

Chapter 1

Spaces of Spirituality: an introduction

by Nadia Bartolini, Sara MacKian and Steve Pile

1. Placing Spirituality

Writing in 1993, Martha Henderson asked the question "what is spiritual geography?" Her question was prompted by the publication of two books, both of which used spiritual geography in their subtitle: *Beliefs and Holy Places* (1992) by James Griffin and *Dakota* (1993) by Kathleen Norris. Henderson's response to the question focuses upon the geography of the spiritual. She argues that spirituality is a subject that can be approached by people working in many different disciplines and, indeed, working in transdisciplinary modes. In this view, the spiritual is one aspect of the relationship between people, place and the earth. Fundamentally, spirituality is connected to the earth and is, therefore, a part of the human ecology and history of particular sites and places. Thus, spiritual geography taps into the long-standing connection that people have with places. Places, as she puts it, "momentarily trap and illuminate [the] supernatural ability of humans to adapt, create and re-create their surroundings" (page 470). Supernatural? She does not explain. However, Henderson is trying to grasp something unquantifiable: the relationship between the known and the unknown, between the real and the ideal. So, the spiritual is about more than religious beliefs and practices and the creation (and recreation) of sacred sites and spaces. It is not, therefore, an analogue for other ways of thinking about human life, such as the industrial or the biological or the behavioural. Introducing the spiritual starts to interfere with commonplace understandings of place by pushing them into a consideration of the "supernatural": the unknown, the unknowable, the ineffable and the numinous. The spiritual makes geography strange. Indeed, the spiritual is itself a strange territory: not just uncharted, but calling into question what can be charted. So, this book is not an attempt to provide a cartography of the spiritual, as this would be to disavow the way that the spiritual interferes with geography. Instead, we wish to explore the many different ways that space and spirituality can be entangled, in ways that are surprising, challenging and (hopefully) provocative.

While Henderson wishes to approach spirituality through place, Julian Holloway and Oliver Valins argue that spirituality can be explored at a range of different spatial scales, from, for example, the body to the global (2002, page 5; see also Bartolini *et al.*, 2017). This might imply that spirituality

operates within, and confirms the operability of, nested hierarchies of scale. Yet, Holloway's and Valins' aim is to draw out the different ways that spirituality and space are entangled through notions of scale. Rather than spirituality simply being in evidence at different scales, spirituality is seen as productive of those scales. Thus, for example, the body is itself understood and lived in different and distinct ways through spirituality. Indeed, spirituality is woven through everyday life. Moreover, as Jennifer Lea, Chris Philo and Louisa Cadman (Chapter 9) argue the weaving of spiritual forms through everyday life does not necessarily reveal itself in dramatic or obvious ways. They focus upon the "small stuff" of spirituality: the "micro-instances" of other ways of being in the world. They explore the significance of stillness in spiritual life and how forms of stillness can then infuse everyday life. Thus, practices learned in yoga sessions can then be used to "pause" or "still" everyday situations or be used to cope with the ordinary stresses of life. Often, this goes unnoticed even by the people doing it. And, even if they do, it is unremarkable and easily forgotten. Yet, these unnoticed micro-instances of spirituality are part of how everyday life is conducted, sustained, and endured.

This makes it hard, perhaps impossible, to disentangle the spiritual from the production of space in general. Holloway and Valins observe:

"Religious and spiritual matters form an important context through which the majority of the world's population live their lives, forge a sense (indeed an ethics) of self, and make and perform different geographies" (page 6).

Everyday life is infused with practices that carry religious and spiritual connotations, often unthinkingly: this is especially clear in the types of foods that are eaten or the clothes that people feel comfortable (or uncomfortable) or the festivals that people observe; but also in people's celebration of births and marriages - and how they cope with death and bereavement. More than this, Holloway and Valins argue,

"religion is a crucial component [of] the construction of even the most 'secular' societies/ Through, for example, systems of ethics and morality, architecture, systems of patriarchy and the construction of law, government or the (increasing) role of the voluntary sector" (page 6).

Religion, and by extension spirituality, do not stand outside of modernity, in such a view, but are fundamental to how it is constructed: whether through the implicit moral codes that govern people's conduct or through its explicit laws and their execution. Seemingly secular decisions about

what is right or fair or just are informed by value systems derived as much from implicit religious and spiritual assumptions as from the explicit formation of principles by other means. Personal and shared values, then, are hard to shake from religious and spiritual precepts - and this is political, too: for it shapes how people think about and treat others; how they construct and live through collectives, of all kinds; and the values that they seek to operationalise in their everyday lives.

Yet, it is hard (impossible?) to make universalizable statements about religion and spirituality, at any scale. There are intense debates about whether Western societies are post-secular or not, post-Christian or not; about the rise and distribution of religious fundamentalisms across the planet, though especially where it becomes evident in acts of violence, terrorism and war; about whether new forms of spirituality are alternative or mainstream, meaningful or merely a product of fashion or simply a product of fashion (think, for example, about the appearance and spread of the Jedi religion in the West); about the meaning and significance of different kinds of clothing; about the decline or intensification of religious observances; or about the coexistence of laws founded on different religious or spiritual principles. Taken together, these debates challenge the relentless and ubiquitous assumption that social processes are driven by economic, political and cultural logics that have nothing to do with religion and spirituality.

While the trajectories of the social, in different places, at different scales, cannot be universalised, what we can say is that religion and spirituality remains complicit in the production of space and scale. Yet, this is to take religion and spirituality as a singularity: one kind of thing that makes and unmakes geography in distinctive, perhaps even unique, ways. Too often, spirituality is marshalled under, or alongside, the heading of religion and treated as much the same kind of thing. For sure, religions are formed by practices, performances and sacred spaces that are all designed to evoke the divine - and this marks religion out as different from other social practices. Indeed, as the divine is beyond geography, religions work hard to produce a consistency of the numinous across different places, through highly formalised practices, performances and sacred spaces. Yet, not only are religions constantly splitting, mutating and syncretizing, creating contact with the divine is not the only purpose of religious practices, performances and sacred spaces. They are also spiritual, concerned with the nature of spirit, both human and nonhuman. Spirituality, and its forms, extend far beyond religion. Spirituality is therefore not, in this book, a synonym for, nor coextensive with, religion.

Setting spirituality inside, alongside and aside from religion allows us to pose new challenges for understanding the production of space. These are less to do with the structure of beliefs and practices, and more to do with how beliefs and practices play out in, or intersect with, everyday

life. Significantly, thinking through spirituality sets new puzzles and challenges for understanding the production of space.

2. Understanding Space and Spirituality

Paul Cloke and J. D. Dewsbury, writing in 2009, take up the challenge of thinking through the relationship between spirituality and space. To do so, they introduce the idea of 'spiritual landscapes'. Spiritual landscapes, for them, are constituted by the relationship between "bodily existence, felt practice and faith in things" (page 696). Helpfully, they distinguish spirituality from religion. First, they argue that spirituality can be experienced in a wide variety of religious and non-religious forms. To establish this, they use the examples of experiences with nature, or meditation, and of ghosts. Second, they argue that formal religion can be practiced and experienced in unspiritual ways, but especially where religious institutions and practices become interwoven with practices of domination and exploitation. So, while ways of understanding religion -- through, for example, ritual, beliefs and faith -- are useful for understanding spirituality, they are not enough. Cloke and Dewsbury argue for an experiential approach to spiritual landscapes, focused on people's personal experiences, their ways of inhabiting, and engaging with, the world.

Thus, the expression 'spiritual landscapes', for Cloke and Dewsbury, is a way to understand the relationship between the spiritual and the spatial. The spiritual, for them, is a disposition that involves both faith and an openness to the possibility of 'other-worldliness'. Notice that this shifts the terrain of spirituality away from the divine, as such, onto a much broader set of possibilities for 'other-worldliness'. In a sense, this idea harks back to Henderson's use of the supernatural to evoke the ineffable. The spiritual implies some kind of world beyond the visible and the material. Key, for Cloke and Dewsbury, is that this other-worldliness is a possibility: faith is associated with this possibility and, indeed, comes to be defined by it. Faith, for example, in Heaven. Or Hell. Or the after-life. Spirituality, however, is not limited to its faith in the possibility of other worlds. It is practiced and performed - and becomes manifest in its performances and practices. Such performances and practices include, for example, prayer and meditation, retreats and pilgrimages, singing and chanting, art and music, but also more profane activities such as ghost hunting and dark tourism.

In Chapter 17, Alison Rockbrand explores the performance of esoteric theatre. She shows how esoteric rituals are drawn into theatrical performances that include the audience, enabling them to take part in a spiritual journey. Esoteric theatre creates a transitional space that enables the transmutation of the self that can be carried into the world. Esotericism, thus, undermines the

boundaries between worlds (see also Goodricke-Clarke, 2008). Spirituality, through its performances and practices, proliferates through everyday life, often in ways that go unrecognised and unacknowledged, sometimes in ways that are easily dismissed and disavowed. Significantly, Rockbrand also points to the therapeutic and healing aspects of spiritual practices (see also Lea, 2008; and, Williams, 2010, 2016)

Arguably, more than through specific beliefs or rules, it is through bodily practices that people come to live out their spirituality (see Mills, 2012; and, Olson *et al.*, 2013). As Holloway has shown (2003; 2006), the body is active in the production of sacred and spiritual spaces. As importantly, it is through the body that the sacred and spirituality come to make sense. Indeed, religious and spiritual practices organise the senses and distribute them in specific ways. This can run counter to the privileging of the visual in western cultures as spiritual practices intervene in the whole body and reorganise the senses, through practices such as yoga, meditation, praying, hymns, chanting, festivals, scents, candles and special foodstuffs. All this suggests that ways that we recognise the spiritual and the spirituality of ordinary life needs to be expanded, so as to see better new ways that spirituality is being expressed and experienced.

As importantly, Cloke and Dewesbury (2009) evoke the entanglement between space and spirituality through the idea of 'landscape'. For them, landscape is about embodied ways of being-in-the-world. Significantly, these landscape are, like spirituality, built out of practices and performances as well as lived experiences. There is, then, no spirituality, no landscape, no spiritual landscape that simply has its own pre-formed intrinsic qualities. Landscape, then, suggests an indeterminate range of possible spatial relationships and geographical outcomes, one of which may indeed be 'a landscape', but equally it might be a sacred space or a roadside shrine or a haunted house (see also Olson, Hopkins and King, 2012). Dwyer (Chapter 7) shows how religious architecture has altered the landscape along Highway 99 in Vancouver. The juxtaposition of religious buildings creates its own effects. The road becomes a metaphor for the journey towards the divine. Rather than competing, or undermining claims to the one true path to the divine, the highway becomes a part of the practice of reaching the divine. As importantly, it becomes evidence of the divine, with everyday miracles and religious observances now set side by side (and within easy reach, if you have a car).

Following Lily Kong (2001), Cloke and Dewesbury reaffirm that the task is to consider the ways in which spaces become entangled with spirituality such that they become sacred. Sacred spaces are a product of the rituals, performances and practices that make space sacred. This may sound circular, but it indicates that spirituality can be understood through the ways that it produces spaces

and spatial practices for itself. Consequently, churches and yoga retreats, pilgrimages and festivals, all highlight the particular spiritual practices through which spirituality is itself constituted (see for example Rose, 2010; and, Conradson, 2012). Thus, spirituality is not simply a matter of personal beliefs, as it is spatially performed and constituted. Indeed, the spaces and spatial practices of spirituality are revealing both of their underlying beliefs and also of how those beliefs sustain ways of inhabiting and producing the world (see Lea, 2009; or, Finlayson, 2012). This is easily witnessed: for example, in architectural plans for sacred spaces, in plans to travel to sacred sites, in the transformation of space during festivals, and in political activism of all kinds.

Even so, as Richard Scriven shows in Chapter 5, the spatial practices of spirituality are often quite marginal, both socially and spatially, yet can be thoroughly transformative. Indeed, the seeming marginality of pilgrimage can disguise its personal effects and affects. What is, then, less easily witnessed is the entanglement between spirituality, personal experience and other ways of being in the world. Indeed, the pilgrimage itself can often appear, especially in its mass forms, as if it is only performed, undertaken only so that it can be seen to be undertaken. Often, spirituality can be seen the same way. In Scriven's hands, thinking through the entanglement between the performative and the experiential becomes a way to understand the significance of spirituality and spiritual transformation.

This performative and experiential understanding of spirituality -- and indeed also of space -- can unsettle the distinction between modernity and religion. On the surface, modernity might appear secular, profane, scientific and rational, while, on the other hand, religion may appear a legacy of pre-modern beliefs in superstition, in the supernatural, in animism and in magic. Yet, in this account, spirituality and modernity would appear entwined, imbricated, embroiled through their constitution of thoroughly modern sacred spaces and spatial practices. Thus, Tariq Jazeel (Chapter 4) unpicks the relationship between the sacred and the modern. He argues that the entwinement of Buddhism and modernity produced, what he calls, a tropical modern architectural space. This architecture, significantly, is both modern and spiritual. That is, as he says, that the space performs a secular modernity, upon which modern Sri Lanka relies, but the space is also recognizable as having a Buddhist structure of feeling. Rather than seeing the modern and the sacred as in opposition in this architectural space, it must be understood through its duality: both modern and sacred.

Understanding the sacred and the profane requires us to see them as relationally constituted, but also practiced, performed and experienced; not separate, but entangled. In Chapter 10, Elizabeth Olson, Peter Hopkins and Giselle Vincett explore the ways that young people engage with religion

by testing the limits of belief and spirituality through, what might be seen as, sacrilege. Olson, Hopkins and Vincett argue that the dichotomy of modernity and religion is actively unhelpful in understanding how people negotiate their personal and social lives through religion. Youthful spirituality does not, they argue, fall neatly into the category of religion. The dichotomy between the sacred and the profane has fallen. And not just this dichotomy. Thus, an attendance to spirituality also questions the relationship between the material and the immaterial. Taking spirituality into account radically alters how matter is understood by valorising the immaterial, whether this is in the form of deities or the divine, or body and soul. This critique of dichotomies might appear abstract, but it has the effect of broadening the possible ways that spirituality might be expressed, experienced and discovered. Spirituality is no longer confined to religious rituals and sacred spaces, but rather spread through everyday life -- indeed, the implication is that spirituality is just as easily found in ordinary, mundane life as in (for example) churches and church services (McGuire, 2008). So, exploring the spaces of spirituality means being prepared to find spirituality in unexpected places, expressed in ways that may not at first sight appear to be spiritual at all (MacKian, 2012). This book, consequently, takes the opportunity to look awry at space and spirituality.

3. Religion in, and out of, Place

We have argued that taking spirituality as a starting point undermines various dichotomies, one of which is between the sacred and the profane. This argument enables us to approach religion in a slightly different way. In our view, religion is a form through which spirituality is expressed, performed and experienced. It is not spirituality's only form, but it is nonetheless a form that we must include in any exploration of spirituality. Just as we attend to the specific forms that spirituality takes, so we must resist the temptation to see religion **is** a universal. That is, we must see religion as situated in its distinctive contexts. Thus, however much a religion has its own internal dynamics and trajectories, it is imbricated in and/or constitutive of wider social processes. Moreover, as Lily Kong has shown, religion has its own geographies -- and these really matter (2010).

Writing in the wake of the terrorist attack on the World Trade Centre on 11 September 2001 and a seemingly endless procession of bombings since, Kong (2010) perceptively observed that the rise of Islamic extremism has altered both geopolitical imaginations and understandings of the place of religion. Religion has, in this view, shifted and altered how we understand the world. It is not just the ways that events elsewhere suddenly appear in unexpected places, as when suicide bombers

or refugees appear in markets, hotels, beaches, streets and tower blocks, but that such occurrences draw new geographies of connection and dislocation. Religion is redrawing the map of the world: revealing connections, contesting and subverting borders, making new territories (both virtual and real), rendering safe places unsafe, yet creating new kinds of sanctuary, community and humanity. All these need new maps to be drawn, yet this need is barely acknowledged.

Kong points to the flows of people that have created greater religious diversity in many places. She observes that:

"new sources of migrants, new religions, new conflicts, new territories and new networks have all become the subject of analyses. [...] Different sites of religious practice beyond the 'officially sacred', different sensuous sacred geographies, different religions in different historical and place-specific contexts, different geographical scales of analysis, and different constituents of population have all gained research attention" (2010, page 756).

Since being written, as Kong anticipates, these trends have only intensified. However, Kong's larger point is that religion is not simply a dimension of personal and social life, it increasingly provides the framework through which personal and social life is understood and experienced. In this light, it is religion that provides the nation-state with a lens through which to understand who is likely to be dangerous or subversive or require special treatment. Thus, religion does not just enter debates about flows of migrants and refugee crises, it frames it in ways that allow states to identify wanted and unwanted migrants, good and bad refugees. This can be witnessed as easily in US President Donald Trump's attempts to restrict travel from six predominantly Muslim nations (in 2017) as in widely expressed fears that Islamist terrorists would use the refugee crisis in the Mediterranean to access the European Union (in 2016 and after). Religion is now a means through which social and political life are being organised.

The paradox is that religious practice is increasingly "disorganised": that is, being conducted outside of the formal structures that are intended to organise them. Kong has highlighted how religious practice is to be found in unofficial as well as official sites. So, beyond mosques and synagogues, religion is conducted in living rooms, schools, museums, online, on streets, by roads, in banks and in boardrooms (2010, page 756). The sacred site is supplemented by spiritual places. Perhaps increasingly so. Shrines are not only spontaneously set up in all kinds of places, they can also take the most prosaic of forms. An example would be the Ghost Bikes of New York, where white bicycles memorialise a cyclist that has been killed in a road traffic accident. Perhaps beginning in St Louis in 2003, the Ghost Bikes are now in evidence in London and Berlin, Toronto and

Seattle. The Ghosts Bikes are not just an act of memorialisation, nor just a political intervention designed to highlight the lack of road safety for cyclists, they also sacralise space -- by invoking the idea of the ghost: that is, the persistence of spirit after death. Thus, the Ghost Bikes are a blend of grief, politics and spirit that deliberately punctuate space, but also make space spiritual. The Ghost Bike is but one of a myriad possible examples: informal shrines, whether to memorialise the dead or to offer lucky charms or to mark significant events, are common around the world.

Similarly, in the wake of the Grenfell Tower fire in London in 2017, it was through nearby churches, mosques and gurudwaras that the first practical help was organised. The improvised collection and distribution network centred on St Clement's Church. Indeed, the seemingly spontaneous expressions of compassion were often couched in spiritual terms, including the creation of shrines, the use of candles and the invocation of God and angels. On a wall of condolence, where heartfelt messages had been left as well as requests for information about missing people, in large colourful letters was written, underneath a heart made out of twine, "Pray For Our Community"; in smaller letters, just above the word community, "our loss is heaven's gain" (see <http://www.itv.com/news/2017-06-16/grenfell-tower-tragedy-shames-us-all/>). Such instances not only erode the distinction between sacred and secular space, they also undermine the separation of different kinds of religious spaces from one another. More than this, it suggests that spirituality can lie beyond the formal spaces and practices of religion.

Indeed, religious and sacred spaces can themselves be opened up to reinterpretation along alternative religious, spiritual or occult lines of thought. James Thurgill (Chapter 14) looks at the case of Glastonbury Abbey in Somerset. Glastonbury Abbey was founded in the CE7th and, by the CE14th, grew to become one of the richest and most significant monasteries in England. The Abbey was dissolved in 1539 and fell into decline. And now stands as a ruin. Yet, since the C12th, Glastonbury Abbey has been strongly connected to Arthurian mythology, so said to be the location of Arthur and Guinevere's tomb. The Abbey is also connected to Christian legends: not only is it said to be founded by Joseph of Arimathea in CE1st (living on through the hawthorn), it is also claimed that he was the last custodian of the Holy Grail. It is said that Joseph buried beneath Glastonbury Tor, at the entrance to the underworld. Thurgill shows that the relationship between place and spirituality creates opportunities for these to be reimagined and for spirituality to be mobilised in unexpected ways. Thus, his investigation of the sacrality of place shows the exact opposite of what we might expect from sacred space: the meaning of place is never immutable, coherent or singular.

One of the interesting features of contemporary western societies is the rise of the so called "no religion" category (Woodhead, 2016). For example, in the UK, in the 2011 Census about 40% of respondents described themselves as having "no religion". In the same census, all the major religions (Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, Sikhism) showed a decline in both absolute numbers and in proportion of the total population. Given what we have said, we cannot assume that "no religion" means no spirituality; as importantly, nor does it necessarily mean no religion in any form. Put another way, the rise of "no religion" cannot simply be read as being a rise in secularity. Indeed, other evidence suggests that agnosticism has remained relatively stable -- and represents maybe only 5-10% of people in the West (see Bartolini *et al.*, 2017). Through seeing religion beyond its "official" forms, and by expanding the sensuous registers through which the religious can be expressed and experienced, it is possible to see how it is that people might think of themselves as not being religious while at the same time having more and less deep seated spiritual beliefs (see also Gökarıksel, 2009).

4. Faith, Community and Identity

Instead of religion just being organised by a sense of the divine, religion can also be a means through which meanings, affects and identities are expressed. We can usefully extend this idea. Thus, we need to think not just about what people believe in, but what spirituality smells like, what it eats, how it looks, what it sounds like, what spaces it creates for itself, what its bodily regimes, comportments and conducts are, and its defining affects and emotions. We could take any religion or form of spirituality as an example (see Finlayson and Mesev, 2014; and, Sanderson, 2012). However, let us think of how Roman Catholicism defines itself through a specific combination of smells, foods, songs, chants, clothes, rituals, and affectual and emotional performances -- that are all heavily circumscribed and over-determined with meaning, affect and identity. Religious and spiritual meanings, affects and identities create a means through which people can reaffirm their faith, create a sense of self, and also form wider communal bonds. This can be especially significant in places where people feel marginalised or excluded from "normal" or "dominant" society. Thus, religious and spiritual identities can provide a way to negotiate, challenge or ignore dominant cultural forms, by providing alternative forms of affiliation and community.

Consequently, much research explores the relationship between faith, community and identity. A key aspect of this work is the ways in which migrants express their faith in the new contexts in which they find themselves, not always by choice (see, for example, Dwyer, 2000; and, Sheringham, 2010; or, Olson and Silvey, 2006; Aitchison *et al.* 2007; and, Hopkins and Gale, 2009). As we have discussed, there are visible forms such as buildings and practices, but migrants can also use their

spirituality as a means of providing mutual aid in the form of money, shelter, knowledge and work. Olivia Sheringham and Annabelle Wilkins (Chapter 11) show how, for Brazilian and Vietnamese migrants to London, religion permeates every aspect of their experience. Often, migrant experiences are precarious and uncertain, involving movement from, between and to hazardous and hostile situations. Religion can provide not only a means through which to connect to others (see also Holloway, 2012), but also a source of memory, a way of establishing home and a spiritual reconnection with the world -- as deities and spirits travel along with migrants. Alongside this, faith communities can become the focus for challenges to the state around injustices, rights and the recognition of difference. Indeed, much work has explored how faith groups act politically in different settings (see for example Sutherland, 2014). Similarly, inter-faith aid can be as significant as faith-centred support. Such inter-faith mutual aid can be a prompt for faith communities to act together politically, especially around support for refugees and migrant rights activism.

Of course, negotiating cultural life elsewhere does not always go well. Interestingly, then, it is religion that affords some people the ability to express their marginalisation and exclusion. Indeed, religion can be a means to struggle against marginalisation and exclusion more broadly. In Chapter 12, Kim Beechano reveals women's resistance to domestic violence. In Latin America, it is often observed how religion has become politicised in the struggle against poverty. However, less recognised has been the use of religion against the widespread physical and sexual violence within the favelas. Thus, drawing upon religious precepts, perhaps backed by the authority of the Church, can be a source of empowerment and provide new ways of negotiating different forms of violence. With relative ease, religion can become a primary point of identification for the marginalised and excluded over other forms of social division, such as race, class, gender and sexuality. Perhaps, a better way to say this is that religion provides a means of organising the harms of race, class, gender and sexuality into a coherent whole, a singularity that can then mobilised by a politics of identity centred upon religion (see also Hackworth, 2012). This is profoundly place-based. And it is about connection across space. As processes of politicisation and identification stretch around the world.

There is a paradox, here. Religions, on the one hand, seem to be a repository of fixed beliefs, rituals and practices. Yet, on the other hand, they are continually shaped by the worlds in which they find themselves. Perhaps, because of this, religions remain relentlessly mobile. Indeed, such mobile forms as the mission and the pilgrimage proliferate continuously. While the pilgrimage can be undertaken by the devout and be a proper expression of one's faith through the trail of the journey itself, it can just as easily be undertaken as a way to discover faith and spirituality. Instead of the journey being the product of faith, the journey can be a means through which to discover it. Patricia Tolana (Chapter 16) shows how the Goddess Movement deploys Jungian ideas to create a spiritual

journey. This journey enables a deep connection between the individual and the world, along a path known as individuation. At this end of this path is an archetype, *anima*, which in some ways lies at the intersection of the collective unconscious, sexuality, mind, history and the numinous. Here is the Goddess, both a universal principle and earthly. She combines opposites. This is an important principle, for it allows us to see both sides of the coin at once.

So, religion has been used to stabilise identity and to sustain fixed political positions. Browne and Nash (Chapter 3) explain how religion has been used as a means to resist the legalisation of same-sex marriage in the West, but especially Ireland. They show how Christianity has struggled with same sex relationship, both within the clergy and in broader society. Indeed, as the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches are both international, these difficulties are compounded by the differing attitudes of their congregations across different social settings. As they show, dramatic splits have emerged between more progressive and more conservative elements within Christianity. Interestingly, these processes of identification can produce the splitting, or strategic use, of identities, so that people express themselves differently in different social and cultural settings. People can "shape shift" from one context to another, deploying religious and non-religious identities flexibly depending on a variety of factors: such as fitting into dominant cultural norms or seeking to avoid conflict and tension. Because of this, religious identity cannot be assumed to be a given (see Hopkins *et al.*, 2010). Instead, people are constantly negotiating religion. Religion, in this view, is profoundly schizophrenic: constantly working to stabilize identity, while at the same time working within contexts not of its own choosing. This schizophrenia has a geography.

5. Religion is (not) a Territory

Religions have territorialised the world in various ways. Most obviously, they have created bounded and scaled territories, using physical structures to mark the centre of those territories. The church or mosque, the pilgrimage site, the pilgrimage, the mission and missionaries, and the like, all seek to implement, maintain and extend the territory of a religion. Further, religions have become entangled with the nation-state, whether this is in Henry VIII's England or through religious leadership in countries such as Iran or in other events such as the partition of India and Pakistan. Further, religions establish a distinction between sacred and non-sacred space. This introduces a paradox: religion produces a hierarchy of territories over which it has dominion, yet this tends to ensure that only specific spaces within that territory are sacred.

Alongside its territorial practices, religion also relies on geographies of connection-across-space to establish its influence, such as through the development of mega-churches (see Warf and Winsburg, 2010). An example of this is what is known in Christian traditions as evangelism, which not only seeks to extend the territory of Christianity, but also creates and utilizes forms of influence in order to do so. Justin Tse (Chapter 2) explores Christian evangelism in two University settings. He shows that evangelism does not necessarily produce a coherent position. Instead, it is constantly undergoing reappraisal in different settings. Consequently, the territorial and connective forms of evangelism need to be critically assessed in the settings that they emerge. Religious territories and connections can just as easily overlap with other religions as not. Indeed, religions can interact in unexpected ways, sometimes producing what are now often described as inter-faith communities (see also Stevenson *et al.*, 2010).

The complex interaction between territorialised and connective religious geographies has been revealed by Claire Dwyer, David Gilbert and Bindi Shah's work in London's suburbs (2012). They note the diversity of prominent religious buildings in West London: a Sikh Gurdwara, a Russian Orthodox Christian Cathedral, a Hindu temple, a Mosque and a Jain temple. Scattered amongst these are less obvious, and sometimes quite hidden, places of worship (see Heng, 2016). This diversity produces a map of overlapping faith territories. Meshed with the hierarchically organised spaces of the Church of England -- the parish, the diocese -- are the spaces produced by temples, synagogues, mosques, centres, foundations, cultural societies, missions, and the like. It is not simply that this diversity of faith communities undermines the seeming homogeneity of suburban life, the overlapping territories of faith produce inter-faith interactions that themselves are generative of new religious practices (Mills, 2012). Indeed, arguably, it is this interaction between faiths that enables people to identify spiritually with more than one faith, whilst at the same time detaching themselves from the idea of organised religion as a singular source of identity: no religion, in this sense, would be the consequence of multi-/inter- faith interaction. No religion, in this framing, would become a thoroughly modern way to be religious: always producing new syncretic forms of faith, belief and spirituality.

In Chapter 15, David Wilson offers a personal insight into the syncretism of Spiritualistic practices by drawing out its relationship to wider shamanic traditions. He frames the Spiritualist practice of spirit communication by comparing it with mediumship in Siberian and North American traditions. Significantly, Spiritualism has drawn heavily on Native American spirit guides since the 1920s. In the UK, Spiritualists are especially familiar with Silver Birch, who spoke through the medium Maurice Barbanell. Wilson makes a plea for examining the processes through which religious traditions emerge and sustain themselves. Significantly, this involves looking at how they draw

upon, and internalise, ideas and practices from wider, related traditions. From this perspective, religion's syncretism can disguise the ways they contain a diversity of ideas, some of which may appear esoteric or indeed antagonistic.

Similarly, according to Dwyer, Gilbert and Shah, religion must be considered in its social contexts. Thus, the "super diversity" of faith communities in London is a product of migration patterns into and through the city (since always). So, one way to read the relationship between migration and the city is to witness its religious buildings and practices. However, migration does not simply happen over space, it also produces space. For Dwyer, Gilbert and Shah, migration into London's suburbs has produced what can be called, variously, "semi-detached faith", "edge-city faith" and "ethnoburb faith", drawing on the experience of faith and suburban life across modern Western societies. In part, such terms suggest that faith communities produce new religious forms and practices in suburbs (Wilford, 2012): that is, that there is something distinctive about faith in the suburbs, as Dwyer herself argues in Chapter 7. Yet, there is also a hint that faith has modified the suburb in some way (e.g. Connell, 2006; Hackworth and Stein, 2012). Indeed, that the circulation, overlapping and mixing of faiths is doing something to suburban life that has yet to be fully understood. Dwyer, Gilbert and Shah rise to the challenge of understanding the place of faith in the production of suburban life.

The diversity of faith communities is of course not unique to London. All cities, arguably, evidence this diversity. However, faith communities are not just territories, they are also networks of connections that map themselves across the world in specific ways. On the one hand, people within faith communities can use the wider sense of a religion to locate themselves in the world. Thus, geographers have shown how religious identities can be used by people to "locate" themselves in places other than those where they live. These stretched or detached identities can enable people to adopt a wide variety of stances in relation to the social setting in which they find themselves. It is easy to think that migration is about people moving from one place to another (whether voluntarily or not), but more moves than people. Indeed, the world is mobile, too. People can migrate without moving: the world of social media enables people to "travel" without going anywhere. These worlds are not simply media, as they become a means through which people identify and express religiosity and spirituality.

The mobility of religion is still marked by practices such as pilgrimage and by roles such as the missionary or the volunteer (e.g. Maddrell and Scriven, 2016; or, Baillie Smith *et al.*, 2013; and Cloke *et al.*, 2007). Moreover, priests and ministers are not static, but often on the move between different posts within the organisation. Significantly, in Methodism and Spiritualism, churches do

not have a standing minister. In Chapter 6, Lia Shimada explores the mobility of ministers in the British Methodist Church. She argues that mobility is woven into the fabric of Methodist Christianity, causing it to constantly engage with different geographical and social contexts. Mobility, in a Methodist context, is normal. This mobility, as Shimada reveals, can create opportunities for spiritual renewal, but also tensions and conflict. Importantly, this continual mobility installs a geography of connection (which becomes something specific in Methodist thought, as you will see), which continually shapes both ministers, their spaces and the spaces of spirituality.

The missionary, of course, has long been associated with colonialism and Empire (see Kong 2010, page 760). It is clear that religions and Empires have parallel territorial strategies. There is first contact, then a deliberate effort to occupy and control people by the creation of territories. Previously existing territorial arrangements are overwritten as Empire and its religion organise space according to its expectations and requirements. The territorial impositions of Empire and Religion have produced long lasting, and sometimes seemingly permanent, ongoing, harm. The roots of many conflicts are spawn of this relationship between Empire and Religion, whether we think of Northern Ireland or Palestine, First Peoples or Latest Peoples. However, religion has also produced a means through which colonial processes have been recorded, contested and subverted. Thus, the territory does not simply stabilise a religion, ensuring its timeless expression of faith and devotion. Territorialisation also becomes a means of syncretism, mutation and adaptation. Indeed, paradoxically, the means through which religions seek to stabilise themselves, as they seek to create territories and extend their territorial reach, can necessitate adaptation and change.

Religions organise themselves in ways that produce geographical scales: the parish, the diocese, the nation, international. Yet, they are not limited to these scalar, territorialised logics of organisation. Religion can just as easily be organised through every modern form of communication, making avid use of television, the internet, social media and the like. Religion makes geography; religion makes connections; religion moves. Yet, in this process of producing spaces for itself, religion also changes. More than this, we can glimpse the production of spaces for spirituality beyond religion. And the creation of these spaces for spirituality is profoundly political, as it underpins the logics of community and care through which people act in the world (see also Williams, Cloke and Thomas, 2012).

6. Acting in the World

There has been much talk of the decline of religion (see Beaumont and Baker, 2011, for an overview; also, Cloke and Beaumont, 2013; and, Tse, 2014). The decline both in participation in formal religion such as regular attendance at divine services, especially in (but not only) Christianity and also in people identifying themselves as belonging to a particular religion in census counts has enabled many to argue that religion is dying (on its pews). This decline is termed secularisation, because it is assumed that these trends are evidence of people turning away from religion altogether. On the other hand, others have pointed out that the state has increasingly had to take account not only of religious views, but of the sheer diversity of religious views within modern western nation states. Thus, Britain has been described as a "post-Christian" society, most famously by former Archbishop of Canterbury Rowan Williams (in 2014). This term is not intended to suggest that the British is no longer Christian, but that the Britain contains within it many significant religions such that it can no longer claim to be *only* Christian. An argument has developed that suggests that Western societies are becoming less and less secular, as nations and states have to take more and more account of the increasingly diverse expressions of religion in their midst (see Bowman and Valk, 2012). Indeed, former British Prime Minister David Cameron responded to the suggestion that Britain is a post-Christian society by claiming that Christianity suffuses every part of British cultural life, providing it with its moral compass.

An alternative counter-argument, to the idea that Western societies are relentlessly secularizing, is that people are increasingly turning to forms of spirituality that provide an alternative to, or supplement in a variety of ways, formal religion. This argument has been most clearly put forward by Heelas and Woodhead (2005), based on fieldwork in Kendall (in the north of England). In Chapter 8, Karin Tusting and Linda Woodhead revisit the main findings of the original Kendall study. In a rigorous re-examination of the original study, they show how markedly Christianity has declined as a force that shapes spirituality and morality. Indeed, they argue, Christianity has almost become "alternative" to mainstream cultural life. Yet, this does not mean spirituality has become marginal. Forms of religion and spirituality that seemed "alternative" a decade ago have become more familiar, more a part of mainstream cultural life. The decline of formal religion, in this account, is not evidence of secularization, but rather of the proliferation of spiritual forms through every part of society (see, for example, Saunders, 2012).

Religion and spirituality continue to provide a focal point for acting on the state, or of requiring that the state act in different ways (Jamoul and Willis, 2008; Williams, Cloke and Thomas, 2012). Religion and spirituality, in this respect, provide a moral order that can be used to act on, act

alongside, act in opposition to, the normal codes of conduct of governments and nations. And this in turn causes governments and nations to act in response. Barely a day goes by when some form of dispute around religion hits the news. It is not just that a list is easily assembled. But that this list is ever-growing. You may wish to create your own list, but let us think of how governments have sought to regulate the wearing of religious symbols and dress in airports, classrooms, banks and public (in streets or on the beach). Or the ways in which particular religious groups get called to account for themselves after terrorist acts (which are by no means limited to Islamic and Christian so-called extremists). Each terrorist act forces -- or enables -- governments to restrict freedoms of various kinds for people as a whole, and for so-called target groups in particular.

Julian Holloway (Chapter 13) engages with the idea that there is an entanglement between states, geopolitics and religion. This suggests that geopolitics has a religious dimension, which can be more and less explicit (see, also, Dittmar and Sturm, 2010; and, Sturm, 2013). An instance, of this, is the ongoing "problem" of allowing Turkey, as an Islamic state, to join the Christian European Union. While the difficulties of allowing Turkey to join the European Union are usually couched in terms of economic convergence and human rights, these difficulties often track back to a fundamental disjuncture between Christianity and Islam. This finds expression, most recently, in fears that allowing Turkey to join the EU would open Europe's borders to Islamic terrorists and an unstoppable flood of Muslim refugees from the Middle East. Holloway reminds us that conflicts between states can be fought on spiritual, and indeed occult, grounds, too. He reveals a strong connection between geopolitics and occult thinking in World War 2. (Hitler was famously interested in the occult; while Churchill was covertly sympathetic to Spiritualism; leading both to consider the possibility of otherworldly influences in fighting World War 2.) Further, Holloway shows the intersection between the British colonial imagination and occultism, especially through Theosophy. We might also be reminded of how Nancy Reagan used her astrologer, Joan Quigley, to protect Ronald Reagan while in the White House. Governments are not -- governmentality is not -- cauterised from religious, spiritual and occult thinking.

Government, here, is not simply the nation-state, but can include transnational governmental organisations as well as forms of government at more local levels. This is neither coherent nor integrated. An example is the Sanctuary City movement. Sanctuary Cities are to be found in cities, local governments, in towns, in universities. This spatial disorganization can bring it into opposition with state logics at different levels. Thus, the Sanctuary City movement in the US came into direct opposition with the migration policies espoused by President Trump. Importantly, the religious and spiritual idea of sanctuary becomes a means to resist not only the idea that political space is universal, but also the ways in which the state reserves the right to act universally. The

sanctuary then is a limit on the state and its capacity to assume the cooperation of people, organisations and the like. This limit is moral, guiding people to think of their connection to other people (especially people in distress) differently, but also spatial, creating a demarcated space which is welcoming and generous. Thus, the sanctuary city movement creates ruptures in the supposedly smooth spaces of the state, of the nation and of government.

The Sanctuary City movement deliberately draws on an idea of sanctuary that is located in many faiths, including (but not limited to) Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Judaism and Buddhism. Although not an exclusively religious or spiritual engagement with the politics of refugees and asylum, the idea of sanctuary provides a ready idea through which to mobilise political acts, through protest, activism in elections, enacting sanctuary practices and the like. Religious and spiritual ideas are not always as overt in political acts as in the Sanctuary City movement, however. Instead, the mobilisation of religious and spiritual values -- whether by conservative or radical elements -- can sometime require a little excavating. Arguably, however, such ideas are never very far from the surface, as homilies such as "turn the other cheek" or "an eye for an eye" for example, get drawn into modes of civility (see also Cloke, 2011; or, Sutherland, 2014).

While states, elections, censuses provide a means to register the stuff of life lived religiously and spiritually, in fact acting in the world is far more mundane, prosaic and ordinary. Once every ten years, people get to declare themselves as this or that or nothing in their census return. This tells us little -- very little -- about what people do in the meantime. It is the ordinary observances of religious and spiritual thinking and being that are least easy to grasp, as they can be so fleeting and therefore seemingly irrelevant. How many times a day might someone say "oh my God" or mutter "Jesus Christ" under their breath, yet think of themselves as entirely without religion? Does it matter that people pray, believe in the power of prayer, yet might not believe in God? Angels are intriguing examples of how people can slide around religious, spiritual and non-religious thinking. Angels can be invoked as a messenger of God, as a messenger (without the message coming from God), as a figure watching over people, as a guide to future action. The angel, in the form of a divine messenger, is central to Christian beliefs. Yet, the angel's many forms enable it to escape an exclusively Christian understanding. The angel permeates everyday life: the white feather that says an angel is watching over you; the loved one that is now with the angels... or has become an angel; the pub/restaurant/bar down the road. These are the moments that do not appear on the census, yet are remarkably important in people's everyday lives.

7. Spaces of Spirituality

A word about Geography. This book operates at different scales and in different kinds of spaces and places. It is led by its case study material, connecting the stuff of spirituality to specific times and spaces. This, we feel, is in keeping with the idea that it is unwise to make universalizing statements about spirituality (or religion). This is not a global geography, designed to speak from or about everywhere at once. Instead, we have sought case studies that render spaces and places a little stranger, a little less familiar, than we first thought. And, for this reason, many of our case studies are in the West: a strange and curious place that passes itself off, too easily, as the familiar and the normal. Even so, we hope that this impulse to make the world a little stranger, a little less familiar, can be productively carried elsewhere. Not as a way of exoticizing or romanticizing the world, but as a way of seeing the extraordinary construction of the ordinary everyday (Figure 1.1).

< INSERT Chapter 1 Figure 1.1 HERE >

Figure 1.1: The Hanley Church Bar and Restaurant in 2015. The Restaurant was formerly a Spirituality Church. Before that, it was a Methodist Church (built 1860). Every Tuesday night, the restaurant holds very popular tarot card evenings: partly to maintain a spiritual link to the building's past, but also so you can find out what the future holds in store for you, and enjoy a three course meal. Reproduced with kind permission of Dan Sambo.

We have divided the book into three sections: the first considers the spaces of spiritual practices; the second examines the production of spiritual spaces in everyday life; and, the third explores spiritual transformations in and of the world. Each section has its own introduction to help readers see themes emerging from the chapters.

This book is not an attempt to close down, or to organise, debates on the relationship between spirituality and space. It is rather to suggest that we are only at the beginning of this journey. We are at a moment when a broadened definition of religion and spirituality can reveal how much more important religion and spirituality, both in determining the fate of larger social processes -- from governmentality to geopolitics, from migration to understanding labour contracts -- but also in shaping the ordinary, lived, everyday lives. We tried to suggest, above, that there are many ways (and many more ways) to evoke these issue. Thus, in this book, the authors show us what can be achieved, with an expanded and generative notion of spirituality. So, we are delighted to end this book with the words of **prof. dusky purples** (Chapter 18). **prof purples** entreats us to ask her how to read the world differently, offering us a programme through which we might prepare and orient

ourselves, offering us new ways to read and think. Perhaps, dear reader, you might wish to begin with this chapter?

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