, religious or spiritual space within the context of a mobile society.

3.1. Michel de Certeau

Influential to the theoretical framework of this research is the work of Michel de Certeau in the first volume of *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1988) and to a lesser extent the second volume, co-authored with Luce Giard and Pierre Mayol (1998). This work was a response to the writings of Lefebvre and Foucault on the nature of everyday urban life as composed of regulated spaces in which the individual is manipulated, exploited and disciplined into an instrument of the State and capital (Gardiner, 2000). De Certeau acknowledges the technocratic colonisation of everyday life but identifies a gap between observations from above and the actual practice at the grassroots level: He uses the analogy of how viewing New York City from the observation deck of the (pre-2001) World Trade Centre can tempt the observer into believing they have a fully formed panoptic and readable picture of the city. However he reminds the reader that the pedestrian on the ground has the advantage of finding shortcuts in streets, parks and buildings, therefore subverting the panoptic view of the street (1988). For de Certeau, the critical approaches to modernity like those of Augé and Lefebvre over-emphasise the structures of power which organises society and overlook the existence of informal practices of the individual that create critical spaces within these power structures (Gardiner, 2000). De Certeau's (1988) project, then, is to expose the channels in which the individual can resist the dominance of these power structures.

For this purpose, de Certeau makes the distinction between planned *strategies* and improvised *tactics*. *Strategies* being the methods by which authorities, often embodied in the State or Capital, attempt to organise society: the planning of Manhattan's gridded street system as viewed from the World Trade Center or the installation of regulated seating on the local bus or train service to provide a calculated unit of space for each passenger. However *strategies* cannot fully contain the creative and critical energies of these individuals and collectives (Gardiner, 2000) that occupy these spaces and improvise their own structure of power in

everyday tactics to contest and confront, albeit silently, the dominant structures of the State and Capital. *Tactics* are the channels of resistance the individual can employ to reoccupy technocratically regulated space: the use of unofficial shortcuts over private space in New York or the passenger's use of bags, coats and other items to occupy the empty seat next to them on the bus or train or playing music through Smartphones to territorialise space on public transport.

De Certeau (1988) turns the lens away from the producer to the consumer of products and in re-positioning this actor, prefers the term 'user'. In this account the user is construed as a consumer but without the passivity this term implies; the 'user' doesn't just passively consume but uses, adapts and manipulates the product for their needs. The life of the product does not end at the point of consumption but is modified and employed in improvised, creative and critical ways (Appadurai, 1996). De Certeau recognises the space and agency of the user to the possibility of unstable and unconstrained roaming through the everyday with unlimited possibilities and encounters:

In the technocratically constructed, written, functionalised space in which consumers move about, their trajectories form unforeseeable sentences, partly unreadable paths across a space. (de Certeau, 1988, p. xviii)

Through their *tactical* practices, the user is able to manipulate the *strategically* organised products of capital and space of the everyday for their needs; '...the weak make use of the strong...' (de Certeau, 1988, p. xvii). Similar to a musician improvising on the piano using the skills developed through adherence to the rules and structures of the language of music, the potential ability and variety of the actor's actions to improvise is rooted in knowledge of the context of action (de Certeau, 1988); each actor operates with a personalised mode of power and can take advantages that other groups cannot.

In his commentary on de Certeau's contribution to the theorisation of the everyday, Gardiner (2000) suggests that he exhibits an unusual lack of pessimism within the poststructuralist tradition for the plight of the individual confronted by the structures of power in everyday life. There is a moral ambiguity to de Certeau's work and he is criticised for overlooking the challenges facing certain demographics: His New York walker is implicitly male and therefore still operating with a relative mode of power that is denied to other groups due to societal constraints imposed, for example, on women due to fear and threat to personal safety, (Langer, 1988). *Tactical* exercises of unofficial power should not therefore be uncritically celebrated as their effects, such as limitation of female mobility or fear of crime or abuse (Binnie *et al.*, 2007), may not be socially or ethically desirable (Ahearne, 2010). Systems present within transport or mobility spaces of large Western cities have to accommodate a diverse range of people within the same space with neither preference nor prejudice. *Strategic* organisation of these spaces aims to ensure that this objective is realised. Despite the validity of this critique, the strength of de Certeau is to question the assumptions of powerlessness of the individual in modern technocratic, capitalist spaces. He draws attention to the levels of power that the individual and marginalised possess, necessitating a re-assessment of contemporary spaces and everyday systems in this light. With this in mind, the next section focusses on the new mobilities paradigm which acts to re-assess contemporary engagements with everyday movement, circulation and place. De Certeau will be revisited later in this chapter's discussion of personal and informal expressions of spirituality beyond the official institutional spaces of religion.

3.2. New Mobilities Paradigm

Everyday mobilities remake and recalibrate the relationship between people, things and places as John Urry (echoing Massey) recognises in an early mobilities article.

Indeed all forms of social life involve striking combinations of proximity and distance, combinations that necessitate examination of the intersecting forms of physical, object, imaginative and virtual mobility that contingently and complexly link people in patterns of obligation, desire and commitment, increasingly over geographical distances of great length.

(Urry, 2002, p256)

The New Mobilities Paradigm, as suggested above by Urry and later Tim Cresswell (2010), employs a range of scales and modes of mobility to recognise and investigate the impact of mobility on the individual and the geopolitical unit; power relations and socio-economic structures of place can be found in mobility (also Cresswell and Merriman, 2011; Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 2006; Sheller and Urry, 2006). Distance, speed and the mass availability of mobility has significantly been accelerated for certain demographic groups (but not for others) since the Industrial Revolution resulting in profound effects on society (Larsen, Urry and Axhausen, 2006). Acceleration and expansion of mobilities in such a manner requires systematisation and the upgrading of existing infrastructure (pre-existing paths, roads and routes) or the creation of new infrastructures altogether (railways, flightpaths, electric cables, radio and wireless networks) as well as their maintenance (Urry, 2007). Networks of multiple actors become systematised as part of a wider process of modernisation and quantification of the parts of the world that remain, or become, profitable for geo-capitalist enterprises (Thrift, 2004; Urry, 2007). Space becomes a complex series of routes and networks that infiltrate and transect through places whilst simultaneously connecting them to other places and networks. In echoing Massey (1994; 2005) from Chapter 2 in the Urry quote above, mass mobilities of people, goods, ideas and services have transformed our ideas of what is classified as 'local' (Larsen, Urry and Axhausen, 2006). Everyday experience of 'place' is transformed as a result of accelerated and extended mobilities. Urry argues that social relations are no longer based on

geographic proximity and in his 2007 book *Mobilities*, identifies five interdependent mobilities produce and organise social processes over spatial distances:

- (i) Imaginative travel effects through media and images of absent people and places.
- (ii) Communicative travel of person to person messages via SMS, telephones and letters.
- (iii) Virtual travel often information using computer networks.
- (iv) Corporeal travel of people to fulfil social-economic responsibilities and recreation.
- (v) Physical movement of objects to producers, retailers and consumers.

(2007, p47)

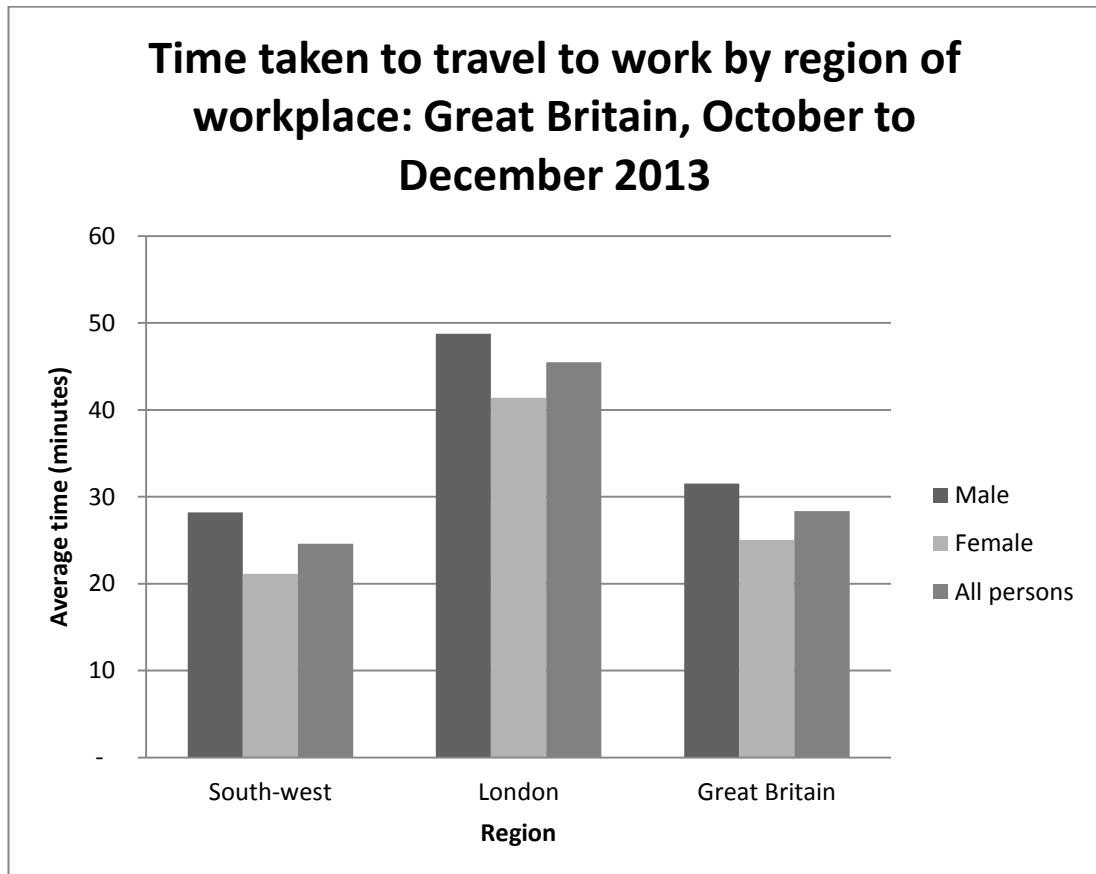
These interdependent channels of mobility will be revisited throughout the thesis and with special attention in Chapter 8. The remainder of this section will discuss the new mobilities paradigm's contribution to understanding contemporary social life.

3.2.1 Increase in travel-time

The New Mobilities Paradigm is prompted by increased prominence of time-space movement as a familiar and often taken for granted part of contemporary everyday life in the last century. Advances in speed and wider affordability of transport has allowed for employment, education, utility and recreation opportunities to be spread over large areas of space. By 2006 in the UK, people travelled five times further a year than they did in 1950, and that distance is expected to double again by 2025 (Larsen, Urry and Axhausen, 2006). Speed has substantially increased the spatial distance of everyday journeys (for example, commuting) rather than decreasing the accompanying time-cost as people use motorised transport to travel further or conduct more journeys rather than reducing time in transit (Ellegård and Vilhelmson, 2004; Korsu, 2012; Larsen, Urry and Axhausen, 2006; Mokhtarian and Salomon, 2001). Figure 1 illustrates the average time for commuting in the case-study area (South-west) to be 25

minutes reflecting 75% of British commuters who travel up to 30 minutes each way (Office for National Statistics, 2011). As a side-note, traditional gender divisions of travel time are also illustrated in Figure 1 as men spend longer travelling to work than women.

Figure 1: Travel to work time, taken from Labour Force Survey, Office for National Statistics (2014).



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Commuters therefore spend a significant proportion of their waking hours in transit, accumulating over weeks and months to an average of 321 commuting journeys per year (Lyons and Chatterjee, 2008). From the data outlined above, everyday commuting – often unrewarded economically as commuting mostly occurs outside paid hours – occupy a significant amount of the individual’s personal time. Despite the ability of ICTs to bring the world to us through home delivery of most essential everyday items and the virtual and

instantaneous communications making working at home a reality in encoded and 'embrained' knowledge based economies (see Holley, Jain and Lyons, 2008) the individual still spend large amounts of time physically moving. Yet until the 2000s, the time-spaces of transit were overlooked by researchers in favour of the origin and destination locations (Cresswell, 2010; Jensen, 2009; Sheller and Urry, 2006). Resultantly the time-spaces of mobilities are treated as the disenchanted 'non-place' and 'placelessness', to be navigated rather than thought of as 'places' as discussed in the next section.

3.2.2 Systematisation of everyday mobility

The New Mobilities Paradigm has examined the socio-economic relations of place that are present in time-spaces of travel which have hitherto been neglected. As with the discussions of 'place' and disenchantment in Chapter 2, technological accomplishments colonise time-spaces of mobility, human to human interactions are increasingly displaced and regulated in asymmetrical power relations. Groups of moving people become flows that need to be classified and managed by centralised authorities and 'engineers' (Jensen, 2009; Urry, 2007); whether in city centre traffic with the separation of pedestrians, cyclists, public and private transport (Hornsey, 2010) or the airport with the processing of the passenger into their constituent parts of body, clothing, identity paperwork and luggage (Adey, 2011).

Consequently, the individual is no longer seen as a person but an object, a customer or a passenger to be moved, to be protected and to be protected from (as train station posters warn the passenger not to abuse staff, for example). The submergence of the human amongst signifiers of humans also reduces the qualitative dimensions to place as it becomes 'space' to be traversed rather than to be dwelled in. Such rationalisation can be viewed as part of what Weber (1992) terms as the 'disenchantment of the world'. Messy and entangled open-ended relations between humans are replaced by direct and defined closed relationships between humans mediated by technologies.

Implicit within the 'everyday' is the perceived stability, order and predictability that has been achieved through the uncoupling of living and working conditions from the rhythms and influences of nature through the separation of science and nature within modern industrialisation (Lefebvre, 1991; 2004). This perception is engineered and maintained within mobility systems through the management and supervision of material resources, capacity and stakeholders to schedules and pre-determined routes of flows (Brewer and Dourish, 2008). Mobilities require an underlying immobility of people and materials to maintain and co-ordinate these systems:

[...] [T]ransmitters, roads, garages, stations, aerials, airports, docks, factories through which mobilizations of locality are performed and re-arrangements of place and scale materialized. The complex character of such systems stems from the multiple fixities or moorings often on a substantial physical scale that enable the fluidities of liquid modernity, and especially of capital. (Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 2006, p3)

For people, objects, information to travel they are required to periodically pause the journey to be recharged and redirected (also see Bauman, 2000). This thesis considers certain places (churches and meditation centres) and time-spaces of mobilities that act as mooring points, or pauses, in the individual's subjective geography that act to renew or redirect the spiritual. For the moment though, as Hannam, Sheller and Urry suggest, moorings are often considered as 'non-places' that co-ordinate complex flows of heterogeneous people and objects. The very complexity and heterogeneity, however, ensures the fragility of the everyday within mobility systems and their vulnerability to breakdown, terrorism and political sabotage (Adey, Bissell and Urry, 2010; Cresswell and Martin, 2012; Gardiner, 2000; Hein, Evans and Jones, 2008; Urry, 2007). The breakdown of the system provide moments whereby the engineered space is interrupted by an underlying and repressed order or reality (Gardiner, 2000; Ward, 1999) and

the impossibility of a centralised authority controlling the full extent of this system affords the individual a space and mode of power (de Certeau, 1988; Gardiner, 2000). The next section will examine the literature that re-assesses everyday mobility as accommodating time-spaces of activity and value to travellers.

3.2.3 More-than-travel time

Everyday time-spaces of mobility ('non-places') encourage travellers to subordinate and internalise the socio-economic practices and routines of movement as part of habit (Bissell, 2011; Jensen, 2011b; Lefebvre, 2004). Transport and urban planners depend upon habituated social practices as they construct an idealised 'rational' traveller who always chooses the most efficient route for their journey. The rational traveller model makes transport structures manageable for planners and administrators by modelling linear origin to destination journeys, often neglecting the manipulation of these journeys by people to incorporate multiple locations (Bonham, 2006; Kwan, 1999). Although discourse surrounding the planning and provision of mobilities is often framed within a 'rational actor' top-down approach, there is room for resistance. As de Certeau (1988) suggests, walking down a street may not necessarily be a linear, rational movement: The actor may meander, turn back on themselves and pause, subverting the rational actor model. This is, of course, an actor free of obligations to family and other people. However once schedules of movement become habituated, actors can take advantage of unsupervised and unregulated time-spaces to engineer activities of resistance to, but also within, the official script of everyday life and movement (de Certeau, 1988). Journey time can be used not just for transport as a time-space for travellers to engage in activities for their own pleasure or other utility purposes.

Despite negative associations of travel time and efforts to provide more efficient transportation, Mokhtarian and Salomon (2001) found a desire amongst commuters in their survey for journey time of around 16 minutes on average between work and home. Journeys

are viewed as an important recurring time-space and an opportunity to mentally transition from origin to destination (Jain and Lyons, 2008; Mokhtarian and Salomon, 2001) as well as for other activities. The New Mobilities Paradigm addresses the more-than-travel and unrepresented dimensions of journeys. A few examples:

1. Drivers may take longer routes than required or find enjoyment from taking the sports car or motorbike out for a ride on the weekend (Mokhtarian and Salomon, 2001).
2. Drivers may shout explicit language at other drivers, cyclists and pedestrians or sing loudly to the radio in a private time-space where they feel comfortable doing things they would normally be hesitant about in front of other people (Bull, 2004).
3. Cars can become an extension of the driver's (and passenger's) home, filled with materials that dissolve the boundaries between home and the external world. The cabin can allow a degree of personalisation as the seats, steering wheel and controls become orientated around the driver and passenger. Activities usually found in traditional static spaces such as the home or work can be adapted and transplanted to the car, for example the car stereo or Bluetooth enabled speaker phone. These features can help transform a generic, mass-produced space into a personalised 'dwelling-in-motion' (also Fallov, Jorgensen and Knudsen, 2013; Sheller, 2007).
4. Public transport can provide the environment to enable work or leisure activities to be performed and personal space bounded with the use of technologies, entertainment systems and other objects (Clayton, 2012; Jain, 2009; Watts, 2008). The activities differ between train and bus journeys as the latter require instantly operating systems such as PC tablets, the book, the newspaper, or smartphone rather than laptops which are more appropriate to longer train journeys. These portable objects construct the 'passenger' as combination of the objects they bring and the activities they perform (Clayton, 2012; Jain, 2009; Jain and Lyons, 2008). As an extension of the body and clothing, the activity-related items that a passenger carries become an expression of

their professional image: the school student may carry a mobile phone whilst the financial worker would be reading a copy of the Financial Times (Jain, 2009).

5. Commuters may take the opportunity to be deliberately unproductive on the train by window-gazing resisting the aspirational challenge of making every minute count (Abler, Adams and Gould, 1971; Holley, Jain and Lyons, 2008). 'Time out' of socio-economic responsibilities or obligations to window-gazing (in the case of 47% of rail passengers) or sleeping (18%) can be a therapeutic source for relaxation and rejuvenation to ready the individual for the resumption of work or home based activities (Lyons *et al.*, 2011).
6. Cyclists can feel adrenaline rushes as they weave in and out traffic and run red lights along with the physical exertion of cycling affording danger and excitement, resisting the regulation and mediated management of risk and adrenaline rushes in contemporary society (Jones, 2012).

Assumptions of travel time as wasted or uneconomically productive time have been undermined by this work. The actions and activities outlined above still have the same input and output features but arrive at their outcome via unexpected, unplanned or non-utilitarian activities for journey experiences, echoing de Certeau's earlier discussed *tactical* use of time and space. More-than-travel time allows for an interruption of socio-economic responsibilities with non-prescribed time-space that provides the traveller to engage in activity for personal benefit or wellbeing. Chapter 6 will explore the application of travel time for activities and practices that are conducive to individual spirituality and the consequences this has on their relationship with space and place.

Different modes of transport are suited for different activities. Active transport and motorised transport different calibrations of the sensory stimuli to produce alternate and occasionally competing experiences of the environment and resultantly place. Walking and cycling

stimulate different responses than driving or public transport. Gatersleben and Uzzell (2007) find that walkers and cyclists enjoy their commute more than commuters of other modes. This is despite (or perhaps because of) the reduced capacity for activities in transit. For most able-bodied walkers, the body does not need to concentrate on the actual action of movement and so affords capacity for the commuter to think and daydream about other things (Lorimer, 2011). Walking becomes a bundled set of sensory experiences of physical exertion, smells, sounds, sights and psychological feelings of the environment (Middleton, 2010) without the intense physical exercise of cycling or separation from the world in a vehicle, the walking commuter can dwell within the world (also see Edensor, 2010b). Perceiving the world alters the aesthetics and rhythm of the journey (Maddrell, 2011b; Middleton, 2010); spatial exploration that allows for pausing, meandering and detouring (de Certeau, 1988). Walking and cycling as self-powered slower and less regulated forms of mobility may allow for further engagement with the external world, contemplation and exercise for the spiritual self. This will be discussed further in the next section.

Motorised transport imposes its own senses of place and set of travel time activities and use. Activities and tasks are reviewed and delegated to different parts of the same trip: the rail passenger may take advantage of the quiet coach of the regional train to London to work rather than the peak hour London Underground journey and instead use this time-space as 'time-out' to listen to music (Jain and Lyons, 2008). Workload or obligations therefore are often broken down into tasks and activities and assigned to the most appropriate time-spaces for accomplishment in a Taylorist factory breakdown approach to management of work output (Holley, Jain and Lyons, 2008; Laurier, 2004). Dividing activities and observations according to the travelling environment also suggests that if people are to engage in religious or spiritual practice on the move, then planners and academics would benefit from understanding the modal and atmospheric factors that are conducive to these performances.

3.2.4 Place-making in the time-spaces of mobility

Time-spaces of mobility can enable forms of dwelling with repeated habitation despite the often transient nature of the environment. Less represented performances as detailed in the preceding section can attribute intentional meaning to space, constructing a sense of place (Cresswell, 2015). Buses and trains can also be personalised albeit in a more restricted manner. Such privatised materials, competences and knowledge (Shove, Pantzar and Watson, 2012) enable the construction and stabilisation of mobility modes as a practice that facilitates dwelling-in-motion. The discussion above has focussed on the materials and practices that can, to a large extent, be controlled or influenced by the individual. This section will address the shared and public dimensions of mobility time-spaces that can impact upon the sensory and emotional experience of the individual in transit. Contemporary urban society displaces the individual more than ever before, moving them back and forth across the city on a daily, sometimes hourly basis. Folded into this movement across space is the traversal of different parts and cultures present within the city. The commuter can be guided from homogenous-appearing suburbia into the city centre via heterogeneous environments as diverse businesses, residences and cultural groups are threaded together on the journey (Wilson, 2011).

Cityscapes can be associated with memories and emotions. In an auto-ethnographic exploration of his commute to work, Edensor (2008) narrates the city landscape he passes through as a palimpsest of temporal elements and traces that resist their erasure from history. Urban spaces often inhabited by old derelict buildings or and street furniture that have long since been employed. Warehouses, factories, churches, office blocks and other buildings provide a window within the contemporary landscape into the past occupations of the city. Occasionally these buildings are refurbished and adapted for new occupants. Church buildings change uses to pubs, flats and shops, capitalising on the space but also preserving the physical presence of Christian heritage and codified space within otherwise secular spaces (Davie,

2006). These 'absent presences' or traces of what was once present haunt the mundane landscape at every turn and create order or a narrative to a sequence of events, in turn generating meaning and significance (Edensor, 2008). Features which are mysterious in their absent-presence, visible yet not fully knowable exist within pockets of unregulated, non-homogenised space resisting the colonisation of surrounding commercialised and planned space. They are pockets that defy the rationalisation that Weber predicted; where, as Bennett suggests (2001), the landscape is re-enchanted.

In a later article, Edensor identifies that the cyclical nature of everyday journeys can produce a sense of place:

The speed, pace and periodicity of a habitual journey produce a stretched out, linear apprehension of place shaped by the form of a footpath or pavement. Serial features install a sense of spatial belonging, including the shops and houses passed – the street furniture – and routinised practices such as the purchase of the daily newspaper enfold social relations into the daily ritual. The daily apprehension of routine features may thus provide a comforting reliability and mobile homeliness. Through walking, a distinct embodied material and sociable 'dwelling-in-motion' emerges (Sheller and Urry 2006) as place is experienced as the predictable passing of familiar fixtures under the same and different conditions. (2010b, p70)

Sense of place is generated through repeated moving practices and routines, challenging earlier assumptions of the fixed and bounded nature of place. Heterogeneous environments of the urban landscape often accommodate a layered history of human stories that can be drawn upon to add meaning to a space. Other landscapes are often more recently developed and futuristic in design, pre-empting speed, temporariness and an impermeability of the surface

(Merriman, 2004). In another article that draws upon auto-ethnography of his everyday travels, Edensor (2003) argues that rather than isolating the driver from the outside world or reducing the experience to two dimensions (Sheller and Urry, 2006), the materiality of the car redistributes the sensory experience. Absent-presences are briefly memorialised in vehicle debris and broken glass; the ecological dimensions of wildlife and animals slowly going about their business side by side with speeding cars and lorries and the surreal effects and sensualities that can be caused by choreography of motorway cones animated by the speed of the observer (Edensor, 2003). The interconnectedness of 'place' is also recognised in these transit time-spaces as signs, adverts on the side of lorries and billboards in farmer's fields refer to other non-local places or commentate on locality as an intermediary (Augé, 2008; Edensor, 2003; Massey, 1994; Urry, 2002). Such spaces therefore often construct 'place' on their own terms, looking to the present or future rather than the past necessitating a modification of Augé's non-places.

Taking the concern with moving spaces forwards, roads like other 'non-places' discourage pausing and so do not naturally lend themselves to dwelling. However it is also argued that they can accommodate meaning for those who regularly travel through and develop familiarity with such spaces (Binnie *et al.*, 2007; Edensor, 2003; Edensor, 2011; Merriman, 2004; Urry, 2007). Heavily regulated environments such as the motorway, built with impermeable materials and using mediated signs and signals to choreograph the traffic are opened up in Edensor's and Merriman's analysis as space of meaning-making. Urban streets and parks are less regulated, relying more on the disciplining of the pedestrian, the cyclist and the driver to remain within their allocated spaces. Yet they are also built with impermeable materials, designed for durability and to erase the events that occur, negating human-material relations. In addition the improvised choreography of active travellers with increased chance of pausing and encountering others adds a layer of indiscipline to such spaces (de Certeau, 1988). Contrastingly, 'green' urban spaces are more vulnerable to natural processes than 'heavy'

transport environments of motorways and airports. Inhabitants of these time-spaces are more directly in contact with nature in trees and wildlife albeit constructed and regulated, its rhythms and climates which act to impress a higher (cosmic) power upon the individual. The individual is then able to identify features of significance to enable place-making; to enable the making present of religious and spiritual practices, reclaiming these spaces from secular hegemonies.

A nuanced approach to mobility also allows for an understanding of those within the network as actors with a more-than-rational approach. Everyday journeys are increasingly re-assessed as more than functional traverses across space, as an embodied experience of time-space. These accounts have opened up the time-space of everyday mobility to the possibility of activities of an economic or personal value to the traveller. Whilst these studies have often focussed on the commute for education and employment purposes, it is expected that these experiences may often transfer over to other local and regular journeys. Everyday journey time-spaces through this section have been found to be often valued by the traveller, often as personal time and free of socio-economic responsibilities that occur in static places. As these recurrent time-spaces can be used for activities that interest the individual, this research seeks to explore if spirituality can be engaged despite the temporality and impermanence of the spaces of flows, and what shape these spiritual practices take. The accounts above suggest that place-making in mobility provokes tension in the heart of the recognition of these transitional time-spaces as valued by the traveller. As time-space suspended between 'places' they adhere to notions of liminality and stillness whilst showing evidence of continuity of socio-cultural-economic relations normally reserved for 'place'. The next two sections explore these aspects of, firstly, stillness and then liminality and how this is useful for the discussion of place, mobility and spirituality.

3.2.5 Mobilities and 'stillness'

As Cresswell (2012) observes, the focus of most research agendas are quickly accompanied by their opposites and the New Mobilities Paradigm has been no different. Alongside an interest in the personal, political and socio-economic impact of mobility on the individual and society, a sub-agenda within Mobilities has reversed the lens to focus on 'stillness' and moments of slow speed or disconnectedness (Cresswell, 2012). From the early foundations of the Mobilities agenda, it has been recognised that fixity or moorings are related to movement. Hannam, Sheller and Urry's (2006) editorial for the first issue of the *Mobilities* journal acknowledges fixity as fundamental issue in Mobilities in the title ('Mobilities, Immobilities and moorings'). For some people to become mobilised, others must be immobilised in order to maintain the systems that allow for mobility; railway engineers, car mechanics, transport system technicians and workers in hotels and petrol stations are often limited to certain structures or mobility and immobility (Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 2006; Urry, 2007). Disasters such as Hurricane Katrina in 2006 can also illustrate the differences in access to mobility between socio-economic classes where the wealthier residents of New Orleans were able to leave the city – and the less-privileged residents – before the storm hit (Jensen, 2011; Urry, 2007). New Mobilities Paradigm has therefore often focussed on the power relations and socio-economic differences manifested in mobilities.

Developing on the immobilities and fixities, Bissell and Fuller's (2011) edited collection *Stillness in a Mobile World* pays closer attention to the moments of stillness that are embedded within daily life and mobilities. In their introduction the editors assert that whilst stillness is associated with calmness and tranquillity, it can be loaded with tension. Citing the examples of 'nail-houses' in China, where residents have rejected the attempts of property developers and planners to flatten houses in order to rebuild new infrastructure, Bissell and Fuller illustrate that stillness, in this case a refusal to move, can be an act of political resistance and

far from 'tranquil'. Bissell and Fuller go on to argue that spaces of flows and mobility are punctuated by pauses and stillness from the queue at the bank to waiting at the departure lounge in the airport. This can be extended to include the passenger waiting at the bus stop, the pedestrian at the crossing or the driver at the traffic lights. Traditionally, as with travel time, stationary or waiting time that compels stillness is perceived to be 'wasted time' and undesirable on a socio-economic register, as a problem to be dealt with and a negative relation of mobility. Bissell and Fuller therefore seek to understand 'stillness' in its own terms as a subject of study in order to understand the different dimensions of 'still'. Despite the collection's analyses of stillness, the title of the volume implies that the prioritisation of 'still' over movement remains relevant only within the context of movement. The collection's catalogue of 'stillness(es)' only occur within pockets between mobilities and make sense within this paradigm. Conradson's (2011) contribution on Christian and Buddhist retreats in England is predicated on the participants consumption of the 'stillness' and tranquillity of retreats in contrast to the stresses that come with everyday responsibilities and movements. His research illustrates the association of Christian and Buddhist practices with peacefulness and calmness and the engineering of their coded spaces to fulfil this stillness and separateness from everyday life that suggests a liminal-like time-space (to be discussed later in Chapter 3).

Another work to address the suspension of everyday responsibilities in spaces of 'stillness' is Lagerqvist's (2013) study of second homes or holiday cottages in Sweden. These cottages are constructed as part of a slow-paced lifestyle involving 'stillness' and imagined time travel to a period of agricultural economy that is significant to Swedish cultural identity. Lagerqvist challenges this notion of 'stillness', observing that much of daily life in the second homes requires movement for even basic tasks such as fetching fresh water as none is piped into the houses. The past is imagined as a calming time away from the busyness and intensity of contemporary life and employment responsibilities. It is not 'stillness' that is being achieved but a slower pace and disconnectedness from busy contemporary lives, as with Conradson's

participants discussed above. Rhythms then, as seen in Chapter 2, take on a significance in allowing for the opportunity to slow down from everyday life. Vannini's (2012) research of life on islands in British Columbia, Canada with movements structured around the ferry services demonstrates how rhythms of mobility are embedded within a society as movements, communications and even health issues become synchronised and effected by the 'slow mobilities' of island life.

Lagerqvist's argument that even within 'still' moments there is movement, suggests that 'stillness' as a separate channel of enquiry is overemphasised in Bissell and Fuller's account. It could be argued that the queue at the bank is still moving (even though it may not seem like it!) and those waiting in the departure lounge are still moving through cafes and shops, to the boarding gates and simply to walk off pre-flight anxieties. Stillness here is only stillness in contrast to movement and as part of the rhythms of mobility. These moments of slowing down are highly significant and as the work of Conradson (2011) and Maddrell (2011b) demonstrate, religious and spiritual activities can play an important part in orchestrating these slower moments. Such moments of slowness are to be explored throughout the participant's narratives in this thesis. There will now be discussion about the mobilities of the home – a time-space which is often thought of as still but as shall be demonstrated is the setting for multiple micro-scale 'mundane' mobilities that are significant to the dweller.

3.2.6 Mundane Mobilities of the home

Within human geography the home has been framed as a place of sanctuary and order away from the chaos of the outside world and simultaneously as a place where power relations between different genders and age groups are expressed, for example in the division of household tasks and spaces (Cresswell, 2015). Mundane or micro mobilities of the home form a neglected area of analysis for the New Mobilities Paradigm. Pink and Leder Mackley's (2016) recent article in the *Mobilities* journal is a particularly nuanced example of how household

movements and routines (of going to bed, for example) are embedded within social relationships inside the house. As the example of one participant getting changed in the light outside the bedroom to avoid waking his partner up indicate, the trivial actions of one member of the household can affect the wellbeing of another. There is an assumption that the 'mundane' Mobilities of the household are bounded, unchanging and stable. Yet these routines and movements are often implicated in wider political themes, who cooks, cleans or takes out the rubbish and recycling can be seen as a product of gendered discourses Furthermore the routines of the household maybe seen as banal and taken for granted until disruption suddenly makes these processes highly visible, through a member of the household leaving, a couple splitting up or bereavement and wider socio-political events such as war (Ehn and Lofgren, 2009). Such visibility of routines when the composite parts become fragmented, more challenging or simply absent resonate with Maddrell's (2011a) notion of a 'topography of affect', discussed later in Chapter 3. Routines and movements maybe minor on the mundane scale but are often implicated in wider social, economic and political discussion as well as signifying particular times of the day and night along with their associated actions and meanings. The next section will now focus on movements beyond the home and everyday structures of mobility and social relationships by exploring the concept of liminality within classic and contemporary pilgrimage literature.

3.2.7 Liminality and *communitas* in contemporary pilgrimage

Liminality is a term established by anthropologists Arnold van Gennep but later developed by Turner and Turner (1978) to describe a suspension of everyday socio-economic structures for pilgrims and transition to new position upon their return to these structures. The Turners rejected the notion that the pilgrimage is a fully liminal period for the pilgrim, instead referring to a 'liminoid zone': A time-space that exhibits features of liminality such as the opposition to everyday social-economic conditions but still retains features of their habitual life. However

the Turners still emphasised the oppositional nature of pilgrimage to the pilgrim's everyday life and this aspect has been critiqued in the years since their publication. For example, visitors to established pilgrimage sites can often expect the same high standards and quality of products, infrastructure and services as in their daily lives at home. Famous pilgrimage sites such as Mecca and Lourdes have a range of hotels catering for all incomes as well as 'tourist' facilities such as restaurants, cafes and souvenir shops retailing everything from glow-in-the-dark statuettes of religious figures to postcards (della Dora, 2011a; Stausberg, 2011; Timothy and Olsen, 2006). These social, economic and material relations between the places of pilgrimage and home ensure continuity between everyday lived conditions and the pilgrimage experience, reflecting Tuan's (1977) observation of interchangeability of people and objects in place as noted in Chapter 2.

Journeys to pilgrimage centres, indeed the method of actual pilgrimage, have been superseded and in many cases sanitised by the availability of mass public and private transport to a wider range of people than ever before. Hence pilgrimage is an increasingly popular phenomenon even amongst Protestant denominations which traditionally reject the idea of certain spaces allowing for increased access to God as God is an all-pervading presence (Davidsson Bremborg, 2013; Maddrell, 2011b). The nature of pilgrimage in pre-modern times necessitated long, arduous, expensive and often dangerous journeys. Over a period of little more than a century, journeys that previously took months and sometimes years by horse, coach or boat can now be undertaken in a matter of hours, usually necessitating no more than a day or two's travel. Physical effort and hardship that arose with either walking or riding has been replaced by comfortable seating on cars, trains, buses and planes. Modal change from active to motorised transport has further been sanitised the experience by isolating the pilgrims from the local people and surroundings (Reader, 1993). In some ways, the arduousness of these journeys has been redistributed as Reader (1993) notes in the case of multi-site pilgrimage that has been

enabled through modern transportation, visiting up to 25 temples in three days can be a strenuous affair in its own right.

Liminality, anti-structuralism and opposition of pilgrimages to everyday life can therefore be disputed. The contemporary pilgrim no longer faces (as much) difficulty in their journeying as their predecessors did and the range of technologies and infrastructural support available suggest that there is continuity between the everyday existence and pilgrimage for the traveller. Technological developments have additional implications as pilgrims are no longer necessarily isolated from people and events at home. Even when travelling to or at the destination telephone and internet communications including social media websites of Twitter and Facebook allow pilgrims not only to contact friends and family in other parts of the world including at home, but also to upload photographs and videos for viewing. This allows oral and written description to be augmented by visual description, eroding the polarity between pilgrimage-centre and the place everyday life.

More recent research on contemporary pilgrimage and emotional geography has explored the possibility of liminal and the association of liminality with innovative and spontaneous spaces. Maddrell's (2009; 2011b; Maddrell and della Dora, 2013a) work challenges the binaries of sacred and secular as well as the fixedness of space. Maddrell argues that for some people, embodied emotional states such as bereavement can be a liminal space in itself

[...] resulting in questioning, losing, changing, deepening and gaining new faith; and this multiplicity of reactions is one reason why bereavement can be seen as a liminal space. This liminality can refer to a state or process experienced through bereavement and the designation of a significant place which is associated with the deceased and is perceived as a permeable place, a borderland which affords a sense of 'ongoing contact'.

(2009, p677-8)

Liminality is viewed here as dependent upon the individual and their relationship with space and place, rather than ontologically fixed to a specific space or place. As shall now be discussed, this continuity is also found within *communitas*, a second aspect Turner and Turner's work. *Communitas* is characterised as a non-hierarchical state between pilgrims where differences of class, culture, race and gender are dissolved into unity (Turner, 1973; Turner and Turner, 1978). Since publication, the Turners have been criticised for constructing an essentialist binary of *communitas* against everyday social conditions. Turner and Turner suggest an overly homogenised image of pilgrim groups, seeking a universal underlying essence of this phenomenon when subsequent ethnographic research has identified that pilgrimages are often a subjective experience (Aziz, 1987; Collins-Kreiner, 2010; Eade and Sallnow, 1991; Reader and Walter, 1993). Additionally as seen above the pilgrim is no longer necessarily isolated from people and events at home due to the advance of telephone and internet communications.

Although these are compelling justifications for a reassessment of *communitas*, the concept still retains some validity to describe social relations that do exist between pilgrims. Continuity of social relations with family and friends from the pilgrim's normative existence may still be maintained but this does not necessarily preclude new social relations from being constructed within pilgrim groups based on dimensions of co-presence, common purpose, shared attitudes and behaviours (Davidsson Bremborg, 2013; Maddrell, 2011b; Reader, 1993). For example, Reader (1993) reports from his fieldwork of a pilgrimage group's support for one of their party when he was criticised for drinking alcohol in the middle of the day. The other group members supported him in spite of their own refrain from drinking at midday. Whilst Turner and Turner's notion of *communitas* has been critiqued, as Maddrell (2013) argues, it still captures a

quality of the pilgrim group experience and relations following intensive co-presence and therefore should be retained in a reinterpreted capacity.

As the liminal phase suggests, travel-time between places offers escape from the everyday routines and the structures of power (Turner and Turner, 1978); an extended time-space where the traveller is liberated from much of their quotidian social, cultural and economic obligations and responsibilities. Travel time, as seen over the course of this section, offers an interruption into the day of those who are displaced on daily basis. Travel time activity becomes familiarised to the dweller and personalised to their needs and interests in a negotiation with what this space will allow or facilitate. This thesis will develop the themes within geographies of religion and spirituality, which are survey in the next section, and apply the concepts of place-making and constructing a religious or spiritual space to contemporary mobile Western society.

3.3. Contemporary geographies of religion and spirituality in a changing society

As observed in Chapter 2 and this chapter, mass mobility has undermined location based communities as people are displaced on short term daily basis for commuting, social and recreational activities or longer term for regional, national and international migration. Widened access to physical mobility has allowed for individuals to travel further and attend religious venues of personal choice rather than geographical proximity (Guest, Olson and Wolffe, 2012) (although as will be seen in Chapter 5, proximity still plays a part in decision-making). This observation resonates with theories of a shift in religious participation from obligation to local community to consumption of experiences attractive to the individual (Davie, 2006; Putnam, 2000; Stark and Iannaccone, 1994).

The new mobilities paradigm has aided a shift in thinking away from static place or stillness as a normative experience to continuous movement (Sheller and Urry, 2006), re-calibrating our understanding of modern, Western society as networks of flows. These networks require systematisation and conformity to the logics and discourse of these systems as conditions of carriage. Systematisation aids the transition from hard to liquid modernity as once adapted to the circuitry of mobility people, information and objects are no longer fixed but moveable (Bauman, 2000). This shift towards flows and movement as normative experience drives the argument inherent in this chapter: for geographies of everyday religion and spirituality to be relevant to contemporary Western society, they must engage with the everyday mobile nature of people, objects and information rather than their traditional focus of sacred spaces and places.

Due to the prolificacy and speed of mobilities, religion in the UK is transformed as new cultures are encountered and society shifts away from proximity-based community groups to those formed of geographically diverse, mobility-enabled members brought together through common interest. This section will discuss the social impact of local, national and global mobilities on the practice and experience of religion in the UK. De Certeau's work is reprised with reference to the Woodhead's (2012a) application of the distinction between 'strategy' and 'tactics' to that of official and unofficial religious practices.

Using this framework, the following section will then consider the paradigm recognised in Paul Heelas and Linda Woodhead's (2005) study of the rise of the 'holistic milieu' that correlates with a trend of decline in traditional congregation forms of (Christian) religion in the UK. The shift from centrally structured public and collective expressions of religion to individually constructed and privatised programmes of 'spirituality', has implications for the ontological moorings of sacred space which is next to be discussed. Eliade's binary distinction of sacred and profane space was problematized in Chapter 2 and this section continues this theme by

addressing the negotiation between religious phenomena and modernist, secular environments. The remainder of this section then outlines the enmeshing of the religious and the secular in everyday life and embedding of the religious within a secular discourse of landscape and practices. Time-spaces of mobility as a significant domain of dwelling for many people in society are then opened up for engagement with religion and spirituality. Overall this section will argue for the social impact of everyday mass physical and virtual mobility as part of a wider subjective turn in Western society to be engaged with in geographers and sociologists as a crucial element to understanding religion and spirituality in contemporary Western society.

3.3.1 Transforming society: Declining religion, sustained beliefs

A pattern of decline within mainstream institutional British religion, principally in the larger Christian denominations, during the late 20th century has been observed by sociologists and geographers. However this has not correlated with a decline of individual belief and practice or in the diffusion of religious ideas and symbols within British culture (Brace *et al.*, 2011; Brown, 2006; Davie, 1994; 2006; Woodhead, 2012b). Instead the continual decline of the established Church of England has given way to a pluralisation of the British religious landscape in the 20th and 21st centuries. Multiple Christian denominations, more recent additions to the mainstream religious landscape of the UK (notably Islam, Hinduism, Sikhism and Buddhism through migration), New Age movements and 'alternative spiritualities' now accompany traditional Anglican, Methodist, Baptist and Catholic churches.

Modernity and mobility within processes of globalisation present in Western Europe impacted upon the public involvement, and the private significance, of Christianity. Migration of people and religions has led Christianity finding multiple rivals that co-occupy the public and private spaces in the form of information, images, symbols and other media (Woodhead, 2012b). Simultaneously the move away from objective ideals of social role and structure within a wider

proximity-based community to a discourse privileging individual fulfilment and wellbeing has enabled the rise of holistic, New Age and spiritual forms within mainstream media, culture and consumption (Bartolini *et al.*, 2013; Harvey and Vincent, 2012; Heelas and Woodhead, 2005; Redden, 2011). Religion and spirituality have become thoroughly enmeshed into everyday life that Woodhead (2012b) concludes that neither arguments for secularisation nor de-secularisation have been proved correct. She argues that pluralism and disillusionment in all forms of external authority (governmental, political ideology, scientific or religious) has led to a situation where Britain does not have one social formation that is dominant but instead co-existing plural forms of identity and affiliation.

The shift to fluidity of people and place (Bauman, 2000) resonates with the fluidity of religious and spiritual identity. With the publication of *Religion in Britain since 1945*, Davie (1994), addresses the prevalence of religious belief, introducing the much discussed phrase 'believing without belonging'. Davie suggests that over the course of the 20th century, through socio-economic processes of individualisation, pluralisation and decentralisation of authority, belief systems have become decoupled from the organisational and institutional contextual structures of (in the European Christian) churches. Underlying beliefs in God and otherworldly concepts remain but the obligation to engage in collective activities or communities of worship has eroded away. This shift is seen as one away from a mode of social obligation to the consumption of religious and spiritual activities that the individual employs for his or her own purpose (Davie, 2013). Davie's concept has become influential in sociologies of religion with even the author later admitting that this concept has become somewhat reified since original publication (2013). Several social scientific surveys have echoed Davie's claim here that religious beliefs and practices are still engaged with by the significant proportions of the UK adult population (Ashworth and Farthing, 2007; Brown, 2006).

Heelas and Woodhead (2005) produced a less polarised model of objective and subjective beliefs through their study of the Kendal Project. Arguing that there were two religious economies present: Firstly, the congregational domain incorporating traditional mainstream structures of religion as churches, temples or mosques; secondly, the holistic milieu, a more fragmented set of discrete activities that could be combined or experienced as freestanding. Particularly key in this is the positioning of authority which in the congregational domain is associated with the (often male) hierarchical clergy and, as with Davie, accompanied by the individual's sense of obligation to the community. The mainstream holistic milieu refrains from absolute statements of authority and responds to the needs of the individual due to market based approach to dispersion. This resonates with Bauman's (2000) observation that society has moved from stabilised to less certain discourse and concrete arrangements, for example in the decline of marriage correlating with the increase of co-habitation that has fewer legal bonds. Contrasting with the congregational domain, women are usually found to have a greater presence within key positions of guidance as practitioners and attenders in the holistic milieu (Heelas and Woodhead, 2005; Sointu and Woodhead, 2008). Heelas and Woodhead (2005) ultimately find that in numerical terms, the 'spiritual revolution' of the late 20th century had not overtaken the traditional mainstream religious economy. Instead of a 'revolution', there has been a steady, growing saturation of mainstream culture consumerism and discourse with eastern traditions of yoga and meditation being extensively engaged with by many people who would not necessarily refer to themselves as adherents of these traditions, religious or spiritual (Bruce, 1995; Harvey and Vincent, 2012; Heelas and Woodhead, 2005).

3.3.2 Subjective turn of modern society and the Spiritual Revolution

In seeking to understand the conditions that facilitated the substantial growth in the 'holistic milieu' (that is practices and activities such as yoga, meditation and tai chi) since the 1960s,

Heelas and Woodhead (2005) position this as a consequence of 'the massive subjective turn of modern culture' (citing Taylor, 1991). The Protestant Reformation removed the requirement of the community for the salvation of the individual, delegating full responsibility of redemption in the hands of the individual's faith as everyone becomes their 'own priest' with a subjective interpretation of The Word (Bruce, 1995). Individualism becomes more prevalent in industrial societies since the 19th century as, due to processes of rationalisation (Weber, 1992), knowledge of production is abstracted from the worker, divided into specialised tasks and is re-allocated to workers. Production of goods become more efficient but the worker loses their power within the relationship as job roles are now interchangeable and skills downgraded. The labourer, once part of a complex set of relationships with other labourers and management is now thought of an interchangeable resource and an individual (Bruce, 2002).

As these societies increase their wealth, the inhabitants accrue additional, disposable income and consumption becomes a more widely accessible activity. Businesses adapt to fit the needs of the consumer and the individual, as a consumer, begins to expect the products and services of society to be personalised. Heelas and Woodhead identify this as the rise of a culture of 'subjective well-being' (2005) that can be observed in mainstream culture, media and patterns of consumption. Products sold with taglines such as 'Be good to yourself' or 'Make life taste better' for food items from *Sainsbury's* supermarket demonstrate the shift towards the task of improving life. Other examples include self-help books and therapies, part-time education and gym memberships as part of a Weberian move towards empowering the self to improve material conditions. More recently phenomena once considered outside of the control of the individual have been scientifically identified, coded and manipulated by capital. For example the cosmetic surgery company that calls itself 'Make Yourself Amazing', the trend of the 'quantified self' or internet dating websites ('Make Love Happen' with match.com) that quantify and often commercialise the body and emotions that were once seen as the product of transcendent power or destiny.

Mass availability of personalised products and the trend towards self-improvement and empowerment that is inherent within it, Heelas and Woodhead (2005) suggest, evidence of a priming of the individuals towards subjectivisation. As society increasingly becomes subjectivised, that is relationships are orientated around the needs of the individual, new religious movements or spiritualities exemplified in the holistic milieu are able to balance the need for religious beliefs and practices (Durkheim, 1961) whilst reflecting the attitudes and values of society (Heelas and Woodhead, 2005). In Weberian style the holistic milieu is able to offer rewards for the individual and explanations for life-problems (see also Stark and Iannaccone, 1994 for development of Weber, 1992) through stress and anxiety. Spiritualities become the 'leisure' activities; what people do when they are not being economically or socially active (Richards, 2003). The 'subjective turn of modern culture' also coincides with the succession of traditional proximity-based communities by those drawn together through common interest, attitudes and values. With less concern over place, the holistic milieu reflects 'liquid modernity' as those involved can often plug in and out as suits their needs. As religion has become more personalised, focus has shifted to the practices that occur outside of the official, institutional spaces of religion where the body establishes sacred space (Brace *et al.*, 2011; Holloway, 2003; Kong, 2001a; Philo, Cadman and Lea, 2011; Philo, Cadman and Lea, 2015). Before discussing this point more deeply, the next subsection will briefly outline the personalised forms of religious practice in the context of de Certeau's 'tactics'.

3.3.3 Strategic and tactical religion

De Certeau's (1988) distinction between '*strategy*' and '*tactics*' was discussed earlier: *Strategy*, the pre-planned organisation of a process or environment; *tactics*, the improvised activity and relations that are contingent upon the context in which they arise. Employing this distinction, Woodhead (2012a) applies de Certeau's approach to differentiate between the institutional narratives of religion (*strategic* religion) and individual everyday engagement in religion and

spirituality (*tactical* religion). This resonates with much of the work over the last decade by geographers to address the exercise of religious and spiritual beliefs and practices in everyday life and spaces over institutional narratives (Holloway, 1998; 2003; Knott, 2005a; MacKian, 2011; Philo, Cadman and Lea, 2011; 2015). *Tactical* religion manifests in the form of the mobile and informal, transforming this-worldly objects into spaces for reflection and manifestation of religion and spirituality (Woodhead, 2012a). This approach has informed much of the shift of focus in geographies of religion from official to unofficial religion (Kong, 2001a; 2010). Objects and spaces that can be made by and for non-religious institutions can be transformed through individual creativity to mean something else to the user (de Certeau, 1988). For example, particular informal spaces and objects become the centre of unofficial memorialisation such as the site of a traffic accident (Maddrell, 2011a). The *strategic* spaces of the everyday urban environment contain *tactical* expressions of belief and traces of religion and spirituality (Brace *et al.*, 2011; Woodhead, 2012a).

Framing religious and spiritual practices through the conceptual tools of strategy and *tactics*, allows for this research to be sensitive to the methods that individuals employ to make these practices present and meaningful within their everyday lives and activities. Whilst Woodhead's adaptation suggests *strategic religion* is defined in reference to institutional forms of religion, this research will contend that *strategies* can also be employed by the individual as part of pre-planned exercises blending the *strategic* and the *tactical*. *Tactical* forms of religion as Woodhead conceives dominate much of the recent geographies of religion and spirituality literature. It is these *tactical* manifestations of religion and spirituality that are now discussed.

3.3.4 Subjective sacred space in contemporary geographies

At the turn of the century, Kong (2001a) signalled a new phase of research in geographies of religion and spirituality when she argued for the significance of religion beyond the official

boundaries of churches, temples and other religious buildings. With the movement away from overarching narratives of institutionalised religion and towards more individual orientated spirituality that was signposted by sociologists (Davie, 1994; Heelas, 1998; Heelas and Woodhead, 2005), place-based religious communities or sacred space became problematic as beliefs and practices are increasingly dis-coupled from institutional spaces. This included a shift away from binary propositions of sacred and profane space as outlined by Eliade (1957) and additionally supported by Tuan (1976). Although Eliade's ontologically driven binary model had been critiqued and developed into socially constructed forms of sacred space (Anttonen, 2005; Smith, 1978), until the 1990s geography of religion remained a descriptive discipline, focussed on the settlement and distribution patterns of institutional forms of religion (Buttner, 1974; Gay, 1971; Park, 1994; Sopher, 1967). The late 1990s and 2000s brought closer inspection of unofficial scales of religion such as the body or the urban setting, transgressing official boundaries and refuting the secular disenchantment of modern life (Holloway, 2003; Kong, 2010; Woodhead, 2012a) focussing on themes such as materialities (Gokariksel, 2009; Holloway, 2003; Konieczny, 2009; Reimer-Kirkham *et al.*, 2012), political and social relations (Baker and Beaumont, 2011; Eade, 2011; Karner and Parker, 2012), contemporary pilgrimage (Bajc, Coleman and Eade, 2007; Bowman, 2008; Coleman and Eade, 2004; della Dora, 2011b; Eade, 1991; Holloway, 1998; Ivakhiv, 2001; Lois Gonzalez, 2013; Maddrell, 2011b; Maddrell and della Dora, 2013a; 2013b; Reader and Walter, 1993; Stausberg, 2011) and everyday practices (Philo, Cadman and Lea, 2011; 2015).

One such response by Brace et al (2011) in their edited book, *Emerging Geographies of Belief* has been to outline 'belief' as a suitable subject. Belief allows for the study of how people connect non-material presences within the material and mundane world and engagement with a diverse range of informal sites of interaction with the non-human actors including roadside memorials (Maddrell, 2011a) and the human body (Varul, 2011). Problematically, this lens filters out instances of religion and spirituality that do not contain or require belief and so may

not account for forms of holistic and spiritual activities such as meditation or yoga where practice is often prioritised by instructors and participants over requirements of belief. Whilst there is much to be explored in the ways belief shapes encounters with the landscape, this approach appears underpinned by Protestant model of religion with emphasis on belief. Additionally the saturation of religious symbols and fragments ('banal religion' to be discussed later in reference to Hjarvard (2008)), leads to engagement with religious forms by many people without necessarily subscribing to the associated beliefs, a tension noted by Bartolini et al (2013). For example, images of the Buddha are widely displayed in homes, shops, health and beauty settings and other spaces that wish to promote a sense of calm, peacefulness or simply something aesthetically pleasing and exotic. These criticisms lead the current research away from a perspective of purely belief alone to include practice and the engagement with plural fragments of religion necessitated by processes of global circulation within the lens of investigation.

Later, geographers identified the creation and maintenance of sacred spaces through the use of ritual, gestures, behaviour and material elements (Holloway, 2003; Ivakhiv, 2001; Kiong and Kong, 2000). Julian Holloway (2003) charts the body as a site of relations between the social and the sacred in the context of the New Age movement. Through the use of gestures (such as sitting positions) and materials (incense or other objects), Holloway argues, the body produces belief and sacred space. The body becomes the catalyst for belief and practice. Holloway's participants used material assemblages from jewellery to incense sticks that could be used to demark sacred space. Similarly Maddrell and della Dora (2013a) discuss in the context of pilgrimage how the manipulation of the senses within certain spaces through the regulation and stimulation of smell, lighting, sound and topography can be used to construct a sacred space.

Philo, Cadman and Lea (2011; 2015) have examined the ways in which meditative and yogic practices were enmeshed and folded into everyday schedules of activity for inhabitants of Brighton, UK. Like Holloway, they found that non-religious or spiritual codified and public spaces could be transformed through a network of beliefs, behaviours and materials. Participants could enact moments of stillness within the midst of busy urban environment through the use of pockets of calm spaces found in parks, pavilions and health and fitness centres. The body was the instigator of practices as mindfulness, meditation and yoga were deployed in order to counteract perceived stresses and pressures felt in the body. Philo, Cadman and Lea's participants would use the breathing and meditative exercises learnt from yoga and meditation centres to create these temporary pauses. The body was also the measurement of the efficacy of such practices when participants were able to observe the calming effects and even biological effects on hair and nail growth (Philo, Cadman and Lea, 2011). Through place-making performances (Cresswell, 2015) such as introducing materials or behavioural gestures the yoga and meditation practitioners, like Holloway's participants, are able to construct sacred spaces within otherwise secular, busy contemporary environments. In these accounts, everyday landscapes of parks, the home and spaces for exercise become sites of energy renewal and strategies to cope with the pressures of modern socio-economic responsibilities and activities. Yet these accounts rarely engage directly with the flows of corporeal and virtual mobility that characterise contemporary society.

3.3.5 Space: sacred and secular

As discussed earlier, Knott (2005a) and Woodhead (2012b) argue that the 'religious' and the 'secular' are two intertwined, dialectical categories and should not be understood apart. Developing a relational approach drawing from Massey and Lefebvre, Knott opens up space for analysis of the sacred within the secular and where the boundaries between the two categories lie. Space as a socio-economic construct in which the contents of space are linked

to other spaces economically, culturally and imaginatively: material and symbolic ties to elsewhere affect the experience of space to those who inhabit it (Massey, 1994; 2005). Taking this approach as a starting point, Knott (2005a) examines social space to reveal how religion is embedded in space through symbolism and social, cultural, economic and political relations. The traces of religion are manifested in everyday life in the symbols that connect the local with the global (2003; Ivakhiv, 2001; Knott, 2005a), heightened by the saturation of forms and fragments of 'banal religion' in cultural discourse (Brown, 2006; Hjarvard, 2008). Religious symbols have or can acquire meaning on personal, bodily levels as well as family and community and in wider universal theological worldviews and philosophies.

Space in this approach is '*...a medium, a methodology and an outcome...*' (Knott, 2005a, p3 (italics in original)) that traces the asymmetrical relations of power to challenge the definitions of boundaries that include and exclude people, spaces and objects. Bypassing the religious-secular/sacred-profane polarity, Knott (2005a) then applies Lefebvre's (1991) spatial triad analysis (see Chapter 2) to uncover how the religious and secular interact. Lefebvre (1991) sought to uncover the structures and contestations of power within everyday space. In her case studies of the left hand (Knott, 2005a) and a medical centre (Knott and Franks, 2007), Knott utilised this method to reveal how spatial practice, representations and conceptions of (how to use) space and spaces of representations produce events of religion outside the official boundaries. Knott uses an example of a man walking down a street whilst wearing a turban and practicing the five K's of Sikhism (Knott, 2005a). His everyday activity becomes a space to express his religious commitments on a subjective level and an objective level in the perception of those around him. Spaces of representation manifest in the man's body as a space of resistance, challenging the representations of space in which he inhabits. The symbols he wears become links, diachronically to spaces of the past and future as well as synchronically to contemporary places and events (Knott, 2009).

Representations of space combine and collide to produce images and texts that remind the individual of the religious element to the everyday life (Knott, 2005a). Implicit here is that the signs and symbols themselves are moveable and transferable and so can be transplanted to different locations generate new meanings in new places. Such as an understanding compresses religious history and spiritual background into compatible signs and symbols to be reconfigured with pre-existing systems in order to transform modern, secular spaces into spaces that simultaneously conform and resist the dominant hegemonic designs on these spaces transforming the original source from fixed to fluid for transportation within a wider network of mobility. In a similar vein, Kuppinger's argues in her research amongst Muslims in a German city that through particular practices and relationships, 'Muslim spaces' are not only added to 'existing spaces, but indirectly question the dominant secular nature of cities' (2014, p632).

Knott's exposition of the religious and the secular encoded within everyday space demonstrates the enmeshed nature of religion in Western society. Additionally the transformative effects of the religious on the secular and the secular on the religious can be explored: For example, does the manifestation of a religious symbol produces a different experience if it is located in the commercial environment of a shop than if it were encounter in a community-centred building? This research uses Knott's spatial method to investigate the modifications to religious and spiritual practices engendered by processes of physical and local mobility.

Signs and symbols of religion in everyday life also informed Lilly Kong's (2001b) call for focus on the everyday manifestations of religion which developed out of her own work (Kiong and Kong, 2000; Kong, 1991) on the negotiation of religious meanings in the modern age typified by the technologically, advanced and secular state of Singapore. In earlier co-authored work Kiong and Kong (2000) highlight the local scale of adapting migrant religions to the new spaces

the inhabitants occupy. This study ventured inside the living spaces of the Chinese-Singaporeans to reveal how resistance is manifest in the reconfiguration of spaces and technologies to reproduce traditional religious rituals and practices despite an often modernist, utilitarian layout that challenges this intention. Traditional Chinese religious practices are maintained yet contained within the modernist allocated spaces and deployed modern technologies, for example the use of indoor water pumps to produce flowing water (a symbol of prosperity). In cataloguing the methods people employ, Kiong and Kong (2000) challenge the suggestion that the performance and meaning of ritual is unchanging across time and space, instead ritual is fluid and dependent on the prevailing socio-economic conditions. Spaces can therefore be manipulated to serve different purposes and meanings than those they are designed or administered for, refuting Tuan's (1977) deterministic view of place. Kiong and Kong's studies demonstrate that historical religious practices can be performed in and created out of modern and secular environments that attempt to neutralise and even contest religious dimensions. The embedding of the religious within the secular, of the traditional within the modern and of the modern-secular being adapted to produce the traditional-religious illustrates Knott's observation of the blurring between of these artificial categorisations.

For this research, personal, mobile and modifiable forms of religion and spirituality are considered as existing separately, if interlinked, with institutions and static geographies of religion recognising the intermeshing and saturation of religion and spirituality in everyday space, culture and discourse. Hjarvard (2008) theorises this as the 'banal religion' as part of a wider 'mediatisation of religion' whereby fragments of religion and spirituality become embedded into everyday life. Banal religion being objects, images and symbols removed from institutional religion and embedded into non-religious contexts (Hjarvard, 2008). Furthermore religion and previously religious events (such as public funerals or weddings) are presented and structured by the media. These fragmented elements are a primary production of

religious and spiritual thoughts and feelings and mass interface (Hjarvard, 2008). Religion and spirituality has to be reshaped to fit the format, logic and structure of the media (Brown and Lynch, 2012; Hjarvard, 2008) (and culture) hence the Vatican's mass communication channel is translated from papal encyclicals to 'tweets' of 140 characters or less with the Twitter account '@Pontifex'. As these objects infiltrate the public and private sphere they introduce and reinforce cultural stereotypes and prejudices (Haldrup, Koefoed and Simonsen, 2006; Hjarvard, 2008).

Hjarvard's observations of religion conforming to the logics of media also demonstrate that whilst much literature is concerned with religion entering secular space, the opposite dynamic is also true: the secular enters religious space. Secular, modernist and rationalist practices are enlisted in the (re)production and promotion of religion and spirituality through the professionalization of religious institutions such as the Vatican Twitter account or the neutralisation of both church buildings and meditation centres as well as their digital counterparts online. Teaching methods can be infiltrated by signs of modern capitalism as aids towards understanding, a cheque signed by Jesus as the price of heaven is used within the Alpha program videos (Kong, 2013). Religion and its associated processes become overlaid with concepts of consumerism and commodity (Turner, 2011) and rationalised to comply with the infrastructure and communication networks that are to carry them further afield. Della Dora (2009) argues in her research on the global circulation of Christian artefacts that the processing of such material for circulation and public presentation in different cultures ensures the sacred is not a fixed entity but a product of the local and the global. In these examples, adaptations to modern globalised circuits of mobility are not only present but as Knott's method demonstrates, modifies entities of religion and spirituality to affect the experiential quality and embedding into everyday space.

3.4. Chapter summary

This chapter has surveyed the current state of literature in the fields of the new mobilities paradigm and geographies of religion and spirituality. The chapter began by observing how the poststructuralist work of de Certeau has inspired sociologists and geographers to re-interrogate the agency of actors and their resistance to presupposed discourses of the use of space. These ideas were then applied to the New Mobilities Paradigm and geographies of religion. The second section explored how the time-spaces and processes of mobility can have extra meaning and significance than being thought of as just a straightforward movement from one place to another. Mobilities literature has more closely identified travel-time activities, however very little attention has been paid to the religious or spiritual practices that travellers may perform whilst in transit. Towards the end of this section, the approaches made by mobilities researchers to the area of contemporary pilgrimage were discussed as well as migration (Eade and Garbin, 2007; Sattar, 2012). Yet research to date has neglected to investigate religion and mass mobility in everyday circuits of movement.

The third section examined contemporary geographies of religion with additional sociological input. A trend towards subjectivisation of relationships in contemporary society was identified, including a shift away from institutional forms of religion to personal spirituality. Correspondingly, geographers and sociologists have turned their attention away from official spaces of religion to, subjective unofficial uses of space for personal practices. Movement of ideas, objects and images of religion in a modern, globalised context and the accompanying processes of compartmentalisation, neutralisation and appropriation for presentation to a global audience codified in signs and symbols that permeate mainstream Western society and culture (Hjarvard, 2008; Knott, 2005a; Kong, 2013). These new approaches to geographies of religion reveal the socially constructed nature of sacred and profane space, rejecting Eliade's ontological assumptions. Applying de Certeau's re-assessment of hegemonic discourse and identity of time-space, practices and products, the binary nature of Eliade's model has been

deconstructed. Instead contemporary geographies of religion and spirituality demonstrate the messy entanglements of the sacred and profane, the religious and the secular in everyday life.

What these studies have illustrated, with particular reference to Knott's channelling of Massey and Lefebvre as well as de Certeau is the fluid and mobile nature of the experience of religion and spirituality; that modernist, secularist time-spaces can become entangled in a complex web of religious meaning. The religious and secular collide and combine to create a new, subjective, discourse of place. Subjectivity is further enhanced when thinking back to Urry's (2007) comments quoted in Chapter 1 that it is the person, rather than the place, that is now the portal to social networks. This thesis will build on the work of contemporary geographies and sociologies of religion in examining the fluidity and heterogeneous socially constructed nature of religion and spirituality as an embedded and infused element of everyday spaces and places. In positioning this research within these fields, yet approaching this with a concern for place and its relations and mobilities, the thesis will be open to the fluidity of space. It is this theme that drives the research questions and sub-questions asked this thesis (see Chapter 1). The tension underscoring these questions directs to a reading of everyday mobility as essential to understanding the nature and form of religion and spirituality within contemporary, western society.

Chapter 4: Methodology

No administrative system is capable of representing *any* existing social community except through a heroic and greatly schematized process of abstraction and simplification. (Scott, 1998, p22 (italics in original))

4.1. Overview

This chapter sets out to critically explain the rationale for the methods used in this research project. As Scott observes above, any academic project is destined to reduce the phenomena it studies into a manageable, presentable and applicable model. It is important than to stress the messiness and entangled nature of any such research despite its neat presentation for consumption.

The research project explores the construction of religious and spiritual practice in spaces that are fluid, adaptable and sensitive to the context beyond the official borders of religion. These characteristics reflect the privatisation of religion that has occurred during the 20th century as Western society has become more subjective and individualised. A threefold methodology was employed to record and understand these subjective experiences. Firstly to understand the general movement and mobility employed by people in and around their place of worship or centre for practice, a survey was used for phase one of the research. This captured data on movement, transport modes and religious or spiritual practices that were engaged within everyday travel. It also served to recruit potential participants for the next stage of research, diary-interviews. The second and third phases involved participants recording their movements and activities in a diary for a week and then taking part in an interview to discuss

the diary content. The role of religious and spiritual practices and how these fit into and impacted upon their everyday lives was explored during these phases.

In discussing the methodology in further detail, firstly the ontology and epistemological approach as well as the terminology of religion and spirituality are discussed. The selection of Bristol, UK for the study is then defended as a contemporary Western city that demonstrates the intra-city movement of people and objects and a wider connectivity to the global environment. Religious affiliation data from the 2011 England and Wales census is also presented here. Secondly the initial stages of defining a sample population are then explored and the rationale for the focus on Baptist churches and Buddhist meditation centres are outlined. Thirdly a detailed discussion of how and why each of the three methodological phases then follows along with the sample construction and analysis. Finally some brief demographic details of the samples are presented before ethical considerations are taken into account.

4.1.1 Ontology and Epistemology

Qualitative research approaches, the main orientation of this study, are usually defined by non-positivistic ontologies and epistemologies, often taking an inductive rather than a deductive route to knowledge. Positivistic philosophies are rejected, as in this study, as it is argued knowledge cannot be separated from the instrument of collecting knowledge; facts about the 'world' are collected and prioritised according to their value within ideology (Latour, 1993; Robson, 2002). As part of a wider social trend that is explored elsewhere in this report, the exposure of the underlying ideological agenda or funding of the collection of knowledge has undermined the credibility, integrity and authority of positivist sciences in recent years (Robson, 2002; Woodhead, 2012b). It is widely recognised within the social sciences that the application of positivist philosophies is inappropriate for a subject as complex and socially and economically embedded as humans (Ferber, 2006; O'Leary, 2010; Robson, 2002). The

questionnaire phase of this research cannot uncover objective items of knowledge as if they were artefacts waiting to be discovered but instead has to understand the data as dependent upon the circumstances and motivations of the respondents.

Social constructionist approaches reject the subject of study as a fixed, fully knowable, legible and list-able item existing separately to the human realm. Instead knowledge is a fluid product of multiple authors and entanglements in discourse and materiality (Berger and Luckmann, 1971; Robson, 2002; Savin-Baden and Major, 2013; Silverman, 2010). Additionally the researcher's presence in the field (as will be observed later in this chapter) can never be fully non-participatory, objective and neutral or impact-free (Robson, 2002; Savin-Baden and Major, 2013; Silverman, 2010). The ethnographic research undertaken here relies upon relationships developed with participants and so as a researcher, I can never stand completely separated from participants. Instead there is a subjective understanding of knowledge; that is knowledge generated and rationalised through co-production by the researcher and the participant in the research.

Social constructionism pays close attention to how people speak about the phenomena under investigation and why they choose to speak in this way depending upon the context and whom they are speaking to (Silverman, 2010). As Silverman (2010) suggests, far from finding the multiple realities held by participants challenging as would be the case in a positivistic study, the researcher should instead seek to interpret the non-existence of an objective reality as a finding of the research. How do the participants interpret and talk about the environments they inhabit and the practices they produce? As a philosophical approach, constructionism therefore lends itself most appropriately as means of generating knowledge in this research which deals largely with contested and shared meanings in the form of both religious and secular practices.

4.2. Defining 'religion' and 'spirituality'

This subject of this research is treated as a phenomenon hidden behind the widely used in popular discourse but rarely defined terms 'religion' and 'spirituality'. The open question asking for the religious or spiritual identity of the respondent (Q21) in the survey stage of the research found that not all members of the two groups could unanimously agree upon their religious identification with over 40 different descriptions reported, ranging from agnostic and uncertainty to strong declarations of faith.

Despite this lack of uniformity across individual cases as each respondent was attending either a church or Buddhist meditation centre, they would understand themselves as part of either a Christian or Buddhist community to some extent. If the focus of the research is on a specific aspect or group within a specific tradition or denomination, the wider question of religion and spirituality maybe avoided as the group would agree to this understanding of themselves.

However this research seeks out the non-material qualities active within modern, materialist spaces that are often present within activities that popular discourse would label as secular.

Thus when participants are asked if elements of religion or spirituality enter their secular lives outside of the church or meditation centre, there is a need to clarify what is and is not religious or spiritual. As will now be discussed in turn, the definitions applied in research have consequences for both the research and the researched.

4.2.1 Religion

As has been previously discussed the term 'religion' has evolved from a synonym for Christianity in a Western context into a compartmentalisation of Christian and non-Christian groups, communities or networks centred around a common set of beliefs, values or relations. From the colonial period onwards the category of 'religion' has been superimposed on people, for the purpose of external categorisation (Smith, 1998) and often to justify the empire

building of the imperial nations by bring Christianity to the indigenous populations of South America and Africa. After colonialism collapsed and many of its citizens migrated to former ruling countries, including the UK, Christianity found an itself as just one religion amongst others such as Islam, Sikhism, Hinduism, Buddhism and other New Age or holistic movements (Woodhead and Catto, 2012). The issue of co-existence within the terminology was commented upon by a respondent in a pilot for the questionnaire stage of research. Upon reading the title of the questionnaire ('Religion and spirituality in everyday travel'), he remarked that he did not like the word religion as '...the devil is religious, Muslims are religious.' Clearly this respondent sought to avoid association with either a theological Other or a non-Christian Other and also possibly also engaging with Protestant rejection of being 'religious', as a way of working towards salvation.

4.2.2 Spirituality

Spirituality has been framed within a wider sociological pattern of subjectivisation and de-traditionalisation; that is the shift away from external authorities towards a greater agency of the actor as a subject and not an object of the State or Church (Heelas, 1998; Heelas and Woodhead, 2005) as signalled in Chapter 3. There has been a tendency in recent literature to polarise between 'bad religion' and 'good spirituality' (Zinnbauer *et al.*, 1997), furthered by Heelas and Woodhead's (2005) conceptualisation of spirituality as life lived for the self and religion as life with a specific social role usually with reference to gender. Several participants at the meditation sessions echoed this polarisation, expressing scepticism and distaste for 'religion', with the implication that institutional religion oppressed individual agency and thought.

Deconstructing the religion-spirituality binary provides a more comprehensive challenge of producing a definition incorporating the multiple manifestations of its common usage.

Zinnbauer et al (1997) and Ammerman (2013) has produced taxonomies of how 'spirituality' is

employed in discourse, founded on an understanding of a connection with a higher source or feelings of awe and the mastering of the body by the mind. The Kendal Project listed over 50 organised activities classified as part of the 'holistic milieu' (including Buddhist groups) (Heelas and Woodhead, 2005). *The Spark*, a quarterly alternative magazine based in the South-West regularly lists a similar number of complimentary therapies and courses in their classified directory. Despite this surface heterogeneity, Heelas (1996) argues that there exists an underlying discourse within New Age spiritualities of the transformation of the human condition. This transformation is usually in line with a union of subject and object or Self and Other (della Dora, 2011b; Heelas, 1996; Holloway, 1998). However the vagueness and lack of exclusivity of these statements underline the problematic nature of defining an object so varying in application.

Religion and spirituality are not necessarily mutually exclusive categories. As part of 'the massive subjective turn of modern culture', a shift of focus in religion from the collective to the individual has been observed leading to an inclusion of spirituality and a greater emphasis on individual fulfilment within institutional religious structures (Heelas and Woodhead, 2005). The subjective nature of contemporary religion and spirituality was evidenced in several examples of creative syncretism occurring in response to Q21 of the questionnaire where two or more religious traditions would be cited as religious and spiritual identity of the respondent: For example, the phrase 'Buddhist Quaker' was employed on several occasions, demonstrating resistance to mutually exclusive categorisation of religious identity whilst also drawing on these categories to signify beliefs and practices, indicating patterns of religious consumption for personal satisfaction over obligation (Bruce, 1995; Davie, 2006).

If some commentators such as Bruce (1995) do find difficulty and inauthenticity with an engagement in multiple and potentially contradictory religious traditions, this prejudice does not prevent people from utilising these traditions to inform this aspect of their identity. As

researchers, we should therefore be sensitive, and attempt to understand the motivations and wider social, emotional, political and globalised processes which inspire these creative identities. Rather than straightjacket responses into essentialised categories, allowing respondents to present their religious and spiritual identities in their own words can aid understanding the social construction of these identities. For the purposes of this research, 'spirituality' is treated as an subjectivised approach to practices that draw from a religious background in this case Christianity and Buddhism and hence occupies the main terminology to be used in the thesis.

4.3. Geographical framing

4.3.1 Bristol mobilities

As the theoretical framing has stated, the focus of this research is on the everyday rather than the extraordinary. Whilst all cities and settlements are different as a the product of environmental, social, cultural, political and economic factors, this research intends to capture a sense of performing a religious or spiritual life in contemporary British cities that constitute nodes of mobilities. To this end, settlements such as Glastonbury or Canterbury which have been socially constructed through discourse as spaces of heightened spiritual or religious significance are avoided. Similarly London, as the largest city in Europe, a comprehensive and over-subscribed public transport infrastructure with widely distributed working patterns was excluded due to its exceptional nature.

Bristol, the sixth largest city in the England, located in the South-West (see Figure 1) with a population of 428,234 (Office for National Statistics, 2013a) is a city close in size to many other cities within the UK. The size of the city is large enough to have afforded distinct segmentation of the city into central, inner city and suburban areas. Modern commercial rationalisation of the land-use within the city can be found in the out of town shopping centres that border the

motorway leading into the centre. Along with the University of the West of England, the University of Bristol, Cabot Circus shopping centre, BAE Systems and key hospitals, they encourage the quotidian movement of people to sites of recreation, employment, education and healthcare. Approximately, 55% of the working population travel to their place of employment by car, 19% by foot, 12% by bus or train and 8% by bicycle (Office for National Statistics, 2013c) evidencing a greater balance of modal share and slightly less dependence of the car than the rest of the country except London.

Figure 1: Map showing location of Bristol in the UK



Bristol's population has a diverse representation of different religions with 46.8% claiming Christianity, 5.1% claiming Islam with Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Sikhism claiming 1.9% between them (Office for National Statistics, 2013b). The Christian population is comparable to those of Birmingham, London, Manchester and Nottingham (Office for National Statistics, 2012). With the exception of Christianity and Hinduism which are lower in Bristol, these

figures roughly map on to the wider England and Wales 2011 census data as shown in Table 1. Alongside the traditional religious institutions Bristol, like other major UK cities, also finds space and a market for holistic, new age and alternative forms of spiritual activity; in the 2011 census, over 50 different religions and 'non-religions' were recorded with lesser known religions/non-religions. Over ten Buddhist meditation groups were counted in the preparation of this research in November 2013, mainly clustered north of the city centre along the vibrant Gloucester Road section of the A38, echoing the nearby cultural diversity and creativity of the Stoke's Croft area (Buser *et al.*, 2013). Additionally there are multiple other holistic offerings including pagan meeting groups, yoga and healing centres. Bristol reflects the plural and diverse nature of the 21st century British religious landscape as the city has provided an inclusive space in response to a population jostling within their spiritual pathways.

A higher resolution of the different religious populations is provided in Table 1, covering the churches and meditation centres in the research in the following four areas of Bristol:

1. Frome Vale: North-east Baptist Church
2. Bishopston: North-west Baptist Church, Theravada group, Tibetan group, Arts group.
Japanese group, Western group
3. Knowle: South-east Baptist Church
4. Windmill Hill: South-west Baptist Church.

The population and religious representation of these wards along with the wider context of Bristol and England Wales are detailed in Table 1.

Table 1: 2011 Census: Religion (percentages to one decimal place)

	Frome Vale	Bishopston	Knowle	Windmill Hill	Bristol	England and Wales
Total	11,616	13,871	11,315	13,180	428,234	56,075,912
Population	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)
Christian	6,054 (52.1%)	5,112 (36.9%)	5,945 (53%)	4,944 (37.5%)	200,254 (46.8%)	33,243,175 (59.3%)
Muslim	734 (6.3%)	276 (2%)	316 (2.8%)	494 (3.7%)	22,016 (5.1%)	2,706,066 (4.8%)
Hindu	64 (0.6%)	71 (0.5%)	40 (0.4%)	55 (0.4%)	2712 (0.6%)	816,633 (1.5%)
Buddhist	60 (0.5%)	145 (1%)	47 (0.4%)	119 (0.9%)	2549 (0.6%)	247,743 (0.4%)
Sikh	154 (1.3%)	63 (0.5%)	14 (0.1%)	18 (0.1%)	2133 (0.5%)	423,158 (0.8%)
Jew	14 (0.1%)	42 (0.3%)	9 (0.07%)	24 (0.1%)	777 (0.2%)	263,346 (0.5%)
Other religions	86 (0.7%)	109 (0.8%)	41 (0.4%)	121 (0.9%)	2133 (0.7%)	240,530 (0.4%)
No religion	3,541 (30.5%)	6,835 (49.3%)	4,053 (35.8%)	6224 (47.2%)	160,218 (37.4%)	14,097,229 (25.1%)
Religion not stated	909 (7.8%)	1,218 (8.8%)	850 (7.5%)	1,181 (8.9%)	34,782 (8.1%)	4,038,032 (7.2%)

4.4. Approach to sample groups:

4.4.1 Selecting religious groups for research

As the focus of this research is to investigate religion and spirituality in time-spaces of mobility, drawing a sample from two religions that represent the 'congregational domain' and the 'holistic milieu' as mapped by Heelas and Woodhead (discussed in Chapter 2) enables a comparison to explore how both a traditionally embedded congregational sample and a re-territorialized holistic sample adapt and exist within society. For this reason, the Baptist denomination of Christianity was selected as an example of the congregational domain whilst Buddhist meditation centres were selected from the holistic milieu.

4.4.2 Baptist churches

Baptist churches were selected as the sample representing the congregation domain. A non-conformist movement dating from the seventeenth century that stresses the requirement for adult baptism at an age when the individual can declare their belief in Jesus Christ as the pathway to salvation. This emphasis theologically distinguishes the Baptists from other movement in two ways appropriate to this research:

Firstly, unlike Anglican churches where the geographical parish is the traditional catchment area for attendees or Roman Catholicism which relies upon family networks or diaspora for membership and attendance, the Baptists are universal. This means that there is no necessary social or religious link between proximity and attending a particular church. There are of course socio-economic based motivations for the attendee's selection of place of worship but the requirement for baptism as conditional to full membership of the church, ensuring membership is an 'intensely personal experience' (Chivallon, 2001). Attendees have less theological justification for being geographically related to their church and instead are more

likely to base their selection of church on reasons including but not limited to proximity to their homes.

Secondly the requirement for baptism of all those who believe in Jesus Christ and his mission necessitates an 'opt-in' and is a public act of belief. Whilst there is a possibility that this could be a behavioural performance only without corresponding inner spiritual beliefs, the act of baptism signals to the local church community a desire to be part of the church body that moors the individual to the church within their time-space schedules and practices of worship. Church members have made the conscious decision, in discussion with the minister of their church, to make a public declaration of faith and allegiance to Jesus Christ. Consequently the decision for baptism made on the micro-level of the individual reflects a partial subjectivisation (Heelas, 1998; Heelas and Woodhead, 2005) in that the individual has made this decision themselves and for themselves.

The Baptist church movement corresponds with Stark and Innaccone's (1994) requirement for the religious provider to have a unique position within an unregulated and pluralist market such as the UK. Whilst each church and each member is encouraged to find their own spiritual outlook on social issues, the Baptist Union of Great Britain maintains a mild theological conservatism when compared with the Anglicanism or Methodism which are often closer to liberal mainstream discourse of the media and national politics. A YouGov (2013) poll commissioned by the Religion and Society Faith Debates in 2013 found Baptists held some of the most conservative theological opinions amongst Christian denominations in the UK. Baptists, more than other denominations, held traditional nuclear family-centric values on issues such as same-sex marriage, sex outside of marriage or single women having children without a male partner (YouGov/University of Lancaster, 2013). There was not always uniformity. Whilst 50% believed same sex marriage should be illegal, 40% did agree that it should be legalised demonstrating some dissent and diversity. The Baptist movement sets an

overall discourse, however the emphasis on each member to live in accordance to what they believe to be true according to scripture. In general though, the majority of Baptists surveyed in the YouGov poll are positioned within the more conservative wing of British Christianity.

A national picture for the institutional arm of the British Baptist movement is difficult to attain as there is no central authority. Instead there is a network of churches, many of which come under the Baptist Union of Great Britain (www.baptist.org.uk) alongside many independent and non-associated churches. The six churches surveyed here (including the pilot sites) all belonged to the West of England Baptist Association (www.webassoc.org.uk) which incorporates around 120 churches. Baptist church registrations in south-west England have remained steady with a marginal decline from 372 in 1999 to 363 in 2009 (Littler, 2011). When compared to other Christian denominations in the same period, a similar decline was seen across the major denominations.

Baptist churches are not a homogenous denomination due to the independent nature of each church however there is a consistent and clear theological position and set of social and cultural values that whilst not directly opposed to, critiques the neo-liberal mainstream discourse of government and media organisations. Despite the liberal hegemonic discourse that structures governmental institutions and mainstream broadcasters such as the BBC, strong circulation figures for the newspapers, *Daily Mail*, *Daily Telegraph* and *The Times* as well as their websites, suggest a demand for right wing social, cultural and political values. Within the religious marketplace, the demand for a conservative movement such as Baptist churches has been maintained as evidenced in the relatively minor decline in registrations between 1999 and 2009 and relative health of this denomination amongst other British strands of Christianity. As argued by Stark and Innaccone (1994) and later Davie (2006), a clear position within the religious marketplace positions the denomination to manage the wider sociological

shift from obligation to a dominant religious institution to a pluralist model of religious consumption.

4.4.3 Buddhist meditation centres

Within the national picture Buddhism is a minority religion with 0.4% adherence in the England and Wales census with a slightly higher proportion in Bristol of 0.6% (Office for National Statistics, 2012). However Buddhism has had larger cultural impact as symbols and practices from the tradition(s) have been absorbed into observable forms of education and consumption. A key practice, meditation, has also been re-appropriated from its origin within south-east Asian religion to be used as a tool within Christian practices, schools, workplaces, healthcare settings and wellbeing (Garrett, 2001; Philo, Cadman and Lea, 2015). De-territorialized Buddhism has therefore been recalibrated in a fragmented and diffused form in Western culture, an example of 'banal religion' (Hjarvard, 2008) that reproduces cultural assumptions, stereotypes and prejudices.

Buddhism migrated from south-east Asia to infiltrate mainstream popular culture in the 1960s and has since varied in adaptation to the UK context with around 30 sub-groups under the Buddhist umbrella category (Bluck *et al.*, 2012). Unlike other missionary religions, Buddhist meditation centres do not usually exert pressure on attendees to accept the underlying beliefs or philosophy of the tradition but rather emphasise the physical and mental benefits of meditation practice. Accordingly whilst most considered themselves as Buddhist, this research understood the respondents as attendees to Buddhist meditation centres and incorporated this element of spirituality or practice into their everyday geography rather than labelling as 'Buddhist'. Most of the respondents and participants involved in this research were interested or identified themselves as Buddhist by personal choice (or rejection of Christian authority (Bluck *et al.*, 2012)) rather than being born into the tradition. Accordingly there is then an element of non-conformity associated with Buddhism which is expected to extend to other

areas of personal life including a greater level of tolerance and inclusive acceptance of non-traditional lifestyles. The YouGov/University of Lancaster polls find that Buddhists hold less conservative views than Baptist Christians. In comparison to the Baptists, 90% of Buddhists surveyed would not feel guilty about sex before marriage whilst 77% agreed with same-sex marriage (YouGov/University of Lancaster, 2013). In contrast to the Baptists who were likely to find guidance from a higher power such as God, the same YouGov survey for Lancaster University (2013) found 75% of Buddhists took guidance from their own reason, judgement, feelings and intuition.

Of course, there is an issue in comparing several different sub-groups of Buddhism with a single Christian denomination, which due to the smaller numbers involved in the Buddhist groups is methodologically necessary for the investigation. However it is the key elements of belief and practice which are the focus for attention here rather than religious identity. Therefore the emphasis in this research is on people who attend Baptist churches and Buddhist meditation centres without automatically assuming that they will identify fully as Christian and Buddhist respectively.

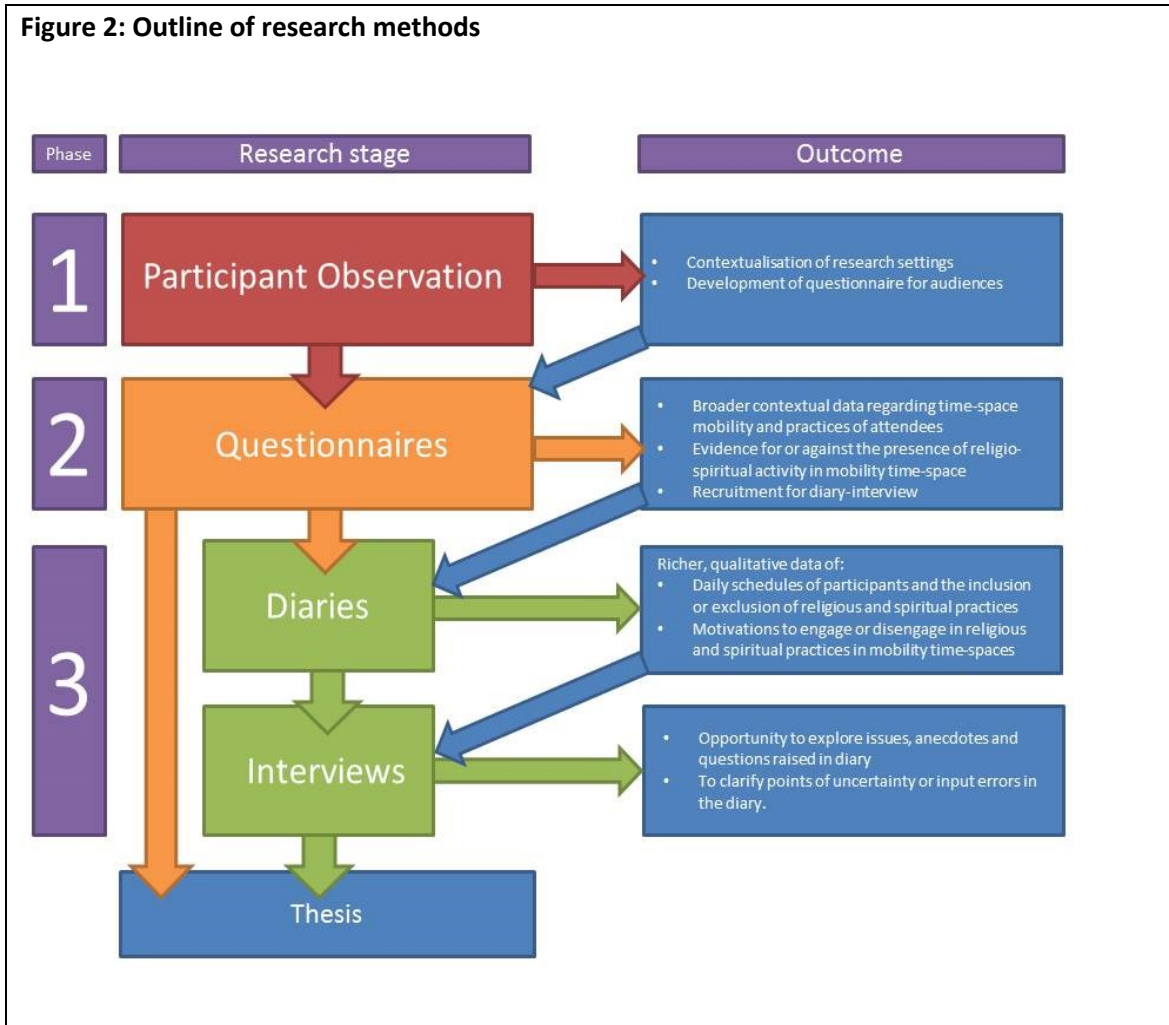
Meditation, like yoga, it is amongst the most popular activities included within the holistic milieu. Yoga in the West has become more widely known as part of an exercise and fitness regime, becoming divorced from its original function as an aid to spiritual enlightenment. Meditation has also developed several secular incarnations but crucially has remained within sites that fulfil religious functions rather than migrate into the secular arena. Buddhist meditation centres as a sample of the holistic milieu therefore provide a suitable comparison site to Baptist churches as examples of the congregational domain. They draw attendees in with the potential of a weekly cycle of activity, have a fixed routine and set of rituals as well as a historical belief system. In this sense there is then a mooring point for attendees. However meditation centres differ from churches as there no requirement to fully accept all or any of

the tenets of the religion. The emphasis is on the individual for him or herself rather than the individual as part of a family or a community. Similar to the Baptist emphasis on individual choice to be baptised as a Christian in adulthood, Buddhism relies upon individuals to seek out and select to be a Buddhist rather than transmission through birth alone. Buddhist meditation centres express the tension inherent within the holistic milieu: The negotiation between individual and institutional authority that forms an interdependent relationship where the individual relies upon the institution for spiritual guidance. However the institution cannot fully capitalise on this dependence as their existence is reliant upon their image and reputation as non-authoritarian or controlling over the individual's private life.

4.5. Methods

This section will outline the three phases of data collection used in this research as illustrated in Figure 2. This will include a defence and evaluation of each method was used, how each method was developed and piloted before data collection, how each sample was developed and the analysis of the data collected. There will also be some critical reflection on how these methods were conducted.

Figure 2: Outline of research methods



4.5.1 Phase 1: Participant Observation

4.5.1.1 Rationale

With the sampling window composed by attendees to Baptist churches and Buddhist Meditation Centres, phase one of this research involved attendance and participation at the associated venues. Although the focus of the research is on the everyday experience of religion and spirituality outside of the official centres, in order to gain access to the sample population the best place for recruitment will be where these individuals congregate for collective activity. This is an approach that has been utilised by Heelas and Woodhead (2005), Philo, Cadman and Lea (2011) and Holloway (1998) amongst others. Additionally attendance at the venues affords an insight into the beliefs, values and activities of the populations, including those which may be carried and maintained outside of the doors of the venue for

enactment in the participant's personal life. Participant-observation in the exploratory stages of research is thus employed to familiarise with area of interest (Guest, Namey and Mitchell, 2013). Ethnographic research goes beyond the representations of the practices and routines that are reported by attendees to churches or meditation centres, by participants, leaders and popular media, to observe what people actually do when they are there (Delamont, 2009; Guest, Namey and Mitchell, 2013). Issues that people experience in the venue, such as the struggle to maintain concentration during meditation or the interruptions in a church service by children are seldom represented in the leaflets or websites promoting the practice but may impact upon life outside of the venue.

An advantage of participant-observation for inductive research is the new channels of interest that can open up through interaction and attendance with the sample group. During the initial participant observation stages of the research, it quickly became apparent that churches and meditation centres were sites for the ordering of material and non-material mobilities that occurred on the local, national and global scales and circuits. As sites where the global meets and combines with the local, churches and meditation centres are of interest for the framing of these mobilities through their respective faith and belief systems and the distribution of these global-local materials and non-materials. Additionally of interest was to explore how these sites themselves transform and are transformed by such mobilities, particularly with reference to the ongoing debates regarding the homogenising, universalist hegemonies imposed upon the heterogeneous localities through processes of globalisation and standardisation. Given the development of this theme, the participation-observation method was extended to further investigate this dimension, which would also be explored in the later qualitative, participant-based diary-interview method.

Participant-observation allowed for an opportunity of shared experience between the researcher and those who would later participate in the questionnaire and diary-interview

stages of the research. Experiences of the practices and routines at the venue provided a resource for interpretation of the results of the survey. Additionally this resource was a common set of languages and tools from which to draw in order to establish rapport at the interview as the participant may refer to another attendee, leader or feature of the venue without having to fully explain this reference. Furthermore the researcher's presence and participation at the venue enabled familiarity which would aid the trust necessary for the participant to reveal potentially sensitive or personal information in the research process.

4.5.1.2 Evaluation, reflexivity and limitations

Participation and observation is never equally balanced; the more you observe, the less you participate and the more you participate, the less you observe (Crang and Cook, 2007; Guest, Namey and Mitchell, 2013; Jorgensen, 1989; O'Reilly, 2009). Unless the ethnographer is already an insider, in which case they are required to step back and straddle the insider-outsider positions (Gobo, 2008; O'Reilly, 2009), they will need to be situated for a long period of time in order to become an insider. The participant observer needs to balance being involved enough to access the phenomena whilst being distanced enough to view what is unconsciously viewed by full insider participants (Gobo, 2008; Guest, Namey and Mitchell, 2013; O'Reilly, 2009). Crang and Crook (2007) suggest that the researcher can make use of already existing identities that are congruent with the sample population. I was not too dissimilar from other attendees due to my ethnicity, economic, cultural and educational background, however on some occasions I could detect some differences.

My knowledge and familiarity of Christianity was present from a mixture of academic background and living in a country with an ambient background of Christian doctrine and culture, however I do not fully accept or align myself with Christian beliefs. For the most part this provided few consequences. Behaviourally, I could still attend, feel comfortable and welcome within the church, sing along to the worships songs and listen to the sermons.

However I could not partake in prayer or receive Communion as I am not a Christian. Absence from prayer may not be that obvious as most people around me would have their eyes either closed or looking downwards but my refusal of Communion wine and bread would be noticeable to those seated immediately around me. Indeed on one occasion at least, I believe this non-participation encouraged a woman sitting next to me to urge me to return to the church and find God. If Communion alerted my outsider status to others then my non-participation in prayer on another occasion alerted this status to myself. During a Sunday evening service, the minister dedicated a significant proportion of the time to reading news of significant illnesses affecting several members of the church in order to focus on these people for prayer. The quiet prayer time lasted several minutes in which I perceived everyone else in the room to be able to draw from a resource, prayer, in order to express compassion for those in bad health. I did not have access to the shared vocabulary of the room. Despite attendance and knowledge of the group or tradition, unless the researcher is or becomes a member, they are unlikely to gain full access to 'insider' resources (Jorgensen, 1989; O'Reilly, 2009). The researcher's positionality of gender, ethnicity, socio-economic background will always impact upon the data that is available and how that data is produced (Guest, Namey and Mitchell, 2013; Jorgensen, 1989).

This issue points to a major bridge to be crossed within participant-observation. Holloway (1998) found a similar difficulty in the insider-outsider, participation-observation positioning when attending meditation classes in Glastonbury. During the class when his eyes were closed he was fully participating but unable to observe. If he kept his eyes open, he was fully observing but unable to participate. Holloway was therefore switching between positions of insider and outsider, participant and observer on a spectrum between the two poles as described by Gold (1958, cited in O'Reilly, 2009). As Holloway points out though, even within meditation, the researcher can be very aware of the presence and activities of others in the room through the noises they make. The participation in classes would often be accompanied

by the sounds of people as they struggle to maintain concentration or stretch limbs after sitting still for a long time. On one occasion I could even hear the faint rhythmic breathing of someone snoozing behind me!

Participant-observation opened a window into the practices and routines within the researched venues that could then inform the later stages of research (Guest, Namey and Mitchell, 2013). This phase informed the language used within the questionnaire and guided the interpretation of the results to ensure this was appropriate to the sample (Guest, Namey and Mitchell, 2013). For example, a noticeable trend was the occasionally negative perception of 'religion' as controlling and authoritative by those attending meditation centres. Whilst 'spirituality' was not prolifically overheard within the meditation centres, common reasons attendees gave for their motivation revolved around the notion of 'filling a spiritual void' that other available resources had failed to achieve. This knowledge ensured that the word 'religion' would be accompanied on the questionnaire by the word 'spirituality' in order to engage with this population by using a term that was perceived with positive overtones. Finally participant-observation enabled the interpretation of the diaries and discussion within interviews without need to resort to specific questions about what happens and who is who at the church or meditation centre. Even when a gulf proved too great to be traversed, such as prayer, the experience of being present at least allowed for observation and appreciation of the importance of this practice to the adherent.

4.5.2 Phase 2: Questionnaire

4.5.2.3 Rationale

Before the more intensive methods of diary-interview were executed, an extensive survey (n=246) was issued to assess and explore the issue surrounding religion, spirituality and mobility. Criticism of the questionnaire method will be addressed shortly, however first I will outline the rationale for the use of this method. The questionnaire was used as an initial

phase in which to gather exploratory data regarding the habits and associations around everyday travel to the venue as well as other places within the respondent's schedule. An initial question to be answered by the survey was the flexibility of transit spaces to be used as spaces where religious or spiritual engagement could take place. The questionnaire would give an indication of the extent of such engagement within the context of an attendant group at the church or meditation centre as well as identify the practices and activities that were engaged.

The church traditionally places a greater emphasis on the role of family and community than meditation centres which focus on the individual (Heelas and Woodhead, 2005). One way of recognising this would be in the mode of transport used to attend the venue, the distance and time travelled and if this journey was made in the company of friends and/or family. If the venue has a family centred approach, particularly those including children, then attendees are more likely to travel together to the church than on their own. The journey is then likely to take on social characteristics as groups meet and converse en route for a fixed or semi-fixed habitual routine on a weekly basis. The church and the journey then become conjoined with the church potentially accruing social and familial associations. Conversely, Buddhist Meditation Centres avoid an emphasis on community, instead focussing on the individual and personal transformation. Journeys to the meditation centre are therefore expected to be made alone, therefore lacking an immediate social dimension. Distinct subjective geographies of spirituality are generated through such journeys.

Another indicator of the two different dimensions adopted by each venue would be the distance and time travelled by attendees. Meditation Centres were expected to draw the audience from a larger geographical area for two reasons. Firstly the pragmatic reason that there are fewer dedicated-use meditation centres in Bristol (reflecting trends in the UK as a whole) than Baptist churches, requiring meditation centre attendees to travel further to access

the venue. Secondly they have a traditionally less direct relationship with the immediate locality; meditation centres rarely include the locality in their name unlike churches which often directly link to a specific geographic area. Churches were expected show greater self-containment with less geographically dispersed attendees. This would also be measured by the mode of transport used to attend the journey. Longer distances require mechanised forms of transport whereas shorter journeys are more likely to be completed by foot. However there could also be social associations made with forms of transport. Distances maybe shorter but attendees often lift-share by collecting others who are less able to walk or using a car can offer the most convenient method to transport families with young children to and from the venue.

The questionnaire seeks to explore the possibilities of how religious and spiritual themes are interwoven through the processes of mobility and corporeal movement into secular time-spaces. The data outlines the variations in approach that can be identified through the journeys to and from the venue as well as the possibilities of constructing spaces of religious and spiritual significance in spaces that are characterised by flow. The questionnaire allows for a broad, extensive descriptive set of data that will guide the later stages of research.

Aside from the exploratory dimension of this survey, the questionnaire would also function to recruit participants for the following diary-interview phase. The final question briefly outlined the diary-interview phase and asked respondents to indicate their interest in being involved in further research by providing their contact details. Demographic information that would be used to help form the diary-interview sample had been requested in questions 18 – 21.

4.5.2.4 Limitations

Although this questionnaire contains qualitative components, the data collected is mainly quantitative and descriptive in character and cannot therefore offer explanations for the observations that are measured. This imposes limitations on the interpretation of quantitative data (Knott, Poole and Taira, 2013). Additionally in asking closed questions, the respondent is

encouraged to answer in a format that fits the researcher's framework, potentially differing from their own understanding of the phenomena (Gill, Hadaway and Marler, 1998; Weller, 2004). As discussed earlier in reference to the ontological underpinnings of this research, asking closed questions suggest that knowledge is simply waiting to be unearthed rather than co-constructed. Holloway (1998) criticised questionnaires for reducing a heterogeneous array of beliefs into essentialist assumptions presented on a questionnaire. This questionnaire avoids discussion of beliefs or values and implying fixed answers to complex questions. Whilst it does investigate and list some named practices such as prayer or meditation, there are open options for the respondent to provide 'other' responses that haven't been presented as closed tick-box answers.

As with all research where the participants are informed about the nature of the investigation, there is an issue of respondents unconsciously conforming to what are perceived to be the expectations of the researcher as well as over or under-reporting of phenomena. This can be heightened in cases where respondents feel they are obliged or encouraged to behave in certain pre-subscribed ways. There is a potential for this to affect the questionnaire. However as the epistemological underpinnings of this research is not positivistic, I am interested in how respondents perceive spaces of transit and, more specifically for the questionnaire, if they believe these spaces can be a time-space that contributes to their religious and spiritual experiences.

4.5.2.5 Sampling

The sampling frame for the questionnaire stage of the research was drawn from the attending populations of religious and spiritual venues, stratified into the sub-populations of churches and meditation centres. There were two interrelated reasons for this choice of sample. Firstly, attendance to the venue on either a day of worship or to attend a meditation class or session ensured that the respondent would have some level of engagement and activity of a

religious or spiritual nature. Their attendance maybe motivated by more social or cultural factors such as accompanying friends or family than a commitment to the non-material dimensions of Christianity or Buddhism. Indeed some questionnaire respondent's self-description of their religious or spiritual identity dissented from that of the venue. Membership or attendance to religious or spiritual activities do not necessarily imply adherence to belief and dogma but it does demonstrate interaction with the religious and spiritual institutions that are the focus of research.

Secondly as attendees (with two exceptions) did not live on the premises, their presence at the venue necessitated a movement from the origin to a destination due to the existence of a religious or spiritual activity. Simply by their attendance the respondents were threading together a subjective spiritual geography thereby making themselves appropriate subjects for this research.

Probability sampling with the intention of representation of the full population would have proved difficult as the first question would be to define the population. The church membership list, for example, would have provided the names of those who were registered but this does not guarantee they attend the church. As attendees are not recorded during the Sunday service, there is no list of everyone who attends. The meditation sessions would prove even more difficult to define as many of their courses or sessions are offered as drop-ins with no compulsion to return or provide personal details for registration. Only courses require some form of registration but the attendee is not automatically assumed to return after the completion of the course or even for the full course. Even if either or both of these issues were resolved, then random or stratified probability would not guarantee that those people who were contacted would respond. Constructing and presenting a 'representative' sample maybe misleading as there is no way to ensure full representation unless the full population is sampled (Munn and Drever, 2004). Therefore, the sample used for this research was based on

the people attending the venue in order to deduce whether mobility time-spaces could be used for religious and spiritual practice.

The questionnaire was intended as a tool to generate a broad range of descriptive data regarding the travel habits of people who are corporeally moved to travel for the purpose of engaging in religious or spiritual practices. Therefore a nonprobability stratified purposive sampling strategy was employed based on the attendees to the venue's main session of activity in order to generalise to theory rather than attempt to generalise from a representative sample to a population (Lynch, 2011). This data cannot be generalised on to the full population of Baptist church and Buddhist meditation attenders, however it can still provide a detailed insight into the mobility patterns and activities of a large proportion of those who attended the venues. Furthermore the data can reveal the wider factors that impact and influence those who attend these venues (Lynch, 2011). This could be the sociality of attendance with family and friends or the value of travel time as part of a religious or spiritual life.

4.5.2.6 Conducting the survey

In order to administer the questionnaire I attended the site, arriving around 20 minutes before the start time and would approach potential respondents who had arrived early to briefly outline the research and ask if they could complete the questionnaire. This was then repeated after the collective worship or practice of the venue was completed. During this activity, the purpose of my presence would be disclosed by the meditation or service leader who acted as gatekeeper to the venue. Being introduced and in attendance proved advantageous as approaching people on a personal basis would encourage a higher response rate than if the questionnaires had been left unattended to be picked up. Additionally, from a research ethics perspective it would also be obvious to the respondent who was accountable for the research and allow for any informal questions regarding the research to be asked. As most of the sites

offered tea and coffee at some point during or after the activity, this also encouraged most attendees to stay and find the time to complete the questionnaire.

The questionnaire was self-completed for reasons of time-efficiency, taking between five and ten minutes for most people to complete. On a small number of occasions, where possible, I read out and completed the questionnaire on behalf of the respondent due to their need for reading glasses which they had not brought along or holding small children. Resultantly the sample maybe biased against the representation of some potential respondents with eyesight or other physical impairment. If the potential respondent refused, I did not ask the reason why as this could be viewed as intrusive however a reason was often volunteered based on the needs to attend to other obligations. The quality of the data collected also varied and this may be explained by the socio-economic composition of each setting. Whilst all venues were in areas fairly similar to each other in terms of the Index of Multiple Deprivation, the churches in north Bristol tended to attract people from a wider geographical range than those in south Bristol and therefore there may have been differences in the standards of literacy in each venue. This became noticeable when considering the quantity and length of written responses to the open questions (mainly question 13 but also the 'Other' categories in many of the questions) of the questionnaire.

Attending the venue did provide a chance to reasonably assess the proportion of attendees who completed a questionnaire. The vast majority of those who attended South West Baptist Church, North West Baptist Church or South East Baptist Church on the data collection days did complete the questionnaire. North East Baptist Church was the largest congregation and consequently more difficult to distribute the questionnaire to everyone but I estimate between 60-75% of the attendees did complete the questionnaire. Multiple sessions were visited at the participating Buddhist meditation centre in order to build a sample with a similar

response rate by percentage of the churches but a lower overall numerical return due to lower attendance rates to meditation centres and classes.

4.5.2.7 Design and pilot

From an early stage the decision was made that the questionnaire would be composed mostly of closed, quantitative questions with several open questions inviting qualitative answers from the respondents. The closed questions, where appropriate, would also carry an 'Other' category option with space for respondents to write when the listed options provided could not accommodate the appropriate answer. The main open question was designed to allow individual interpretation and response in order to capture data that the research team had not considered.

Two pilots were completed in July and September 2013 with changes made on both occasions. Additional testing and evaluation was completed with the help of colleagues and the supervisory team. After the second pilot, it was felt that the changes required were minor and would not require further testing.

4.5.2.8 Analysis

Three stages of analysis were employed in the questionnaire phase of this research:

1. SPSS quantitative analysis.
2. GIS analysis using ArcMap for spatial data analysis of postcode data.
3. NVivo software for qualitative data collected in the open questions for the survey.

Data collected from the surveys was transferred to a statistical analysis software database, SPSS, to store, aggregate and interrogate quantitative data. Data was checked for errors and individual question missing values were assigned the value '999' to remove them from the analysis process. Using SPSS allowed for descriptive and frequency statistics to quickly collate answers to the survey questions. Further quantitative analysis was undertaken with the use of

ArcMap Geographic Information Systems (GIS) software to determine the mean and maximum spatial reach of each venue surveyed. ArcMap GIS also aided visual analysis and presentation of the spatial data: variables such as modal transport or co-presence of others within travel can be colour coded to allow the reader to quickly assess variations. Qualitative data collected in question 13 of the survey was further analysed using NVivo qualitative data analysis software: Question 13 responses were transferred into a Microsoft Word document which was then imported into an NVivo project file. Themes that had arisen in these responses were then categorised and coded to be collated and interrogated. Further discussion of the thematic analysis carried out is discussed later in this chapter.

4.5.2.9 Post-data collection reflections and issues

As earlier criticism of questionnaire method asserted, there is risk of prescribing the gathered data rather than allowing participants an unrestricted voice. In providing a pre-populated list of answers developed by the researcher, the questionnaire may inadvertently guide respondents towards answers that may not accurately reflect their perceptions of the phenomena and straightjacket the participant into a series of categories that do not fully fit. Respondent disobedience was therefore encouraged. During the distribution, if people commented that they did not really fit any category provided, I would ask them to simply write the answer they wished to. In doing so it was hoped that these challenges would test the research method and provide further insights. For example, during one session a respondent, in answer to question 13 asking how they would describe their religious or spiritual identity, wrote:

I HAVE A DAILY, LIVING RELATIONSHIP WITH THE GOD OF ISRAEL THROUGH
HIS SON JESUS. DO YOU? [Upper case letters in original]

Due to compliance and completion of the questionnaire as well as behaviour on the day, this respondent did not seem to be expressing anger. In a de Certeau-like twist, the respondent has *tactically* employed a strategic device (the questionnaire) to turn the direction of questioning to the researcher, shifting the power asymmetry of the research method.

4.5.2.10 Questionnaire summary

Like all research methods, questionnaires are not without their problems. Yet the questionnaire continues to be a useful instrument in which to gauge larger scale data regarding the sample group in an often time-efficient manner. In particular, the open qualitative answers to questions regarding travel-time activities were successful in understanding the range of religious and spiritual activities that could be engaged in during travel time and their significance. The questionnaire also provided a useful introduction to the project to potential participants and an invitation to be involved in the third stage of research which shall now be discussed.

4.5.3 Phase 3: diary-interviews

Diary-interviews are unusual in that whilst they are intertwined and mutually dependent, they are also two distinct steps in the research method. This section shall outline each step in order.

4.5.3.11 Diaries

Phase three of this research involved the participants keeping a diary for one week in which they recorded their movements and activities. Diaries enabled an intimate portrait of the participant's to be developed; the interweaving of their spiritual lives and their secular lives. Similar to Cadman, Philo and Lea (2013), the project sought out the time-spaces in which religion and spirituality 'structure, frame and bleed into everyday practices', necessitating ethnographic research be undertaken. Participant observation has been utilised greatly in

geographic studies of religion and spirituality (for example see Holloway, 1998; 2003; Ivakhiv, 2001; Maddrell, 2011b) as well as in the earlier phases of this research. This method though is often limited to certain places and either their temporary, semi-permanent or permanent communities as in this research.

As this research investigated the personal experiences of spirituality in everyday time-spaces therefore the presence of an observer, as well as being impractical, expensive, time-consuming (for the researcher), somewhat imposing and pressurising for the participant (Cadman, Philo and Lea, 2013; Hurd and Rohwedder, 2009), is also likely to change the performance of the subject. Many of the activities recorded in this research happened within private spaces of the bedroom or that were difficult to access such as in one case, the swimming baths. Spaces that even the most welcoming of participants might have hesitations about an ethnographer being present within!

Activities and practices that are usually carried out alone are less likely to occur in the usual manner if the subject feels obligated to perform or now being accompanied, takes the opportunity to talk to the researcher about what they are doing (Zimmerman and Weider, 1977). Phenomena of interest to researchers may not be accompanied by external or physical behaviour: contemplation or thoughts and opinions provoked in response to external stimuli. To overcome these ethnographic limitations, the diary-interview method relies on self-recording of the participant's day which should include both the events that the researcher would be able to perceive if present and those events, internal, mental and private, that are hidden from external observation. Diary-interviews provide a channel for the subjective life of the participant to be voiced.

4.5.3.12 Interviews

The interviews that accompanied the diaries in this research were semi-structured, usually lasting around one hour in duration. Semi-structured interviews allowed for several basic

themes to be followed across all interviews but were responsive to the individual characteristics of the participant. Questions for the diary-interview were devised in conjunction with initial analysis of the participant's diary and also during the interview as the format provided flexibility to follow new lines of interest as they arose (Cadman, Philo and Lea, 2013; Zimmerman and Weider, 1977). Diversions from the pre-written list of questions were often due to the participant introducing new and relevant data during the interview or that the subject discussed and language being used would allow for an insight into how the participant understood the phenomena. Legard, Keegan and Ward (2003) describe these two positions within indepth or unstructured interviews as 'miner' and 'traveller' respectively. In the latter position, knowledge is constructed as negotiation between the interviewee and the interviewer. How the interviewee discusses the concepts and the language they use in this discussion are important as it can reveal hidden assumptions and associations. Whilst the format in this research was semi-structured rather than unstructured, these positions are still relevant as enough participants were granted licence to wander off topic, if this was felt to be conducive to the above outcomes of knowledge creation. As Patton (2002) suggests, interview formats maybe combinable within the same interview. Resultantly the interviews for this research would usually begin with some basic questions to establish a rapport. Very often this part of the interview would be less structured as the interviewee may reveal interesting responses to the simple open-ended questions. Allowing the interviewee to talk freely would enable them to feel more comfortable and establish the language of the remainder of the interview, for example, it may become obvious that they use the term 'spirituality' over 'religion'.

The interview provides an opportunity to clarify activities and to increase the resolution of data from generic terms of 'walking' to 'walking to work, thinking about x, acting in this way because of y', deepening the diary data (Phipps and Vernon, 2009). Without the interviews, the diary risks becoming an atomised series of events without the human thread of

consciousness that connects the quantitative, documentable microcosm to the qualitative macrocosm of lived experience. Without the diaries, the interviews may lack the initial insight of which to inquire for further data with the participant.

4.5.3.13 Diary-interviews

Together, diaries and interviews can produce both extensive and intensive qualitative data. The diary provides an overall picture of the landscape of the participant which can be mined for deeper forms of data in the accompanying interview. However whilst this will mostly translate as a linear-directional step method with the diaries constituting step one and the interviews step two, this is not always the case. The interview can provoke a re-interpretation of the diary data, prompting reverse direction of methodological travel. Diaries can allow the participant to discuss in-depth the motivations behind the actions they record but if they are not so inclined, interviews provide the opportunity to draw upon these factors. Diary-interviews therefore play to the strengths of both written and oral communicators.

4.5.3.14 Limitations of diary-interview research

Qualitative research places greater demands on time and mental effort on the participant than quantitative forms of research. Quantitative diaries provided to participants rely upon the recording of activity, time period and certain attributes, often pre-coded for efficiency. Thereby the language of the research is already pre-existent and imposed upon the participant. Pre-coding has the advantage of requiring less time and mental effort from the participant as well levelling out issues of literacy, however it also confines and compels the participant into the structures of discourse that may not reflect their perception and involvement in the social processes of interest.

Following on from this, participant interest often determined the quantity and quality of data they were willing to provide on the diaries and to what extent they followed the written and

verbal instructions given with the diary. Those who stated that their motivation for recording the diary was solely to help with research tended to record the least in their diaries.

Conversely, those who completed the diary due to personal interest in the project as well as to help the researcher usually recorded more extensive features of their lives and reflected on their activities in greater detail. The resulting dataset was diverse: some respondents would hand in a few pages of sparsely written notes to cover the seven days whilst others would provide several pages per day, the longest diary being 31 pages long.

Quality of the data depended mainly on the participant's compliance with the instructions. The participant was requested to record all activities and movements for a week on the diary and discuss elements of religion or spirituality if and when they occurred. Possibly due to the nature of the questionnaire from which they were recruited and niche of the research topic, several participants understood this to mean to record only journeys, only journeys involving some aspect of religion and spirituality or only actual religious and spiritual activities and practices. Additionally writing for some participants was not their preferred method of expression with one person reporting he found it easier to communicate in drawings (and provided several on the diary) than writing. Another point to consider was the relatively high standard of literacy that the diaries would require – however as this was a self-selecting sample, those without the required literacy skills were unlikely to volunteer as discussed above. In these cases, the interview could then be used to fill in the gaps of the research that had been left in the diary. The interviews therefore were a key part of this phase of the research in rescuing and repairing data that might otherwise provide difficulty to the researcher, as well as threading the recorded activities into a larger narrative as shall be discussed later in this section.

Like any method then, there are potential limitations with diary-interview regarding data quality, quantity and compliance. However as shall be discussed in the next section, these

issues also allow the participant to co-produce, rather than be the passive subject of, the research.

4.5.3.15 Negotiation and co-production of data

Asking anyone to keep a record of the interaction between their religious-spiritual lives, beliefs and practices and daily routines immediately sensitises them to the object of the research. Even if the act of keeping a diary consciously or subconsciously encouraged participants to overemphasise the impact of religion or spirituality within their lives, then how and where they choose to manifest that impulse provides an insight into their attitude towards how these elements should be expressed. The act of keeping a diary is a performance of interpretation in itself (Cadman, Philo and Lea, 2013). It can reveal what the participant understands as, and what practices they think belong in, the categories of religious, spiritual, and secular. Diarists can perform as much as in any participant observation methodology, selecting and emphasising particular events and experiences whilst omitting and repressing others consciously or because these are taken for granted (Lader, Short and Gershuny, 2006; Thornton, Williams and Shaw, 1997). Correspondingly, Zimmerman and Weider humorously observe that if their respondent's diaries were construed as exhaustive accounts then

...we would have to conclude that this group was characterized by extraordinary bladder and bowel capacities, since no instance of the elemental act of elimination was reported. (1977, p487).

Diarists unconsciously and organically exercise some agency, judgement and discretion in what they chose to reveal about their thoughts and activities. Events recorded are subject to memory and desire to act in expectation of the researcher or social conventions (Rapley and Hansen, 2006; Thornton, Williams and Shaw, 1997). What the participant judges to be or not to be spiritual is an action of drawing boundaries. This can be revealing for the participant as

well as the researcher as several commented on their surprise at how intermixed these categories could become with the arena. Conversely, at least one participant in the interview took the opportunity to reflect and question if he kept these realms too distinct from each other as part of an overall compartmentalisation of his professional and personal lives.

Erm...so I suppose when you look at the diary, you can say 'yeah, ok, my spiritual...issues are boxed in sort of quiet time and the specific meetings'. But I do...erm...I suppose that's the challenging element; is that too boxed away and is it not impacting enough on the rest of what I do than it should be? I don't know. (Fred, Baptist)

Fred was not alone in finding that keeping a diary provided an opportunity to reflect upon his own faith and spirituality and like Holloway (1998) found, many of the participants were keen to record their activities for their own interest.

...Erm...but yeah it was quite interesting to do and actually it made me realise, certainly from the spirituality perspective, that in my life does cross into that element quite a lot. More than I would of said had you asked me before I'd written it down. (Anna, Buddhist meditation centre)

Although this was not always the case as when Sally was asked to reflect on how they found the act of keeping the diary, her response was quite brief and telling:

Tedious, I think. (Sally, Baptist)

Notably Sally's diary was amongst the sparsest received in the project, echoing earlier comments regarding the relationship between participant enthusiasm and data quantity and quality.

Interpretation and performance may extend to a conscious or unconscious intention to thread a message throughout the diary and interview, an image to project either to themselves or the researcher. Dubisch (1988) observes that those subject to research may have their own version of the phenomenon they wish to present despite the alternative interests of the researcher. The subjects of research and their interests therefore play an important part in the formation of data. Several of the participants in this research appeared to have a message or a 'text' that emerged throughout the diary, the subsequent interview and even the preceding questionnaire through which they had been recruited. This could range from spiritual messages such as the importance of belief and experience of faith to more secular concerns such as the stresses and anxieties of daily life.

The intended message of the participant has advantages and disadvantages. Whilst in projecting the message, the participant may emphasise the phenomena of interest to them at the expense of objects of study that maybe of greater interest to the researcher, the message of the text informs the researcher of the outlook of the participant and how this is seen to be manifested in everyday life. The researcher is dependent upon the participant for data and this data can unlock the assumptions, attitudes and beliefs of the participant.

4.5.3.16 Narrative

Time-geography diary methods have been criticised for an atomisation of daily tasks, neglecting the silent relationships between these events (Cadman, Philo and Lea, 2013; Edensor, 2010b). Hagerstrand's (1970; 1975) original work was intended to expose the economic and logistical constraints imposed upon the individual that would limit their movement and access to resources. Quantitative time-space diaries can accentuate this

tendency as activities are divided into and represented as manageable hermetic units of time-space. However in this study allowing participants the time and space to construct their diary enabled their stories to unfurl. The qualitative diary design used in this research intended to allow for the immaterial and the mental constructions of religion and spirituality that underpin much of daily life for many people to be illustrated. Furthermore and in contradiction of the potential for an 'atomisation' of daily life (Cadman, Philo and Lea, 2013; Latham, 2003; Rose, 1993), many of the participants intentionally or unintentionally threaded a narrative over the seven day diary. In this research there was significant evidence of the construction of a narrative in many of the participant's diaries. For example, Lucy's diary (Figures 3a – 3d) portrayed the illness of the family cat and her seeking of guidance from God and other members of her church during the week, the contemplation of the decision and eventual journey with the cat to the vet to be put down. Whilst the diary only recorded the last five days of the relationship between the participant and the pet, a short story was written within this time period.

Figure 3a: Lucy, Tuesday (day 2/7)

Time	Location	Primary activity	Religious or spiritual present?	Why here/now?	Other present?
14:00 - 15:30	Car	vets at Brislington	-	-	

Figure 3b: Lucy, Wednesday (day 3/7)

13:00	Car Travelling to Happy Days at Baptist Church.	Happy Days Fun play.	Yes.	I needed guidance, I had been praying for an answer from God, and was chatting to [redacted] + [redacted] about it. (prayed in the car on the way)	[redacted], [redacted] + others
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Figure 3c: Lucy, Thursday (day 4/7)

16:55 - 20:00	Car then Baptist Church.	Dance class Guitar lessons.	Yes.	I had another prayer I sat at church and asked God to help me. I had prayed in previous days but didn't get an answer so whilst at church I asked him again.	[redacted] + others.
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Figure 3d: Lucy, Friday (day 5/7)

11:00 - 11:15	Car	To pick up [redacted], to babysit whilst I go to the vets.	Yes.	Chatting to [redacted] about it all and still asking God, if it was the right thing to do.	[redacted] + [redacted]
11: - 12:20.	Car	vets. (Brislington)	Yes.	I Prayed to God to be with me and my cat to not make her scared or in pain and to give me the strength to get through it.	me + Cinnamon

Figures 3a to 3d illustrate the story of the participant making the difficult decision to have the family pet put down. On Tuesday the initial assessment has been made with a visit to the vet, by Friday the decision has been made and the cat is put down. In between these days Lucy

looks to both friends from within her church and to God for guidance. The sequence also shows the increase in confidence of the participant in writing the diary: On Tuesday, details are sparse but as Lucy contemplates the matter over the course of the week, her writing increases and on Friday the full story is revealed along with the cat's name, Cinnamon. The interview and informal discussion on diary collection was also used to verify these thoughts were about the pending decision.

On one occasion at least, atomisation did appear to occur as a result of the diary method. When reviewing one diary before the accompanying interview I felt that the diarist's activities were fairly compartmentalised with little overlaps between events, places and situations. However in response to my first interview question, this diarist revealed her surprise at the degree to which she felt her spirituality was embedded in her daily activities. The subsequent interview did much to illuminate a level of deep, affecting enthusiasm in several parts of the diary which had not come across in the initial reading and analysis. Whilst this episode was not an exceptional case – the interviews often provided a warmth and insight into how the participants made their decisions – it does demonstrate the accumulated value of the diary-interview method as two interconnected and interdependent processes. Diaries do not provide a flawless method for narrative development, but the in-depth interviews can allow for this to emerge.

Following the above discussion of the limitations and opportunities provided by the diary-interview method, the next two sub-sections will discuss the practical work of designing a diary and recruiting the participants to complete the research.

4.5.3.17 Design

This sub-section will outline the design and development of the diary form completed by participants in this research. The designs of diaries employed by other research projects will

be surveyed before an in-depth discussion of this project's development of the diary form and feedback from participants.

Designing the diary for qualitative use provides different challenges than those used for more quantitative studies of time-use. Time-use diaries used for quantitative research (for examples see Chen *et al.*, 2011; Novák and Sýkora, 2007; Phipps and Vernon, 2009; Thornton, Williams and Shaw, 1997) are often characterised by small boxes and pre-categorised, coded responses for blocks of activities (Phipps and Vernon, 2009; Rapley and Hansen, 2006). These diary studies are then used for classifying blocks of time rather than the social associations or personal motivations behind these uses of time.

Qualitative diaries need to be user-friendly and uncomplicated in appearance to encourage writing. Jain, Line and Lyons (2011) allowed a large degree of freedom in their participants, encouraging them to add pictures and physically stick tickets and make audio recordings. However, for this research a semi-structured approach was taken with a basic template of the diary being provided to enable the data to be thematically analysed more easily, particularly pre-interview which required a quick turnaround. However the template was left as basic as possible with only seven columns to be completed and room for the headings to be interpreted by the participant. Paper copies of the template were provided to most participants although some preferred to keep the diary electronically and were instead provided with a Microsoft Word document version. In either case, ultimately participants interpreted what and how they recorded the data within the framework established by the researcher (echoing de Certeau, 1988 regarding 'tactics' and strategies' discussed in Chapter 3). The data collected is then a negotiation between researcher and participant, co-constructing knowledge together. The researcher's input in terms of the design and headings of the diary is now discussed.

'Time' and 'Location' fields were trialled as the last columns to be completed as Kenyon (2006) suggests participants remember the activity first and then the time and place. However following feedback from a pilot diarist that this made indexing the diary more difficult these fields were reverted back to being the first two on the template. The 'Time' field was left blank in order that the resolution of the data could be determined by the participant rather than imposed by the researcher. Particularly when measuring qualitative phenomena such as religion and spirituality, brief moments of activity (prayer, meditation, contemplation) may have disproportionate and integral effects on the individual's experience (Kenyon, 2006). The fields 'Religious/Spiritual present?' and 'Why here/now?' were intended to encourage the participant to reflect upon and explain, rather than merely describe, their activities. Box sizes were enlarged from the initial pilots as the participants visibly struggled to fit all the text they wanted to write into the boxes. Lines were retained to ensure participants would not be overwhelmed by the absence of structure or abundance of empty page space but these were changed from solid to dots to encourage them to write over the lines if desired. However the presence of boxes was still an issue for some participants in the main phase. When asked in the interview if the diary was able to cover the topics he wanted to discuss, one participant, Jude from the Baptist church sample, admitted he did not respond well to thinking in boxes:

You can probably see in the end I just got frustrated and just started writing across the whole thing cos I couldn't think in that compartmentalised way. [...] Cos I thought it was better that I just write it honestly than if I try too hard to make it fit in a box, both literally and... [pause]... metaphorically.

From the diaries received, most participants kept within the lines and boxes correlating with Cadman, Philo and Lea (2013)'s observation of their participant's obedience to the diary structure. Some, like Jude, ignored the structure completely and wrote across the page when

the subject matter compelled them. The researcher still has some control through the design of the diary but reliance on complicity of the participant allows for dissent as several felt confident enough to avoid self-compartmentalisation by ignoring the box lines.

Participants were asked to keep the diary for seven consecutive days. A one-day time diary would have been insufficient in capturing the ongoing ebbs and flows within the week.

Therefore a longer reference period was required (Hurd and Rohwedder, 2009). The length of seven days or one week was selected as traditionally, like economic, social and cultural calendars, religious and spiritual calendars follow a weekly rhythm (Heelas and Woodhead, 2005). As alluded to earlier, the length of a week also allowed a narrative to be developed and acted out in the time-space of the diary that afforded an insight into faith and spirituality affecting and being effected by the drama present within the theatre of everyday life. Hurd and Rohwedder (2009) suggest that longer periods of seven days or more are less likely to yield a higher quality of data and compliance than shorter periods. This deficiency may be limited to quantitative studies that do not encourage the participant to reflect further on their activities beyond mere descriptive reports. In this research I found that, in general, the data quality and quantity would usually improve as the seven days progressed, suggesting that qualitative and explanatory inquiry which is of personal interest to the participant is more successful in avoiding fatigue.

4.5.3.18 Recruitment and sample composition

This subsection will address the composition of the sample for the diary-interview phase.

Participants were recruited from the Phase 2 survey conducted in five Baptist churches and five Buddhist meditation centres from October 2013 to February 2014. The final question of this survey asked if the respondent would be interested in helping with further research, briefly outlining the diary-interview method. From those respondents who answered yes and left their contact details a nonprobability, purposive sample was built in order to generalise to

theory (Lynch, 2011). It is therefore possible to identify the following characteristics of the diary-interview participants:

- agreed to the intensive nature of the research, recording their movements and activities for a week before completing interview of up to one hour long (some interviews exceeded this time limit with the consent of the participant).
- had confidence in their written and verbal communication skills in order to articulate often abstract phenomena.
- were likely to be interested in the exploring and exhibiting their faith and spirituality than those who did not volunteer for further research. This may mean that these participants have a heightened perception of religion and spirituality. Furthermore the diary-interview process may act as reinforcement to their actions, faith and beliefs.

In order to stratify the potential sample produced in the recruitment question, respondents were selected from those who had answered positively to questions on the survey regarding the use of travel time for religious or spiritual purposes. The reason for this initial filter was to recruit participants who had already recognised elements of religion and spirituality entering into and interacting with their daily habits and schedules. An equal gender balance was sought as the research was interested in viewing religion and spirituality from male and female perspectives, potentially revealing gender differences and their impacts on mobility. A further reason for this ambition derives from the current state of literature in geographies and sociologies of religion and spirituality which emphasises a female-centric experience of religion and spirituality. Heelas and Woodhead (2005; also Sointu and Woodhead, 2008) in particular discuss the opportunities for empowerment and emancipation from patriarchal structures that are embedded in religious institutions. There has been a neglect of men's experiences of spirituality in personal and informal time-spaces. By achieving a gender balanced sample, the research aims to allow a male perspective to be voiced.

An age range was sought that most likely made regular and repetitive journeys on a daily basis as well as multiple obligations to employment, education and family members and a greater degree of independent mobility. For these reasons, 65 years of age was the upper cut-off point whilst 20 years provided the lower cut-off. As the initial survey sample was not very ethnically diverse, no further consideration of ethnicity was made for the diary-interview process either for inclusion or exclusion in the study.

Quantitative diary and time-use studies have relied upon large aggregated sample sizes (Chen *et al.*, 2011; for examples see Lader, Short and Gershuny, 2006; Novák and Sýkora, 2007; Phipps and Vernon, 2009) that collect extensive, low-resolution information on activities. Qualitative research utilising these methods have opted for smaller but higher resolution samples that combine information on activities with discussion of the motivations and experiential effects of the activities. Following on from other qualitative time-space diary methods including Holloway (1998; 2003) (N=9), Philo, Cadman and Lea (2011; 2015) (N=23) and Jain, Lyons and Line (2011) (N=11), this research sought smaller scale but qualitatively intensive data. A target of eight participants were recruited for each sample group and the data from one of the two pilot participants was retained as there was little difference between this data and the main data collected, other than the reduced length of the pilot period (three days). Following recruitment, one participant from the Buddhist meditation centre sample chose not complete the diary, bringing a total of 16 participants, nine from the Baptist church sample and seven from the Buddhist meditation centre sample, finding the middle ground in sample size in reference to the above named research.

4.5.3.19 Demographics of phase 2 diary-interview participants

Pseudonym	Sex	Age range	Sample group	Main mode of transport	Occupation	Household area
Eleanor	F	35-44	Baptist church	Car-driver	Social worker	North-east Bristol
Heather	F	35-44	Baptist church	Walker	Administrator	South-east Bristol
Fred	M	45-54	Baptist church	Car-driver	Managing director	North-east Bristol
Jude	M	45-54	Baptist church	Cyclist	Teacher	South Bristol
Lucy	F	25-34	Baptist church	Car-driver	Administrator	North-east Bristol
Max	M	35-44	Baptist church	Car-driver	Civil engineer	North-east Bristol
Rita	F	35-44	Baptist church	Cyclist	Administrator	South Bristol
Robert	M	60-64	Baptist church	Car-driver	Not in employment	South Bristol
Sally	F	45-54	Baptist church	Car-driver	Teacher	South-east Bristol
Anna	F	25-34	Buddhist meditation centre	Motorcyclist	Marketing	North Bristol
Billy	M	45-54	Buddhist meditation centre	Car-driver	Self-employed	North Bristol
Michelle	F	35-44	Buddhist meditation centre	Car-driver	Marketing	South Bristol
Paul	M	35-44	Buddhist meditation centre	Car-driver	Managing director	North-east Bristol
Penny	F	35-44	Buddhist meditation centre	Cyclist	General Practitioner	South Bristol
Richard	M	45-54	Buddhist meditation centre	Car-driver	Social worker	South-west Bristol
Sean	F	35-44	Buddhist meditation centre	Cyclist	Artist and teacher	East Bristol

4.5.3.20 Analysis

Qualitative data analysis is an ongoing process that begins once the first set of data is collected and does not finish until the final report of the research is complete (Patton, 2002; Savin-Baden and Major, 2013; Silverman, 2010), this process is most concentrated in between the stages of collection and writing up. In particular this stage of the research involves a structured procedure in which the data is transformed from its raw and initial stage into more meaningful insight into and knowledge of the lives and experiences of the participants involved (Patton, 2002). Despite assertions that this process should be as transparent as possible (Braun and Clarke, 2006), this stage in the research is often the most difficult to fully describe.

Once the completed diaries were returned by the participants, a scanned digital pdf copy was produced to be stored securely on computer. Paper copies were then made that could be annotated with highlighters and notes. An initial thematic analysis was undertaken of the diary to quickly identify themes of interest to the research. As well as themes that were identified in multiple diaries, cases that were unique to the participant were also examined in case these added additional insight to the data. From this initial thematic analysis, a series of semi-structured interview questions were developed.

Audio recordings of the interview were transcribed into a Word document. The transcript was then read through to check for errors and to familiarise myself with the data. Along with the diaries, thorough thematic analysis was carried out on the participant's corresponding interview transcript. Thematic analysis induces the significance and meaning of the data through repeated handling of the data. Braun and Clarke (2006) outline six stages of thematic analysis:

1. Familiarisation with data
2. Generating initial codes

3. Searching for themes
4. Reviewing and naming themes
5. Defining and naming the themes
6. Producing the report

It should be stressed here that this is not a linear process, but a recursive one which requires continual moving between different stages. A process that is not complete until the final written copy of the work (Braun and Clarke, 2006). This process includes a period of 'living with' the data before coding begins in order to get a feel for the picture or story that the data is trying to tell (also Braun and Clarke, 2006; Savin-Baden and Major, 2013). Savin-Baden and Howell Major (2013) and Braun and Clarke (2006) concede that this analytical method does not sound the most scientific due to the lack of binary classifications and inductive route to generating the thematic codes. However they also believe this method to be a highly effective approach to organising and understanding the patterns and connections of the data. Through the familiarisation process, notes were taken and codes generated for further analysis that could later be developed into themes.

Braun and Clarke (2006) observe two approaches to identifying patterns and generating codes: 'theory-driven' based on research questions and underlying theory; and 'data-driven' where data is analysed without pre-existing codes. These approaches are not mutually exclusive however and whilst this inductive research leaned heavily towards 'theory-driven', there were also 'data-driven' codes that emerged during the analysis process. Once data had been initially coded, it was then re-analysed to identify when and where these themes arose and the significance they accrued within each participant's dataset; where data from different participants converged and diverged from each other. The resulting patterns and overall three themes that emerged from the data would form the later chapters in this thesis.

4.6. Ethical considerations

It is not often that we see people just as themselves rather than as instruments of our own needs [...] (Sangharakshita, 2009, p565)

Research conducted at University of the West of England, requires clearance from the University Research Ethics Committee. Issues within this research to consider was the anonymity of participant information, data protection of personal details and the participant's ability to have their data removed would be processed. Due to the localised nature of the study area, pseudonyms and alias church and meditation centre names have been assigned to protect participant's identity. Additionally some text from the diary extracts has been pixelated when this refers to a specific place name or person. Personal data was stored securely in a locked filing cabinet and on a password-protected computer. Participant Information Sheets (see Appendix 1) provided contact details for the researcher and Director of Studies and explained how participants could remove their data from the project. The application was approved in April 2013. However there are other aspects of the research in which ethical conduct needs to be considered.

A surprising revelation from the interviews was the extent to which participant were willing to open up potentially sensitive topics of discussion, including bereavement, relationship breakdowns and health problems, with a virtual stranger (the researcher). A revelation also noted by Legard, Keegan and Ward (2003) and in May (1997). Finch attributes the ease with which female participants talk about their private lives due to them being used to such intrusions from doctors, social workers and health visitors (1984 cited in May, 1997). On this point discussion of personal and emotional topics was more present in the meditation centre sample than the Baptist church sample and may have been a reflection on the greater emphasis placed on subjective and being conscious of emotional states in the practice of

meditation and mindfulness. When participants in the Baptist church sample did talk of times of stress and heightened emotion such as divorce, these were usually presented more as factual details rather than affective states. During such subject matter, I felt it was important to exercise responsibility in steering the discussion away from sensitive subjects that were not strictly relevant to the topic and that the participant may later regret discussing. I also made sure that participants were aware that they could ask me questions about the research, my background and beliefs if they wished and set aside time at the end of every interview for this to address the balance of power between interviewer and interviewee.

4.7. Chapter summary

The focus of this research is the construction and co-presence of place and spirituality in time-spaces characterised by everyday mobilities. The methodology outlined in this chapter interrogates the intersection of place, mobilities and spirituality through researcher-led and participant-led research. Participant-observation allows the researcher access to the religious practice in its official space and taught or led in its original context before individual interpretation of these practices in unofficial spaces is documented by participants in the questionnaire and diary-interview phases. With each successive phase, the research becomes less researcher-led and increases the role and agency of the participant in the production of knowledge.

Each successive phase also became more intensive in the quality of personal data and reflection on the practices of participants, demonstrated by Fred's comment that the diary had enabled them to think about the time they dedicate to such activities. The methodology utilised in this research therefore enabled co-production of knowledge with a positive outcome for both the researcher and the participant. It provides an insight into the spiritual practices of those implicated in everyday mobility whilst acknowledging the 'messiness' of these phenomena.

Chapter 5: Journeying to the ‘official’ sites of religious practice

The analysis of the data begins with an examination of the journeys that respondents and participants in this research undertook to the ‘official’ sites of their practice, the church and the meditation centre. When focussing on movement, geographers of religion have tended to focus on the rarely made or extraordinary once-in-a-lifetime journeys that pilgrims will make to such places as Mecca in Saudi Arabia or Lourdes in France; ‘the center[s] out there’ (Turner, 1973). This seems surprising given that, despite an overall decline, around three million people in England will make a journey from their home to a Christian church on a ‘typical’ Sunday to participate in structured worship and ritual (Brierley, 2008 cited in Guest, Olson and Wolffe, 2012; McAndrew, 2011) . These journeys to religious venues appear to have been overlooked in both mobilities and geographies of religion research.

In addition to the rituals and routines that are carried out within the destination places, the journey to such venues will often also incorporate specific routes, rituals and combinations of human and non-human actors. Additionally these trips can evoke certain feeling and emotions, to produce the journey to a time-space set apart from normal routines, the church. When these similarities with contemporary conceptualisations of pilgrimage are taken into account, as this chapter argues, regular or weekly local-scale journeys to church should be considered as having continuities with a scaled-down form of pilgrimage, micro-pilgrimage to reflect the importance of these journeys to their participants. Journeys to meditation centres are also examined as a point of comparison and contrast to the churches.

Parallel to the emergence of the ‘new mobilities paradigm’ in the mid-2000s and the recognition of the central role of movement of people, places, information, capital, products

and images in contemporary European and North American society there has been renewed activity in the pilgrimage research since the 1990s. Significantly there has been a shift of emphasis away from the 'sacred spaces' or 'centres' that constitute the destination which characterised pilgrimage research in the late 20th century (Eade and Sallnow, 1991; Turner and Turner, 1978) to instead explore the act of making the journey itself (Bajc, Coleman and Eade, 2007; Coleman and Eade, 2004; Maddrell, 2011b; Maddrell and della Dora, 2013a). Within this framework, data from the questionnaire and diary-interviews will be examined by employing two key concepts that have been widely debated since being introduced by Turner and Turner (1978), liminality and *communitas* (as critiqued in Chapter 3). Throughout the following discussion of the participant's journeys to churches and meditation centres I will challenge the perceived linear movement of continuities in everyday social structures and relations into pilgrimage. Arguing instead that there is also a bi-directional movement in which elements of pilgrimage also inform everyday life and in this specific context can be mapped on to journeys made from the home to a venue of religious or spiritual activity in the case of Baptist churches.

As this discussion in Chapter 3 illustrated, scholars have struggled to find an adequate definition of pilgrimage that reconciles the set apart, liminal qualities of such journeys and destinations when significant continuities with everyday life can be deeply embedded within contemporary pilgrimage routes and sites. Journeying to such sites, as Chapter 3 observed, need not be physically arduous to be often constructed in literature and art. The presence of everyday structures, continuities and material comforts suggest that pilgrimage may bear many similarities with journeys to local religious sites. Indeed pilgrimages have not and are not always only those journeys that take the pilgrim far from home (Coleman and Eade, 2004). Maddrell's (2011b; 2013) study on the Isle of Man series of walks organised by and for Manx islanders (although non-islanders also participate) illustrates this local dimension. With this reassessment of contemporary pilgrimage framing the discussion, the research findings

evidence that more mundane journeys to local religious sites share many similarities with longer pilgrimages.

Quantitative data collected using questionnaires will provide an overall context for richer qualitative data generated from diary-interviews and supplemented by participant observation. Participant's experience of the journeys they make to either the church or meditation centre then be discussed with input in the light of the 'new mobilities paradigm' within geography, tourism, transport and sociology literature. This process will inform an understanding of how the transport mode chosen for specific journeys has an influential relationship with the experiential and social nature of the journey. Transport modal choice can also illustrate the perception of social and economic factors of the journey as well as geographic distance and other time-space responsibilities and obligations. Studies of the social, economic and material composition of many pilgrimages that have undermined traditional views of these journeys as fully set apart from and outside the pilgrim's everyday social structures and relationships. If the 'extraordinary' journeys of pilgrimage are understood as closer to the ordinary social conditions than previously thought, then this chapter will demonstrate that ordinary journeys, such as those to church, should be positioned closer to the extraordinary, in order to recognise the importance and significance that local journeys to church can encompass. Using these channels of research, I then examine the potential for local journeys to churches and meditation centres to be considered upon the spectrum of pilgrimage. A spectrum that ranges from the more arduous and therefore less often completed form of physical, long distance pilgrimage to the smaller-scale journeys of micro-pilgrimage.

5.1. The journey

Different forms of transport bring their own affective, experiential, social and physical qualities of being, engaging different social and cultural practices with specific assumptions and

associations materialised through mobilities (Cresswell and Merriman, 2011; Urry, 2007). This chapter will focus on the main forms of transport reported in the survey which were walking, driving or passengering in a car. Whilst there were three survey respondents who travelled to the sites by bus, none of the participants within the qualitative research used the bus and so further explanatory data on this mode is not available. This section begins with a brief overview of the quantitative results from the survey to contextualise the journeys to religious sites before moving on to discuss the more detailed qualitative findings from the diary-interview participants.

5.1.1 Social ties

This subsection will draw from the phase 2 questionnaire data for some initial sketches of the journey to the church or meditation centre, and the social and practical variations that occur between the two sample groups.

The main focal point of the church's weekly rhythm is the Sunday services that take place predominantly during the morning but also (in the case of two of the four churches in this sample) in the evening. Despite changes made to Sunday opening hours and a growing shift towards 24/7 working patterns, the majority of employment still occurs from Monday to Friday. Most meditation classes are held during weekdays, usually in the evenings but sometimes during the day as well. Table 1 and 1b demonstrate that despite the different placing within the socio-economic time schedule, the majority of respondents in both Baptist church and Meditation centre samples make single-purpose return trips to their respective venues.

Table 1a: Where did respondent travel from, when journeying to the church or mediation centre?

Q2: Where did you travel from today?	Baptist church (%)	Buddhist meditation centre (%)
Home	96.4	77.8
Work	1.2	11.1
Other	2.4	11.1

Table 1b: Where was the respondent travelling to after the church or meditation centre?

Q5: Where will you be travelling to from here?	Baptist church (%)	Buddhist meditation centre (%)
Home	83	90.1
Work	1.2	0
Visiting family or friends who also attend this venue	3	1.2
Visiting family of friends who do not attend this venue	5.5	4.9
Other	6.7	2.5
No answer	0.6	1.2

Meditation centre respondents were much more likely to have come from somewhere other than their home and so to have combined the trip to the centre with employment or another activity. Table 1b illustrates that the meditation centre sample were also more likely to go straight home after their session whilst Baptist church respondents were more likely to travel to another activity before returning home.

Table 2 clearly indicates a variation between the social qualities of the journey undertaken by each sample and suggests similar differences in community between the two samples. Broadly speaking, the majority of Baptist church respondents made the journey to church on the day of

the survey in accompanied by others. Most likely from the same home address which would indicate the family-orientation of the churches but a significant percentage also meeting people from different home addresses to attend the church together. The vast majority of meditation centre respondents made this journey alone.

Table 2: Co-presence in travelling to church or meditation centre

Q4: Who did you travel to the venue with?	Baptist church (%)	Buddhist meditation centre (%)
On my own	30.3	90.1
With other people from same home address	46.1	2.5
With other people from a different home address	17	7.4
Combination of people from same and different home addresses	5.5	0
No answer	1.2	0

This difference in the social dimension of the journey to a place of religious activity reflects the ‘massive subjective turn of modern culture’ that Heelas and Woodhead (2005) argue has influenced the religious landscape of the UK. Whereas traditional congregational-domain religions like Baptist churches lay greater emphasis on the community and collective obligations to worship, more recent religious developments such as holistic activities or the Buddhist groups focus on the cultivation of the individual and their subjective wellbeing. Davie (2006) also draws attention to the shift towards consumption of religion, a person-centred approach, over obligation to religion exemplified in the congregational religions. Results for question 4 reflect this wider sociological trend and also points towards the experiential quality of these different journeys. Travelling with other people is more likely to encourage a social interaction whereas making this trip alone potentially allows more time for contemplation and

readying of the self for the destination activity. These issues are explored more fully later in this section with reference to the diary-interview data.

The more subjective nature of the Buddhist meditation centre sample’s travel is further underlined in Table 3 by the first question that asked the respondent how they travelled to the venue on the day of the survey. Car journeys were dominant in both samples but the Baptist church sample had a larger percentage of car-sharing. The total share by car drivers and passengers were not considerably different.

Table 3: Travel to church or meditation centre by mode

Q1: How did you travel to this venue today?	Baptist church (%)	Buddhist meditation centre (%)
Bicycle	0	12.3
Bus	1.8	4.9
Car-driver	37.6	51.9
Car-passenger	23.6	4.9
Train	0	1.2
Walk	36.4	18.5
Other	0	3.7
No answer	0.6	2.5

The meditation centre sample had a greater diversity of travel mode mostly due to the lower percentage of respondents walking to the centres than for the Baptist churches. This latter point is most likely to lead to the increased distance travelled by meditation centre respondents. Travel mode plays an important part in the transition and preparation for worship or practice. The enclosed cabin of the car may encourage sociality amongst its occupants. Conversely the physical energy needed to pedal a bike compared to walking might, as Sean from the meditation centre sample explains, leave the individual feeling out of breath before meditative practice:

[...] when I arrive there and you know not sweating buckets and I'm not like
[pants out of breath] hi.' Er...so that sort of helps so yeah there is some
sort of different level when I arrive, I'm on a different level when I arrive.

Different modes of transport will now be discussed in the following section.

5.1.2 Active travel (walking, and cycling)

Active modes of travel, comprising principally walking and cycling, to the church or meditation centre in this research are addressed in this section. Active travel restricts the distance travelled as this is dependent on the bodily constraints of the individual. The boundaries of place are transformed through mechanical and electronic amplification of transport. Active transport develops a relationship between the body and space. Humans are limited in how far and where they can travel by biological constraints and processes; the need for sleep, shelter, nutrition and hygiene (Hagerstrand, 1970). These constraints and the way in which that can be resolved (for example in a hotel when staying away from 'home') produce the limits of travel before the need to return (Hagerstrand, 1970). There is empowerment in being able to travel from one area to another without the requirement of motorised private or public transport and all the behind-the-scenes operators that enable those systems to work. An empowerment that is often taken for granted until its absence is felt through ill health, an aging body or disability. This section will first discuss Baptist church respondent's experiences of walking to their church on a Sunday morning before considering active travel in the form of cycling which several Buddhist meditation centre participants reported in the questionnaires and diary-interviews.

Many questionnaire respondents and diary-interview participants talked about practicing mindfulness or *metta* whilst walking. One person reported this in connection with preparing for meditation:

[...] mindful walking is an excellent practice both in itself and as a preparation for formal sitting. (Walker, female, Meditation centre, 55-59)

Apart from this particular respondent, none of the Buddhist meditation sample reported attending the centre by walking (see Table 4). This section then will only consider the Baptist church participants. Historically, the European Christian parish structure developed based on proximity to a local population and settlement so that congregants are within walking distance of the church (Sinha *et al.*, 2007). Even in the sprawling 19th century American context Park (1994) notes that towns were planned to be large enough to support a congregation but small enough to enable rural populations to walk or cycle to church conveniently. A walking culture within a settlement allows for a specific rhythmic and sensory involvement within the landscape as the pace of life is slowed down, allowing for more intensive engagements with the surrounding people and environment (Maddrell, 2011b; Middleton, 2010; Solnit, 2002). Habitually walking to the church on a Sunday offers an opportunity for a break from an otherwise fast pace of life and events for many urban-dwellers and hence promotes an alternative emotional or affective approach as a mini-disruption of the socio-economic schedule.

Current literature suggests that Christian congregants in Western Europe and North America are less likely to base their choice of church or other elements of identity based on proximity alone than in previous times (Agrawal, 2008; Bruce, 1995; Day and Rogaly, 2014; Sinha *et al.*, 2007). Running counter to this argument, the results in Table 4 suggest that locality still plays

a significant role in the Baptist church sample as the respondents' mean journey to church was under 15 minutes.

Table 4: Mean time and distance travelled by venue

	Churches	Meditation centres
Mean distance travelled (miles)	1.35	5.5
Mean time duration (minutes)	13.5	24.7

Results shown in Table 4 were arrived at from survey respondent postcode data entered into an ArcMap GIS software package. The route from the respondent's home postcode to the church was then generated using a 'Network Analysis' tool with the assumption that the journey will follow the most efficient path possible and walkers will follow the pavement. Whilst this data cannot therefore substantiate the actual journey made by the respondent, it does provide an indicative distance value that encompasses the potential obstacles and friction points in the journey. The alternative, a straight-line distance from home to church would present a misleading value as this is often shorter than the actual distance travelled in origin-destination routes. Table 4 illustrates an average or mean distance of about 1.3 miles, 20-25 minutes on foot or about ten minutes in the car that congregants were prepared to travel to their church. Mean distance and time increased significantly amongst the Buddhist meditation centre respondents. The descriptive data of Tables 4 suggests that there is an importance to locality and the ability to walk to the church which will now be discussed with insight from the qualitative data.

Widened access to transport has enabled increased choice and availability of religious institution and venues, particularly within Christian denominations which have a larger population and heritage resulting in a greater number and diversity of churches within the UK. However Table 4's illustration of findings from the quantitative element of this research

suggests that being within walking distance is still an important feature for many congregants. During one interview, Fred (45-54), suggested that he walked to the church with his wife every Sunday morning because the ten minutes this journey took was comparable with the time it would take to drive, park and walk from where they had parked to the church. However when asked why he then travelled by car for additional church-based activities on weekday evenings he suggested this was due to timing issues: to allow him to get home from work, have dinner and then attend the church evening meetings. For him there appeared to be no contradiction in these two approaches to journeying to the church. Fred would also drive to the church on a Sunday if it was raining or to an evening meeting after dark but despite this stated a preference for making this journey on foot. This preference for walking was echoed by other participants too. For example two participants, a married couple Rita and Jude, each stated that their original intention upon settling into Bristol was to find and attend a church within walking distance. And as Jude explains, this is still a priority:

We sometimes think [...] we should go to even a nearer church so that...if you met somebody in your community, you could say 'well, yes, my church is five minute's walkaway' instead [of] saying 'there's my church, it's twenty minutes walkaway'...

For Jude, being a close walk away from the church therefore tied into identity, echoing place-based identity and community that has, to certain extent, diminished within contemporary society (Putnam, 2000; Sinha *et al.*, 2007). The ability to walk to their church allowed these participants to develop a locality-based and embodied relationship with the site.

For some participants walking was viewed as a way of exercising and releasing tension before a Sunday service by manipulating the time-space in between the home and the church. Within this time-space, the responsibilities and obligations from the home could be distanced as the

participant prepared themselves for the service. Travel time as transition time has been discussed within much of the mobilities literature with 'desired time' identified to allow the traveller to prepare themselves for the destination (Jain and Lyons, 2008; Mokhtarian, 2005). Several diary-interview participants affirmed that walking to church on a Sunday morning, particularly when alone, enabled them to release domestic anxieties and settle the mind for the service.

[...] just kind of want my preoccupation to, just want those thoughts to sort of...settle down I suppose. You know ridiculous thoughts about how many Christmas cards I've sent and what else do I need to buy and what are we eating tomorrow and am I going to cook? All that nonsense, just, you know, I want to push it to one side but that seems to take a little bit of time to do that. So yeah walking to church I then arrive in a state of...erm...where those thoughts have had chance to be aired and then can be put to one side [...] Eleanor (35-44, Baptist)

Later, when comparing walking to driving to the church, Eleanor added:

So it's like those thoughts are like maybe put on hold while I go to church whereas if I just maybe have the chance to walk and air them first then they, they don't [persist].

Walking to the church often allowed for time to be spent with the family. Some participants reported that this time was not always spent with both adults: For example due to Rita's responsibilities to help set the church up for the service, occasionally Jude would walk their children to church alone. However both Rita and Jude talked about this journey as a time-

space spent with their children at the weekend. Recently their eldest child had decided not to attend church anymore, instead remaining at home on the Sunday morning. Following this decision, Jude had noticed that this development had encouraged their younger son to speak more during the journey to church now that his older sister was no longer there to contest this time-space. Social dimensions of walking were further evidenced in the questionnaire as half the respondents who had walked to the church on the morning of the survey had made the journey with other people. This regularly repeated journey suspends external pressures of work and other responsibilities, protecting and strengthening social-familial ties and linking these with the church community.

Participants with young families would often have the added stress in the morning of co-ordinating and preparing all members of the family to leave the house and arrive at church on time. Often walking to church would allow for these stresses and anxieties to ease and hence settle the participant's mind for the church service. As well as allowing the dissolution of daily stresses and anxieties, the extension of the journey's time-space by slowing the mode of movement to a walking speed also enable extended time for socialisation. If the walking congregant's journey to church was made by car, the journey time would simply be too short to allow for sufficient social interaction. The walk to church therefore provides an opportunity for family and friends to renew and maintain social relationships.

The walker is less regulated and monitored than other forms of popular transport and so allows for autonomy of the individual (de Certeau, 1988). As noted earlier in this section, walking to the local church can be relationally linked to early-modern, slower-paced lifestyles. As Solnit (2002) offers, if walking is the mind working at three miles per hour then modern life moves a lot faster. Walking offers a break or alternate rhythm to the everyday socio-economic schedules that can characterise the remainder of the week (Edensor, 2010b; Maddrell and della Dora, 2013b). As discussed in Chapter 2, Eliade (1957) argues that sacred space and time

is oppositional to that of the profane which characterises modernity with the emphasis on measurability by clock time (further explored in Chapter 7). A view echoed in Turner and Turner's (1978) conception of liminality as oppositional to everyday structures. Contemporary pilgrimage literature has laid stress on the escape of pilgrims from the pressures of modern, often urban, life for inner renewal (Lois Gonzalez, 2013; Maddrell and della Dora, 2013b; Reader, 1993). The oppositional nature of sacred space as conceptualised by Eliade and the Turners is transformed into sacred space as a contestation of, or alternative claim on profane space. Walking to church can be considered part of an alternative claim or resistance to secular space and time; a practice that is behaviourally and physiologically similar to walking with any other destination in mind, yet able to prime the agent into a spiritual mindset as a more-than-travel component of the journey. Walking to the church can therefore exist on multiple scales as internationalised practice for a brief weekly respite from the speed and conformity to regulation usually required to engage with contemporary society.

Active transport in the form of cycling is examined in this section. Cycling to the meditation centre was reported by 12% of questionnaire respondents. Additionally several of the diary-interview participants would cycle and discussed this during their interviews. Penny was the most regular of these cyclists, whilst the others were more intermittent, depending on weather conditions or other engagements such as work or due to the timing, the need for dinner after work. Indeed this latter issue was cited by many of the participants as factor that caused some degree of rush and often prompted them to use the car for this journey.

Like walking, cycling is also closely connected with place; the distance that can be traversed maybe much greater but there is still a physical limit on how far the body can push itself. Cycling therefore pre-supposes a limitation on how far the attendee can live away from their place of worship or practice before it becomes too far. However there are also other issues that can affect the journey to the meditation centre. Cycling can demand a greater level of

energy to be exerted from riders so respondents who chose this mode need to ensure there is time at the destination to cool down.

Sean: I'm not worrying about... 'is that car going to go or am I going to go?'
Can kind of just let the car go and take the time and cycle up the hill at a steady pace rather than kind of...standing up and you know...grinding the pedals...sort of...erm...yeah there is a different... [...] I like it when I arrive there and you know not sweating buckets and I'm not like '[panting out of breath] hi!'

Penny: Erm...and usually just trying to cycle fast up to the [meditation centre name omitted] cos I'm usually a bit short of time. Erm...weaving my way with the traffic lights, the traffic, etc etc. [...] and then lock up my bike and usually make it on time!

As well as the issues around being out of breath or time, the participants here also express anxiety about dealing with the traffic before meditation. In general cycling for these participants necessitated a greater degree of awareness of the surrounding landscape than driving. Most notably Penny described in detail her journey from her house to the meditation centre. Her commentary mixed descriptions of the cycling hazards that she has to navigate with reflections on previous memories of the spaces she travels through:

Usually by the time I get to the pedestrianized bit at Colston Avenue, there's a little coffee place and I usually forget my worries about traffic and remember a few cups of nice coffee I've had there [...]

And then at a later segment of the journey going past Bristol Royal Infirmary:

[...] I'm usually distracted by thoughts of hospital and medicine, architecture and...er... [laughs] at that point. [...] think about my time when I was a medical student there so I have this various pattern of thought streams that I'll go into at that point, often. And then I'm on Jamaica Street and my thoughts will change to my associations with there so I work in a homeless place there sometimes and...erm...I've lived around there so a different set of thoughts.

Having lived in Bristol for many years, Penny has developed a set of associations of the spaces she cycles through on the way to the meditation centre. Previous events and memories confront Penny as she travels through her 'haunted' mundane landscape (Edensor, 2008). These become entangled within the journey and a part of the experience of the activity. She also suggests that the start of the trip is rushed:

[...] I'm maybe at home, I'm having a little bit of tea and then thinking "oh I've really got to go, I'm running late!" So I'll be...er...running around getting a few things together and my bike. [...] feeling quite hassled because I've not judged the time that well. From being indoors to getting out. But once I get on my bike and I start off down the road then I just get this sense of freedom 'ah I'm cycling! I like this!' Feeling the air, feeling my body moving, feeling the bike moving. Usually lasts until I'm at the end of the road! [laughs]

Physically leaving the house signifies a transition to a new time-spaces and activity here.

Penny also pays attention to the bodily feeling of cycling as well which reinforces the suspension from (or 'freedom' from) home and work based responsibilities (Abler, Adams and Gould, 1971; Jain and Lyons, 2008).

Cycling has been addressed in this section, like walking in the previous section, as a signifier of a transitionary zone between home and meditation centre. Data on this aspect of cycling is more limited but from the available participant narratives, little has been made of its social or therapeutic qualities. The co-presence of motorised traffic and accompanying risks with the cyclist provides an impediment to preparation for meditation although does not altogether preclude this possibility. The next section will now focus on motorised journeys to places of worship and practice.

5.1.3 Driving

Widened access to private motorised transport has been cited as one reason for the decline of traditional parish based churches and relative health of evangelical and experiential denominations (Davie, 2006) as the car allows people to travel beyond the parish boundaries to attend the church of their choice (Guest, Olson and Wolffe, 2012). Motorised transport, both public and private, facilitates a wider choice in activities for the individual including the engagement with meditation centres which are often confined to certain parts of major cities. Both samples have a similar percentage of respondents that had travelled to their place of worship or practice by car on the day of the survey. However the Baptist church sample had a more balanced ratio between drivers and passengers than the Buddhist meditation centre respondents who had travelled by car had overwhelmingly been the driver.

As well as being a physical object, the car is a stabilisation of multiple systems, materials and competences (Shove, Pantzar and Watson, 2012; Urry, 2007). Framing the car as an

assemblage of multiple actors exposes the potential unpredictability hidden behind these systems of predictability and stability (Hein, Evans and Jones, 2008). However there is also a more prosaic application for this theorisation. With a young family in particular, the start of the car journey can signal a stabilisation and direction of behaviour amongst all members. Several diary-interview participants from the Baptist church sample commented upon the heightened stress of preparing and co-ordinating the movement of all members of the family:

Lucy: [...] have to get up and get the children up. Get us all ready and fed...erm...and dressed. And then we literally, we're on the mark for getting out the door [laughs] to get to church for the service at eleven.

From waking the children up, dressing them, feeding them and keeping them on track towards going to church on the Sunday morning. These participants would often comment that whilst they were never late to the service, they were often just on time, which will be discussed further in part two of these findings. However there was some stress caused by the processes involved in readying the family and being or potentially being late:

Max: ...we wake up and then...try and get them all bathed so it's all a bit duh duh duh and then it doesn't matter what time I say 'come on, we're going now' there's always a last minute kind of flap and...cos I'm very structured and I get very...I hate being late! Erm...it just...winds me up. It's not a good way to go to church, you know and I tried innumerable times but everybody knows we just leave it to the last minute. We do leave it to the last minute. And they don't mind, I hate it, I hate it! [laughs]

Anxieties about being late could be dispelled by the starting of the car engine which signifies the completion of pre-church service activity, and barring traffic incidents, a semi-fixed time period before actually arriving at the church. The car also signified the transition from home to place of practice for Billy from the Buddhist meditation centre sample. When asked if the journey helped him to prepare for meditation, he answered:

Billy: Not consciously but yes I do. It's a bit Pavlovian. So instead of salivating, you calm down. Erm...and because it is so regular, even that journey, it isn't officially part of the ritual but in practice it is.

[...]

Edward: Is that a reaction in terms of the bell in that it's instant? As in you get in the car or you close your door at home and you're instantly in that mindset?

B: No, sadly no. It's more gradual. Erm...and I think it's much more the spectrum. Erm...I don't think you're either in it, you're out of it. I think it's more a sort of quite broad spectrum and you sort of shift from one end to the other.

Michelle, also in the Buddhist meditation centre sample, echoed this use of journey time to prepare:

Sometimes I will be thinking about...erm...what's happened to me, what the issues are. [...] ...and sometimes I try and be mindful to try and set myself into a frame of mind and try and be a bit more like, ok can you, if you want a good session...erm...if you know, if stuff's going ok, just try and be mindful

so I just try and be mindful of driving. So I'm kind of preparing myself to get there.

Entering the car here is not an instantaneous shift in mindset but signals a gradual transition from socio-economic responsibilities and anxieties that cloud the mind, as Billy termed it 'monkey-mind', to a sense of clarity and focus. Other respondents talked of the start of the journey as a 'rush' in between returning home from work and departing for the meditation centre.

Like walking, the majority of journeys by car to the church were completed in the company of others. Less than a third of respondents drove to the church alone. Thirty-three of the 43 respondents who drove to church in the presence of other people did so with other people from the same residential address indicating the familial nature of these journeys.

Additionally, car driver survey respondents reported accruing passengers before and after the church service by offering lifts home. Robert (60-64) recounted in his interview that one of the passengers he would regularly drive home, a young man with learning difficulties, would also borrow scissors from the family to trim his nails in the car. On route to the church service, Robert and his family would also engage in discussion as well as listen to the radio together. These moments of co-presence between families and other people from the church inside the time-space of the car help to develop a form of *communitas*. As a material assemblage, the car has been described as isolating the inhabitant from the external world (Sheller and Urry, 2006), lessening the chance of encounter with others that other modes such as walking can enable. However once the occupants are gathered, the stabilised environment can allow for feelings of security, comfort, safety and homeliness. Whilst the car may prevent extensive social contact, the co-presence within can take on a more intensive nature. The time-space of

the car journey to and from the church can therefore establish, renew and maintain social relationships between family and friends within the congregation.

As seen in this first part of the findings, the journeys to the church can constitute a protected time outside of everyday schedules. The journey dissents from normative economical modelling of travel that prioritises efficiency. Instead these time-spaces contain an intrinsic value in themselves, enabling a sense of liminality or liminoid quality as they provide oppositional time-space to value social-familial relations and transition time from the everyday space of the home to the worship space of the church.

The Buddhist meditation centre sample demonstrated a different style of journey to the centre that echoed the wider social trends of increased subjectivisation and individualisation.

Questionnaire respondents and diary-interview participants tended to make this journey on their own and due to the site's positioning within the socio-cultural and economic schedule in relation to other activities. Principally as an evening activity, meditation classes and sessions are related to employment based responsibilities and obligations. Participants often spoke about the need to ensure that they were able to return home and eat before going to the centre. This factor often influenced their decision to drive instead of walking or cycling even when alternative forms of transport were embedded in other journeys they make. Resultantly the journey for the meditation centre respondents appears to be rushed and rationalised in contrast to the Baptist sample although several participants did find this useful preparation time. Ultimately for the Buddhist meditation sample there appears to be a larger disconnect between their sense of locality and the meditation centre. The journey to church would seem to be more thoroughly embedded in the Baptist sample's sense of place.

5.2. The centre

The second section of this chapter examines the role of the destination for this scaled-down form of pilgrimage, firstly as set apart space and then applying Turner and Turner's concept of *communitas*.

5.2.1 Churches and meditation centre space as set apart

Walkers reported less stress and anxiety pre-church service and of the participants who drove to church, this stress and anxiety did not continue into the building. There was very little recognition that participant's experience of the service and the church space varied due to their transport modal choice for anything more than a few minutes at the start and end of the service. For the participants, journey and church destination (or as Turner (1973) terms, 'the center') appear to be independent, if still interconnected, time-space events. This could be due to the highly structured, if occasionally unregulated, nature of the service. From the fieldwork notes of the participant-observation phase, on arrival at the churches usually ten minutes prior to the beginning of the service, the atmosphere was often buzzing with chatter. Although all the church groups I visited were very welcoming and warm to me, the socialising of others can often still make the visitor feel like an outside before they begin to recognise and talk to people they know after repeated visits. Before long the organist or band would begin to play music and without introduction, a vocalist or two may begin to sing a few words or phrases which the congregation would receive as a signal to settle down for the service. The service would then commence usually with an initial introduction and perhaps a prayer by the leader or minister and a song or two. Very little space for improvisation is left within the next hour as songs are alternated with prayers for the first half and then the sermon will take up most of the second half leaving some minutes for song and prayer at the end and once or twice a month, the Holy Communion. Based on the six Baptist churches I visited for this research this pattern became very familiar, albeit with a few changes to content such as the

style of worship music. Familiarity with this format and structure presents the church as a stabilised and secure space which can be important for families as is observed in Max's selection of a church:

[...] when I met my wife she was going to a church in Cardiff so I ended up moving down to Newport, to and then in Cardiff we went to her church just cos, they were doing a lot of good stuff at the time and that. I wanted her to be in a safe place...

He then talks about a desire to find a new church:

[...we] wanted a more family orientated church. [...] and we just thought 'we'll give it a go'. I knew Baptist churches and we went along [to the current church] and it was just really friendly and really welcoming [...] And it's really brilliant and it's kind of like brought me back to where I used to be and everybody loves it, all the kids love it and my wife loves it.

Elsewhere, Max talks about the need for his children to settle and feel 'meshed in' to the church. Two key themes that emerge from diary-interview, also seen in the passage above, are the desire and expectation from previous experience for the environment to be safe and to be social.

Max was also able to elaborate on the flexibility of time within the church. From my participant observation field notes, I observed a surprising number of families that would walk in just on-time or actually late but spared embarrassment due to the negotiable time-keeping of the church service. One minister even remarked to me that it was very rare that the service would start on time because of the lateness of congregants. During his interview Max introduced me to the notion of 'Christian time' which was usually around ten minutes behind

standard 'clock time'. The perception of being exactly on time but very nearly late and the notion of 'Christian time' are illustrated in this exchange:

Max: We squeak in on time and I think to be honest, I've said this to Brian and...I'm not sure whether they...they start at a later [time than scheduled], cos I mean Christian time is a bit you know there's usually about a five minutes delay then normal [laughs] [...]

Edward: I like that, "Christian time".

M: Have you never heard that before? It's like it's five or ten minutes. You say it's eight o'clock but it's quarter past or something like that!

Whilst the fluid timings of the church should not be overemphasised, it does retain continuity from pre-industrial modernity in that the minister waits until the congregation looked about the right size in order to commence the service in a negotiation of church and clock time. Here, in opposition to much of everyday time-space and institutions, clock time serves the community in providing a guideline rather than the community serving the clock time.

The church as sacred space provokes expectations of specific behaviour to be enacted and regulated and therefore is set apart, in the perception of those who attend and believe in its sacredness, from external, profane space (Anttonen, 2005). Segmentation of human activity and architectural framing helps define the function and to communicate this to dwellers and visitors (Tuan, 1982). Lucy (25-34), a mother of three young children, reported that once settled in the building the structure of the service can help children to calm down and therefore be less distracting to their parents who are then able to pay more attention to worship. Most of the churches offered a Sunday school alternative for the children allowing their parents to concentrate more fully on the service. The experience of entering the church

and settling down for the service can therefore be differentiated from the experience of getting to the church and leaving the church as the stresses and anxieties of domestic life return.

Meditation centres will now be examined as space 'set apart' from everyday life. There is considerable evidence for meditation centres as a separate space for its participants.

Environmentally, meditation centres often comprise a shrine room for the meditative practice, a more informal space for waiting in before the activity and often a kitchen for the preparation of light refreshments during the interval or after the class or session has occurred. The shrine room is usually separated from the other rooms by a doorway. Of all the meditation centres in this study, the Japanese- style was the most highly regulated and complex in terms of behavioural, physical gesture, positioning and ritual performance as well as involving the use of incense, percussive instruments and recitation of mantras in the practice. Regular practitioners at this group also wore black kimonos in this space and the visitors (such as me) were advised to wear dark colours.

Other meditation centres also developed a space set apart from the everyday hustle and bustle of the streets outside, if not quite as highly structured as the Japanese-style centre. Incense, subdued lighting and soft minimal furnishings (low tables, cushions and blankets) were usually deployed to develop the atmosphere. Meditation practice is usually held in silence, often preceded by a bow to the shrine although this is usually voluntary and the leader will explain this is not a form of worship. The group leader will often provide some form of instruction or teaching during the class or session and the start and end of the practice itself is often signified by chimes or singing bowl. Meaningful silences amongst strangers has been discussed previously in the context of spirituality (Davidsson Bremborg, 2013; Maddrell, 2011b; Pagis, 2010), allowing space for the individual to cultivate their own expressions whilst retaining social relations within the group. Sharing a time and space where one is potentially

vulnerable, sitting still with eyes partially or fully closed) requires a degree in trust in those co-present. Consequently after a period of meditation, in several of the sessions, participants often felt confident enough to share personal feelings and emotions with the group (usually comprising a mixture of regulars and newcomers).

[...] there's something about meditating together. There's something about human beings sitting in a room being quiet and accepting that we've all got problems! That we can't fix and some we can. And I'll guess that's like, you know, when you got to church, you sort of, or you know a mosque, you're kind of, there's something about a group act. (Michelle).

In mobilities intensive societies where people are often relocating or being displaced or subjected to multiple sources of information and products that alter perceptions of place, religious or spiritual communities can provide a sense of stability and support (Martin, 1998; Inglehart and Norris, 2004 cited in Sharma, 2012). Sharing, either personal feelings or thoughts on the teaching, for most of the meditation centre attendees I spoke during the participant observation was viewed a positive feature of the classes and sessions. However Richard, who had a general ambivalent relationship with his meditation centre, struggled with the post-meditation discussions:

The conversation around the fire after, [...] was all for me, a little bit stilted because...so many of them have a belief system that I don't share. And it eventually kind of, became too much of a problem for me, to sit there with people talking about rebirth and stuff like that and you're thinking...well I don't believe that, you know. 'I've been alive forever.' I don't think so!

For Richard, the difference between social discussions at the meditation centre and the secular discourse of everyday life as well as the beliefs of the other attendees appears to be a step too far for him to be comfortable. Whilst Michelle and others valued the security of the space that allowed for sharing of personal feelings and emotions, Richard found this off-putting. One reason for this maybe that Richard, unlike many of the other participants in this sample, lived within the structure of the nuclear family and so may already have had access to the kind of support that Michelle and others sought from the meditation centre in a mobile and fragmented community (Martin, 1998; Sharma, 2012). The use of meditation groups for personal support will be revisited later in the following section.

Meditation centres, like the churches in this study, provided a set apart space of stability, structure and security for meditative practice and for the sharing of emotions. Whilst not always successful in this regard, such as in the case of Richard, they are able to provide these qualities for many of the people who attend meditation centres.

5.2.2 *Communitas*

As discussed in Chapter 3, Turner and Turner's (1978) concept of *communitas* as spontaneous sociality amongst pilgrims been critiqued as many pilgrims travel within organised groups of people they know from their 'home' situation (Eade, 1991). Not only will they know many of the people on the pilgrimage but the presence of the clerical staff will often ensure there are still hierarchical forms of leadership within the travelling congregation. However the term *communitas* is still useful in describing the renewed relations between individuals and the pilgrimage centre is still performed as set apart from everyday space, even if there are still embedded continuities with the pilgrim's normative quotidian life.

A form of *communitas* is achieved in certain time-spaces surrounding the Sunday morning church service. Firstly the journey to the church habitually brings family and friends together

in co-presence as they make their way towards a shared space for collective worship. Secondly interactions are made before and after the service. Tea and coffee is served and shared after the service in all the churches I visited, encouraging congregants to stay and socialise. Many of the diary-interview participants would not only remain for tea or coffee but continue conversations outside of the church, sometimes reconvening to local cafes or restaurants for further social engagement. These social associations that are made in conjunction with Sunday morning journeys to and from the church can enrich the experience for the congregant. Social networks can also be made through other activities connected with the church such as home study groups or children's after-school clubs. Indeed for one participant, Lucy, it was evident that much of her social and familial life orientated around the church and other members of the congregation. On most weekdays she would visit straight after work as well as Sundays to volunteer with after-school clubs and other social functions. Her involvement after-school also meant that often she and her children would take their evening meal to eat at the church. As Sharma (2012) argues, long term church membership sustains concrete social relations amongst congregants in an otherwise fluid and changing society. The assignment of responsibilities and tasks to congregant members, including many of the participants in this research, strings the church together into a community where power relations are negotiated and respected as Robert explains:

...And each person in there has got their own job. Some people are good at their own things, some people are good at other things. I've done work there doing sort of project management work on, on refurbishments and things, somebody else will do whatever they're good at. And it will all feel, it fits in, it's more or less like, ah how shall we say? It's like, well me being ex-navy as well, I suppose the best analogy would be it's a ship.

Everybody's got their own job. They can cross train now and again and work on something else there but everybody's got their own way of

keeping the ship afloat. And it works beautifully. In that church it works beautifully.

The church as reported here has not only a social entity but as an alternate economic infrastructure to that of the external capitalist conditions of society. Robert's comments were echoed in the experiences of other participants who had involvement with their church. The church then becomes a time-space set apart from surrounding social and economic relationships that co-exist with those relations adopted outside of the church. Involvement with the church community for Robert and other participants was not limited to the church but extended beyond its boundaries, maintaining the social relationships formed within the church to help each other and participate in non-church activities. Relationships formed within the sense of *communitas* can be maintained outside of the site of the church but they retain the non-hierarchical structure based on shared values, attitudes and practices.

As discussed in the preceding section, Buddhist meditation centres are also capable of establishing a form of *communitas*. Non-hierarchical spaces where inhabitants feel comfortable and secure enough to share silences, potential vulnerabilities of sitting with unknown people and sharing personal emotions amongst the group. Meditation groups are often perceived to be non-judgemental and this was commented upon as source of support:

Sean: There's something very...it's kind of friendly, relaxed...sense and also, and a lack of obligation. So you know, you turn up, you don't turn up, it's sort of like when you turn up...everyone says 'hi' well not everyone but you know people I know there, friendly. And if you don't turn up, they're practising anyway, it's not, there's something about that that's very...erm...I find very supportive.

Sean here refers to the absence of obligation with the meditation centre, resonating with Davie's (2006) identification of the social shift in religion away from 'obligation' to consumption. Further evidenced by Sean's attitude in deciding whether or not to attend, '...you turn up, you don't turn up...' Other participants reflected this emphasis on individual agency at the centres. Classes tended to have a less of a social dimension and more of a temporary 'mooring' quality. Some participants reporting that they rarely spoke to anyone else within their group outside of the class. Meditation sessions often had a more entangled community. Some participants like Michelle drew emotional and psychological support from their group and others like Sean found support in a more relaxed capacity. As Bauman (2000) suggests, such visits are journeys to spaces of community that are often absent in modern Western society. Yet social bonds were often dependent upon physical proximity and co-presence in the meditation in difference to the relations that formed in the Baptist sample which continued strongly outside of the official space of the church.

As has been outlined, churches offer a mixture of place and function based community analogous to that of pilgrimage. From the structure, social and economic perspectives they stand opposite to everyday public space, not as anti-structural in the Turners' sense but as a rival, mimetic structure. Meditation centres were more ambiguous in the developing *communitas*. Classes were not seemingly conducive to developing sociality amongst attendees whilst sessions often had some sense of community amongst group members. Simultaneously both the classes and sessions were able to ensure participants felt safe and secure enough to share trust and silent space together. Furthermore as the participants mostly attended as individuals rather than as part of a family or friendship group, there was a less hierarchical structure to these groups; participants attended due to shared interests and activities rather than because of pre-existing socio-economic conditions. These factors reflect Turner and Turner's (1978) notions of *communitas* and liminality amongst pilgrim groups.

5.3. Chapter summary

Earlier in this chapter, it was found that current literature regarding contemporary forms of pilgrimage refuted traditional perceptions of pilgrimages as long, arduous and expensive journeys to a sacred centre. For many European and North American pilgrims, pilgrimage does not necessitate difficult forms of travel such as barefoot or lengthy prostrations; instead modern forms of travel have largely erased the arduous nature of long distances for many pilgrims. Additionally *communitas* has been modified due to the presence of communication technologies and pre-existing social groups travelling together. Amongst the Baptist church sample, the quantitative survey data in this research suggests and the qualitative data of the diary-interviews further illuminates the presence of thought, intention and meaning to the habitual journeys made to church every Sunday morning. The time-space of the journey to church has been shown to be valued as time-out and quality time for social interactions.

The Buddhist meditation centre sample exhibited a mixture of conformity and non-conformity to valuing the journey to the meditation centre. Some participants were able to use this journey to gradually prepare for the activity at the centre whilst others had a greater sense of anxiety due to the turn-around from getting home from work and then going out to the meditation centre. Furthermore this journey was usually made alone in the meditation centre sample.

Church and meditation centre buildings also constitute a space set apart from that surrounding it. Although not fully separate – indeed they still share social, spatial, economic and cultural relations with the surrounding and interlinked environments – they represent a break or suspension of daily and weekly proceedings for participants and so replicate a liminal zone. Diary-interview participants found that despite stresses and anxieties that may have been accumulated in the preparation and journey to the venue, once sat down at the church they

were focussed on the service. This was also echoed within the Buddhist meditation centre participants.

Examining the journey as an otherwise overlooked aspect of church attendance, I have identified that if contemporary pilgrimage theory negotiates, challenges and contests previous theoretical definitions, then journeys to church venues can be considered as sharing some features of pilgrimage: There is an intention and importance attached to the enactment of the journey itself; sociality around the centring point of the journey is common and; the destination is a time-space set apart of normal weekly and surrounding rhythms and spaces and contains its own expectations of behaviour and discourse. Considering journeys to the Sunday morning church service sharing feature with pilgrimage or as a form of micro-pilgrimage reflects the importance and meaning that the participants attach to these repeated performances.

Participants in this research were often found to have developed specific processes and rituals in attending to and preparing for worship and meditation. There was some variance in dimensions of sociability that reflected wider trends of subjectivisation between the congregational domain and the holistic milieu. The emotional and social entanglements of the journey and the centre become enfolded into 'place' and part of an overall subjective spiritual geography generated by the individual. Chapter 6 will now focus on more everyday mobilities and the practice of spirituality outside of the official time and space of religion.

Chapter 6: Spiritual practices in everyday

time-space mobilities

This chapter reconfigures time-spaces of mobility as sites for the blurring of the boundaries between the religious, the spiritual and secular. In response to Kong's (2001a) call for research into religion beyond the official boundaries of codified spaces such as churches, temples and mosques, geographers have increasingly interrogated everyday lived spaces. On occasion this has included some engagement with everyday spaces of mobility or the acknowledgement of the busy pattern of socio-economic responsibilities that characterises much of contemporary Western society (Holloway, 2003; Philo, Cadman and Lea, 2011; 2015). Yet the underlying assumption of these studies is that the involvement of religion and spirituality, manifest in either attitudes or behaviours, necessitates or imitates stillness and calmness for the individual. With the development of the new mobilities paradigm in the early 2000s, there is recognition that movement and flow that characterise contemporary social spaces shape the way in which people perceived and behaved within everyday time-spaces.

Chapter 5 examined specific journeys to the church or meditation centre undertaken by the participants in order to demonstrate the meanings and significance that these regularly repeated journeys, often with their own sequences and sociality can accrue for the participant. Increasing the scale of analysis, this chapter explores the opportunities available within everyday journeys, predominantly commuting, for representing and practicing religion and spirituality within these time-spaces. Everyday time-space mobilities exist as non-places designed for minimal engagement with locality and optimal flow of people and traffic (Augé, 2008). This chapter explores how these time-spaces of mobilities or 'more-than-travel' time, characterised by such fleetingness and temporariness, can become sites of meaning and

significance due to the beliefs, attitudes and behaviours that are practiced within them. Both Chapters 5 and 6 feed an understanding of the practices and performances that make these time-spaces meaningful to participants; that make these time-spaces are meaningful places to participants. More-than-travel time provides opportunities for their inhabitants to make present their spiritual beliefs and practices in otherwise secular space outside of the 'official' boundaries of religion. They become important locations for the participant. These processes of belief and practice are integral to the construction of sacred space and the negotiation of place identity.

The first part of this chapter draws from phases two and three of the research methods, the questionnaire and diary-interviews, to explore the opportunities available in more-than-travel time to cultivate personal spirituality is asserted despite the neutralised discourse of 'non-places'. Part two explores the chance encounters and situations that arise when the individual is moving within a daily range and how these are perceived or framed within the context of the spirituality and belief. Such enacted beliefs and practices can enable a sense of place-making and identity for the participant as these spaces become a subjective spiritual geography.

6.1. Travel-time practices and activities

As discussed in Chapter 3, everyday journeys provide a time-space for individual to temporarily escape from responsibilities when simultaneously, often travelling to them at places of home, work, utility, recreation and leisure. The topic of spiritual practices and reflection in such time-spaces has been neglected in academic literature and these will now be examined in this section.

6.1.1 A (travel) time for news, prayer and meditation

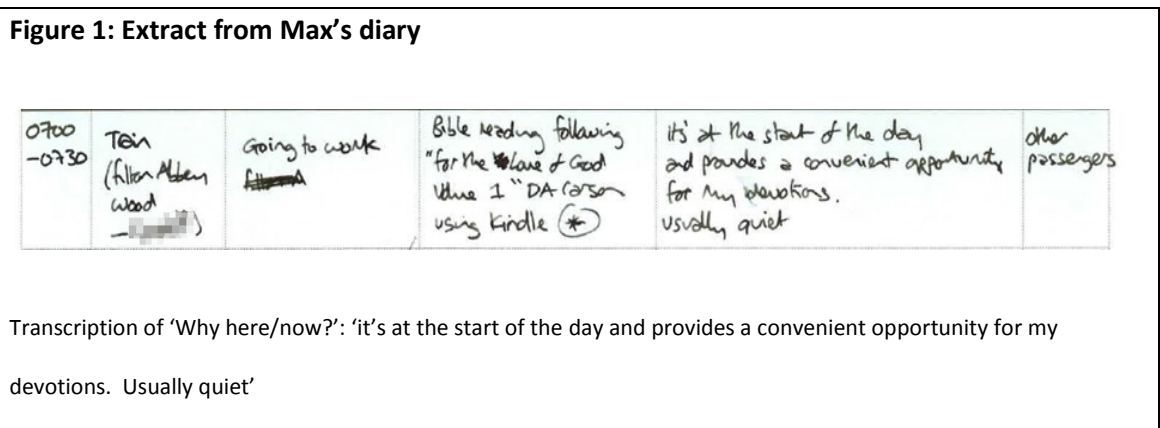
Like millions of drivers across the UK, survey respondents and diary-interviewees reported using their driving time to listen to the radio, particularly the BBC Radio 4 *Today* programme

and 'Thought for the Day' segment. What distinguished these research participants was their processing of the content through a Christian framework. For example two of the diary-interviewees, Fred and Sally, found that the news on the radio would present national and international issues and causes for concern that could later be reflected upon within the context of prayer. Fred's concern for social justice and social values caused him to draw on information from the 20 minutes of the *Today* programme. This commuting time-space was very useful to him as his access to other news sources would otherwise be limited, by his heavy workload, to occasional viewings of the BBC News website on a tablet computer and *The Sunday Telegraph* newspaper. Commuting time spent in the car afforded the opportunity for this participant to access political news and information that could then be interpreted and acted upon within his Christian frame of reference.

Sally remarked that she incorporated prayers for recent news events that would be sourced from the *Today* programme within her 'shopping list' of prayers. At the time of the diary and interview, she had been praying for those affected by the extensive floods that had impacted upon southern England, particularly in the Somerset levels, near to Bristol. Prayer time for Sally required privacy from others and the private space of the car provided the necessary and important shelter for the exercise of prayer. Whilst Sally had access to other spaces that could be rendered private such as her home, these were often shared with others. The morning commute in the car provided a space that could be relied upon to be a private space. Unlike Fred, her consumption of the *Today* programme was limited to whatever time remained on her commute journey after she had completed that day's prayer time and so was not as regulated. Fred's prayer time occurred in the morning, immediately prior to his commute. During the weekend both participants were less regulated in this news-gathering role. Although Fred did maintain early-morning prayer time and read the newspapers on a Sunday, the commuting time-space could guarantee consumption of wider news whilst the weekends

were often more flexible. The use of communications technology to inform practices such as prayer will be discussed further in Chapter 8.

Max's morning commutes in the diary were split between cycling to a local train station and then travelling for 40 minutes on the train during which time he would read his Bible notes. A time-space activity, commuting, which had to be performed due for social-economic reasons, provided an opportunity to engage in an activity such as reading and prayer (Figure 1).



Max's travel time use had settled after several years of different commutes using different forms of transport in which he had also explored podcasts, audio sermons and both worship and non-worship music. Currently he was satisfied with this use of time on the train, which includes using a Kindle after previously using a small bible. He enthusiastically recounted an encounter with a train conductor remarked 'good book!' when he saw Max was reading a bible. Max referred to this anecdote twice throughout his participation, in the initial questionnaire from which he was recruited and later in the interview. This would suggest that he found some satisfaction in being recognised as a Christian, acting as witness, by strangers. Further evidence, when I asked him if he preferred using a Kindle for the anonymity it afforded as other people cannot see what the use is reading, he responded:

No, not really. [...] when I first started I was a little bit self-conscious but then you just think 'well, what the heck.'

Max's Bible reading on his commute in the morning prompts contemplation on the topic for the rest of his day and often informs his prayers.

[...] doing the reading before, remind me who...God is...and again it drives the context for the prayer. [...] I mean there's probably a good reason to pray before you read and....so the spirit enlightens what's being read. But I don't seem to find, I never seem to find...I mean I have read in the past fairly mechanistically but I try to read to...see what God is saying and then there's notes afterwards that I usually read. So there'll be...erm...a review of what's been there, I mean sometimes that can be good, sometimes that can be amazing, sometimes it can be...fairly banal so...erm...I find that all helps really.

As with Fred and Sally using the *Today* programme to gather news for prayer, Max and other participants in this research, including members of the Buddhist meditation centre sample with podcasts and smartphone 'apps', used mobile technologies to act as a conduit between material and non-material manifestations of spirituality. There will be further discussion on digital technologies in Chapter 8.

Like Max, other respondents to the questionnaire also reported that everyday mobilities afforded an opportunity to contemplate, reflect, worship or experience their relationship with God:

It's often where I do most of my praying/thinking about others. (Car-driver and walker, female, Baptist, 35-44)

I really need the space provided by travel to reflect on my relationship with God. (Car-driver, female, Baptist, 35-44)

Time for prayer - very little space in life but journey time can provide this.

(Cyclist, female, Baptist, 35-44)

The Meditation centre sample also used these opportunities to become mindful or 'present' in what is happening around them at that moment, for relaxation or to contemplate teaching:

I see travelling to work mindfully as an important part of Zen practice

(Cyclist, train-user and walker, male, Meditation centre, 35-44)

Sometime practicing breathing into my belly to feel relaxed. (Walker, male, Meditation centre, 5-54)

My journeys are more meaningful since I started practising Dharma because I use them to think about Dharma. (Cyclist, male, Meditation centre, 25-34)

The above comments illustrate the personal and spiritual value that can be attached to travel time. Additionally all three respondents here use the spatial language of 'where' and 'space', indicating that these journeys do not just provide the time but are framed as a space outside of secular life conditions and responsibilities. 'Space' is also constructed as a static non-moving entity, a momentary place that the individual constructs through materials, gestures and practices. Are the respondents here referring to the entire journey space from the origin to the destination or to a portion of this journey space? Or is the inhabited body space temporarily transformed into a sacred space? The above comments evidence there is an emphasis on journey time-space as the location of religious activity within an overall schedule. Activities delegated to different spaces according to which environment is most conducive to which activities (Holley, Jain and Lyons, 2008; Jain and Lyons, 2008; Laurier, 2004) and

resonating with humanistic determinist ideas of place as meaningful and purposed (Tuan, 1977). In these cases, prayer and reflection are assigned to travel time-space due to the occupation of other static time-spaces with different activities. Everyday journeys, by their very nature, are recurrent and expected; familiarity is generated with a route and the parts of the route that require concentration and the parts that require less concentration.

Everyday mobility time-spaces surround the individual with a discourse of rationalised modernity. Planned and maintained routes (roads, rails, pavements) form interchangeable components that interlink together to form a unique and individual journey. Time and objects within this journey are visible manifestations of non-material realities in the material world that combine to engineer a subjectivised channel of meaning for each individual. However the stability of the route invites a degree of instability of the journey as actors congregate and encounter each other, reproducing everyday life with subtle variations day after day (Bennett, 2001; Pred, 1981; Shove, Pantzar and Watson, 2012). A subjective reality and informal spirituality is generated. Religious and spiritual thoughts and practices enter into this reality that both reinforce the reality through travel time usage and transform the reality by inserting the rupture of the otherworldly into this worldly time-space.

6.1.2 Time-space for worship music

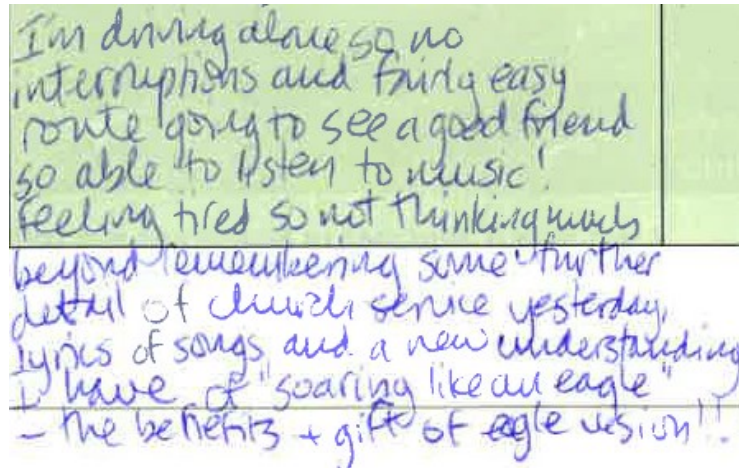
Within the Baptist church sample the most popular response of the survey question 9 regarding travel time uses was listening to music and combined with singing, reported by over 50% of those who responded to this question. This section discusses the use of music as a portable phenomenon that can be either material (in the use of CDs or mp3s) or non-material (through singing) in the Christian tradition. Use of music was reported less within the meditation centre sample in the questionnaire (by 11 of 81 respondents) and did not feature in the diary-interview. This subsection therefore concentrates on the Baptist sample. Sound enhances the individual's perception of dynamism within the world (Tuan, 1982) and the

stimulation of music emotionally and cognitively affects the body (Frith, 2002). This has also been extended to studies of the body within motorised movement (Bull, 2004; Edensor, 2003). Music, as Guthrie (2003; 2007) reminds us, has been a prominent part of Christian worship since the early decades of the church. Guthrie (2003) traces the endorsement of the employment of sacred words along with music to Augustine and onwards through to Calvin and Bonhoeffer, as a tool to aid the body to conform to worship and in the process, bringing the mind along.

Listening and singing to music increases the body's activity and can be used to excite or regulate the individual's emotions (Davies, 2011; Edensor, 2003; Frith, 2002) which can in turn be used to focus on something unifying and Otherly transcendent (Davies, 2011; Guthrie, 2003). Davie (2006) suggests that one of the factors in the popularity of cathedral and charismatic services in the late 1990s and early 2000s has been the role of the aesthetic experience including the music. Habitual recital and aesthetic experience of Christian music may reinforce the Christian message more effectively than conscious sermons (Lindenbaum, 2012) as it is a participatory, embodied action that can generate and affective emotional state.

Music was very important to Eleanor and facilitated continuity between church worship and everyday life. During both the diary and interview Eleanor alluded to the reverberations of the images and themes of the church sermon during the week. In Figure 2 the memories of that week's church service echo into secular time-space. The lyrics, in particular, allowed for further contemplation.

Figure 2: Extract from Eleanor's diary



I'm driving alone so no interruptions and fairly easy route going to see a good friend so able to listen to music! Feeling tired so not thinking much beyond remembering some further detail of church service yesterday, lyrics of songs and a new understanding I have of "soaring like an eagle" - the benefits + gift of eagle vision!

Transcription: 'I'm driving alone so no interruptions and fairly easy route going to see a good friend so able to listen to music! Feeling tired so not thinking much beyond remembering some further detail of church service yesterday, lyrics of songs and a new understanding I have of "soaring like an eagle! - the benefits + gift of eagle vision!'

Notably, two of the Baptist churches involved in the survey prominently featured contemporary forms of worship music in their services. One played music that was similar to late 20th and early 21st century rock, pop and indie genres with a full band line up of guitars, drummers, bass and singers. The other was focussed around the folk-ragtime orientated interests of the minister with acoustic guitar, flutes and vocalists. Not only can music help to regulate the mood within a particular environment, but additionally to aid control of, dwelling in, as well as familiarise territory (Bull, 2004; Frith, 2002). Music can also lead to conflict between groups and individuals who resent being involuntarily subjected to the musical selections of other people (Frith, 2002), reflected in the following comment when asked about reactions that respondents have received (question 10):

'[S]ome people don't like the religious music I play for my children in the car.' (Car-driver, female, Baptist, 25-34)

Music is everywhere and the diversity of music being played is extensive and wide-reaching (Frith, 2002) from classical ‘hold’ music on the telephone to hip-hop on TV adverts; Christian music can be a form of Hjarvard’s (2008) ‘banal religion’ in that it can provide a backdrop to, rather than focus of activity but also as low-intensity and continual engagement can form a significant element of the individual’s religious and spiritual life. However the description of worship music as a form of ‘banal religion’ would prove contentious with Max as he believed the words carried a weight that deserved special attention:

[...] it’s not supposed to be for entertainment... I don’t revert to background music or whatev[er], elevator music cos I mean the words are quite...profound. Erm...and we’ll have it in the car...as background music for the kids. But then we’ll encourage them to...er...trying to encourage them in their Christian faith so I think there is...that content is quite useful but I wouldn’t just have it [on as background music]. (Max, Car-driver, male, Baptist, 35-44)

Whereas Max was keen to ensure listening to worship music was a conscious choice rather than merely to fill a silence, Rita was keen to use music as a method to ‘smudge’ the divide between religious and secular music; juxtaposing the two categories side by side on playlists that she made. Eleanor explained in her interview that contemporary Christian music had come to form a key part of her life following a recent reaffirmation of faith. Like Max, she records a disinterest in ‘background’ music in the diary when she switches off an over-played Christmas carol. Later on in the week chooses an upbeat Christian rock band to soundtrack driving. Music and lyrics have to resonate with the individual and if they do, then the effect can be to profoundly reinforce the Christian message of love and redemption in everyday life by being present in and, as Lindenbaum (2012) suggests, transforming everyday situations into

Christian practices. A critical time-space where the secular representations of space are challenged spatial practice that produces a space where representations of the secular and religious are combined (Knott, 2005a). Resonating with this production and transformation of place Fallov, Jorgensen and Knudsen (2013) argue that practices associated with the home are transplanted into mobile situations to aid a sense of belonging. Practices such as worship music can bring and alter a sense of belonging in the time-spaces of mobility.

Although not prompted by an explicit survey question, eight people reported that they would sing songs or hymns that contributed towards their religious or spiritual life whilst cycling or driving. These answers were reported by respondents in either the 'other' response category or the open question 13 and then reclassified into a 'singing' category during SPSS data conversion. Whilst there has been little literature discussion of the possibility of singing whilst cycling, it has been noted that the private environment of the car can allow drivers to feel comfortable singing (Bull, 2004). Continuing from his previous statement above, Max noted how singing would help him to grasp the meaning of British Christian singer-songwriter Matt Redman's lyrics more deeply:

If I was listening to it I'd be listening to it, kind of trying to sing along to think about what is being....sung really. And to make it penetrate.

However Max would be discouraged from singing if the private space of the car was being shared:

[...] I'd sing along if I was on my tod [own] but I wouldn't with anyone else...in the car.

When asked why he would not feel comfortable singing with other people in the car, Max was unsure.

Max: Er...pride, I don't know. No, I don't, it's quite, I mean I sing in church.

Erm...but the car? I don't know, ah, I don't know why it's a mental block for me. Cos everybody else sings [...] I don't know, it just doesn't feel right.

Edward: But if you're on your own, you will?

M: Yeah, yeah, yeah. Yeah, yeah. I don't know [why he doesn't sing when with other people]. Fear of looking the idiot? Making mistakes? Yeah, I don't know. Odd, that's odd.

This converges and contrasts with the anonymity allowed within church of feeling comfortable singing due to the merging of the individual's voice with the collective voices of others present (Guthrie, 2003; Wolff, 1999). Anonymity and privacy is also provided within the personalised space of the car (Bull, 2004). This privacy can also be extended to other modes of transport. Several respondents also reported singing whilst cycling although this like other cycling activities is often subject to the energy requirement of the negotiating topography or traffic that can remove the mental capacity (and breath) for singing (Jones, 2012);

Sing on bike under (if in breath - or in head if not) (Cyclist, female, Baptist, 35-44)

Sally also stated in her diaries that she would sing in her head whilst swimming but played this down in her interview, suggesting this was encouraged by the lack of other stimulation as in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Extract from Sally's diary

16	swimming	Swimming for fitness	Sang christian songs in my head, talked to God in my head	Talked to god/sang because swimming is boring and all I can do is think!!!	yes
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Singing can be an embodied experience of worship in which the sensuous nature of tempo, rhythm and melody combine with words of meaning to direct the body towards a transcendent focus away from the internal self. As has been demonstrated, spaces of mobility can allow for this element has continuity with church worship to be enacted in everyday life. A movement away from traditional sacred, classical music to worship music that is closer in style to contemporary pop and rock has eased a transfer to space outside the church boundaries. Music that relies less upon the acoustic or atmospheric environment, as is the case with hymnal or choral, but is pre-packaged to be played anywhere, anytime. Melody and song lend themselves as ideal exercises to be taken anywhere, anytime due to the lack of material resources required and appropriation to soundtrack the mobile movement.

Although this section has found dissent in the use of music as 'banal religion', most notably in Max's discomfort with the idea of worship music as background music, listening or singing music appears to be consciously chosen for the purposes of asserting the religious within otherwise non-codified or partially demarked space. This can be as a bridge building exercise between the religious and the secular as in the case of Rita or a method to submerge the self within a Christian ambience, worship and contemporary Christian music. Worship or religious music is used to move and enmesh the religious and the secular together as part of living with faith in a wider spiritual framework.

This subsection has identified travel time activities engaged by participants within this research that make a contribution to their religious practices and spirituality. These are proactive

positive actions that the participants perform in order to make present religious and spiritual qualities within secular discourses that characterise everyday time-spaces of mobility. In making the religious and the spiritual present, the individual, through these performances, generates meaning within these time-spaces. The next section will highlight activities and practices that are less proactive, although not always solely reactive, and involve a deeper embeddedness with the events and landscape time-spaces the participant travels through.

6.2. Encounters and situations within travel-time

Multiple different time-space paths converge in British cities and draw together thousands of diverse actors each with a personal background and culture which impresses upon and is impressed upon by other actors they meet or temporarily co-habit with en-route (Bauman, 2000). Wilson (2011) echoes Massey's (2005) observation of public transport as the 'throwntogetherness' with others but in many respects this can be widened to time-spaces of mobility in general. Whilst de Certeau (1988) heralds the possibility of encounter that walking in the city can allow, this can also be found in faster, motorised forms of transport. Sensory impressions maybe be dulled due to the isolating environment of the car according to Sheller and Urry (2000), however as they suggest in a later paper (2006), the car engineers a different form of dwelling within place as the local is increasingly stretched across multiple landscapes and city neighbourhoods. In the process, drivers (and their passengers) have less intensive, more extensive encounter with a greater range of people, places and situations. For example one participant, Sally, reported that she always noticed and felt a broad sense of community with drivers who like herself displayed the Christian fish symbol on the back of their cars illustrating encounter with others. Christian theology has recognised that the Other is needed in order to define the Self, whether that be the Self of the Church or the Christian (Garnett *et al.*, 2006; Partridge, 2007). The Self is brought into contact with the Other in mundane, banal

and frequent situations within everyday mobilities and geographies. This section will now discuss other elements of encounter that can be stimulated by the instability of mobility.

6.2.1 Strangers and dangers

For many questionnaire respondents and participants there were many less official, more subjective processes of encountering and identifying phenomena that would form part of official routines or practices:

Sometimes pray - about what I'm about to do, or people I will see. I pray about people I might meet - lonely people, needy people, angry people etc & how God (through me in a humble way) can help them - a smile or a reassuring word) (Bus-user, female, Baptist, 65-69)

Will always pray if I see an ambulance/police car or fire engine on its way to an emergency. (Bus-user, male, Baptist, 16-19)

If I see an emergency vehicle with blue lights I always pray about their destination/purpose (Bus-user and walker, female, Baptist, 65-69)

These quotes reveal a prompt by the encounters that mobility brings, and a response directed and expressed through Christian faith. The first respondent directly engages with the people she encounters through her own physical displacement. Resisting the automated and sterile superficial relations that are deployed between strangers in public spaces of flow (Bauman, 2000; Bissell, 2009), the respondent finds a channel in which a very human desire to help someone else is performed in a manner observing appropriate social etiquette.

The meditation sample also revealed several similar responses, this time is framed through Buddhist practice:

Try to think of Metta when I see people (Car-driver, walker and cyclist, female, Meditation centre, 35-44)

During journey from home & during my job I often try to practice patience & kindness to others. (Car-driver, female, Meditation centre, 55-59)

Wishing well to those around me esp[ecially] waiting for a bus or train metta bhavna. Meditation at airports often in chapel or quiet room. (Walker, male, Meditation centre, 65-69)

To be as fully aware as possible in relationship to people I meet, whether I know them or not. (Cyclist, male, Meditation centre, 65-69)

Metta bhavna or loving-kindness, is an action in which the practitioner wishes wellbeing to firstly themselves, friends or family and then to strangers. *Metta* was often practiced at the meditation centres during the participant-observation fieldwork. Like the use of prayer noted above, the deployment of *metta* in mobility time-spaces (also evidenced in the Section 6.2.2 with Penny) suggests that an impulse to recognise the interconnectedness of humanity (in Buddhist understanding) across the divisions from each other that heavily regulated and isolated time-spaces of mobility instil in public transport and the car. *Metta* is usually a silent act and so emulates the social etiquette expected in mobility time-spaces (Bissell, 2009) whilst allowing the practitioner to exercise their spirituality.

Praying and wishing for the wellbeing of those encountered in movement and involved in an emergency is a benevolent act that does not interrupt the regulated flows of mobility thereby adapting to the regulations of mobility time-space. The second and third participants respond to a situation they encounters whilst on the move but with a degree separation from the

original situation, the emergency, for which he prays. Danger and conflict are often present within mobility spaces, requiring specific responses.

Include prayer for safe journeys in my prayertime (Car-passenger, female, Baptist, 65-69)

Praying for safety & apologising for angry outbursts (Motorcyclist, male, Baptist, 45-54)

Underlying fear within travel-spaces is illustrated here by the concern manifested in praying and symbolism of emergencies inherent in modern travel routes are responded to here with a Christian method of care and compassion within spaces of mobility. These brief insights into the everyday travels of the respondents illustrate the reactive nature in which their prayers and contemplation maybe directed. They are embedded and present within the everyday through concerns for the safety of themselves and others. The female car-passenger suggests that she includes prayers for safe journeys within her prayer-time, acknowledging the risks introduced into everyday life by widened access to mobility. Meditation centre respondents were also aware of the dangers of motorised movement and like the motorcyclist above, the range of emotions that are involved in mass mobility:

Cycling on Gloucester Rd [in Bristol] is a practice of mindfulness and non-reactivity (Cyclist, male, Meditation centre, 45-54)

As this perhaps tongue-in-cheek comment by the cyclist indicates, moving at different speeds across different transport modes generates new risks which increase with speed and power. Yet a driver also responds to this risk:

Consideration of the well being of cyclists (Car-driver, male, Meditation centre, 55-59)

The next subsection will expand further upon mindfulness during driving but for now it will suffice to recognise these actions of prayer and *metta* as indicative of how spirituality and religion can seep into and affect the follower in contrast to literature that suggest these spaces alienate and marginalise beliefs and practices in favour of universalist secular public discourse.

For many people, time-spaces of mobility increase the chance of risk and the perceived likelihood of danger stimulates the emotions and cognition in contrast with the regulated spaces of health and safety that govern many static spaces (Jones, 2012). Along with the earlier quote from a female bus-user, the respondents commenting on motorised travel construct these spaces of mobility as a potent cocktail of risks, emotions and encounters with others, thereby injecting an element of instability and unpredictability into social experiences. The potential for danger are ruptures in an otherwise sanitised discourse of mobility time-spaces where issues of life and death are colonised, normalised and regulated through risk management in attempts to bring it under human control (Bauman, 1998; Evans, 2010; Jones, 2012). Danger signalled by sirens and flashing lights are interruptions within the stable organised flows of mobility that disrupt the narrative of seamlessness and safety reminding the individual of the instability of life, stimulating a human response. Consequently these spaces prompt a response which has been seen in these comments as expressed through the discourse of prayer for the self, for others and transformed into an element of Christian and Buddhist praxis. Not just confined to the Christian experience but additionally reported in the meditation centre context through questionnaire and diary-interviews.

The situation or the people, for whom the quoted Baptist church attendees pray, are represented in the flashing blue lights and sirens of the emergency vehicle. Referring to Auge

(2008) and the reduction of human communication in everyday life to a series of signs and symbols, the full spectrum of possible human emergencies and tragedies is reduced and represented by these blue lights and sirens. Strangers in urban environment encounter each other for the briefest of moments as their time-space paths cross; an event without a past and unlikely to have a future (Bauman, 2000). Prayer for strangers is an intervention that can open the possibility of a future even if this future is hidden from the view of both parties. A moment of instability within a stable and regulated time-space (Caputo, 2001). Modern signs and symbols operate in the lexicon of 'non-places' (Augé, 2008), are re-appropriated through the frame of faith stimulating a socially compassionate Christian and Buddhist responses that bypasses the disconnectedness between strangers in these spaces. Instead establishing and challenging the boundaries of place, through inclusion or exclusion in the spiritual relationships of the participant.

6.2.2 Movement

As observed in Chapter 3, recent literature has explored the multiple ways in which travellers subvert the conventional view of travel time as unproductive time (Holley, Jain and Lyons, 2008; Jain and Lyons, 2008; Lyons, Jain and Holley, 2007; Lyons *et al.*, 2011); employing the periods of time that has to be used to travel for utility, education, leisure and social interactions to engage in work and other activities, often using mobile technology devices or other objects, books and magazines. Alternatively this time can be used to switch off from social obligations and responsibilities or a time-space to exercise emotions and sensory stimulation (Jensen, 2011a; Jones, 2012). Time-space practices in travel time form self-contained blocks that are compatible with modern, secular spaces of mobility; they can be engaged and disengaged, often instantaneously. Yet also form part of wider patterns of practice from other areas of the actor's life. From this research there is evidence that this regularly recurrent and familiar time-space of local journeys are used to engage in religious

and spiritual practices. This practice varied. Some were official practices that could be lifted directly from either the church or the meditation centre such as prayer, mindfulness or meditation. As Fallov, Jorgansen and Knudsen (2013) argue some practices engaged whilst in transit such as reading or using the phone are normally associated with the home and therefore help the traveller develop a sense of belonging to the transit space.

Prayer was cited by a number of questionnaire respondents as well as by car-drivers, a train-user and a cyclist in the diary interview. Additionally forms of mindfulness and meditation during travel time were reported in the questionnaire responses and the diary-interview participants. In these cases some ambiguity remained whether there was a dynamic spectrum where increased familiarity with the journey led to a greater likelihood of that journey being used for instances of prayer. Sally cited that the familiarity with her drive to work allowed her to tune out and work through a 'shopping list' of prayers for the day. This routine could often be punctuated by occasional complex traffic issues that required greater attention. When situations intervened that defied the predictability of the daily journey to work she was required to return her full attention back to driving. Similarly Eleanor reported that prayer and contemplation would most likely occur either on journeys that had become habitual or on motorways or major roads designed for predictability and producing a stabilised mobility time-space for such activity (Laurier, 2004).

Several meditation practitioners from the diary-interviews and the wider questionnaire sample advised that they used driving as an opportunity for mindfulness and meditation. Paul had developed a form of 'driving meditation' (with his eyes open) that involved mindfulness techniques. Whilst this participant had developed this practice by himself, there are also several videos on the YouTube video-sharing website, demonstrating forms of 'driving meditation'. When asked if he waited for quieter stretches of the journey, Paul responded that he did not, suggesting instead he believed the two actions of driving and meditation

complemented each other and traffic was therefore not a problem with safety or concentration. However he did also reveal that due to the location of his home being in between his workplace and the city centre, he was usually travelling in the opposite direction of travel from city-bound traffic, enabling a less congested and therefore more stable journey to work. Mindfulness and meditation was also discussed by other participants within this sample including Penny who used the frustrations of driving as an opportunity to practice *metta bhavna* (loving kindness) meditation.

[...] say somebody drives in a way then I might...some harsh words or swear words might come to mind but if I'm practising *metta* than it's much less likely to. And...erm...yeah so say I'm practising loving kindness towards the driver in front of me...I start to see them as a human being with their own struggles and joys...on their own journey to wherever. You know and I start to see them as a person...that's part of life, connected with me and I start to feel warmly towards them.

Later, when asked if this practice was extended to other road users, Penny added:

[...] there is a particular point of congestion caused by the zebra crossing where there's a bit of a tailback. Because...er...in the rush hour there are lots of streams of pedestrians and then there's no system to...erm...like traffic lights to allow the pedestrians to stop and the traffic to go. So you sort of just wait for your opportunity of a break from pedestrians and you go! So there...I found I was wishing *metta* to the pedestrians [laughs] cos they were in front of me!

Through the practices of driving and these different forms of meditation, secular and spiritual dimensions become fused and mutually supportive of each other. Moreover a subjective spiritual geography of practices is constructed with specific parts of the journey, such as the zebra crossing, enabling or encouraging spiritual activity. Knowledge of the route and its cognitive requirements is habitualised through repeated performances everyday, in the process allowing the participant to find the most appropriate segments of the journey for spiritual practices.

Rita, a cyclist, waited for a specific section of her commute across Bristol in order to run through a sequence of prayer and bible recitations. She would begin this by turning off the main road which comprised the first section of her commute and into a park for the remainder of the journey. This sequence of prayer or as she termed it, a 'cycle liturgy', was initially developed after speaking to a friend who performed a similar practice when walking through a local journey. Since beginning this practice she had begun to associate the steps within the sequence with particular visual references found within the park as shown in Figure 4:

Figure 4: Excerpt from Rita's diary

8:30-
9
ont.

There's an additional connection here between the prayer and the journey. I say 'you make me rest in green pastures' and look at the grass. I say 'you lead me beside still waters' and look at the river. I say 'you restore my soul' and look at a bench. I say 'you lead me in paths of righteousness' and look at the path. I say 'even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death' as I go into a bumpy, muddy, darker path. At this time of year the pastures are muddy, the bench is muddy, and the bench is good.

The words recited by Rita at certain points on her journey through the park reframed the visual environment, inscribing these words of prayer into the landscape. Rita advised that she chose the park as the arena for this practice because of its sensory break from the surrounding section of her commute on the road. In interview, the Rita added that her main thoughts during the road section were regarding the traffic and her behaviour, as a cyclist, within it. The park section poses less risk from traffic and a stable environment that can allow the actor to be distracted without needing to pay attention the constant choreography of traffic as commuters configure and reconfigure themselves on the road in relation to each other (Edensor, 2003). When compared to the road section of the journey with its quick-moving objects and actors along with the inherent risk factor, Rita took advantage of the slow-changing and moving environment of the park to provide sensory prompts and metaphors for her words.

Later in the interview, Rita also reported a regular routine which involved shopping at the weekly city centre farmers' market would prompt a brief moment of song of praise and thanks at a particular set of traffic lights before Bristol Bridge. Again she utilised visual metaphors present in the immediate surroundings:

...I didn't know why it was uplifting and I would like sing this little song,
praise him all creatures here below and I'd look at the people. Praise him
above ye heavenly host and look up there's the seagulls flying and they
become the heavenly host and it just kind of works. (Rita, cyclist, female,
Baptist, 35-44)

As with Rita's commute through the park, the space she travels through here is re-imagined through the accompaniment of words and images to different parts of the landscape. After practicing this routine for a while Rita learnt that the history of the bridge involved sieges,

murders and riots, 'ghosts' of the mundane landscape (Edensor, 2008). However in this reading, the bridge takes on more positive connotations as part of Rita's spiritual practice.

Another cyclist, Michelle from the Buddhist meditation centre sample, also used her commute to integrate the mundane everyday landscape with her spiritual practices.

Oh I go just up the road through the park and I, I, I elongate it so I take myself along the cycle path from the river cos I find it really relaxing and...erm...it's just more pleasant really. And again it's a bit more natural cos you're near the river and sometimes I stop and I do a little bit of mindfulness by the river. Either before or after work. And...er...yeah. I find it...I'm quite noise sensitive so cycling in traffic I don't like cos I get, I can see my mind...gets a lot more busy when there's more noise and so I like going on the cycle path cos there's hardly any noise and it calms me. It's calming for when I get into work. So I'm a bit better prepared when I get into work. I can feel the difference, yeah.

Like Rita, Michelle chooses a route to her work that separates her from the mobile choreography and noise of commuting traffic and this allows her space in order to calm the mind before work. Michelle is also drawn to the 'natural' landscape, exemplified in the flowing water which she continues to talk of the connection with the spaces she cycles through:

[...] I just try and focus on my breath sometimes or just the natural surroundings. I try and look around, just see what's changed. What's really nice about going along the cycle path is seeing the change in the seasons. You know the flowers coming out and then winter and the temperature. And just noticing that really helps to bring you into the moment, yeah.

The daily embodied rhythm of Michelle's cycle ride to work intersects with and makes visible the seasonal rhythms of the time-space from spring through to winter in an otherwise humanly constructed landscape. This enhanced perception of the natural rhythms imposes its own tempo and flow within the urban environment creating 'place-temporality' (Wunderlich, 2010; 2013) but also connecting the linear pace of Michelle's life to the circular rhythms of the cosmos through bringing her into the 'moment' in place. Rhythms of everyday life and spirituality and their relation to everyday mobility will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

Throughout this subsection I have outlined different *strategies* that participants have enacted in order to import official venue place-based practices of prayer, meditation and singing into unofficial spaces of the car and the cycle ride. There has been a negotiation between the secular requirements of concentration, skill and regulation needed to move through spaces of mobility and the spiritual practices. This negotiation challenges official secular representations of modernist time-space as mobility converges with a world informed by spirituality. These practices constitute an ordering of space and attributing of meaning to these spaces that develops and reinforces the relationship between the participant and their sense of place.

6.2.3 Slowing down

Sometimes, the local environment could provoke the participant into a response they interpreted through a framework of faith and spirituality. Often, these responses would be prompted by an assertion of the natural world into the otherwise concrete built environment of (sub)urban Bristol. From their diaries, Rita found inspiration in the hues and light of a winter morning in an urban park in south Bristol; Eleanor reports experiencing a sense of awe in the intricate detail of an autumn leaf on an otherwise mundane pavement, transferring the micro-intricacy to the macro-detailing of the cosmos. Minor experiences perhaps, but also

examples of 'enchantment' or the 'momentarily immobilizing encounter' (Bennett, 2001, p5). These moments rely on a degree of unexpectedness but also a sense of the uncanny (Bennett, 2001) and for these participants are located within their daily (even walking) range of time-space.

Changes of speed often precipitated these experiences. Elsewhere in the diaries, Eleanor talked of leaving the motorway during a journey to the outskirts of Bristol and feeling moved by the change in surroundings from grey monotone motorway to green landscapes. A heavy bike loaded with groceries and a steep hill would compel Rita to dismount her bike after her weekly trip to the supermarket and she remarked that slower speed allowed for greater awareness of local surroundings and in her case the view over Bristol. A similar observation was made by Penny who noted a greater sense of presence whilst cycling than when driving, easing states of mindfulness. Additionally there was a perception of time-stretching when walking was discussed. Following on from Maddrell's (2011b) findings that the rhythms that infuse walking allow for alternating states of mindfulness and non-reflexivity as pilgrims find their own internal rhythm, questionnaire responses included commented:

Walking gives you time to think about what you do, which should make you a better person and Christian. (Car-driver, female, Baptist, 35-44)

Trying to do walking meditation on my way to work. Being mindful.

(Walker, female, Meditation centre, 35-44)

At other times when walking was discussed, this mode was framed by words of meditation, social meetings or appreciation of nature as well as prayer suggesting these respondents found walking a more leisurely transport mode, requiring less concentration and therefore providing the mental capacity to contemplate other subjects. This resonates with walking being viewed

as a medium for observation and immersion in the rhythms of the urban landscape that stimulate the sensory patterns of the body (de Certeau, 1988; Lefebvre, 2004; Middleton, 2010). In these examples walking is constructed, and often marginalised in popular discourse (Bonham, 2006), as time out of the speed and intensity of other mobilities and responsibilities required from other aspects of everyday life. Coupled with lessening of bodily exertion required the reduction in speed allows for time for the individual to turn the mind away from everyday and immediate concerns to transcendent and other-worldly matters.

Walking in park to take children to school important connecting with nature
very spiritual for me (Multiple transport, transgender, Meditation centre,
45-54)

Chapter 8 will discuss further the renewing effects of 'natural' landscapes but it is noted here that the respondent explicitly link nature to spirituality and this is embedded in their daily routine of walking the children to school. Similarly, Heather, who described herself as starting out on a journey of spirituality having only recently beginning to attend her church, was prompted into thought by a crucifix statue that she observed whilst walking through a local cemetery. Religious symbolism within a space, the cemetery, set aside for introspection and reflection reminds us that Christian institutions still have a powerful role within death rites despite a decreasing influence in other life events of births and marriages (Davie, 2006; Woodhead, 2012b). The respondent quoted above and Heather draw on different sources to stimulate spiritual contemplation and renewal. Suburban (public) space becomes a reminder of the omnipotence of a non-material reality through chance encounters with nature providing an aesthetic break in otherwise grey surroundings; an irruption of a non-material reality, of enchantment within the material world (Bennett, 2001; Caputo, 2001; Eliade, 1957).

Sometimes moments of spiritual practice can be inserted into time-spaces that are usually perceived as negative.

I often use waiting for buses as an opportunity to let go & practice acceptance & be present (!) I enjoy the space of journeys by bus & walking in particular to let myself be present or to reflect. I feel my journeys are an important source of space in my life & very part of my spiritual life (Cyclist, female, Meditation centre, 35-44)

Waiting for a bus, often construed negatively as an unproductive and 'wasted' time from a traditional transport economist discourse (Mackie et al, 1997 cited in Jain, 2009) is transformed by this respondent into an active part of their spiritual life. The bus journey from waiting to riding and walking are used as opportunities to be present as an important part of meditative practice.

The experiences of the participants are often rooted in a moment of slowing down either from driving to cycling or cycling to walking or walking to stopping. A break is made in the momentum of the journey that ruptures the seamlessness of the linear experience and jolts the actor into a new perception of a transformed environment.

This section has examined the encounters and situations that movement through time-space that involve the participant. There has been a recognition that despite the mundanity of the time-spaces in which the participant dwells, there can also be found moments and spaces of enchantment for the individual. Enchantment, Bennett (2001) reminds us can only be recognised by those who love life and Caputo (2001) similarly asserts that love is the commonality of those who recognise the transcendent. Bennett's and Caputo's assertions are overly vitalist in many respects yet capture a sense of awe within the experiences discussed

above. Participants in this research have some involvement in these acts of reaching out beyond the Self to the Other and so recognise enchantment. Entangled within the secular landscape is a subjectivised enchanted non-material language to be recognised (Bennett, 2001; Caputo, 2001; Eliade, 1957) as part of a subjective spiritual geography of meaning and place.

6.3. Chapter summary

The two sections of this chapter have explored the interweaving of religion and spirituality within otherwise secular, continually moving time-spaces of everyday corporeal mobilities. These accounts have demonstrated the capacity of the participants to realise religious and spirituality as representations (such as physical artefacts, readings or objects) or actual spatial practices (prayer or meditation), injecting the religious into the secular time-spaces (Knott, 2005a). Alongside these planned *strategic* actions, were also moments of encounter and enchantment (Bennett, 2001) that whilst unexpected were often interpreted by participants through a spiritual framework.

The comments above as well as the quantitative data from the questionnaire have suggested that the respondents and participants in this research developed a relationship with their everyday mobilities based on daily recurrences that allow for spiritual practices to be constructed in these time-spaces. Journey time that may otherwise be 'wasted time' is transformed into time that is not only actively engaged with but, as some of these comments have alluded to, actually valued and depended upon as an integral part of daily and spiritual life; a rationalisation of travel time where wasted time becomes an active part of time-space scheduling according to the Taylorist principles of industrial production via specialisation and separation of labour (Holley, Jain and Lyons, 2008; Weber, 1992). For example Rita used the part of her journey travelling through a park to say prayers rather than the part where she is cycling on the road. Furthermore the constraints of different mobilities can be manipulated for the traveller's benefit but additionally they can compromise *strategies* of time-use if, for

example, traffic necessitates full concentration on driving rather than 'mindful driving'. Time-spaces of mobility, by facilitating religious and spiritual engagement, impact upon the respondent's relationship with their beliefs as their practices are not confined to official venues of religion but engaged with in unofficial spaces. Simultaneously the relationship with the spaces traversed through is transformed as official venue-based activities are imported, synchronising and reproducing the time-space and blurring the boundaries between religious and secular. A construction of a liminal space where spiritual faith, attitudes and practices are realised within secular socio-economic structures.

As has been seen with examples from the qualitative research on the participant's everyday and familiar journeys, the time-space of the journey or more-than-travel time can be remade into an arena in which to spatially explore faith and spiritual practice. In this way, participants open up a critical space that through spiritual practice can challenge and critique popular hegemonies of secular discourse over space (de Certeau, 1988; Knott, 2005b; Lefebvre, 1991). Several respondents have suggested that without everyday travel time, they may struggle to find the time and space to pray, reflect or otherwise engage.

As they become familiar with their mobilities, participants thread together a network of interlocking segments into their everyday journeys; a series of time-spaces which formed a subjective spiritual geography. As the person, rather than the place, becomes the centre of social relations (Urry, 2007), the body moving through space becomes the central to the analysis of spiritual experience or '*tactical* religion' in everyday life (Knott, 2005a; Kong, 2010; Woodhead, 2012a). This is in reflection of a contemporary society where non-codified secular spaces are incorporated into spiritual geographies through individualist frameworks as part of the 'subjective turn'. However the instability that the systems of mobility mask is always present in the opportunities for encounters with other people, objects and situations.

This chapter has discussed the interaction of everyday corporeal mobilities and personal spiritual practices in the construction of place. Chapters 5 and 6 have largely focussed on mobilities. Chapters 7 and 8 will now maintain this focus but shift the perspective to that of moorings, the places within the time-space schedules of everyday life that act to renew or rejuvenate spirituality for the individual. Chapter 7 will now discuss the dimensions of time and rhythms within everyday mobilities and the mooring opportunities that are available or created for personal spiritual practices.

Chapter 7: Place-temporality and discipline in religious and spiritual habits

This chapter examines the participant's use of particular places and times for spiritual or religious purposes within the socio-economic schedule of everyday life. Multiple time-scapes and divergences and synchronisations of the socio-economic rhythms will be identified.

Everyday life, observed Lefebvre (2004), is composed of multiple rhythms that act to reinforce or resist dominant modes of production. Rhythms of capitalist production are linear in their accumulation of capital, contrasting with cosmic rhythms and those rhythms opposed to modernity, are cyclical in nature (Eliade, 1959; Lefebvre, 2004). Everyday life, and time, therefore becomes a field of power relations. 'Clock time' is used to measure economic production and regulate engagement in activities such as employment, education and leisure with sanctions for transgressions of the borders between these periods. As the pace of mobilities in the West accelerates (instant communications; 24hr services; faster transport; next-day delivery), the contrasting slower paced nature of religion is increasingly visible.

The constructed binary between different modes and rhythms of religious (cyclical) time and secular (linear) time has been outlined in Chapter 2. Whilst recognising that these modes are not polarised in everyday life but blended into each other, this thesis asserts that there is an affinity between the two modes of rhythm that allows participants to negotiate this pairing within the geo-capitalist, modern environment in which they are positioned. Within this affinity, the rhythmic engagement of socio-economic schedules of employment and utility responsibilities synchronise and support the rhythmic, behavioural and mental manifestations of religious and spiritual activity amongst participants. Such affinity acts to generate additional

meaning and significance for the participant as the two rhythmic sources interact and adjust to each other.

The chapter is primarily drawn from the diary-interview data. Analysis of the research is centred on two themes: Firstly, spiritual practices such as prayer or meditation that were engaged with by participants are mapped on to the temporality of the daily cycle. Secondly, the spatiality of such rhythm and the consequences for participants with regard to the rejuvenating effects of official and unofficial time-spaces of Christian worship and meditation for the two sample groups respectively.

7.1. Habits and place

Millions of people in the UK every day reproduce similar schedules and patterns of work, education, recreation and utility during the week. For many people, including the participants in this research, this schedule also has to incorporate some forms of practice that contributes to their spirituality. In their study of meditation and yoga practitioners, Lea, Cadman and Philo (2015) found that whilst participants might introduce mindfulness techniques into everyday habits in order to support these routines, they did not allow techniques of mindfulness or meditation to alter the constraints of the day. Instead participants fitted these practices around their pre-existing structures of work, education, recreation and biological constraints. Consequently participants developed alternative relationships with pre-existing everyday events and routines than they had experienced previously: Events and spaces that may previously been perceived as stressful such as in the workplace, with the injection of mindfulness, the individual can take themselves out of the stressful space for a few moments and rejuvenate can allow them to continue their role (Lea, Cadman and Philo, 2015). This section builds on this research by investigating the different times that participants use for spiritual practice and exploring the effects of this for the participant's relationship with place.

7.1.1 Mornings

Many participants reported that their main daily practice occurred in the morning rather than at other times during the day. Such practices could be supported by additional activities throughout the day which were deployed either proactively (*strategically*) or reactively (*tactically*) as the events of the day unfolded. This was reported in both the Baptist and Meditation Centre samples. Fred, a Baptist Church attendee, was required to make a relatively early start to his day to ensure he got to work on time. He took advantage of his early starts, which occurred before the other members of his household woke up in the morning, to make his daily reading and run through his prayer list. Similarly, although Rita admitted she was not quite as disciplined as she would like in this regard she had a similar motivation for early morning prayer and meditation, time allowing. For Rita, it was especially important to capitalise on this time due to her young family who would take up much of her time in co-ordinating their activities. However she did also use her morning commuting time for a ‘cycling liturgy’ that she had developed (see Chapter 6). Sally had a similar strategy towards the mornings and her daily prayers. She would wake up and, if her husband was still asleep beside her, run through her prayer list. Should time not allow for this before she had to set off for work, this could be continued on the commute (also in Chapter 6). Other accounts were reported from Baptist church participants whose principle activities were weighted towards the morning and had become embedded in a habitual routine such as breakfast or the commute to work.

The Meditation centre sample mirrored much of this temporal practice. Often these participants would state that they practiced in the morning as at this time they were without the issues and stresses of the day that accumulate throughout the day so their meditation could establish a greater focus and mindfulness:

Edward: And it’s usually in the mornings that you practice?

Billy: Morning...yes. Having said that...it's easier to get to the [meditation centre name] in the evenings. So for quality of meditation, mornings great. For sheer practicalities, life, evenings have an advantage.

E: What's the, in terms of the quality, why do you think it's a better quality in the morning?

B: Er...why?...Erm...I got less stuff in my head.

Similarly, in his response to a question why he chose to practice mindfulness on the morning drive to work rather than later when returning home, Paul suggested:

[...] in the morning, your mind's slightly more settled cos you haven't had the sort of, activity that you've had during a full day's work, you know what I mean? [...] Erm...so I'm more likely to be distracted I think on the way back so potentially [the mindfulness is] less effective than on the way out.
[...]

Some participants did also report using the morning for similar reasons as the Baptist church sample, to practice early in the morning without the distraction and responsibility towards other household members as in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Extract from Richard's diary

Time	Location	Primary activity	Religious or spiritual present?	Why here/now?	Other present?
6:30	Home	guided meditations	yes	Nobody else awake. Had some free time	No - in bed

Transcription of 'Why here/now?' field: 'Nobody else awake. Had some free time'

The interview was used to expand on this:

Richard: I try to do it when I can, first thing in the morning, last thing at night. Erm...first thing in the morning is often cos I'm up, twenty minutes or so before everybody else. Just got the time on my hands. Do that, do some breakfast, get them up. [...]

Richard had an energetic pre-school age son and so would often find it difficult to meditate when he was solely responsible for the childcare. When his partner and son were still asleep, early mornings provided an excellent opportunity to meditate in a day otherwise filled with personal, domestic and employment commitments. The practice becomes embedded in his morning routine between waking up and breakfast. Mornings provided an opportunity to participants, even when they did not have children as Penny suggests in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Extract from Penny's diary

Time	Location	Primary activity	Religious or spiritual present?	Why here/now?	Others present?
7:50am -8:40am	Bedroom	Sitting Meditation practice	yes Includes some elevation Bowling to Buddha Bhavana + chant. Then discussing my inbreath.	Protected time to engage in practice - I see it as a Mind-Heart training	No.

Transcription ('Why here/now?' field): 'Protected time to engage in practice. I see it as a Mind-Heart training'

Penny uses the word 'protected' to indicate the sheltering of this personal time for devotion and meditation away from the external pressures of everyday life.

None of the meditation centre participants reported that they meditated every single morning, suggesting that this was not an easy habit to maintain in a time-space where the body 'staggers' from sleep to awakening and mindless activities are used to prepare us for mindful tasks of the day (Ehn and Lofgren, 2009). Instead their practice was fluid with several admitting that on some weeks they might do more and others less, often dependent on the events occurring in their lives at the time. Richard reported that, ironically, at the times he felt he needed to meditate the most due to stress, he was unable to because of these issues distracting him from his focus. Most of the participants were able to meditate in the mornings three or four times a week. In contrast the Baptist church participants reported a greater sense of regularity to their morning practice. The form of practice may often be looser and more malleable at the weekend, particularly as they would often attend a Sunday morning service which would renew their personal practice.

Rita: Yeah. And then not really at the weekends, usually, not usually. [...]

Edward: Why do you choose the week days...to focus on? Not include the weekends?

R: Erm...er...it's a good question, I think...but...Sunday and, Saturday and Sunday are different. Saturday I go shopping in the morning. Another reason...I try and go as early as I can but I don't like to get, I like to get up a bit later so...that's reason I think. And Saturdays can be quite a busy day. And then Sundays...to be honest I do like a lie in [quietly smiles and laughs].

However on the Saturday during the week of her diary, Rita did also describe a trip to the local supermarket as being ‘subtly aware of being alone with God’ (see Figure 3), illustrating that a spiritual sensitivity continues to operate alongside the proactive nature of her prayers and meditation.

Figure 3: Extract from Rita’s diary

Time	Location	Primary activity	Religious or spiritual present?	Why here/now?	Others present?
8am	Home ↓ Asda Bedminster	Shopping on my bike	Subtly aware of being alone with God as I ride through the park, dodging fallen branches.		

Transcription: ‘Subtly aware of being alone with God as I ride through the park, dodging fallen branches.’

When referred to during the interview with Rita this point became a little more ambiguous. Whilst she still referred to the tree debris due to a severe storm the night before and to leaving the house as evoking a feeling of ‘euphoria’, a large factor in this was due to her Saturday morning journey to the supermarket as a temporary suspension from family responsibilities and her role as mother. Temporary leave from a social role is expressed by Rita here in the language of spirituality, of being alone with God and free from responsibilities, resonating with God’s time also being a partial time out of family responsibilities for Lucy as seen in Chapter 5.

The mornings therefore presented an opportunity for many of the participants to be take advantage of relatively quiet periods in otherwise busy households or of a more settled state of mind that exists before the stresses of socio-economic activity during the day can take hold. Often, as seen mainly with the Baptist church participants but also the meditation centre participants, Paul and Penny who practiced mindfulness on their journeys to work, when the

practice is embedded within a pre-existing or co-existing rhythmic routine such as commuting or eating breakfast the ability to sustain the self-discipline is stronger. When this activity occurs with a weaker rhythmic occurrence or a free-standing event within a fluid schedule, it can become more difficult to maintain this habitual routine. This was further illustrated when participants fell outside of their socio-economic rhythms and routine. For example with the exception of retreats, when asked about (non-religious based) holidays, no participant in either sample continued their practices on holiday despite some going to the effort of bringing material such as the bible along. Such practices were therefore often woven into the everyday social and economic procedures of family life, work or education, recreation and utility.

Overall though, participants who practiced in the morning have developed a rhythm that resonates with Lefebvre's (2004) concepts of dressage to condition the body into a regulated set of behaviours within a specified time-space. Such practices also become a key event within the sequence of the day and spiritual discipline for some of the participants. Sally for instance had a need to run through a 'checklist' of prayers and set of worship songs each day and if this could not be completed in the home, would be continued in the car on the way to work. A practice becomes fused with habituation and the rhythm that has been established has to be played out during the sequence of the day. Whilst this was not observed across all participants, other participants (for example Max and Fred) demonstrated this in some form. Additionally several Buddhist meditation participants noted the consequences of not meditating at certain times during the day or week. Mornings were often framed as a mooring point for participants from both samples in the diurnal rhythms of daily spiritual practice before the activities and mobilities of the day began. Time and spaces become fluid intersections of such practices.

7.1.2 Throughout the day

Economic activity takes centre stage during the day. Employment, education and recreation are co-ordinated during the waking hours (Hagerstrand, 1970). Synchronisation of the millions of people and activities or tasks that must be completed requires standardisation, legibility and compatibility of all human and nonhuman actors. Within the working environment, it is often the secular and the universal procedures that will dominate through processes of rationalisation. Augé's (2008) conceptualisation of many everyday spaces as homogenous and controlled by centralised authorities is resisted in this chapter by participants through the invocation of a set of practices which transform such time-spaces from the indistinguishable to the recognisable locations of unofficial religion and spirituality.

Participants were not just limited to the mornings (or as will be seen in the next section, the evenings) for their spiritual activity. Prayers, contemplation and meditation could take place throughout the day in a wide variety of circumstances and material environments. Departing from the *strategic* sense of this activity (to recall Woodhead's application of de Certeau from Chapter 3) that was observed with morning (and evening) practices, participants often framed daytime activities with a *tactical* and reactive mindset. Such practices often required specific prompts which could be manifest in a wide variety of forms. Buddhist Meditation Centre participants were often prompted by stresses of daily circumstances, most notably at their place of work.

Michelle: I notice I meditate or I engage in spiritual practice more if I have, if my environment or whatever's going on with me is stressful. So I kind of use it as a way to...I use it as a practical tool actually [...]

Paul had developed a more strategic plan of meditation to react to the stresses of the workplace:

[...] every two hours I try and do a four minute meditation. Someone else suggested this actually, they said it really helps them. And it is a really, it does really help. Particularly when you're at work cos you go through a long, eight hour [day] of work and that's when you become more and more distract[ted], focussed on work rather than how you're feeling or sort of centring. How you feel. Erm...so I found that just reminds me every now and then. I can just sit down for four minutes and just not think about of anything except my breathing. It does settle your mind. Each time, just a little.

Paul goes on to talk about the integration between the short period of time and longer cycles of time:

And the theory is over time, that's gonna be really beneficial. D'you know what I mean? I can't obviously at work, go and meditate for an hour. It's just not practical but I can for four minutes.

Michelle and Paul present here two different yet interrelated approaches to deploying meditative practice. Whilst Michelle's is more immediately *tactical* and reactive to the situations and issues that arise at her workplace, Paul's practice is more *strategic* (Woodhead, 2012a) although also targeting similar stresses brought upon by work. Paul anticipates these stresses yet the development of this *strategy* still indicates a reactionary process in response to previous experience at work. Lea, Cadman and Philo (2015) differentiate between

'scheduled practice' and 'impromptu practice' amongst their meditation and yoga participants. Whilst Michelle would appear to fall into the former category fairly neatly, Paul is not quite as straightforward. His four minute practice every two hours is clearly an example of scheduling but this is not unrelated to his employment. These four minute practices only appear during working days within his diary and do not occur during the weekend. There would appear to be then an element of *strategic* practice in this behaviour that is related to the human ability to maintain concentration by deploying specific rhythms.

Manipulation of the body's natural rhythms are discussed in Potts' (2010) work on 'life hacking', that is the strategies developed in order to combat procrastination, concentration deficit and exhaustion: Schemes such as working for ten minutes followed by a two minute break are used to incentivise and break down workloads. Paul, a managing director, has developed the strategy introducing the four minute breathing as a 'time-out' of work in order to re-ground himself for further work. For Potts, the organisation of working patterns through such practices of 'life-hacking' is a form of Lefebvre's (2004) dressage of the body and the channelling of bodily energies into 'productive' or acceptable outcomes by conservative Christian groups (Heelas and Woodhead, 2005). This would resonate with Paul's positive appraisal of the use of these brief meditations as part of a toolkit to help maintain focus and energy. Through disciplining of the body and mind, Paul is able to channel energy towards a directed subject and in this way the rhythm of economic production and spiritual energy is internalised within the body. Spirituality is embodied and allied with socio-economic co-ordination of society.

Prayers amongst the Baptist church participants were made throughout the day on a more impromptu basis. Participants reported these were much quicker and spontaneous than those they might make at the start or end of the day in scheduled practices. Furthermore their frequency was much more wavelike; there were no fixed number of these prayers made

during the day. Sally, for example, mentioned that she could make as many as five or six prayers on some days and then none on other days. For other Baptist church participants, the fluidity of these prayers could allow them to blend into the other events of the day.

Rita: I do kind of...briefly pray about things like you know...a few seconds...erm...and then just get on. And I don't think I'd even notice I was doing it if I wasn't...writing this diary and sort of checking back and thinking 'did I pray? Yeah, yeah I did.'

Rita noted that the process of keeping the diary for this research prompted her to register the prayers more noticeably than if she had not kept the diary illustrating the otherwise seamlessness of this manifestation of prayer within her daily life. A similar issue occurred when presenting the diary to Eleanor. This issue has already been discussed in Chapter 4 but it is worth briefly reprising here to illustrate the next point. When discussing how I would like her to use the diary, she stated that her practice did not necessarily occur in specific and atomised moments of time and space but in the form of an ongoing conversation with God. Although the qualitative nature of the diary helped to overcome these issues of atomisation and I am satisfied that Eleanor was comfortable with representation and expression that the diary allowed (and found some benefit from the process), it is important to keep this issue in mind. Particularly, as the conversational nature of Eleanor's relationship with God suggests an amorphous integration of religious and spiritual life with other socio-economic events in the course of daily life. These informal, impromptu moments were also recorded by Max during his working time. Resultantly there may be some advantage in considering prayer-life in an impromptu context as a rhythm of waves which peak with prayer before sinking back down with rhythmic occurrences. These waves rarely appear to synchronise with the daily economic rhythms of the participant's work schedules. Instead moments of prayer emerge and

submerge within the fluid motions of the day. In this sense it mimics the mundane and the routine as well as intervenes and subverts the day to day, enabling the participants to open a critical space, resisting the dominant prescriptions of place identity (Augé, 2008; de Certeau, 1988; Lefebvre, 1991). As religious and spiritual attitudes enter homogenous time and space, they transform this time through the introduction of a point of heterogeneity that distinguishes time-space.

7.1.3 Evenings

Earlier in the chapter it was observed that the morning commutes were a popular time for these participants to engage in religious or spiritual activity in the form of contemplation, meditation, prayer and singing. Yet this form of activity was absent for virtually all participants when returning home in the evening. Often this was for the reason that participants preferred to 'switch off' after a day at work. Fred (as discussed in previous chapters) would listen to the radio as a source of news and prayer in the mornings. During the evenings he would use the return journey home to disengage from work rather than concentrate on anything in particular.

[...] if I put anything on the radio or whatever on the way home, it's just noise and I'd rather just having that space to...er...switch off...so that I can break...so that when I come home then I'm positioned to chat and talk about the day etc but it's just that creating a break really from [audibly brings hand down on table] stopping work and getting home.

Similarly Rita, who had notably developed an extensive 'cycling liturgy' (discussed in Chapter 6) for the morning commute stated that the return trip was

[...] just my time to space out. You know, I've been a work all day. It's time to think about whatever I want to think about.

Meditation centre participants reflected this commentary to the greater extent. Paul, as quoted earlier, suggested his work tended to cloud his mind on the return evening commute than in the mornings. Penny echoed this but for slightly different reasons.

Edward: And do you find it's easier to practice on the outward journey to where you're going to or on the return journey or is it equal?

Penny: No, it's very much on the outward journey. That's interesting. On the return journey...on the long days I was really tired. And I was generally just wanting to go home.

It would appear that these practices required an energy that was present in the morning but not in the late afternoon and evening. The same places manifest different meanings and practices for the same participants according the time of day. In particular Rita and Fred framed their economic activities as responsibilities to other people and so desire some time for themselves during the day. This includes removing themselves, temporarily, from any relationship or activity including those that may be considered as of a spiritual or transcendent nature. As Abler, Adams and Gould (1971) acutely observed, travel time allows for a suspension of responsibilities between home, work and other commitments. It would appear with the meditation centre sample that the stresses and issues of their employment activities also generated a friction that allowed for their minds to settle and focus on the activities. Although this latter case could often be overcome through the perceptual separation of that the meditation centre facilitated from external space in the evenings. Whilst the post-work

time-space was not highly conducive for religious and spiritual practices, later in the evening could allow for this as shall now be discussed.

As Billy alluded to earlier in this section, the evening time often seemed to be the most convenient time for meditation for the Meditation centre sample. This was often simply because the evening presented a window between activities that allowed for such practice whereas comparatively the period between waking up and going to work is often a narrower period for many people. Despite this however, such activity was seldom reported by these participants outside of the meditation classes and sessions, usually attended to during the weekday evenings. Whilst some did engage in such practice, usually before retiring to bed, this was often mirroring practice in the morning thereby producing symmetry to the day.

Evening spiritual practice was more common within the Baptist church sample, particularly praying whilst in bed before sleeping. However this was often dependent on the compliance of other household members. Several times, the bedroom became the time-space for prayer because of the privacy it afforded. Heather, for example, found this time-space suspended her from the intense social-familial relationships and responsibilities of the home:

Edward: What...er...prompted you in the evenings to pray rather than the mornings?

Heather: Oh, it's a bit of a peace, it's the only bit of peace I get at the end of the day, you know. That's when I, if I'm going to have chance at sort of reflect on anything or think of anything, it's going to be...generally in the evenings.

[...]

E: Is that because the boys [her sons] have gone to bed?

H: Yeah, well they go to bed, David's finally gone to sleep about half past eight so there's not very huge time because they get up so early, there's not really a huge amount of time, you know. [...]

E: And is your husband there at that point joining you?

H: No, cos he's always downstairs. So it's a quiet time. Yeah.

E: So he's off doing something else and...

H: Yes, and that's when I go up. And I have a bit of time you know, to, not 'mummy, mummy can you do this?' you know. Yeah.

Partners could also pose a potential challenge to other practices. Fred had for many years established a habit of reading Christian-based literature before and in bed. His recent marriage had put an end to this as his wife would be trying to sleep as he was reading with the bedside light on. Fred's situation here resonates with the studies of Pink and Leder Mackley (2016), whose participants often avoided switching on lights or making excessive noise at night in order to avoid disrupting the sleep of others. Like other couples, Fred and his wife have learned to synchronise their daily activities and routines (Ehn and Lofgren, 2009), and when one person's routines allow the other time to engage in their private activities such as Fred's morning prayer whilst the other occupants of the house are still asleep.

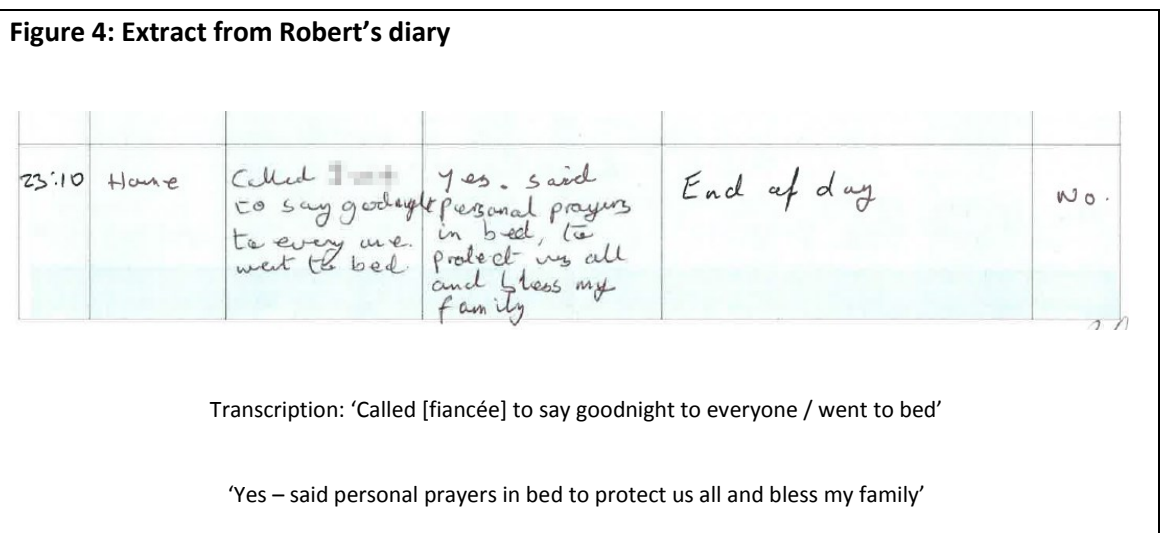
Other participants also found this habitual practice could allow time to reflect on the day, relationships and life in general:

Edward: So going to the diary again, and looking at the subject of prayer.

Everyday just before bed, you say you had a personal prayer...

Robert: Yes, I do, yes. Erm...pray for thanks. Thanks for being with such a lovely family. My friends, and er...I pray for myself and my own health. And I pray for health and wellbeing of the family. And then anything more specific at the time, like if we have any particular problems or anything like that. Or any of our friends have got any specific problems.

For three nights during the diary week Robert was away from his fiancée and son. On two of these nights he made a phone call to his fiancée to say goodnight and coupled this with his late night prayer (see Figure 4). In the diary, Robert enters these activities as separate but interrelated events linking the phone call with his prayer to God asking for protection of his family. Moving into the bedroom and more specifically the time-space of the bed is a ‘mundane’ mobility which Heather, Robert and (in the morning analysis,) Sally identify as a moment to contemplate their relationship with God and others around them.



Elsewhere in the diary he describes this late night prayer as ‘routine’, resonating with a *strategic* religious practice. However as the dialogue above suggests, current events and

situations could be made present within prayer life. Robert experienced severe back pain during the diary week and this features this in his prayer (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Extract from Robert's diary

11:45	Home	went to bed in agony	Prayed for help and thanks for looking after the Pajero	Incapacitated	Yes
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Transcription: 'Went to bed in agony'

'Prayed for help and thanks for looking after the Pajero [car]'

Employment activities were often a source of friction to spiritual activities for participants. Immediately after work was often used to create a buffer zone between economic activities and responsibilities although meditation classes and sessions were often held within this time also further allowing for this separation of work and personal spheres. Predominantly in the Baptist church sample there was a trend of late night prayer with which to close the day. This was sometimes because the privacy of the bedroom allowed for time to the self away from children and partners. However the shared nature of the bedroom with a partner could also provide a challenge to continuing such activity.

Performing such practices within the personal environment of the bedroom close to the time of sleep at the end of a diurnal rhythm bookmarks the day's events. Closing down one sequence of socio-economic activities and preparing for the next. Clock time and mythical time (Eliade, 1959), modernist-linear rhythms and natural-cosmic cyclical rhythms (Lefebvre, 2004) synchronise and engage with each other. The gradual transformation of the day into night reminds us of the dependence and positioning of humanity within cosmos; the ultimate

reminder of the imposition of different rhythms on the individual. The habit of prayer or meditation then becomes embedded into this cyclical pattern of the day.

Throughout this section different routes that routines and habits have weaved their way through the rhythms of individual's socio-economic schedules. Alliances between religious institutions and political-economic institutions have been in existence for millennia however the form in which this takes has transformed. In pre-modern England the local church bells were often used to signify and regulate working and social hours (Glennie and Thrift, 2009). However as schedules have become increasingly personalised (Urry, 2007) as part of subjective turn of modernity (Taylor, 1997 cited in Heelas and Woodhead, 2005), this relationship between subjective forms of religion and spirituality and the economic time-geography have also transformed. However this relationship is unofficial with the religious and spiritual often relegated to informal, silent moments of discretion or to the starts and ends of the day.

Significantly the start and end of the day have been recognised as specific points within these schedules to position these practices. In between these points, such practices are impromptu or *tactical* and often in response to the events of the day. For the most part, these practices have followed biological and cosmic rhythms in that they occur at the start and end of the day signified by the transition between sleep and consciousness and consciousness back to sleep again; the transition from night to day and day to night. Time-space, in opposition to Hagerstrand's vision of a uniformity and homogeneity, is patterned and lumpy with different centres of gravity that encourage certain activities like spiritual practices to be performed whilst discouraging them at other times. The economic rhythm has an influence on such activities as it can act to displace these practices to either end of the day whilst simultaneously setting up the conditions (as a source of stress or anxiety) that encourage the practitioner to seek spiritual renewal and grounding. Morning and evening practice provided mooring points

to the day and as Tuan (1977) observes, time can take on a spatial character; the desk, the armchair and the kitchen sink are points along a complex path through time. Through a mixture of scheduled and impromptu practices, the breakfast table, the cycle ride to work, the desk and the bed become time-space points along the rhythmic path of the day, the week and longer. Spiritual practices become embedded within the temporal and spatial landscape of the day contributing to a subjective spiritual geography. More of which shall be discussed in the next section.

7.2. Rhythms of renewal embedded in time-space

The preceding section has explored the performance of spiritual practices throughout the day, demonstrating that the timing of activities such as prayer and meditation are often a mixture of proactive *strategic* and *tactical* responses to the socio-economic schedule in which the participant is positioned. This leads to a coupling of time and space for certain practices as suggested by Hagerstrand (1970). Part two of this chapter investigates the role of particular spaces in establishing or destabilising religious and secular rhythms. The first section explores the 'official spaces' of religions in this research, the meditation centre and the church and their renewing effects the participants and adding structure to their practices by establishing a mooring point that resets the weekly or monthly cycle. The second section examines participant narratives of 'unofficial spaces' where practices can be performed. Two types of time-space, work and leisure are extracted from the diary-interviews. These places function in two ways. Firstly as time-spaces of stillness and renewal in otherwise stressful landscapes and secondly as a critical spaces where secular hegemonic discourses are challenged through performances.

7.2.1 Official sites

Spaces of renewal, Maddrell and della Dora (2013b) suggest, can have a wide range of scales and contexts from the home to holiday resorts. In this section it is the renewing effects of places of religious and spiritual activity that are examined. This subsection concentrates on this renewal in the forms of firstly, the immediate effects of activity at these sites. Secondly, the medium term effects on reinforcing and disciplining personal practice in between such visits.

7.2.1.21 After effects of visiting a site of religious practice

Beginning with the Buddhist Meditation Centre sample, participants reported that following the session at the meditation centre, they often felt a renewed sense of energy or in Michelle's words, 'lighter'.

Erm...so if there's been a really good session you can feel a lot light, when I say good session, you've talked to someone and they've been helpful, you've had a really good meditation and...erm...you've had a good mindful sharing, you do feel a lot lighter.

This feeling of relaxation and energy was reflected in other meditation participants too, often reporting that this sensation would last until the next day. This could be sometimes quickly curtailed as the stresses and anxieties of everyday life crept back into their world. When asked how long post-meditation centre relaxation would last for, Richard responded:

Richard: Erm...it would certainly last me into the next day. Erm...you know that bit about a plan never surviving first contact with the enemy. Have you ever heard that? You know.

Edward: No, it's a good one though!

R: [...] I find it [his job] really stressful and really grrr. Don't know why I'm doing it. And...erm...I would find that probably by about...mid-afternoon of the day after, any of the calmness that I had kind of woke up thinking oh god you know it's a really lovely experience. [...] And I would wake up feeling nice and...[...] probably about mid-afternoon of the following day I'd be...It's like it never happened, you know.

Several other participants echoed this observation of the rejuvenating effects of a visit to the meditation centre gradually wore off and the stresses of daily life returned. This suggests that the meditation centre posited an opposing rhythm to daily life, particularly those that regulate everyday socio-economic routines.

Sean also talked about a sense of clarity or sharpness that he experienced when walking home from the meditation centre with his girlfriend.

I have this sense of us being two individuals sharing...sharing the space, sharing contact communication but being quite separate. And in our own...our own energies or in our own whatever's going on in our heads and bodies.

This sense of clarity or sharpness was also echoed by Billy who attended the same meditation centre. Asked how long this clarity or sharpness lasted for after a visit to the meditation centre, Sean responded:

Erm... 'til I go to sleep. And even then there's sort of, sometimes some of that left over in the morning. [laughs]

Baptist church participants did not reflect this feeling of having changed tempo or rhythm after a Sunday service. Meditation sessions and church services can involve very different activities (such as singing) so Baptist church participants are unlikely to share the same feelings of relaxation or clarity of focus afterwards with the meditation centre sample equivalents. During the interviews, Baptist church participants would usually report that after the service and conversations with other members of the congregation, the socio-economic concerns of everyday life returned fairly quickly. This was however diluted by the return to a more leisurely rhythm of a Sunday afternoon.

The after-effects of the institutionally-based activities appear to affect the two different samples in different ways. Most notably the meditation centre participants suggested a more individually based experience, although one that could be collectively shared. Baptist church participants appeared to be in a greater rhythmic synchronicity with the external surrounding world. However, these examples demonstrate dialectical dynamism between the time-spaces of secular socio-economic routines and those of spiritual activities. The latter infiltrating and reverberating into the former, transforming the individual's experience by, in the case of meditation attendees, producing an enhanced sense of clarity, sharpness and relaxation.

7.2.1.22 Adding structure to personal practice

In this subsection, the role of the religious site in reaffirming and renewing the discipline of the attendee to their personal practice outside of the walls of the institutional building will be examined. Activities within the religious sites in this project were distributed throughout the week although some patterns were easily discernible. Baptist churches like other Christian church weekly calendars are focussed around the Sunday as the main point of activity and collective worship. The church service, usually commencing between 10 and 11am on Sundays, is the centring point to the week. In recent decades, morning services have been supplemented with an evening service to attract an often younger congregation. An evening

service was held in two of the four churches that formed the main phase of research. On visits to these services I recognised several people amongst the evening congregation who had also attended that morning's service, illustrating the difficulties of avoiding double counting in church attendance surveys. Many of the churches also held meetings, prayer groups, toddler groups and smaller services throughout the week, both during the day and in the evenings. Indeed some participants in this research such as Lucy were extensively involved to a great degree in the social life around the church.

Buddhist Meditation Centres also distributed their classes, sessions and meetings across the weekly calendar for attendees at a variety of level in their practice. Several meditation centres also held classes during the day and in the evenings, the latter of which were usually the better attended. Participants from both sample groups usually attended their church or meditation centre at least once a week with a few exceptions attending twice or more a week. This subsection will now investigate the effect this weekly, cyclical rhythm has upon the participant's personal practices outside the religious site.

Participants from the Buddhist Meditation Centres mostly reported that attending a class or session once a week had a motivational effect on their meditation practice outside of the official site; usually stating that they meditated at home more because of their attendance than they would have if they did not attend. This was not unanimous as there was a range of reliance on meditation centres to motivate personal practice. Richard had experienced several periods of frequent attendance, including when I first spoke to him during the survey phase of research. However by the time of the interview his attendance had tailed off. When attending the meditation centre regularly, Richard stated

[...] there was an encouragement. I think, left to my own devices it'd probably peter out. It hasn't yet but it probably will. Whereas it [meditation] was more on my agenda, like it was in my head a bit more,

thinking 'oh Thursday I'll go down there now, yeah connected well why don't I do that tonight, as well as on Thursday?'

Richard cited the reason for not attending the meditation centre due to his growing discomfort with the difference between his personal views and the beliefs of those who also attended (as quoted in Chapter 5). This was further exacerbated when he grew increasingly self-conscious swallowing loudly during the classes which he believed must be distracting fellow attendees (a similar anecdote is recounted in Pagis (2010)). Whilst at the time of the interview he was still continuing to meditate, as he states in the above quote, he believed this would soon tail off without the rhythmic discipline of the weekly classes.

At the other end of the scale was Billy, who stated that he had already developed a well-formed habit of meditation despite a ten year gap between his first and second visit to a meditation centre:

I know it wouldn't taper off because when I first when to [meditation centre name omitted], I went once, I had...I was in a very dysfunctional relationship where I was given hell...for being out of the house for a while. So I practiced [on my own] for ten years before I went a second time.

Most participants would be placed somewhere in the middle of this scale; they would have some continuation of personal practice even if they had not attended a meditation class for a while but were encouraged and supported in this through their attendance. Baptist church participants differed in that their most obvious behavioural activity, prayer, did not appear to change in frequency dependent on when they attended church. However several participants

did comment on the structure that was imposed upon their week by the rhythms of the church as a beneficial element in a wider spiritual life.

The outcome of this section varied then according to the sample. Regular weekly trips to the meditation centre were found to renew the individual emotionally and often socially as well as spiritually. Participants also found that meditation classes and sessions often encouraged them in taking the activities of meditation and mindfulness to be practiced outside of the official spaces and into the secular, world. Such activity was not only manifest within meditation but also framed the approach to many real world issues the participants faced. However secular space and responsibilities such as work often impeded the reverberations of this mindset.

Baptist church participants also found a reverberation of these rhythms but the actual event of going to the church did not appear to reverberate as much. This could be that attendance to the meditation centre is often atmospherically very different with the regulation of silence and environmental sensorial features (subdued lighting, soft but plain furnishings and incense) designed to relax, creating a contrasting space of stillness in comparison with the busyness of the outside world. Baptist churches on the other hand, whilst separated from the outside environment also contain some continuity from outside everyday life such as the social discussions or children making noise. However for many of the participants, both official sites renew rhythms that continue throughout the following week but weaken with friction from other socio-economic activities before renewal the following week. If for Eliade (1957), sacred space or the *hierophany* form the central axis around which the homogenous profane space is orientated then here the week is temporally focussed around the visit to church or meditation centre which constitutes a break in the secular schedule. As with existing criticisms of Eliade, this is not to dismiss all non-*hierophanic* space as homogenous and fully profane. As shall be demonstrated in the following section, unofficial spaces can also share sacred, religious or

spiritual characteristics. However the gravitational weight Eliade attaches to official spaces supports an understanding of the topographical patterns of religion and spirituality.

7.2.2 Unofficial time-spaces

An important part of this thesis is the focus on religious and spiritual practice outside of official spaces of religion which is continued in this chapter. This section pays attention to the temporary time-spaces that participants construct or manipulate in otherwise transient spaces, those of employment and leisure. These time-spaces do not 'belong' to, nor are specially constructed for, the participant yet they are able to use these spaces for prayer and meditation activities before they are returned to normal use. Time-spaces of work are firstly discussed and then spaces of leisure.

7.2.2.23 At work

Pockets within employment time-spaces could be transformed, temporarily, into spaces of renewal and spiritual practice and this occurred with several participants. Earlier in this chapter Paul's strategic deployment of four minute meditations every two hours throughout the working day was outlined. This was a habit he had developed and had found beneficial. He was aware that his regular disappearance to the office toilets every two hours could cause some concern amongst his colleagues and had previously been asked if he was feeling ill. Despite the conspicuousness of his practice he was keen to maintain these four minute meditations. Similarly Richard had cultivated a network of spaces during his working time which could be used for brief moments of meditation.

[...] my work goes up and down and I can predict sometimes when I'm gonna have a little bit of a breathing space and if that breathing space coincides with me being on a good run of meditation...I think well I'll stop off for half an hour at lunchtime, I'll just go down to that little room.

Throughout his participation in this research, it was clear his job was a significant source of stress and anxiety to Richard. In response he had developed a number of strategies such as the use of this room at work. When he could anticipate heightened stress levels or a greater level of commitment to his meditation, Richard would also carry with him an MP3 player to aid his practice. The MP3 player contained a number of music files for meditation practice including a recording by Jack Cornfield, a well-known teacher within Theravada Buddhism. The use of this MP3 player resonates with what will later be discussed in Chapter 8 of imaginary travel and connections through technologies. As well as this room at work, Richard also sought to use opportunities presented within his working schedule for brief pockets of meditation practice:

I'm pretty good in traffic jams. I...erm...I'm quite patient. Erm...and sometimes actually it's an opportunity you know, [...] they can't start work without me. [...] I think well here's an opportunity [for breathing exercises]. If I get somewhere early think well I can get out of the car and go and sit in there and scrounge a cup of tea or...I can sit here for ten minutes and shut my eyes and do a sort of breathing, slow myself down.

Here, Richard has identified time-spaces that are often negatively perceived – sitting in a traffic jam and the tedium or anxiety of waiting for a meeting – and transformed these for positive effect using meditative practice. There is also an empowering dimension as Richard recognises his agency in the workplace and is confident to work on his terms rather than rush to someone's schedule. This process has been identified in other time-spaces too, as observed in Chapter 6 in relation to commuting being used for meditative practices that can transform the participant's relationship with other people and traffic that may otherwise cause anxiety.

Unlike Richard and Paul, who removed themselves from other people and sources of distraction for spiritual practices, Michelle found a benefit in remaining at her desk and using podcasts on Buddhist meditative instruction and teachings.

Edward: [...] is that whilst you're working or do you take a break?

Michelle: Whilst I'm working sometimes! [laughs] Sometimes take a break, sometimes it's while I'm working so I'll...erm...particularly if I've got a bit of an issue going on. Erm...the reason I had an issue with someone I'm sat next to, which is really difficult! So you're around that person everyday, all day for eight hours. I thought there's only one thing for this, I've got to listen to a talk[...] And there's something about putting a talk and try and help you understand what's going on in your head and...erm...and I do find I can work with it as well, somehow.

Michelle continued to talk about listening to podcasts in the background whilst working, finding that the occasional comment will disrupt the working body:

Even though sometimes you're not listening to all of it, there's something comforting about having it in your ear, you know, whilst you're working, there as a, you know sometimes psychologically it's just comforting. [...] And then you pick up snippets. You think oh yeah, god they've got a point there, let me try it. [...] But you always, you kind of tend to go back to your old habits but that's the whole point isn't it? Eventually you won't.

Michelle's final comment here makes visible an underlying theme also present within Richard and Paul's accounts: the attempt to alter pre-established and continually reproduced habits.

Paul has attempted to impose a new habitual routine within his working schedule to pre-empt employment related stresses and anxieties. Richard aims to transform time-spaces that are likely to lead to frustration and tedium, such as traffic jams and waiting around, into positive opportunities for renewal. Michelle's commentary above acknowledges the challenging nature of changing habits but uses podcasts and practice to trying to affect change. Diverging from Philo, Cadman and Lea's (2015) participants, Michelle, Richard and Paul along with other participants in this sample embed their individual spiritual practices within the time-spaces that are likely sources of stress and anxiety in an attempt to control their response to the stimuli accommodated by these environments.

Spiritual practices during work hours amongst the Baptist church sample were also observed during this research. However these were manifested with a greater degree of spontaneity and in many respects greater level of embedding into the events and surroundings of the day. These practices were embedded to such a degree that, as explored earlier, that it was only the process of keeping the diary that alerted Rita to her sporadic and informal prayers during the day. Spiritual activities manifested themselves in these environments in the forms of brief prayers that could be uttered or contemplated at the desk in between workloads and tasks.

Max: [...] It tends to be when there's particular issues coming up and then they crop up in your mind in the day so yeah. Prayers are a kind of amorphous thing.

As identified earlier in the preceding section on practices during the day, Max's comments would suggest wavelike quality to prayer and spiritual practice, catalysed by internal and external stimuli throughout the day.

7.2.2.24 At leisure

Spaces of work are often represented as fast-paced and regular, linear rhythms that encourage the inhabitants into productivity but it has been seen that participants are able to challenge this discourse by injecting an alternate rhythm or wave of spirituality. Other spaces, such as those used for leisure, are confluences of rhythms where the natural and the artificial, the religious or spiritual and the secular meet and attuned to each other creating slower rhythms that allow for escape from the fast paced of contemporary urban life. Wunderlich (2010; 2013) terms this as 'place-temporality', the influence of the environmental factors on the flows of people and objects through a particular space. In her study of four sites within London, Wunderlich draws the contrast between the organised chaos of a busy space such as Piccadilly Circus with a more tranquil space like Regent's Park. At Piccadilly Circus, many different groups of people (workers, commuters, tourists, street entertainers) and traffic criss-cross and co-ordinate their movements informally and spontaneously with each other; Regent's Park is an oasis of calm within the busy city centre, where the slower pace of natural rhythms are imposed upon the movements of people as they navigate the park (Wunderlich, 2013). In this analysis she privileges the authority of 'natural' rhythms within these spaces, although inhabitants are often still bound to some sense of artificial order in keeping to the footpaths, off the grass and not cycling. Despite this regulation and management of 'natural' urban spaces, the allowance of natural rhythms (often to a prescribed degree only) into spaces otherwise dominated by linear, artificial rhythms (the slow erosion of concrete streets without the possibility of rebirth), generated some key moments within this research for the participants.

Across both samples, there were numerous reports of everyday spaces of leisure being employed by participants for a form of renewal. These most often consisted of public green spaces within the city limits of Bristol. The theme of renewal for the majority of accounts was

centred upon a communion with nature and natural environmental processes. Michelle, for example, spoke at length about the renewing effects of green spaces where natural cycles of birth, growth, decay and death could be observed.

If I'm feeling that I need to be resourced...so if I'm feeling vulnerable or tired...erm...or I need to be in touch with something that's greater than myself...something...if I, yeah, it's usually when I'm feeling...that I need resourcing then I, then I can feel when I walk through the park it gives me something back. It definitely gives me something back if I walk through a forest, there's something going, there's something being given to you...but, and that I would say is spiritual, it's resourcing, there's something resourcing about being in nature.

Michelle speaks here of seeking out specific sites that can 'resource' her, echoing the need of Philo, Cadman and Lea's (Philo, Cadman and Lea, 2011; 2015) participants for pockets from which to draw 'energy' within everyday public space.

Aesthetic value could also be identified in the human constructed landscape however for Michelle there was a distinct difference in the 'resourcing' effects of the natural over the human landscape:

Walking down the street can be spiritual in that sense cos you'll be looking at all of the textures of the brick or the concrete or...erm...reflections of oil. You know, light refracted on oil. And you can get a sense of spirituality but you're doing it. You're, you've got to practice mindfulness to get that and you'll see it but it doesn't resource me in the way...that I could just be in nature and actually not have to try and it'll resource me. That I think is,

feels like the difference, for me...erm...the human environment doesn't give back, you've got to try, you've got to look for those things, you've got to look for the beauty and there's some-, and when you have found it can, it really does open it up. But there's something about, if you're in nature it just seems to be naturally there. That's the difference for me.

Modern surfaces, in Michelle's account, are 'impermeable' and non-reactive compared with 'natural' surfaces although not entirely absent of enchantment. The overall theme here of the restorative effects of natural rather than human spaces echoes similar conclusions from environmental psychologists (Maddrell and della Dora, 2013b); a sense of enchantment that recharges the recipient (Bennett, 2001; Philo, Cadman and Lea, 2015). Despite the impermeable appearance of modern environments, Michelle was able to identify natural processes, of erosion and decay within the urban fabric. Landscapes that are perceived as durable and stable are in also subject to natural processes of degeneration and regeneration. They are a negotiated space of interaction between human and non-human processes (Maddrell, 2009). In addition she was also able to identify the natural spaces and processes within artificially constructed 'natural' environments such as urban parks.

[..] walking through the park gives me something that street doesn't so if I'm feeling like I need to be somewhere green and I get that quite a lot, I could just go and sit in the park. But lying on the grass is different to sitting on the concrete, piece of concrete...erm...and how often do I do that? I do that most days. [..] And that's part of the satisfaction in Bristol actually, when you look up you can see the fields around it.

Rhythms of nature that are allowed into the urban environment command a restorative effect and energy that can be drawn upon by the individual. The cycles of death and rebirth that are present within nature are present within green spaces accessible to a local population often more use to the impermeable surfaces of the concrete streets. Rhythms of nature intersect with the rhythms of daily life for this participant, slowing down the pace of her otherwise busy life (Wunderlich, 2013) to enable moments of rejuvenation.

Another participant from the meditation centre sample, Sean, talked of 'awareness' when outside in physical movement or in the pauses between physical movements. This could often be linked to the mobility he was directly engaged in. During the diary week, his bike which constituted his regular form of transport broke down on him resulting in him mostly walking to get around and keep appointments and activities. This change in mobility resulted in a new sense of awareness for Sean as he no longer needed to worry about his interactions with motorised transport on his trips across Bristol. In turn this reduces the amount of mental activity and distraction thereby allowing the mind to settle and heighten awareness. Sean also discussed how this could become possible when cycling along motorised traffic-free routes such as the Bristol to Bath railway path that had been converted to a dedicated pedestrian-cycle path:

[...] on the cycle path that's specified single u[se], well pedestrians as well [as cyclists] [...] you don't have to be too worried about traffic coming and going...erm...and you just kind of yeah, trees and nature all around...which does allow for a bit more of a kind of...dreamy sort or, imagin[ation], allows the imagination to wander a bit more [...]

The separation of motorised and non-motorised traffic in this park provides the protection from the dangers of the road. Similar to the separation of churches and meditation spaces

from the outside world that enables participants to feel comfortable and secure enough to engages in activities where they may otherwise feel vulnerable as discussed in Chapter 6. In this case Sean is able to let the imagination wander.

Sean, like Michelle, could also see a form of aesthetic beauty in the built environment to a certain extent:

[...] in town there's still room for the imagination to wander. Sort of into shop windows or into people passing you or I don't know whatever you're doing. Yeah I think that's sort of...there's something about the, pedestrianism that...erm...I guess lends itself a bit to...just to a bit more sort of...erm...an open awareness?

Within these quotes and their interviews Michelle and Sean interpret the urban environment through their own spiritual framework. The use of terms such as 'mindfulness', 'resourcing' and 'awareness' can be traced to the discourse of the holistic milieu. Participants here are able to find pockets within everyday public space which fulfils a spiritual purpose, re-energising their day.

However this use of space, particularly of urban parks, was not limited to the Meditation Centre sample but also present within the Baptist church participants' experience as well. Rita, as seen in Chapter 6 had developed a specific form of practice that encompassed her cycling through a park in Bristol on the way to work in the mornings. Through the reciting of prayer and scripture at specific marker points in the park, her experience of the place had changed as these words had become embedded within the landscape. Indeed, even my experience of this park which I travel through regularly has been altered by Rita's performance in specific sites that I can recognise from her description. Earlier in this chapter Rita described

a Saturday morning through her local park on the way to a supermarket as being aware of being 'alone with God'. Whilst the interview did reveal this feeling was partially stimulated at least by the temporary cessation of socio-economic duties, the language which she employed was spirituality-centred. Protestant denominations such as the Baptists traditionally reject the idea of certain spaces allowing for increased access to God based on the eternal and all-pervading presence. Rita frames this connection to God in this park as 'being alone' rather than necessarily being closer hence it may be that as distractions fade into the background and the sensory field changes from one of a human constructed to a natural (if ultimately humanly engineered) environment, that God occupies more of the believer's perceptive field.

Green spaces, usually parks but also cycle paths, appear to be spaces where the participants could find a connection with a higher, underlying power. In the case of the Baptist Church sample, this was a feeling of being alone with God as human processes fade into the distance and cosmic-natural rhythms emerge into the foreground. Rita's 'cycling liturgy' is mainly based in the park. This is a space away from the risks and congestion of traffic enhancing the presence of God. Meditation centre participants also found that green spaces could enhance a sense of awareness or be a resource from which to draw energy. These spaces open up the urban greyness and the impermeability of concrete and private owned properties that alienate the individual. Nature imposes its rhythms through the sense channels of sound, vision, smell and touch reminding the individual of the transcendent cosmic processes that underlie artificial surfaces. Everyday life, in contrast to street environments, is slowed down; the tempo decreases and the rhythms are extended (Lefebvre, 2004). People walk, cycle and take longer on their journeys as the frenetic and chaotic spaces of traffic become more distant. Green spaces provide a counter beat to the pace of everyday space and socio-economic responsibilities and obligations, echoing aspects of liminality from Chapter 5, allowing for moments of peace before continuing on with daily life.

This section has investigated the place-temporality of 'official' and 'unofficial' space of religion and spirituality; the interweaving of institutional and personal paths of spiritual practice amongst the participants. A variety of sites and their place-rhythms have been explored. The official spaces of religion presented differing accounts of renewal between the two samples however participants in each reported that their weekly visit to a church or meditation centre contributed a structure to their personal practices and beliefs. These places diffused rhythms. Unofficial sites were subjective to the participant but could be found in range of settings in which they traversed regularly: in this section, spaces of employment and leisure. Each site producing rhythms that enacted on the individual. Places that assert rhythms (Lefebvre, 2004; Wunderlich, 2013), influencing how these sites are to be used by and what they mean to the participant. As in Philo, Cadman and Lea's (2015) study, participants could construct and draw upon these sites for renewal and resourcing to maintain spirituality within secular environments. These time-spaces become a network of sites for the participant; places where alternative time and rhythms of the cosmos can be co-present.

7.3. Chapter summary

This chapter has uncovered many of the time-spaces and their rhythmic structuring throughout the day that compose the participant's everyday schedules and identified two processes amongst the participants of this research. It has been shown in part one that scheduled or *strategic* spiritual practices are often developed into habits based on certain mooring points such as the start and end of the day. Additionally practices that occur throughout the day are often impromptu *tactical* responses to stressful situations or encounters that inspire contemplation. Part two examined the pockets within everyday time-space paths that act to renew the participant or reinforce faith. Often it was encounters with the cyclical rhythms of nature rather than the linear rhythms of the modernity which aided this renewal (Eliade, 1959; Lefebvre, 2004). Such pockets of renewal are relational to the

surrounding socio-economic structures and rhythms are provide liminal moments that suspend everyday time-space paths.

Both planned *strategic* and unplanned *tactical* informal spiritual practices occur within a set of spatial patterns that have been examined in this chapter. Throughout these narratives there has been a theme of healing the stresses and anxieties that contemporary life and mobilities that resonates with sociological observations of wider shift to emphasis on wellbeing (Heelas and Woodhead, 2005; Hunt, 2003) and this concern is also observed in Chapter 8. These impromptu or informal events are less distinguishable from other daily events and rhythms appearing like waves with peaks and troughs. As pockets within time-space paths, they are momentary suspensions of secular socio-economic concerns, responsibilities and anxieties, suggesting a degree of liminality. Within the timeless-placeless landscape of non-places (Augé, 2008) they inject meaning and significance, resisting the social, political and economic hegemonies imposed on the space (Lefebvre, 1991) through subtle everyday practice (de Certeau, 1988). Scheduled *strategic* and impromptu *tactical* practices represent two different approaches to the fusing of the religious and the secular. Often a spiritual practice can provide a commentary or critique on the secular context: For example meditation being used as punctuation to the rushed busyness of modern workplace. Through this fusion, not only are existing boundaries reaffirmed but the meaning of the religious and secular are negotiated and transformed. The religious takes on tangible, secular consequences and the secular takes on abstract, religious connotations.

The thesis has so far focussed on localised and often personal geographies of religion and spirituality. This chapter has examined temporary mooring points throughout the day that accommodate places of significance and meaning for many of the participants. Chapter 8 will shift the focus to the multiple scales of mobility present within mooring points in which the individual is implicated and which form part of their life and significant places.

Chapter 8: Entanglements of local and global mobility in religious and spiritual place-making

Global mobility of ideas, information, real and imagined travel and its influence on the process of place-making in codified sites of religious activity are examined in this chapter to explore the tension between mobility of information, ideas and images that characterise contemporary UK society and static bounded perceptions of place. If sacred space for the believer, in Eliade's terms, draws upon numenal source of singularity or indivisibility then do such spaces like the church or the meditation centre draw on or reject the flows of mobility that engulf them? Does the global flow of mobilities erode the place? Can these spaces cultivate locality and globality and provide a home for the homeless? Following on from the work of Massey (1994) and Knott (2005a), this chapter will contribute to an exploration of the relationship between and entanglements of local and the global in the informal personal practices and official collective activities.

As discussed in Chapter 3, mobilities presuppose a requirement for mooring points within their time-space paths (Ellegård and Vilhelmson, 2004; Fallov, Jorgensen and Knudsen, 2013; Hagerstrand, 1970; Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 2006) to recharge and redirect the mobile entity, as Tuan (1977) suggests, pauses within these flows. These are often places of residence, work, recreation and spiritual practice that act to filter and order these heterogeneous assemblages of global and local mobilities and connections (Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 2006; Tuan, 1977). This chapter examines these mooring points. How the global and local networks interact and entangle to produce and maintain the sense of place by stabilising

flows of global-local mobilities and how the global enters and is organised and transformed by, the local into significance and meaning. The individual's informal arrangements of the global and local in personal practice will first be explored before moving on to examining these entanglements in the stabilised form of the church or meditation centre.

The 1990s and early 2000s saw sociologists and geographers of religion engage with localised, everyday accounts of religion embedded within a globalised context (Hunt, 2001; Kong, 2010; Olson, Hopkins and Kong, 2013; Turner, 2011). This chapter identified these entanglements of the global and local in everyday personal practices and in the churches and meditation centres using a taxonomy developed by Urry (2007), discussed in Chapter 3 and recapped below:

- (i) Imaginative travel
- (ii) Communicative travel
- (iii) Virtual travel
- (iv) Corporeal travel
- (v) Physical movement of objects

The five mobilities listed here illustrate the complexity present within the formation of social relationships (Urry, 2007) and by extension this framework is used to examine the different mobilities that are co-ordinated and realised within official and unofficial sites of religion that co-ordinate social relationships. This approach is careful not to reify Urry's paradigm but instead use it as a guiding set of classifications rather than absolute analysis and compartmentalisation of these mobilities. It follows, then, that in some of the sections there will be an overlap between particular forms of mobility within the sites. In the first part of this chapter, these mobilities are less stratified in the analysis of personal spirituality and mobilities whereas the second part is more direct in mapping these mobilities on to the religious sites in order to reflect the organisation and management of meanings that occurs in 'places' (Cresswell, 2015; Tuan, 1977).

8.1. Reassembling global religion in personal time-space

The first part of this chapter examines the participant's narrative of global mobilities outside of the official space of the church or meditation centre and in or around the home. First the material entities that participants used to construct a spiritual practice are outlined. Secondly the use of religious texts from multiple traditions sources in producing, reproducing and reaffirming spiritual ideas and thoughts are examined. Finally the use of broadcast media will be explored in reference to the use of podcasts and smartphone 'apps' and radio. Throughout this section, the threading of the global and the local, the secular and the religious will be identified. The global will be shown to modify the construction of place and sacred space for the individual, extending social relations whilst the re-territorializing of the global within the local results in a modified version of the global.

8.1.1 Re-territorializing global materialities in the local and personal

The private space of the home accommodates an assemblage of materialities that are collected and curated by the dweller. Once an object is brought from the outside and placed within the home, it can gain other associations alongside those for which it was originally selected. Visiting the houses of several of the participants in the diary-interview stage of the research, it often became noticeable that the objects and images they had acquired that had a recognisable value within religious or spiritual system. In several of the interviews I was interested to find out more about these objects and their value to the participant. The value of these material objects varied from participant to participant. Richard, for example, was dismissive that the images and sculptures he had accumulated had anything more than aesthetic appeal and memories. However the volume of these objects and images of mainly Buddhist and Hindu deities placed in the room he meditates, suggest that on a basic level, at least, these materialities were able to produce an environment conducive to meditation. Despite his insistence that these were for aesthetic value only, he notes that:

Richard: You know, my life is very busy and my head is very full. And I look at those things and I somehow find a calmness in the imagery which I can borrow for a bit, you know.

Edward: Borrow?

[...]

R: Steal? [laughs] Erm...yeah so the peace of that kind of image, that you know, looking at it, I find very attractive. I find the face [of a Buddha image on mantelpiece] very attractive. And pleasing to look at. So I will gaze at it, you know. And, also...after I have been doing that, I find my mind is a little easier, calmer, a little relaxed. It's taking some peace from it, I don't know if I borrow or steal.

Images of the Buddha are often found as objects of mass consumption (Harvey and Vincent, 2012), an example of 'banal religion' (Hjarvard, 2008). Such images are often used to stimulate or represent peace and tranquillity, which corresponds here with Richard's view of the Buddha image as relaxing. During the interview, Richard also revealed his extensive travelling history and it became apparent that many of the Buddhist and Hindu images he had collected also had associated memories. The images he collected provided an opportunity for imagined travel through space and time to his travels and to elsewhere. A meditative value was therefore entangled with personal memories.

Other objects recorded by participants included Anna's calendar of Dalai Llama quotes. After her visits to her meditation centre she had become interested in the Buddhist philosophy of the Dalai Llama and purchased a daily calendar which offered a new insight into wisdom causing her to reflect on the message.

I rip them off and I bring them back home if they're particularly good and there's one that was actually last week. It was a little short paragraph but it's about waking up everyday, being grateful for your life, trying to be the best person you can and, and...open up your heart and kindness to other people and things and I try to read that everyday.

The calendar is another example of the Buddhist teaching employed for stimulating individual fulfilment, this time also formatted for consumption. Having these philosophical writings of a popular Buddhist leader available in an instantaneous, omnipresent and accessible format allows for it to be employed throughout the emotional rollercoaster of the day:

I try to repeat it to myself and hold that thought and again if I get stressed during the day or something, something upsets me or my mum sends me an email and I think 'raaah'. I try to think, I, I...don't necessarily have the mind but I, I sort of have this thing, think Buddha or think Dalai or something [...]

Images and objects like the calendar are described by Richard and Anna in terms of relaxation and peace, part of wider social and cultural concern with 'wellbeing' (Hunt, 2003; Woodhead, 2012b). These participants also framed their everyday lives as busy and demanding. When Anna talked about her meditation centre as suited to 'modern ways of life' in positive terms in the interview, I asked her to expand on how she understood this phrase:

Erm...the fast pace, the stress, the...materialism. Erm...a lot of the pressures that we face today.

Implicit in these accounts is a polarisation between modern life as described above and more calmer, slower paced ideas of spirituality that are accessed through religious images and writings, even when translated to banal forms compatible with consumption. These objects that enable moments of spiritual reflection interrupt the busyness of everyday life, drawing on calmness from an alternative cosmos into everyday existence.

Use of objects and images were not restricted to the Buddhist meditation centre sample but noted also amongst the Baptist church sample as well. After making comments in his diary regarding postcards of religious art that he had collected, Fred when interviewed later suggested that on reflection of both a sermon delivered in the church and completing the diary that he intended to make more use of them in future. The postcards reminded him of the gallery where he had bought them and the thoughts he had had there. Such devices, particularly exemplified in Anna's calendar of Dalai Llama quotes have undertaken processes of adaptation to products suitable for consumption, an element of 'banal religion' (Hjarvard, 2008).

The interviews with the meditation centre sample touched upon the construction of a personalised sacred space. Citing several examples of place making from the trivial acts of a fresher student putting up posters in their dorm room to the raising of a new flag by a Kosovan Muslim, Cresswell (2015) observes that a common thread is the making of place through the performance of (re-)arranging objects or inserting new objects into space. When asked about the meditation space at home, most participants stated they had at least one object in the designated space. Often this space might be demarked in a bedroom (even when the participant lived alone the bedroom was often a preferred room to meditate) by the placement of a mat on which to sit or a statue of the Buddha. Like Richard, many of the participants would have a statue(s) and image(s) of the Buddha and these were often entwined with personal memories or associations and imaginative travels. For example:

Michelle: The Buddhist, the Buddha, it's like a, plastic actually, it looks like stone. Er...I got given it, years ago. It's really strange actually because I'd gone away on holiday, where had I gone to? I think it was Thailand [...] And I'd said oh I'd really like a white Buddha and then someone bought me one. And I, it stayed somewhere for ages and didn't even think about it. And then when I, when I started going to the [meditation centre name omitted] I thought oh I'll get that out and use it as my focus.

Penny: So I have a...you could say a shrine...erm. So I have an old chest that was my grandmother's and I put a cloth over that and various objects, which change over time actually. At the moment it's quite simple, it's a white cloth with a kind of...lacy crochet mat and on the right mat is a statue of [bodhisattva] Guanyin. Which is actually my housemate's, actually. It's a white, porcelain Guanyin. And...I have a plant on the windowsill behind it and there's a crystal, well a piece of glass really that was given to me by somebody that I studied mindfulness with, I just quite like the look of. I have an incense burner. And I have a book which I'm keeping a little, a few...what I would call pieces of liturgy that I use from time to time. And the cover of that book is a really lovely picture of [bodhisattva] Tara, green Tara. So sometimes I prop that up to have a look at her. That's what I have at the moment.

In each of these accounts, the participants have assembled a shrine of religious and secular objects which also stimulate memories and feelings. Maddrell (2011a) draws attention to less discussed but still potent everyday objects that can combine to form 'topographies of emotion and affect'. For Maddrell, writing in the context of bereavement, these items can include

traces that are often unnoticed but take on significance as they visualise absence-presence such as the scent left in the clothing of a deceased loved one. However these 'topographies of emotion and affect' can be extended to other areas of life such as spirituality. These objects can empower the meditator to imaginatively travel, as with Michelle with her white Buddha statue reminding her of a holiday in Thailand. Notably Penny blends several traditions and origins together in her shrine, reflecting the syncretism of her religious profile 'Western Insight (Buddhist and Christian)'. Her detailed description has been reproduced above as she provides a visual image here that also affords some insight into the personal significance of this assemblage. The personal, the local, the historical and the global are combined together to construct her place of meditation; these items travelling back and forth across time and space. Until recently she had also placed a Franciscan cross on the chest, as she also occasionally attended church services as well as the meditation centre, but removed this due to clutter. Later in the interview I ask if Penny used her grandmother's old chest purely for functionality or any other reasons:

Yeah, no, I think it's because it's the right height. It just, yeah...the fact it is my grandmother's chest, although I haven't consciously thought about it, I think it, it just feels nice that it's something that's quite old and belongs...to previous generations of my family.

Interestingly Penny states here that whilst the primary reason for using the chest is functional she also recognises that the family history behind the object adds value. Within the Christian context, Konieczny (2009) has discussed the intertwining of personal and sentimental associations with religious objects as an expression of individual religiosity and spirituality within the wider Christian tradition. The participants here, particularly Richard, Michelle and Penny, have accumulated and displayed object and images that have personal significance and

imaginative mobility of travel memories or family history which are simultaneously employed as part of their meditative practice. No one central object or image has overall authority but combine to express or aid the participant's sense of spirituality. The product is *tactically* used by the consumer for their own ends, challenging the official discourse and opening critical space of the product (Appadurai, 1996; de Certeau, 1988; Woodhead, 2012a). Such intermixing or tailoring of the secular and the religious, the global and the intimate is suggestive of the subjectivisation of religion (Heelas and Woodhead, 2005) as participants draw on multiple sources of meaning to construct a spirituality that is personal to them rather than adhere to an external narrative.

An effect of globalisation is to juxtapose people, groups, traditions and cultures in specific hub places that have never met before (Bluck *et al.*, 2012; Turner, 2011). Resultantly new tensions and contestations appear between these groups (Turner, 2011). As well as human actors this can include the non-human actors discussed above and contemporary society would appear to be saturated by images, objects and ideas of religious origin (Bartolini *et al.*, 2013; Hjarvard, 2008). The proliferation of such objects can cause annoyance though to those who do not subscribe to the beliefs and attitudes of the religion (and even those who do). An example of this was found in Eleanor's (Baptist sample) diary and interview:

Figure 1: Extract from Eleanor's diary

Massage	No	There are Buddha pictures looking down on me which annoys me a bit, I'd prefer there was nothing there. I know our God is greater and these things have probably just been put up to "look relaxing" but the mindlessness annoys me a bit and I just focus on my stiff shoulder getting worked on!	Yes	1-2	Salon.
Date: 10/12/13			Diary ID: _____		

Transcription: There are Buddha pictures looking down on me which annoys me a bit. I'd prefer there was nothing there. I know our God is greater and these things have probably just been put up to "look relaxing" but the mindlessness annoys me a bit and I just focus on my stiff shoulder getting worked on!

Images of the Buddha are a common trope of health, beauty, holistic wellbeing therapy centres; in spaces that, as Eleanor observes, offer or encourage relaxation as a product for consumption. At this point, it can also be noted that a few of the Buddhist meditation centre participants suggested they initially started attending meditation for 'relaxation' and 'calming' purposes amongst other motivations. During her interview Eleanor elaborated on this entry and suggested her frustration was more centred on the emptiness of meaning behind the Buddha images being placed there as items of consumption. In addition lack of consideration for people who did not find these images appropriate because of their personal beliefs rather than merely a disagreement with other religions. For Eleanor, there is inauthenticity here as the image is without roots in this space rather than being rooted in a sincere belief and practice of the owner of the space (echoing 'placelessness', Relph, 1976). Another example she offered in the interview suggested she also found non-Christian religious objects undesirable in the private, and personal, space of her home:

[...] my mum brought me something back from India which was a sort of Indian god thing. [...] So I had it up, my shelf for a bit for a couple of years and then I, then I think as my own personal faith deepened I just suddenly

thought 'why have I got this thing in my very small living space? Why is it here? I don't want it here'. And chose to remove it and felt a lot better for having done, for having made that active choice I think 'cos again just to inadvertently...had things around the place that might represent something...that they were not intended to represent [...] I wasn't being true to my own beliefs and values by having these things around so I chose to remove them.

The souvenir, a commodity drawn from India's rich religious-cultural resource forming a point of continuity and a conduit of memory between the site of purchase and the home for thousands of tourists every year (Stausberg, 2011), the statue is also a material presence of a religious other (Haldrup, Koefoed and Simonsen, 2006). However in this case the Hindu deity became a point of contestation for the private space of Eleanor's home. Removing this object is also an act of reaffirming faith and strengthening the hegemony of this faith in the private sphere of her home; as Harvey (1996, cited in Cresswell, 2015) states, a re-conquest of place by excluding undesirable representations. Selecting different materialities and the traditions they represent reaffirms the centrality of place as a way of seeing the world (Cresswell, 2015) and expressing religious and spiritual identity.

This section has explored the proliferation of global materialities, their employment as a part of religious and spiritual practice for many of the participants, and pointed towards possible tensions that can occur through the global mobility of religious object, images and ideas. As with Massey's relational conceptualisation of the construction of 'place', participants here draw together materials from other places, bringing them into personal space and thereby producing their own 'place' and personalised sacred spaces. The sacred becomes a product of the local and the global (della Dora, 2009). This necessitates a process of deciding what to

include and what to exclude as part of a subjectivised reflection of spirituality. The next section will discuss the global mobility of information and teachings and its usage by participants to develop and explore their beliefs, attitudes and practices.

8.1.2 Teachings and information

In this subsection a continuity of the fluidity of texts, ideas and materials illustrates the dynamic nature of contemporary religious and spiritual practice. Texts can be a pillar in constructing a form of spirituality for the individual and most of the participants in both samples reported that they read and drew from a variety of texts. Within the Meditation centre sample, these books could often be from the Christian and Buddhist traditions. This would seem logical as when asked about their personal religious or spiritual history, most of the participants stated that before turning to Buddhist ideas, they had been brought up with some form of Christian tradition. Few had continued attending church beyond the early adulthood. Most of the books reported within this sample were self-help/lifestyle and beliefs categories, echoing wider social trends of the rise of selfhood through individual agency and consumption (Bruce, 1995; Heelas and Woodhead, 2005). Some, as seen with Anna earlier, used lighter, bite-size versions such as her Dalai Llama calendar and *The Little Book of Calm*. Others, often more experienced than Anna (a relative newcomer to meditation), drew upon more substantial works. These could range from texts by renowned Buddhist thinkers (for example Thich Nhat Hanh) to popular inclusivist theologians (Don Cupitt). Participants drew therefore from a rich historic and global resource ('banal religion' (Hjarvard, 2008)) to construct their spirituality.

Participants from the Baptist church sample were less likely to discuss books in either their diary or interview and when they did, they were narrower in their selection. All books mentioned were from the Christian tradition. The bible and bible study notes were mentioned on several occasions. References were cited by two participants, Rita and Fred, regarding

books about global issues within Christianity. Rita noted the book she was reading in her diary (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Extract from Rita's diary

The image shows a handwritten diary entry on a grid background. The text is written in cursive and includes the following details:

3pm	bedroom	reading	Finishing a book about the conversion of an African gang leader in the '60s.	Don't usually read books like this. It does make me think about my western faith...
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(Some text pixelated to allow image to be read more clearly)

Fred also read widely within the Christian tradition, however he had a special concern or 'burden' for the plight of persecution and social justice for Christians worldwide. His reading was often focussed on this cause, which was also the focus of a monthly mid-week evening prayer group he attended as in Figure 3. Differences between the two samples in their selected reading material correspond with wider social trends. Principally that the Buddhist meditation centre group, as representative of the holistic sector, have a greater interest in developing the self through spirituality (Heelas and Woodhead, 2005). Participants here take advantage of the global circuits of mobility that bring a diverse range of different and often competing claims for self-fulfilment into their personal space. The Baptist church sample on the other hand, tended to stay within Christian themes of reading for spiritual purposes. Christian reading still cut across social and geographic boundaries as seen in Rita's book concerning African Christianity and Fred's concern here (Figure 3) for the persecuted Christian victims of the North Korean political regime.

Figure 3: Extract from Fred's diary

19:50 -21:45	Church [redacted]	persecuted church prayer meeting at [redacted]	Yes	One of the major concerns I have is for the persecuted church worldwide - opportunity for small group discussion and prayer.
21:45 -22:45	Car + Home	going home end of day.	Yes - actually got round to reading a Christian book in bed before lights out - used to do it every day before getting married but can't keep the light on to read any more unless my wife is!	

Fred's concern for persecuted Christians was strongly evident in the interview when asked about his thoughts or feelings regarding his daily prayer time he talked of the Sunday service, a home prayer group and the persecuted church group. He very quickly rushed through the first three time-spaces in his answer but spoke at length regarding the persecuted church group. In the interview he added that knowledge of the persecuted church had encouraged him to research further using Google Earth mapping software:

I read a book quite recently about, not a Christian book actually but someone who escaped from a North Korean prison camp but...erm...and also looking at the Christian experience there, taking Google Earth and looking at the actual prison camp that he was actually talking about and thinking now, there, looking that actual camp, you know there's Christians in there who are horrifically persecuted. Er...it is just coming, is coming away partly...more knowledgeable and feeling that's right, partly more weighed down and feeling that's a burden and partly the need to pray more and to do whatever I can to...affect that [...]

The book and use of Google Earth to spatialize the information is an indicator of the extensive social relations that the imaginative mobilities of books can facilitate. It would be inaccurate

to suggest that those before now were unaware of similar contemporary events. Medieval Christians in Europe, for example, would have had economic and political involvement in the Crusades. However modern communication technologies have enabled the availability of more extensive and intensive knowledge of global and faraway events. Running throughout Rita and Fred's account is a much more immediate perspective of their faith within the Western context, resultant from the in-depth communication and information technologies available.

As with materialities in the previous subsection, teaching and information in the form of texts has played an important element in the construction of a religious or spiritual profile. Religious identity becomes a factor in motivating the concerns of several participants here, echoing Durkheim's (1961) interpretation of religion as having a unifying function for society. Shared beliefs and values hold together the participant's interests and concerns for other spatially distant Christians. This shall also be explored later in the chapter.

8.1.3 Broadcasts

Another channel of information was the use of broadcast media. Traditionally this has referred to radio broadcast and whilst the use of radio this will be discussed in this section, more recent developments of broadcasting such as audio files available for download over the internet will also be examined. Audio files and programmes were often used by the Buddhist meditation sample in this research. The open answers to question 9 of the questionnaire yield 17 cases (21% of all respondents in this sample) reporting the mp3s to be listened to during travel time on portable devices. This included the use of podcasts, audiobooks and smartphone 'apps'. These programmes varied in content and application as some were audio teachings and other programmes were designed to aid meditation through spoken instruction or sounds. Several participants, including Paul and Michelle in Figure 4 and 5, reported using podcasts and audiobooks to find out more about Buddhist philosophy and meditation.

Figure 4: Extract from Paul's diary

17:00	to	Commute.	Yes	listen to dharmas books
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Figure 5: Extract from Michelle's diary

21:36	At Home	Having a bath	listened to a podcast on Resite + Greed + the consequences of actions	It's easier to take in talks at home when I feel relaxed so the bath is a good place to listen to Dharma talks on the mobile phone	Yes
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Paul, Michelle and other meditation participants reported using guided meditation CDs and mp3s as well as smartphone apps that could be used to time the session, playing chimes to signal the end of the meditation. These podcasts, audiobooks and apps are drawn from the global resources of digitised Buddhist material and for several participants served as the gateway to Buddhist meditation and philosophy. Use of these audio programmes was reported across the spectrum of experience within the sample; from newcomers to experienced practitioners of meditation. There were also several other cases from the questionnaire of the Baptist church sample respondents using smartphone apps or daily emails with Christian passages as well and iTunes store and Google Play hold several thousands of these apps for download. Max and Robert from this sample were particularly familiar with smartphone apps. Audio recordings in the form of podcasts, audiobooks and smartphone apps provide an extra depth and aid to the spiritual practices of these participants. Teachings and instruction in religious traditions are juxtaposed with everyday situations that the individual encounters (also seen with Michelle in Chapter 7). These technologies allow the individual to be desynchronised from the social institutions from which the content originates (Urry, 2007). If contemporary mobilities enable de-synchronisation between people of their daily activities, asynchronous broadcast media can increase personalisation of when and where people

choose to engage in spiritual practices as the person becomes the portal (Urry, 2007). Such technologies liquidise (Bauman, 2000) the sacred, reducing the need for dedicated sacred time-spaces. However synchronous audio resources may be exploited for spiritual practice such as the radio, are explored next.

The use of radio emerged in four of the participant's narratives. This occurred in two distinct ways. Firstly, Chapter 6 reported the consumption of BBC Radio 4's *Today*, a daily news and current affairs programme broadcast between 0600 and 0900, had been utilised by Fred and Sally in their morning commute to work for news and information about world events. For both participants, this daily slot within their schedules to news was a crucial channel in accessing national and international news due to the busyness of the rest of their day. The second way in which participants used the *Today* programme was with 'Thought for the Day' segment. This two minute broadcast in which a speaker, usually from a religious background, delivers a short message intended to interrupt the daily schedule and provoke philosophical or social thought upon a particular topic. 'Thought for the Day' was noted by four of the participants, all within the Baptist church sample, in their diaries and discussed further in the subsequent interview. Like Fred and Sally, Rita and Jude listened to the *Today* programme and often found the 'Thought for the Day' broadcast thought-provoking. However in their interviews, Rita and Jude (a married couple who participated in this research separately) also elaborated on 'Thought for the Day' as an opportunity to encounter other belief systems and culture. As Rita enthusiastically recounted, she was keen to hear more of humanist and atheistic beliefs and other religious and cultural systems, in order to reflect upon her faith:

...I'm always hoping to find common ground and I'm always hoping to hear something...that will...that will, in a way will, that will...either challenge me or reassure I suppose. Either make me think 'yeah, these guys...are like me

really' or think 'wow, haven't thought of it that way'. Yeah I'm always looking for something good, hoping for something good. [...].

Jude echoed this:

[...] sometimes, you know you hear somebody, a Buddhist or, or a Sikh come along on the radio and say something and you just think 'wow! That's really amazing and I agree with that wholeheartedly' [...]

Rita and Jude view this segment as a daily two minute window into the lives and beliefs of others. Both quotes illustrate a desire to learn more of belief systems that act to challenge their faith or at least provide an alternative perspective to an element of the human condition which has been shown to be a universal issue amongst all cultures; an example of globalised-universalist accommodation of difference. The beliefs and cultures that are represented within the broadcast are the same as you may find within any major city in the UK including Bristol and they have often been absorbed into mainstream popular culture and media. The speakers are usually British and represent a British institution of a de-territorialised religion. However these beliefs and cultures can also represent difference from Rita and Jude's Christian belief system. This broadcast becomes an additional channel where difference can be encountered, along with other spaces that bring diverse groups of people together such as the workplace, public transport and recreation spaces. The broadcast content provides an interruption to the day, an injection of usually religious philosophical thought ('banal religion' (Hjarvard, 2008)) into an otherwise secular discourse (Knott, 2005a). A regulated two minute plugin component to a structured three hour broadcast becomes a vehicle for human contemplation and a catalyst for potentially attitude-changing global connections between a married couple and their family in Bristol, UK and global religions and philosophy.

This section has examined the infiltration of processes and products of globalisation into the local, domestic and personal realms of the diary-interviewees. Participants from both samples drew from a rich global-historical cultural resource of religious and spiritual symbols, images, instructions and information to construct their practices and personal sacred spaces. These global religious artefacts were found to be in abundance and saturating mainstream popular culture, available for consumption as part of a subjectivisation of religion (Heelas and Woodhead, 2005). As participant-centred spirituality or '*tactical religion*', there were few fixed structures, instead liquid modern (Bauman, 2000) identities that drew upon multiple sources of religious or spiritual significance. However their deployment was also a potential site for contested or lead to conflict and alienation, as seen with Eleanor's contempt for Buddhist imagery in a commercial setting, as well as being an aid to spiritual development and practice. Globalised artefacts in this research do not override the local but combine with and recalibrate the local to be a significant co-presence within the religious and spiritual life of the participant. They mimic and conform to the logics of secular networks for travel (Hjarvard, 2008). However these global mobilities are subjectively employed, informally assembled and dependent on the user, leading to instability within the practices as these can be changed or transformed very easily. The next section will examine stabilised spatial forms of these mobilities and networks within the participant's reference point for their spiritual practice, the church or meditation centre.

8.2. A global sense of religious place

Churches and meditation centres in contemporary British society are situated within multiple networks of local and global mobility. Yet as observed in Chapter 5, these settings can often be viewed as a time-space set apart from the external world as suggested by Eliade (1957) and Turner and Turner (1978). Massey (1994) and later Hannam, Sheller and Urry (2006) establish

that despite places being constructed as fixed and bounded, they are implicated in multiple networks of people, objects, ideas and other places. This section will argue that the time-space of churches and meditation centres balance socio-economic relations with external networks with a perception of being set apart from the outside world; as outside mobilities enter the site they are filtered and translated into formats compatible with the site. Although different in their social formation (Baptist churches often draw on pre-existing social structures such as the family or friends and meditation centres operate through consumption) both sets of sites within this research acted as nodes in which the local and the global were connected. This part of the chapter is more explicit in mapping Urry's five interdependent mobilities on to the churches and meditation centres in order to reflect the systematisation of these sites. As the fifth mobility (physical) has largely been considered in the first part of this chapter, it shall not be returned to here.

8.2.1 Imaginative travel

Imaginative travel is the most difficult of the five mobilities to clarify, particularly as in order to record instances of imaginative travel, the researcher often has to become entangled in other forms of mobility. In *Mobilities* Urry illustrates imaginative travel with the television. The television is both an object, and therefore a circulating entity in its own right, as well as a stimulant of imaginative travel for the viewer (Urry, 2007). Through the (albeit minor) physical act of switching between television channels, the viewer can be instantaneously transported from the assassination of J. F. Kennedy in Dallas, 1963 to the emerging Ebola crisis in west Africa, 2014; transitioning through time and space. Within the geographies of religion discipline, della Dora (2011a) has examined imaginative travel with the 19th century practice of the sending of postcards home by pilgrims to Mount Athos and the subsequent recirculation of these postcards by the initial recipients within their home communities. These cheap mass-produced images could make the distant present within the home with the physical presence

of the image (see also Urry (2002)). Christianity and Buddhism provide rich historic and geographic resources for their related sites, in this case Baptist churches and Buddhist meditation centres, to draw a great potential of imaginative mobility from and be positioned within. Forms of the imaginative mobilities present at the fieldwork sites will now be examined. Imaginative travel will be shown to be stimulated by more than just the two senses of sound and sight but through other senses and behavioural gestures.

Imaginative travel was often employed in images projected of the biblical world during sermons but on several occasions, time-spaces and places were employed that are closer in time and distance to the church. One such example was in a sermon discussing 'the sin of our time' manifested in the displays of hedonism that can be watched on television shows, namely the reality TV shows *Sun, Sex and Suspicious Parents*, *The Magaluf Weekender*, and the fictional drama *Benidorm*. These programmes based on the holiday antics of, usually young, people in popular sunny beachside tourist destinations in Spain, Greece and Cyprus. Due to the holiday context, the programmes often feature the kind of excessive behaviour (drinking, sex and fighting) discouraged by Christianity. Employing examples drawn from popular culture and television, the minister was referring to an image of sin that a contemporary lay audience could identify. The excessive behaviour of the TV programme participants is often exaggerated in the holiday context. A reference to these well-known holiday destinations, rather than the comparable behaviour found on a Saturday night in some parts of Bristol (also a popular regional destination for 'stag' and 'hen' weekends away in the South West of the UK), takes advantage of the spatial distance between 'here' (the church) and 'there' (Ibiza and Magaluf, Spain; Ayia Napa, Cyprus; Kos and Zante, Greece) that also functions as buffer zone between virtue and sin. Spatial distance is conflated with social and moral distance. The distant periphery zone of 'there' dialectically reinforces the safety of 'here' as a way of understanding the world (Cresswell, 2015; Massey, 2005). Kong (2013) observes a similar practice in the Alpha Course with the Nicky Gumbel's use of a cheque signed by Jesus Christ to

illustrate the price paid by God for the salvation of humans. The cheque, a symbol of modern globalised environment is used by Gumbel as part of a universal lexicon that is understood by a contemporary audience of industrialised societies and reinforces the relevance (and modernity) of the Christian message in the world today. The ministers at these churches also employed a set of shared popular cultural products that their audience would understand and relate to with vivid images of the sins of the contemporary world. Imaginative mobility in this instance is used to demonstrate a theological message in the contemporary world.

Buddhist meditation centres, in many respects, have a more immediate sense of imaginative mobility for those attend. Whilst the Christian church has been settled and embedded within the UK for over a millennium, Buddhist philosophy and religion have only had a mainstream presence since the mid-20th century. Buddhism, of course, originated in the Indian subcontinent around 500 BCE and spread across much of East Asia in the subsequent centuries. From the mid-20th century onwards, the ideas and imagery of Buddhism have been imported into Europe and North America mainly through western conversion rather than migration (as is largely the case with Hinduism, Islam, Judaism and Sikhism) (Bluck *et al.*, 2012). Resultantly much of the iconography and imagery present within the meditation centres were of Asian origin, specifically Japanese, Thai, Sri Lankan and Tibetan in character. As with Gilliat-Ray's (collected in Bluck *et al.*, 2012 chapter; also Turner, 2011) observation about radically different branches of Islam, diverse forms of Buddhism are de-territorialized from very different geographical origins in Asia are re-territorialized in close proximity to each other and collected under the same heading. There are other signs of this re-territorialisation as each of the Buddhist centres are the accommodation of these groups in non-specific purpose buildings such as flats above shops or previous church buildings.

Imagined mobility was manifested in several, multi-sensory channels of sight, sound and smell. Tuan (1982) (citing the anthropological work of Turner (1967) based in African and Indian

settings) outlines the contribution each sensory stimulation can provide to a place: Visual images can transport the viewer and set the mood through clues embedded within the image; white can represent asceticism and nutrition, red represents blood (Turner, 1967); smell adds authenticity to a scene and is the most evocative of senses as the aroma of incense can instantly generate an atmosphere; sounds dynamise a space, again significantly contributing to an atmosphere (Maddrell and della Dora, 2013a; Tuan, 1982).

Visually the meditation centres differed from each other as some were austere and others populated by comfortable seating, colourful works of art and soft lighting to engender an atmosphere of tranquillity away from the noise and busyness of the external world. However all groups carefully managed the visual aspect of these spaces in correspondence with their tradition. Most viscerally in a tantric school of Buddhist meditation, the interior of the shrine room was painted in a blood red. At the other end of the scale, the Japanese group's interior was austere in neutral, off-white tones but decorated (sparsely) with Japanese graphics and symbols. Other meditation centres were populated by images and icons of the Buddha.

Incense was often used, instantly transporting the participant to other spaces. Sound was heavily regulated not just in the use of percussive instruments but in the silences that were collectively reinforced during meditation periods. Different sounds were employed by different groups such as the hammering of wooden blocks or the drone of a bell to signal specific phases of the session. The meditation centres in this study demonstrated a careful assemblage of sensory stimulants from a historically rich global resource of the Buddhist tradition, imaginatively transporting the attendee away from external surroundings of the building to develop a sense of place based on imaginative travel.

Imaginative travel has been demonstrated in two distinct forms in this subsection. Examples from the church described the employment of imaginative travels to illustrate the message of the sermon. Alternatively and in an embodied way, the meditation centres constructed an

environment that stretches the presence of those attending across global time and space, developing an atmosphere that support their practice of meditation. Actively drawing upon these global resources from faraway, each site is able to construct a space that supports their central activity corresponding with Massey's (1993; 1994) relational production of place. The churches and meditation centres in this study channel and organise the global, in the process re-territorialising these entities in the local.

8.2.2 Communicative travel

Differences between the two sample groups, as already seen, have often been sharpened when viewing the groups through the lens of community. There were identifiable aspects of community within the meditation centres and they were usually very friendly and accommodating to newcomers. There was however, a greater degree of social cohesion found within the church groups that was the consequence of years or decades of social involvement and interaction (also identified in Sharma, 2012). Long term significant relationships and friendships had formed, enabling and encouraging the flow of community news between congregants. Religious groups have often functioned as communal hubs to newly regional, national and international migrants to provide emotional and social support that has been cut-off due to mobility (Whyte, 1956 cited in Dwyer, Gilbert and Shah, 2013; Martin, 1998; Sattar, 2012; Tse, 2011). However as this section will demonstrate, religious venues do not need this diasporic dimension to act as a stabilised network for communication to travel amongst those who attend. The depth of this communication travel was expressed in multiple ways during the research: through informal conversations before and after the Sunday service, occasional references within the questionnaires and diaries and longer discussion in the interviews. This is first explored in the noticeable channel for this flow of news that was found to be deeply embedded within the Sunday service itself.

National and international news entered the churches usually through the intervention of the minister. Whilst all the churches did make the effort to actively involve the laity within the service allocating a specific time-slot for individuals to tell the congregants about themselves or their news, bible readings and other interactions, the central stage was for the most part the domain of the ministers. Prayers are dotted throughout the service which usually consisted of a church leader delivering a prayer for the assembly. His or her prayers will often revolve around a theme for that particular week and often incorporate an aspect of national or international news. Items noted in the services I attended as part of the participant-observation stage between late 2013 and mid-2014 included the Glasgow helicopter crash, Kenyan hostage crisis, ongoing civil war in Syria and flooding that occurred primarily in the neighbouring county of Somerset. Christian global news featured prominently with references to the bombing of churches in Pakistan and persecution enacted in Iraq. Events occurring that effected many non-Christian or secular persons were often omitted from reference in the church. There was a filtering process in place that orientated the churches towards either Christian-centric news or news stories positioned within an assumed secular and therefore neutral context. This is reflected in the prayer topics for Sally that could encompass multiple scales of the ongoing world events but the local seemed to be more heavily weighted:

[...] I was praying quite a bit for the people in the [2014 Somerset] floods cos that was the thing that was happening. [...] I do sometimes pray for international but it's not...doesn't feature so big on my, my radar so it tends to be local or my friends. I know some of my friends are going through tough times so I'll pray for people I know are going through tough times for whatever reason. Tends to be things that are close to me.

Global and regional events, such as the Somerset floods and the civil war in Syria (which she mentions earlier in the interview), are present within Sally's prayer life but the more local and personal feature more intensively. Prayer and news is therefore weighted toward and centred towards the locality; the 'here' instead of the 'there' (Cresswell, 2015) as the boundaries of the network are enacted.

Social relationships and communication invested within the church were manifested during collective prayer. The main prayer usually offered in the service shortly before or after the sermon was an opportunity for the laity to interact directly with the content of the service. Just before the minister offered the prayer, he or she would ask the congregation if there were any specific prayers to be made. A slight hesitation would usually occur before someone would venture a name and often a reason for the specific mention in the prayer. The personal situation was announced with a spectrum of disclosure from vague references of marital difficulty to specific illnesses and health conditions. Health concerns reflect a traditional (Weberian) connection between religion and a call for healing (Hunt, 2003) but there is also an evolution in social concern that these calls often contain (indirect) references to family difficulties. More often than not after the first congregant had called for a prayer, a floodgate would be opened and quickly a dossier of names and situations would be assembled. In some churches this list would be so extensive that the minister would have to jot down a list to keep track. This routine mobilised the circuits of communal news and information amongst congregants, performing 'place' by ensuring those who were absent were still present in the space. Through this channel any attendee could be kept up to date with the news of others, whether they knew the person concerned particularly well or even at all. It is the latter case that this channel is particularly effective as without directly knowing a fellow member of the congregation, a church member can still maintain a social relationship through their attendance at the church.

Furthermore this practice is an ongoing and unfolding narrative process. As often, particularly amongst the older members of the church who are more susceptible to ill health, the same names would be repeated again for weeks or even months at a time. With every mention of a recurring name new information would often be added, an example may be: 'Christine is still in hospital', 'Christine will be undergoing an operation this week'. In some instances, the story would end with the announcement of their passing. More happily in other instances, the story would end with a return to home and to the church. On one occasion I found myself talking to Dorothy, whose name I recognised as having heard in the notices over the previous year on her return to the church. As in my case, I was kept informed and in an indirect relationship mediated through the church community with somebody I had never met and only through chance of sitting down next to her one Sunday did we actually meet. Continued attendance at a church, even for just the short period of this participant observation, reveals the life events of others (Sharma, 2012). In this case personal news is amplified and mobilised through the network of the church community.

Local and community news was also distributed in a more concrete form, the newsletter. When entering most of the churches, the greeter would hand out a newsletter (see Figure 6a and 6b for examples) which contained the agenda for that service and news of members of the congregation as well as other events happening in and around the church. Such publications concretise and formalise these communicative mobilities. Several churches would supplement this physical edition with an email version, usually with a more fluid content. Often the format would allow for multimedia content with photographs of the congregants in the news and links to relevant websites.

them in one's prayers. Like the church services, the newsletters would also accommodate prayer and donation requests for missions in far off countries, global events as well as thanks for the good recovery of congregants or the messages of support that have been received following ill health. Happier news of engagements of lifecycle events such as births and families were also included. Details of the pastoral team, prayer chains and the church team are usually included thereby introducing the process how which communal news is circulated. As with any form of newsletter there is an editorial role in deciding what is and what is not included in the newsletter that in this case corresponds with the question of who, what and where is included in the boundaries of place.

Community news is qualitative in character and subject to the potential inaccuracies of those who report and interpret this information. The process of its distribution is inefficient and unregulated, subject to the flow speeds of the congregation. These factors suggest that this form of circulation resists modern mobilities of news and information flows with its emphasis on accuracy and instantaneous communication. Instead continuity is found with traditional circuits whereby the church would be a source for local news, announcements and events as a regular assembly of the local community on a weekly basis. Orientated around the practice of faith, the medium of the church intertwines local and global news, juxtaposing the two within the same service simultaneously creating a critical space within contemporary, globalised society. Faraway events are recoded as Christian and therefore locally relevant events; these different scales of circuits are united. Local events though presented a greater gravitational pull in emphasis, illustrating that this communicative mobility is still weighted towards the personal rather than the global. As discussed in Chapter 3 and 5, the churches exhibited signs of *communitas* yet this is extended over multiple scales of geographical distance and degrees of separation from the events as suggested by Urry (2002). This section has further illustrated how communicative travel frames social, political and secular matters within a faith context and reinforce the faith of the congregation and the social cohesion of the community.

8.2.3 Virtual travel

The worldwide web, email and social media has entered many aspects of people's everyday lives. Religion has not escaped the pervading impact of 'web 2.0'. As Table 1 illustrates, all the venues that participated in this research had a corresponding website, most used email for newsletters or enquiries to their members and most had a Facebook webpage.

The churches were particularly sophisticated in their deployment of email and Facebook. Both of these media channels will be discussed in turn beginning with email. As well as reflecting the paper edition of their newsletter their emails would include photographs and links to other websites. More significantly, the electronic newsletters would include requests for prayer and updates of members who were ill or going through challenging times. Local communities also featured heavily in these newsletters and how the church was working together with other partner groups to produce community events.

In contrast the newsletters for the Buddhist Meditation Centres were more formal and focussed around activities and events occurring at their venue or retreats only. These ranged from more marketing-consumer news-shots to straightforward updates to the centre.

Similar to email, the use of Facebook was most successfully used by the Baptist churches, although there was not quite the same differential between the churches and the meditation centres in this case. Facebook pages were produced by the church but the diary-interview correspondents mostly reported the informal and personal use of keeping in contact with friends from the church. Lucy, in her early 30s and Robert, in his later 50s reported their experiences in two different ways. Lucy used Facebook regularly during the day in order to keep in contact with friends, mostly from the church. Robert on the other hand checked his account less frequently and mainly for getting updates on friends from inside and outside the church. For both Lucy and Robert, these were contacts established in the church and

maintained outside of church to some extent through the use of Facebook. The social network had become a virtual extension of the church and a space that was not solely in the domain of the church but negotiated between church and private space.

Table 1: Virtual mobilities of the research sites

Venue	Website?	Podcast download from venue?	Facebook page?	Twitter?
North-East Baptist Church	✓	✓	✓	✗
North-West Baptist Church	✓	✓	✓	✗
South-East Baptist Church	✓	✓	✓	✗
South-West Baptist Church	✓	✓	✓	✗
Tibetan Buddhist Group	✓	✗	✓	✗
Western Buddhist Group	✓	✓	✓	✓
Theravada Group	✓	✗	✓	✗
Japanese Group	✓	✗	✓	✗

8.2.4 Corporeal travel

This section will concentrate on corporeal journeys that were made and reported back to the venue either by members who had left the venue to travel faraway or those who visited the site from faraway. These trips or visits did not include any extraordinary journeys such as pilgrimages. Instead the external mobilities reported here are missionary trips to different countries or international visits to the churches and meditation centres that occurred during the fieldwork. All data included for this section was collected as part of the participant-observation stage of research. Visits to and from the churches are discussed first before a visit to one of the meditation centres. The two-way mobility of people moving in and out of the 'home' church or meditation centre acts upon the others present, expanding the horizons, connections and reach of these places.

During the participant-observation phase of research at one of the Sunday church services a young woman, Paula, from the congregation was called up to the stage to make a brief presentation of her recent trip to visit her friend, Sue, also a member of that church. Sue had been working as a missionary in the Dominican Republic (DR), helping the community with basic requests for contingency money as well as more complicated tasks such as attaining a passport and other official papers. Later on within my research at the church, Sue herself came back from the DR and visited the church. Both Sue's and her friend's presentation to the assembled church was augmented by overhead presentations and photographs of the village and people Sue worked with. Sue described her experiences and framed these through a Christian vision, pausing occasionally to reference God's work through her. Sue and her friend Paula embody and enable a relationship between an otherwise ordinary suburban church in Bristol and a missionary project in the DR. This relationship is both spiritual, in the intentions of Sue and BMS World Services, and financial in the aid they provide to the DR village. Sue and

Paula's presence and reports back to the church open a gateway between the two places that mutually transform each other.

Other visits from international guests to the venues would occur too. Visits to the churches were made by clergy from other parts of the world. During the participant observation there were visits from a minister in India, a Youth With A Mission group with several teenagers at the church from Canada, Switzerland and Finland and an elderly married couple who talk about their mission in Hungary. The couple belonged to the BMS (Baptist Missionary Service) World Mission which aims to mission throughout the world in churches, development roles, education, health, justice and leadership. BMS World Mission was referred to in several of the churches involved in this research. Some churches would include a small but semi-permanent display in the back of the hall with a donation box whilst others would hand out BMS World Mission envelopes to collect these donations with the newsletter on the door. Links to the BMS and their global activities were thus maintained through imagined presence and occasional physical co-presence. The church acts as a node within much larger international networks. Different visitors come and go; different church members go away and return to the church with their stories. The church becomes the hub point in which these stories are retold and distributed, altering the way they are told and for the purpose they are told.

Such personal visits from faraway places whilst more prolific were not limited to the church. During one Sunday morning meditation session and ceremony at a meditation centre, the regular attendees were accompanied by a visiting monk from Japan. Of course the activity within the meditation centre meant that unlike in the churches, where an international visitor may be specially requested to speak to the congregation, the monk's presence was largely silent. Attendees to the ceremony which is held on Sunday morning usually stay around afterwards for a light breakfast. During which, the monk did briefly speak, when prompted, on the differences between Buddhism in the West and Japan. Whilst the monk did not actually

say much, indeed most of his visit was marked by the silence of the meditation, his co-presence in the same room had an effect in stimulating the session. Moreover his few words inspired a more general discussion regarding these differences but also of a sociological nature of the influence of Buddhism on mainstream popular culture in the West.

Running through each of these accounts is the positioning and consciousness of the churches and meditation centres within a global network and circuit of mobility. The visitors to the venue bring awareness and remind the regular attendees of the universal nature of their religion or source of spirituality.

The second part of this chapter has explored the multiple channels of mobility that act upon and to construct a sense of place within religious sites. Applying Urry's system of classification for interdependent mobilities, the churches and meditation centres featuring in this research have been identified as sites of multiple intersecting mobilities; nodes that act horizontally across networks and vertically connecting different scales of networks together. The domestic, the local, the national and the global are all held together within these spaces. Through the sensorial atmospheres generating imagined mobility throughout the global whilst positioned in the local; the multiple scales of communication in news and information that are juxtaposed and threaded together through shared faith; the presence of the churches and meditation centres on the internet; and visits to and from the venues opened a personal channel between the venue and the faraway places. The social and cultural horizons of place are expanded as elements of the extraordinary are introduced into the local scale of attendee's personal time-space. Mobility plays an intrinsic role in the construction of these places, reflecting the saturation of mobility more generally in society, by bringing the world and its resources into these religious and spiritual communities. Churches and meditation centres as 'place' perform an important node in mooring together multiple intersecting networks. They stabilise the

connections of people, places and situations from across the globe and organising these through a specific framework informed by religious and spiritual beliefs and values.

8.3. Chapter summary

In the first section of this chapter, participant narratives illustrated the assembled nature and ordering of religious and spiritual practices within both the Baptist church and Buddhist meditation centre samples. Whilst it is arguable that, on a material level at least, the latter participants drew from further afield as a consequence of engaging with a religious tradition originating in East Asia, Baptist church participants would also draw information and teachings from faraway. The global was also deeply entangled with the personal and the emotional as was the case in the chest belonging to Penny's grandmother used along with other artefacts to construct her personal shrine. Global and local material and imaginary mobilities intertwined to constitute the participant's religious and spiritual life away from the official site of the church or meditation centre. Yet the improvised nature of much of this life resulted in often messy and instable relations between mobility and place. Stabilised connections could, however, often be found within the official sites.

Each of the sites visited in this research integrated a complex entangled network of local, regional, national and global connections. Whilst both the Baptist churches and Buddhist meditation centres maintained relations to other parts of the world, the teachings are grounded in the local realities of the environment. The site of the church is a node for multiple circuits of information and social-economic interactions between the congregation and the external world. News, information, currency and goods would flow in and through the church. These multiple circuits, scales and mobilities are integrated into the fabric of the churches as they are meshed together to become part of the central mission of the church. The global becomes an active component in the production of the local. The church is a site where the

complex scales of mobilities are organised to create a coherent worldview, as 'place' (Cresswell, 2015; Tuan, 1977) acting to stabilise the circuits of mobilities that flow through it.

Meditation centres operate this dynamism in a different manner to the churches. Whilst communicative mobilities rarely featured within the sessions, there are references to internal goings-on within the school, locally and nationally. Furthermore the information and teachings are sourced from a direct link to the global other in the form of the school founders, be this Tibet, Japan or Nepal. These sites are dynamic as a convergence the local and the global creates place.

As Robertson (1995) argues, the global and local are active features within the daily lives of people and this has been reflected in the formation of churches and meditation centres, and in the spiritual practices of participants outside of those sites. Once manifest and present within the individual's scale of activity the global and local channels are often interacted with and understood on a local scale. These multiple networks and scales combine to form the backdrop of religion and spirituality. Once the global has entered the local, it becomes part of the fabric of the local; the homogeneities of the global become elements of the heterogeneous local. Multi-scale, multiple connections, mobilities and networks are the crucial to the development of religious and spiritual places. This intermeshing of the global and the local transforms perceptions of the near and far-away (Urry, 2002; 2007) and has similar consequences for place. The nature of religious spaces both inside and outside the official spaces in this chapter have been reassessed as dynamic and interconnected places within wider personal, local, national and global networks that constitute the spiritual identity of the individual and religious site as a unifying moment (Durkheim, 1961) in a fragmented world.

Chapter 9: Conclusions

This thesis has explored the practices and mobilities that contribute towards personal spirituality inside and outside of the official sites of religion. It has drawn attention to the multiple discourses and uses of different spaces and places and how they differ from the official narratives of these spaces and places. Using the lens of mobilities and approaching the concept of 'place' as a relational construction implicated in multiple networks of mobilities, an understanding has emerged of sacred spaces as fluid overlaps of spiritual and secular discourses. This has occurred in three phases which will be summarised in this chapter before discussing how this research has contributed to the existing field of knowledge in mobilities and geographies of religion and spirituality. First, a reminder of the main research question aims laid out in the Chapter 1:

How do the multiple forms of mobility that are embedded in contemporary British society transform and impact upon the individual's construction of spiritual practices and their experience of place?

Analysis and discussion chapters have alternated between presenting 'official' or *strategic* practices and 'unofficial' or *tactical* manifestations of religion and spirituality (Kong, 2001a; Woodhead, 2012a). As Bauman (2000) and Urry (2007) suggest, practices and institutions are no longer fixed but need to be moveable with the body. This thesis has illustrated how participants can thread together certain time-spaces that they have become familiar with due to repeated use; these geographies becomes subjectivised.

9.1. Thesis summary and findings

The relationship between corporeal mobility and the official spaces of religion was first explored in Chapter 5 as it addressed the repeated journeys that participants made to their

church or meditation centre. The journey by Baptist church participants was considered as sharing elements with a scaled down form of pilgrimage, a journey that can accrue significance for the individual as a temporary and brief suspension of everyday life. Buddhist meditation participants often used their journey to the meditation centre to prepare themselves for the act of meditation, mindfulness and shared experience with other practitioners. The mobility facilitated and shaped these experiences, and these performances generated a sense of belonging in place. Rather than eroding 'place', mobility or the act of moving from home to 'centre' with this journey's accompanying social or personal practices can connect the various sites within a subjective spiritual geography.

Questionnaire and diary-interview data was used in Chapter 6 to identify sites of informal religious and spiritual practice within time-spaces of corporeal and mundane everyday mobility. Walking, cycling and driving and the different forms of spiritual practice that were performed in these spaces were examined. Participants imported practices of prayer, worship, music, meditation and contemplation into everyday journeys for employment, recreation and utility. The type of activity engaged was often related to the mobility. For example, mindfulness meditation was used by several participants in movement including Rita's 'cycling liturgy' was regulated by different segments of morning commute whilst Penny used a zebra crossing and traffic jams to practice wishing well to those around her. The mode of mobility can be an integral and transforming factor in the spiritual practice resonating with Knott and Lefebvre's production of religion in space. In this sense the opportunities and constraints that emerge from the mobility are transformed into spiritual practices and can help to transform the individual in encouraging a spiritual practice.

Chapter 7 then drew on Lefebvre's and later Wunderlich's conceptualisation of 'place' being composed of multiple and intersecting rhythms; re-coupling space with time. Additionally it modified Philo, Cadman and Lea's argument that practices such as meditation and yoga

supported, rather than transformed, existing socio-economic schedules of daily life instead suggesting that spiritual practices and these schedules were relational and mutually supported each other. Often certain points of the day, the morning or the night, were more conducive to prayer, meditation or contemplation. Time-space was then found to be gravitationally patterned rather than flat. Part two then examined the underlying rhythms of place, both 'official' outposts of institutional religion such as the church and meditation centre and the 'unofficial' or informal places that participants constructed in secular public space. It was found that the official sites could act to renew rhythms of practice and renewal amongst participants for the week or month ahead. Participants also talked of unofficial spaces, particularly green spaces, which slowed down surrounding urban rhythms again enabling renewal. Often participants applied knowledge of particular times and places – from secluded rooms in offices to parks - that could be relied upon for renewal.

Chapter 8 examined the circulation of global mobilities through the personal and public spaces of religion and spirituality in order to understand the tension between mobility and the potential erosion of place. This was identified in both the private sphere of the individual and the 'official' sites of the church or meditation centre. Such extended mobilities challenge the boundaries of these sites. There was a convergence of local and global circuits as they passed through the churches and meditation centres to be gathered, filtered and presented to the audience in the appropriate spiritual framework. The religious sites acted to translate these global items; to fix them in place and transform them into compatible units for consumption. The religious sites resonate with Tuan's original suggestion that '[p]lace is an organised world of meaning' (1977, p179) whilst corresponding with Massey and Urry's (as well as globalisation theorists) awareness of the global being implicated within the local.

Throughout these chapters, 'place' has been found to be dynamic and relational, constituted by repetition of movements, networks and rhythms that construct stability and familiarity.

The remainder of this section expands upon this after a brief word regarding evidence of the subjectivity of spiritual practice amongst participants. Geographers and sociologists have observed the shift from the community to the individual and from the objective to the subjective, in turn leading to a decline of the visibility and authority of mainstream institutionalised religion in the UK. The two samples were originally selected as examples of Heelas and Woodhead's model of the 'congregation domain' and the 'holistic milieu'. Whilst there were differences between the two groups, such as the depth of social relations based in the mooring points of the church or meditation centre, there were also significant continuities. Both sets of participants were found to use everyday mobilities and specific time-spaces for practices such as prayer and meditation, including using the journeys to the church or meditation centre as 'transition' or preparation time. The mode of mobility impacted upon what practices would be performed, the distance of the journey and the sociality of this journey are enfolded into more-than-travel time. The most significant continuity between the two groups was the depth of personal practice and its importance to the participant's spirituality. These performances demonstrate the subjective turn that Heelas and Woodhead frame, as participants in finding spiritual fulfilment in their own practices as well as those in the church or the meditation centre. The reclamation of time-spaces of mobilities, corporeal, virtual, physical, communicative and imaginary, demonstrates the personalisation of religion and spirituality to the individual.

Referring back to the main questions underlying this research, this thesis has evidenced personal spirituality and how this manifests in practices influenced by the environments in which they occur. From the global scale of mobilities that enter into local circulation through religious sites and personal items such as the smartphone or the objects that comprise a bedroom shrine, to the practices of prayer and meditation that are enacted in parks to produce moments of stillness and contemplation or the time-spaces of transport to utilise travel time for spiritual purposes. Places are not fixed and their identities are not determined

as the traditional geography and sociology literature examined in Chapter 2 and 3 suggests (such as Eliade, 1957; Tuan, 1977), however some places do encourage, discourage or displace spirituality more than others. For example the breakfast table in the morning before other household members are awake may be a more conducive environment for prayer than the busy commuter train home after a long day's work. Participant's relationships with places are often shaped by the mobilities they use and the practices they perform whilst in these time-spaces. What participants do in these places not only construct the place identity but, as has been demonstrated in this work, is relational to other places: the breakfast table is a good place for morning prayer *because* responsibilities to other people, places and employment commitments are yet to begin; the commute home is not so conducive *because* these responsibilities have produced the need for the participant to relax rather than be active. Building on Knott and Lefebvre, place discourses and identities are subjective-relational assemblages of the religious and the secular, the participant's intentions as well as the opportunities or constraints enacted by the mobilities time-spaces.

Institutionalising a phenomenon, codifying it and setting it in concrete, either in literal terms through buildings and material objects or in bureaucratic processes, has a stabilising effect that acts suggest long term duration of *strategic* religion. Informal, *tactical* or personal acts and practices of religion and spirituality often do not have the same association of stillness, self-containment and permanency. Rhythms and familiar routines construct habits and facilitate a perceived stability of place. A common thread running through the findings has been the underlying perception of stability that is driven through familiarity with different time-spaces that the individual inhabits and in the process allows for place-making and the threading together of a subjective spiritual geography. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 demonstrated that different types of mobilities that are reproduced regularly – for recreation, commuting and to attend the church or meditation centre – have allowed for sufficient familiarity to be developed so that navigating these time-spaces becomes habitual and allows for the

development of other projects (Bissell, 2011). The weekly journey to church or the meditation centre with its associated processes and rituals performed by individuals on their own as well as with their friends and family, can act to construct the experience of place. The same is also found in the time-spaces of everyday mobility where patterns of spiritual practices are repeated at certain points in the journey. Chapter 7 also examined some of the places that are used by the participant in their daily time-space schedule for spiritual practices. Chapter 8 demonstrated how the familiar can act to localise and personalise the global mobilities of everyday life for spiritual practice and religious participation.

These time-spaces are fluid and evolving but through routinisation construct a stable platform for spiritual practices to be performed from the weekly journey to church and the renewal of beliefs and attitudes that occur there to the energising walk through the park or the imagined mobility to another 'sacred space'. A patterned network of places where the individual can rely upon the conditions that enable their spiritual practice, this could be because they are alone at the breakfast table in prayer or because the car radio plays worship music or broadcasts news for prayer and contemplation. Such places are also nodes that assemble multiple mobilities and their networks, for example the daily train commute as well as being a mobility also houses other networks such as smartphones and apps which circulate virtual and imagined mobilities. These are often liminal spaces because whilst they are not codified or they are framed through a secular discourse, the religious and the spiritual enter, are performed and entangles (Knott, 2005a). The time-spaces not only allow for practices like prayer and meditation but influence what is performed as different forms of practice are suited to different forms of mobilities or spaces. As this thesis has demonstrated, as the individual becomes familiar with journeys, spaces and routines, they become aware of what fits in best where and this in turn informs how they practice their religion, their beliefs or their spirituality. Participants modify and employ pre-existing socio-economic time-space structures to creatively and critically adapt these conditions for *tactical* expressions of spirituality (de

Certeau, 1988; Woodhead, 2012a). The practices, rituals and processes becomes enfolded into what Edensor (in Chapter 2) termed a 'linear apprehension of place' (2010b, p70), in this instance applied to multiple forms of everyday repeated mobilities and their moorings. Everyday mobilities on multiple scales are thus implicated in the construction of places that contribute towards a subjective spiritual geography.

9.2. Conclusion and contribution to knowledge

The research presented here has demonstrates that religion and spirituality are dynamic and moving geographies, building on Kong's (2010) argument that the body has become central to geographic analysis of religion and spirituality. Spiritual practices take place as a negotiation between the surrounding environment and the intentions of the participant. In using these spaces for meaning-making activities, participants open up a critical space in which secular discourse in the design of these spaces are implicitly challenged (de Certeau, 1988). As the visibility and authority of religion in the public sphere declines, the focus of worship and practice has become increasingly located in the private sphere (Davie, 1994; 2006; Heelas and Woodhead, 2005; Woodhead and Catto, 2012). Significantly for the study of religion contemporary society this research has demonstrated the ways in which religious beliefs, attitudes and spirituality can still be present in the public sphere despite the individual behaviourally conforming to everyday non-religious routines and practices.

This research has contributed to knowledge in three distinct channels. Firstly, the nature of place has been approached from a relational and dynamic perspective in which circuits of physical, corporeal, virtual, imaginative and communicative mobility have been viewed as an active component of places of spiritual significance for the individual. Additionally, acts of place-making and the construction of sacred space have been identified not just outside of the 'official' venues of religion but within and *as part of* everyday mobilities such as the car or the even the bicycle. Survey results for both samples suggested the use of everyday mobility time-

spaces for spiritual practices and this was further substantiated amongst the diary-interview participants.

This leads into the second channel in which the research contributes to knowledge as the thesis builds upon existing mobilities literature in understanding travel time as an active and valued opportunity for many people to engage in activities that are of personal interest and importance. This research has evidenced the use of travel time by survey respondents and diary-interview participants for spiritual activities, such as reading religious texts, prayer, meditation and worship. Like other travel time activities, spiritual practices must be appropriate to the situation (walking, cycling, driving, etc) and so the mode of transport has been found to effect the activity engaged in by participants. Additionally, rather than being a threat to the existence or distinctiveness of place, virtual, imagined, communicative, physical and corporeal mobilities that draw upon the global resource of religious ideas, images and objects were found to be significant elements of the construction of both institutional and personal spiritual or religious places.

Building upon these two channels, the final area to which this research contributes is in the understanding of the engagement with religion and spirituality in contemporary society embedded with multiple circuits and scales of mobilities. The subjective turn of religion, as observed by Heelas and Woodhead, has been illustrated in both the Baptist church and Buddhist meditation samples. Participants drew upon different sources of religion such as books, audio mp3s and music and developed personalised practices such as driving meditations and cycling liturgies and enacted these in a variety of both public and private time-spaces from the morning commute to the bedtime prayer. In doing so they not only construct what I term a subjective spiritual geography in which certain practices occur at certain times and places but additionally their actions add to and transform the otherwise secular discourse surrounding these time-spaces.

Methodologically this thesis has afforded the previously neglected spaces of everyday life and mobilities to be recast to reveal the levels of enchantment present in daily life. The questionnaire documented the mobilities surrounding places of worship and practice, in particular the sociality of these journeys – or lack of sociality in the case of Buddhist Meditation Centres – and the localness of church attendees. The open questions of the questionnaire also generated responses that provided some insights into how attendees incorporate spiritual practices in their journeys from prayer stimulated by ambulances or practicing *metta bhavna* (loving kindness) whilst waiting for the bus. These insights previewed the much richer data provided by the diary-interviews. The diary-interviews afforded privileged access to the participant's construction of a subjective spiritual geography: The where, when, why and how they perform certain spiritual practices and the intertwining of these practices with the secular and the everyday day to produce a subjective spirituality.

Subjective spiritual geographies of the participants in this research thread together different spaces and places and objects from both religious and secular discourses. Repeated and rhythmic use of time-spaces has enabled participants to construct stabilised (but not stable) places through familiarity. Resultantly the binaries between the religious-spiritual and the secular are collapsed as both discourses are interwoven in the fabric of everyday life. Critical spaces are opened up that challenge and subvert the secular, regulated and impersonal narratives of Augé's 'non-places' and in a de Certeau-esque manoeuvre allow for multiple narratives of place to be constructed. In a mobilities-enabled, 'fluid' society, social and economic relations are centred round the individual rather than fixed places. However this should not be mistaken for a view of religious-spiritual discourse and secular discourses distilled into a smooth, homogenous and uniform form of time-space. As the data has demonstrated, subjective spiritual geographies also have a *topography* as time-space is lumpy with certain places that have gravitational centres that attract certain practices or beliefs to be enacted. This corresponds with the new mobilities paradigm's claim that movement, speed

and flows is never uniform or democratic but dependent on social, gender and economic factors. This research has built upon contemporary geographies of religion and spirituality by moving towards an understanding of religious or spiritual places as the intersection of multiple modes and scales of mobilities ordered and organised in a creative Knott-Lefebvre style negotiation between the individual and the institutional narratives.

9.3. Reflections and future research

This final section will briefly evaluate the research methods undertaken for the thesis as well as make some suggestions for future research directions. From a personal perspective, the most rewarding part of this research has been the level of engagement with the diary-interviews by participants. Although some participants were not as enthusiastic as others about this stage, completing the diaries and interviews out of generosity rather than personal interest, the majority, I believe did also find this stage of personal benefit such as Penny from the meditation centre sample:

I found myself enjoying it as I was reflecting back over the day then...I...discovered things about it as I was writing that you know enriched the experience for me. And I was quite curious to know...how...erm...I was practising through my daily life. So it was a real way of throwing the spotlight on that.

Diary-interviews generated fascinating insights into the spiritual lives of the participants and how these were constructed in contemporary society. The research here has shown how this method can provide significant insights into the personal spiritual life of the individual but is also an act of co-construction and negotiation between the participant and the researcher, thereby ensuring that the participant's voice is heard.

A methodology that was considered during the initial research design of this project was the use of qualitative Geographic Information Systems (GIS) to allow participants to record their experiences as they happened. Some GIS analysis remained in Chapter 6 but for the most part GIS was rejected due to complexity in the data collection, analysis, potential ethical issues and concerns about the positivistic connotations of such data. However as increasing numbers of people in the UK carry and use a Global Positioning Systems (GPS) in smartphones, tablets and other personal devices, there is scope for potentially incorporating these technologies in future geographic research of religion and spirituality beyond the boundaries of the 'official' spaces.

As the research was initially designed to fit in with Heelas and Woodhead's (2005) congregational domain and holistic milieu, two samples were chosen to reflect this model. Expectations were that participants in the Buddhist meditation centre sample were more likely to engage in elements of informal practices in public spaces and places (as seen in Philo, Cadman and Lea, 2011; 2015) however the Baptist church sample also closely resembled this behaviour. The Buddhist meditation centre sample did demonstrate a greater variety of influences from a wider range of religious sources, corresponding with de-centralised notions of spiritual authorities (Bauman, 1998; Heelas and Woodhead, 2005; Woodhead and Catto, 2012). Future studies may find it profitable to more fully concentrate on groups usually classified within the congregational domain to draw on richer single sample data. An increase in the sample size may also allow for more thorough analysis through the lens of gender and how potentially different sets of responsibilities for men and women impact upon their subjective spiritual geographies.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Phase 2 Questionnaire



University of the
West of England

Religion and Spirituality in Everyday Travel

Participant Information Sheet

PLEASE KEEP THIS SHEET FOR YOUR INFORMATION

This questionnaire is part of my PhD research into the relationship between everyday journeys (such as seeing family and friends or going to work) and religious and spiritual practices and beliefs.

The questionnaire should take approximately 5 to 10 minutes to complete. Please answer the questions as best you can and for yourself only.

This research is based with the University of the West of England, Bristol and is independent of the venue where you have been given this questionnaire.

All information collected will be treated confidentially and stored securely in hard copy and electronically. Any information from this research used in subsequent academic papers will be referred to anonymously. You are free to withdraw from the research at any time and any contribution you make can be withdrawn from the study if you contact me (on the details below) within 14 days of the completion quoting the questionnaire identity number:

_____.

Thank you for your participation.

Edward Wigley, PhD Research Student, Department of Geography and Environmental Management, Frenchay Campus, University of the West of England, Bristol, BS16 1QY.

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Religion and spirituality in everyday travel

Before you start, please tick the box below to confirm that you have read the Participant Information Sheet (attached to front) and agree to be a part of this research:

I am willing for my answers to be used confidentially as a part of this research.

A. About your journey here today

1. How did you travel to this venue today?

(Please tick all that apply) *Bicycle* *Bus* *Car-driver* *Car-Passenger*
 Motorcycle *Train* *Walk*
 Other (please specify): _____

2. Where did you travel from today?

(Please tick) *Home* *Work*
 Family or friends who also attend this venue
 Family or friends who do not attend this venue
 Other (Please specify): _____

3. How long did it take you to get here?

___ *hour(s)* ___ *minutes*

4. Did you travel here on your own or with other people?

(Please tick) *On my own* *With other people from same home address*
 With other people from a different home address

5. Where will you be travelling to from here?

(Please tick) *Home* *Work*
 Visiting family or friends who also attend this venue
 Visiting family or friends who do not attend this venue
 Other (Please specify): _____

6. What made you choose this venue rather than similar venues today?

(Please tick all that apply) *Local to home* *Family or friends also attend*
 Particular teaching or guidance that is offered here
 Other _____

7. If you regularly (at least once a month) come here, when you are travelling onwards from this venue do you normally think about...

(please tick all that apply) *...what you have just listened to or done?*
 ...the people you have just spoken to?

- ...or talk to the people you are travelling with?
- ...other things rather than where you have just been?
- ...the next place you are travelling to?
- ...(please describe) _____

B. What you do during travel for everyday purposes

8. When travelling on day to day journeys do you usually wear any clothing or jewellery or carry any other objects or food that you believe identify your religion or spiritual beliefs and practices to other people? (Please tick)

- Yes – I wear clothing that could be identified as religious or spiritual in character
- Yes – I wear or carry jewellery or objects that are religious or spiritual in character
- Yes – other (please describe) _____
- No

9. When travelling from day to day do you do anything that you believe contributes towards your religious or spiritual life? For example, reading a religious text in a book or an electronic device, singing or listening to music, praying or meditating etc. (Please tick)

- Yes – listen to music for religious or spiritual purposes
- Yes – read for religious or spiritual purposes
- Yes – spend time contemplating religious or spiritual subjects
- Yes – use a smartphone, tablet or other computer application or download (please describe) _____
- Yes – other (please describe) _____
- No

10. If you do activities or carry objects or wear clothes that contribute towards your religious or spiritual life during day to day journeys, do you get any positive or negative reactions from strangers during travel? (Please tick and describe if possible)

- No reaction
- Positive reactions _____
- Negative reactions _____
- Other/mixed reactions (Please describe) _____

11. If you do activities or carry objects or clothes that contribute towards your religious or spiritual life when travelling day to day, what kind of journeys are these?

- (Please tick all that apply)
- Going to and from work
 - Social or leisure trips
 - Shopping
 - Other (please describe) _____
 - Visiting friends and family
 - Exercise or fitness
 - Attending this venue

12. If you do activities or carry objects or clothes that contribute towards your religious or spiritual life when travelling day to day, what type of transport does this occur on?

(Please tick all that apply) *Bus* *Car-driver* *Car-passenger* *Cycle*
 Motorcyclist *Train* *Walker*
 Other (please specify) _____

13. Is there anything else about your day to day journeys you would like to tell me that you think is relevant to your religious or spiritual life?

C. Information about you

14. How often do you attend this venue?

(Please tick) *First time attending today*
 Less than once a month
 At least once a month
 At least once a week
 At least twice a week

15. Do you have regular access to a car?

(Please tick) *Yes* *No*

16. For general transport on a daily basis, how would you describe yourself? As a...

(Please tick **one**) *Bus user* *Car-driver* *Car-passenger* *Cyclist*
 Motorcyclist *Train user* *Walker*
 Other (please specify) _____

17. Please provide your home postcode or street name:

18. Gender: (Please tick) *Male* *Female*

19. Age: (Please tick) *16 – 19* *20 – 24* *25 – 34* *35 - 44*
 45 – 54 *55 – 59* *60 – 64* *65 -69*
 70 – 74 *75 +*

20. How would you describe your ethnicity? (Please tick)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> <i>White (British)</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Mixed White and Black Caribbean</i> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <i>White (Irish)</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Mixed White and Black African</i> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <i>White (Other)</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> <i>White and Asian</i> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Asian/Asian British Indian</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Black/Black British African</i> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Asian/Asian British Pakistani</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Black/Black British Caribbean</i> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Asian/Asian British Bangladeshi</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Any other Black/Black British Background</i> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Asian/Asian British Chinese</i> | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Any other Asian/Asian British background</i> | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Any other ethnic group (please write)</i> _____ | |

21. How would you describe your religious or spiritual identity?

22. Would you be interested to help out in further research for this project by keeping a diary on your everyday journeys for a week in early 2014 and then discussing this for about an hour? If so, please provide the best way to contact you below or contact me (edward.wigley@uwe.ac.uk or tel: 0117 328 3078) to discuss.

Your name: _____

Email address: _____

Telephone number: _____

Address: _____


For office use: -

Location:

Date:

Identity Number:

Appendix 2: Time-space diary (for Baptist church sample)



University of the
West of England
BRISTOL


Religion and Spirituality in Everyday Travel: Diary

Time	Location	Primary activity	Religious or spiritual present?	Why here/now?	Others present?

Date: _____

Name: _____

Appendix 3: Time-space diary (for Buddhist meditation centre sample)



University of the
West of England
BRISTOL

Religion and Spirituality in the Everyday: Diary

Time	Location	Primary activity	Religious or spiritual present?	Why here/now?	Others present?

Date: _____

Name: _____