Non-Religious Young Individuals’ Place Attachment to Religious Space
A Case Study of Maria Magdalena Church

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Abstract
Sweden has a long history of Lutheran Christian influences, manifested spatially by the presence of churches in the build environment. In contrast, Sweden is also described as one of the world’s most secular countries. These secular individual’s experience of these churches is not well explored in geography of religion. Therefore, this study’s aim is to investigate what shapes non-religious individuals’ place attachment to religious spaces. To reveal this, the study is based on transcriptions from a Transect Walk with 12 non-religious individuals at Maria Magdalena church in Södermalm, Stockholm. These narratives are viewed through a place attachment framework together with theories of religion, sacred space and secularization, to answer the research question: What affects non-religious young individuals’ place attachment towards a sacred place? The attachment was formed by the subjective mosaic of combinations, which revealed that churches in general are instrumental venues to obtain the goal of participating in temporary ceremonies. In turn, it was affected by the subjects’ memories, connection to cultural Christianity, lack of religious attachment and the church as a unique place. This contributes to the field by revealing what affects place attachment of non-religious individuals to sacred spaces in a Swedish context.
Preface

I would like to say thank you to my interviewees that took part of this study. Without your participation this thesis would not have been possible.

I would also express my gratitude to Nils, Roe, Sandra, Sebastian and Siri for most appreciated support during the research process.

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Stockholm, June 2018

Per Göransson
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1 Introduction
In both media and by scholars, the Nordic countries have been described as one of the world’s most secular countries (Gustafsson Lundberg 2018, Kesselstrand 2015, Lerner 2015). In particular, Sweden has been described to stand out due to its changing structure of religion towards a more secularized composition (Thurfjell 2015, Zuckerman 2009). This process has been undergoing since the 1970s after which young individuals experienced a gradually more secular society in Sweden than earlier generations (Hagevi 2017: 503). Proposed reasons for secularization are many but seem to link to the declining membership rate of the Church of Sweden together with a low percentage of believers in something supernatural (Thurfjell 2015). However, the heritage of Sweden’s long Lutheran influence is evident with churches and other Christian buildings scattered in both rural and urban landscapes (Svenska Kyrkan 2016: 26). In Sweden, Church of Sweden administer 3379 church-buildings and 150 of these are located in Stockholm (Ibid: 26). Some of these churches are seen as redundant due to declining usage and there has been a public debate regarding whether they should be demolished, repurposed or to be maintained as cultural heritage (Hammar 2011, Widmark 2011). Still, they are a common sight in a city, and in Stockholm the church towers and spires have long been central features of the city since 1500s (Rörby 2008). These were a striking sight in the landscape with the historical low buildings. Later during Stockholm’s development, the surrounding buildings have stepwise grown higher but the church spires are still a prominent feature of the city together with the occasional newer high-rise buildings. This is visible in both planning and public discussions, as the characteristic skyline of Stockholm is of great interest with its low buildings and high church towers (Gran 2014).

However, churches are traditionally viewed as sacred by Christians and can trigger an array of emotions for the believer (Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2004: 394). These places can actively connect the believer to other individuals’, history and the religion itself through their location, architecture, layout and aesthetics. In turn, place can be an important part of the believers daily, ceremonial and spiritual life which fosters place attachment toward a church (Ibid, Scannell and Gifford 2010: 2). However, in turn the individuals’ that do not identify themselves as religious, also experience these buildings but lack the religious connection. This creates a collision of these historical buildings and the secular young individuals’ that experience the contemporary city which is not fully explored in the field geography of religion.

1.1 Background on Religion in Sweden
The history of religion in Sweden is dominated by the Evangelical-Lutheran state church that have been influencing daily life, laws and the constitution since the 1600s (Thurfjell 2015: 18). However, the churches connection to the state has gradually been reduced the last 150 years with the dissenter acts of 1863 and 1873. These acts enabled citizens to leave the state church without being expatriated but in turn required entry to a state approved denomination. This legal connection between the state and the church ended with Religionsfrihetslag 1951 [Religious Freedom Act of 1951] where citizens could leave the state church without being required to join another registered denomination. Also, there was a parallel democratization process of the church, which culminated in 1949 with the elections for the General Synod, which changed the structure to be layman oriented. Furthermore, every child born in Sweden automatically became member of the church if one of the parents were a member up until 1996 (Svanberg and Westerlund 2011: 92). The church and the state
were formally connected until they were legally severed in the year 2000 (Ibid: 92). Still, there are legal ties between the state and the Church of Sweden such as the Head of State is required to confess to the Evangelical-Lutheran belief. This is also evident by the exceptional position in a legal sense that the Church of Sweden has in regards towards other denominations.

Since the 1950s, the composition of Swedish religious life has become more diverse due to a gradually changing demography (Gustafsson Lundberg 2018: 125). This is due to new migration patterns which increases changes in both religious and cultural landscapes of Sweden (Ibid: 124). This increases the visibility of religion in public scenery and debate with a growing number of religious minorities. However, the Church of Sweden is still in numbers the largest religious community with 6.3 million paying members which accounts for 62 per cent of the population (Ibid: 127). However, only 6 per cent attended regular church services and 18 per cent state that they believe in something supernatural (Ibid: 131). Still, attendance to different ceremonies remains high and in terms of ceremonies the Church of Sweden conducts 74,3 percent of all funerals and 33,7 percent of marriages in Sweden (Svenska Kyrkan 2017). This is due to a secularization process with many identified reasons but overall a declining rate in membership in the Church of Sweden, belief in something supernatural and increased secular values (Kesselstrand 2015, Thurfjell 2015 and Wilford 2010). The average Swede does not look at themselves as religious but instead notice difference in other religion that contrast that of the Church of Sweden (Thurfjell 2015: 112). This makes Sweden an interesting case with its high rate of belonging to the Church of Sweden in contrast to its low percentage of believers (Gustafsson Lundberg 2018: 129).

1.2 Aim and Research Question
This study focusses on the rather unexplored topic within geography of religion that regards place attachment of non-religious individuals towards sacred spaces. This gives a deeper understanding of what affect the attachment towards the common sight of churches in Swedish cities and towns. To understand this attachment of non-religious individuals’ further, adds to the understanding of the physical features of sacred spaces. Furthermore, it also provides a deeper understanding of a contemporary phenomenon in the Swedish society which is the actual or perceived secularization of society. Therefore, the aim of this study is to investigate what shapes individuals’ that identifies as non-religious place attachment to religious spaces. In order to reveal this, the following research questions will be answered in this study:

- What affects non-religious young individuals’ place attachment towards a sacred place?

1.3 Limits
As a geographical limit, the focus is on the central parts of Stockholm which forms the Stockholm skyline (Rörby 2008). The case is concentrated to the path set described in section 2.2. As a temporal limit, the study was conducted between January and June 2018.

1.4 Disposition
The structure of this study is as follows: In chapter two, the study’s research design, method, material, ethical considerations and method and source criticism is presented. Chapter three provides an overview of the theoretical perspectives, framework and previous research used in this study. In chapter four, first the core and significant categories identified in the coding
method are presented. Then each identified concept will be revealed and provided with a notable translated quote. The original quotes in Swedish are referenced to and presented in the endnotes of this study. In addition, there is a summary of each concept to get an easy overview of the main themes in each concept. In chapter five, the results will be discussed through the frameworks and together with theoretical assumptions and previous research. Lastly, in the chapter six, the main conclusions of the study will be presented together with a discussion of potential areas for further research.
2 Method

In this chapter, the case research design will be presented together with the case. After this, the data collection method will be presented and motivated. Then the coding method will be presented and is followed by a presentation of the sample. Then the chapter will conclude with ethical considerations and lastly the method and source criticism will be explored.

2.1 The Case of Maria Magdalena Church

In order to answer the research question, an inductive case study approach will be utilized. The approach enables a flexible research design that can be adapted during the research process it allows for an iterative process which enables jumps between processes during a study (Gummeson 2011: 115-120). The inductive case study approach is also useful tool to discern interesting aspects of an overwhelming phenomenon or process, that can initially be confusing (Ibid: 126). Furthermore, the focus of a single church is an answer to Kong’s (1990: 367, 2010) call to investigate subjective experiences of particular sacred spaces, instead of maintaining the previous research focus on formalized systems of religion. In addition to this, Rishbeth (2014: 102) argues that by focusing on particular places, the individuals’ response regarding previous experiences, temporality, social relations and cultural expectations, can be better understood than by broader generalizations. This would add to the understanding of geography of religion in the context of Sweden and also broaden the understanding of contemporary secularized Nordic societies.

Image 1. Silhouette of Södermalm (Flobrant 2017).

The case study focusses on Maria Magdalena’s Church due to its central location in Södermalm, Stockholm (Svenska Kyrkan 2018). The placement provides the tall church tower as a visible part of the Stockholm skyline as seen to the left in image 1. The church is built in a classical Lutheran architectural style that is a common feature of churches of this era in the Swedish landscapes (Kesselstrand 2015: 276). The area has a rich religious history that begins with the placement of a funeral chapel around the year 1350 (Svenska Kyrkan
This chapel was torn down eventually due to its strategic location for an advancing enemy army and the church got its present form when it was consecrated in 1634. The façade was renovated in 1986 which gave its characterized yellow color. The west main entry leads into the interior which consists of one nave and a combined area for wedding and baptism. Beneath the floor slabs houses caskets from a long history of different funeral usages. In the surrounding area there is also a graveyard with tombstones that represent the burial rites of Christianity, see image 2 (Stump 2008: 360-361).

Image 2. The church of Maria Magdalena (Photo: Per Göransson)

2.2 Transect Walk
In order to gain insights on individuals’ experiences of religious spaces, a method is needed that both gain insights on their subjective experiences and the individuals’ connection to the built environment. To reveal this, a Transect Walk method was chosen due to its usefulness to gain rich information about each subject’s experience of specific aspects of a landscape and human-environment relations (Paasche and D Sidaway 2010: 1556). The physical features encountered in the Transect Walk are named Materialities, and is further explained in section 3.2. These are revealed by conducting an interview while walking along a path set by the researcher (called a Transect) together with the subject. During the interview that focusses on a particular issue, the location of the researcher and the subject is noted on a paper and by audio prompts. This is then connected with the qualitative data that emerges during the interview, to generate spatially grounded data. By following this path set by the researcher, the interview can focus on the interactions between the subject and specific place which suitable for the aim and research question (Evan and Jones 2011: 850). However, this also makes room for changes in route such as the subject want to change path the researcher follows, making it a semi-structured path.
The geographical location of the interviews was in both close and far proximity from Maria Magdalena’s church which gives a sense of scale to the Transect Walk. The researcher and the subject consistently met outside the subway station at Slussen (Transect point 1a) and walked towards the church (Transect point 5a), see map 1 and attachment 2. Inside the church, in most cases the walking path was as illustrated in map 2. This procedure is chosen to get a sense of scale in the interview, by engaging with the church as part of the skyline, in close proximity and inside. In one interview, the meeting place was instead at the subway entrance at Mariatorget and ended at Maria Magdalena church and continued on the previous path. The transect walk ended in most cases outside the main church entry (Transect point 1a). In addition to this, photos of notable transect point will be presented in section 4 and in attachments. By using this Transect Walk, it enables the subject to reveal spontaneous experiences by engaging in a religious context together with the researcher.

Transect Walk have a history in the study of natural phenomena (Paasche and D Sidaway 2010: 1556). The notion of a transect was introduced in the beginning of 1900s to be used in for example as a reference to altitudinal zonation of civilizations and social forms. However, recently the method has been adopted in other fields of research such as urban
planning with an interdisciplinary focus on the impacts of new infrastructure (Pousin et al 2016). Furthermore, similar methods of gaining qualitative data while walking have explored before such as the go-along method. This method which focusses on following individual subject’s in their daily paths while interacting with their physical and social surroundings (Bergeron et al 2013, Kusenbach 2003). In addition to this, the paths and trajectories have also been aimless such as in Anderson (2004) use of Bimbles where the interview had no clear destination or route. There has also been attempts to combine focus groups and walking in Roving Focus Groups such as in Inwood and Martin (2008). These methods are deemed not suitable in this study, due to their lack of focus on a particular type of materiality in a city such as a church. However, the mobility turn debate in social science, has highlighted these methods potentials in generating richer data that is spatially grounded (Bergeron et al 2013, Evan and Jones 2011, Shelly and Urry 2006). This movement by both the researcher and the subject influences both to multi-sensory stimuli which can generate richer data (Evan and Jones 2011: 850). Furthermore, this gives a connection to the environment which is suggested to have a major advantage in gaining insight on individuals’ experiences regarding these (Ingold and Lee 2008, Solnit 2012). Moreover, the physical effort to walk, associated outdoor smells and other sensory inputs, gives a more active engagement with the researcher, subject and environment which enables access to richer data (Rishbeth 2014: 100-101). As Solnit (2012: 41) have put it “Walking shares with making and working that crucial element of engagement of the body and the mind with the world, of knowing the world through the body and the body through the world”.

To answer the research question, a semi-structured interview guide has been used to cover the aim of the study. This generates qualitative data about the individual’s subjective experience (May 2013: 162). It also allows both the researcher and the subject to engage in a dialogue instead of the interpretation of the researcher (Ibid: 262). As both the researcher and the subjects’ native language is Swedish there is no obstacle due to language barriers. Before the interview, a checklist of statements regarding the ethical concerns listed under section 2.5, was read to the subject to ensure the rights of the individual. First, a pilot interview was conducted to help in the creation of a semi-structured interview guide, see attachment 1. To be able to gather data from the interview, a Dictaphone was used to record the narratives with the subjects’ consent in order to transcribe their narratives for richer data. Recording the interview enables the researcher to be present in the moment instead of focusing on taking notes. A concern is the noise of unexpected disturbances while conducting an interview outside. To counter this, a wind muffle was used to reduce noise from wind and the surrounding area.

The subjects’ narratives from the recordings are transcribed as these transcriptions provide a rich foundation for grounded theory coding which is explained more in the section 2.3 (Flowerdew and Martin 2005: 123-124). The narratives of the subjects were written down word by word. The focus in this study lies in their experiences so different guttural sounds and such is not noted in the transcription. Although, difference in voice levels were noted which was an interesting result presented in section 5. Access to these transcriptions also provides a rich source of quotes which is the subject’s own words and not those of the researcher. The interviews were translated into English and as I am a native speaker of Swedish I can extract subtle nuances in the language. The translation was double checked with another student in order to ensure the quality of the translations and the original quotes are provided in the endnotes.
2.3 Coding Method
To be able to interpret the data gathered, a coding method inspired by Glaser’s grounded theory has been used (Hartman 2001: 40-43). Grounded theory as a coding method is a powerful tool when analyzing the abstract meanings and processes that stems from experience of places. By using data generated by the subjective experience of each individuals, the focus shifts from the prior knowledge of the researcher. Instead the analysis is grounded in data which puts a focus on the subjects’ narrative. By analyzing these experiences, processes and phenomena’s that would otherwise be hidden emerges which otherwise could be missed or neglected. This coding method therefore suits the study’s inductive research design (Ibid: 24-25).

Glaser notes that in the starting phase of a study, the focus is to reveal what is going on with the subjects’ and their relevant problems (Hartman 2001: 40). This process starts with the first phase Open Coding, where every row of the transcripts is given a substantive code, see figure 1 (Ibid: 80). These codes indicate which words and phrases indicate a phenomenon and is noted in the side of the transcript. These codes of indicators form an overarching concept which is indicated by these phenomena. These are then compared with each other to indicate commonalities and differences.

Figure 1. Grounded Theory Coding Process (Authors own illustration)

Throughout all phases of coding, two simultaneous activities are conducted. The first is the construction of a core category which relates to other categories during the coding process (Hartman 2001: 87). This core category occurs throughout the data and consist of a core set of complex problems and processes and changes many times during the coding process. The role of the core category is to anchor the coding process to the relevant field which the study aims towards. The core category is thus connected to the aim which ensures the relevance of the study (Ibid: 83). If there is need for more categories these are noted as few significant categories (Ibid: 82). The second activity is the diligent writing of theoretical memos during the coding process which consists of abstract thoughts and reflections (Ibid: 84-85). These are written in every stage of the coding- and transcribing process where every thought regarding connections of codes is noted. These notes stimulate the coding process by
revealing new insights and sparking new ideas (Ibid: 87). They also function as a source of revealing and connecting to theoretical fields in the last phase of the coding process.

The second phase consists of specific coding where the substantive codes consisting of indicators are grouped in relation to each other and the core category (Hartman 2001: 40-41). This limits the myriad of often confusing substantive codes into groups that are more manageable. Furthermore, the groups connect to the core category. In the third and last phase, theoretical codes are noted which finds relations between the groups of substantive codes and the core category and theoretical memos to integrate them into a theory (Ibid: 79-81). Glaser (2010: 153) notes that theoretical codes could consists of conditions, contexts, consequences, covariances, contingencies and causes although, are not limited to this selection of codes. When theoretical saturation is reached the concepts are set and the process stops. Lastly, the researcher returns to the theoretical field to find suitable theories to explain these concepts and these are presented under section 3. The concepts on the other hand together with the core- and significant category are presented under section 4.

Glaser does not recommend recording the interview due it is a time-consuming process (Hartman 2001: 64). Although, when conducting a Transect Walk, it was deemed impractical to both walk, conduct the interview and take notes of both the transect and the information provided by the subject. The bond that forms between the interviewer and the interviewee which is described in the section 2.6, would also have been hampered. Instead the interviews were recorded and transcribed and provided a good source of data for the analysis. This also ensures that the experience of the individual is correctly cited and interpreted.

2.4 Sample
In this study, there is a need to define a non-religious young individual which is someone who do not believe in something supernatural (Voas and Day 2007: 96). This is further elaborated on in sections 3.1 and 3.3. The definition of a young individual has its ground in the secularization process of Sweden. As stated in the introduction, Sweden have undergone a gradual change of secularization since the 1970s (Hagevi 2017: 503). Being a gradual process, individuals that are younger are viewed as being more secularized than older generations. Therefore, young individuals are defined as someone that have their formative years after 1970s and closer to present day.

As the study focus on specific traits of the individuals, gatekeepers were the most suitable and practical way of acquiring subjects for the Transect Walk (Flowerdew and Martin 2005: 116-117). The gatekeeper method was deployed by reaching out to personal contacts which functioned as gatekeepers. This mode of sampling was deemed suitable due to the traits requested and the scope of the study. There is a risk that gatekeepers can present a narrow sample by choosing a specific group of individuals. This was mitigated by the use of several gatekeepers and by posting broad inquiries on different suitable groups on Facebook regarding geography and religion. In turn, a broad sample was acquired in terms of age, gender and religious context, see table 1. This enables me as a researcher to get in contact with individuals that otherwise would have been difficult to reach. However, there was a slight majority that had higher education in this sample which could skew the result in different ways (Gummesson 2011: 133). This could stem from the fact that me as a student have many social ties through higher education. As a consequence, there is a limitation in my sample, that individuals outside my personal network did not have the opportunity to participate. Another composition of individuals could have generated different results by
their subjective experiences of churches. The participating subject’ could have a bigger interest in both participating and in religion as a topic. Although, this was deemed suitable way to gain access to this group of non-religious young individuals in Stockholm.
Table 1. Subject overview

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Religious Context</th>
<th>Religious Affiliation¹</th>
<th>Workplace</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Length of Interview</th>
<th>Notable Interview Context</th>
<th>Time and Date for the Interview</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sara</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Her Father have a Muslim background and the mother have a Christian background, both currently outspoken non-believers.</td>
<td>Atheist</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>High-school with some bachelor courses</td>
<td>31 min</td>
<td>Clear sky but quite cold. The church organ started playing inside the church. One man prayed briefly at the altar.</td>
<td>11:07. 3 February 2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Klara</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Christian parents but not active. Boyfriend is Assyrian Christian although not religious.</td>
<td>Atheist</td>
<td>Journalist at a newspaper</td>
<td>Bachelor degree in journalism</td>
<td>36 min</td>
<td>The church organ started playing in the end. Some people were present inside the church.</td>
<td>14:04. 14 February 2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lars</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Non-religious parents. Some Christian and Muslim friends.</td>
<td>Atheist</td>
<td>It-consultant</td>
<td>High-school</td>
<td>41 min</td>
<td>Snowing in the beginning of the interview. Some people were talking in the background. The church organ started playing in the end.</td>
<td>11:16. 16 February 2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Boyfriend have catholic background although now non-religious. Grandmother were a little bit religious.</td>
<td>Non-religious</td>
<td>Personal assistant</td>
<td>High-school</td>
<td>43 min</td>
<td>A sunny day that was not too cold. A baptism was conducted when we entered the church.</td>
<td>13:05. 3 March 2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laura</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Non-religious parents. Have a few Christian friends.</td>
<td>Non-religious</td>
<td>At a Student Union</td>
<td>Bachelor degree in global development</td>
<td>38 min</td>
<td>A sunny day that was moderately cold. A funeral was performed in the church.</td>
<td>11:11. 22 March 2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frida</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Went to a Christian pre-school.</td>
<td>Atheist</td>
<td>Working in the movie industry</td>
<td>Currently studying a bachelor in English</td>
<td>36 min</td>
<td>A cloudy day and mild temperature. The church was closed, instead a nearby bench was used.</td>
<td>13: 06. 31 March 2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theodor</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>No religion in family. Have close friends that are Christians.</td>
<td>Non-religious</td>
<td>Not working currently</td>
<td>Currently studying a bachelor of social services</td>
<td>32 min</td>
<td>A sunny day that was not too cold. Conducted on Maundy Thursday. A group of people were inside the church. A man greeted us inside the church.</td>
<td>11:50. 29 Mars 2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rebecca</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>No religion in family. Used to have a boyfriend that was religious</td>
<td>Non-believer</td>
<td>SVT</td>
<td>Bachelor in social sciences</td>
<td>37 min</td>
<td>Clear weather but a bit cold.</td>
<td>12:10. 30 March 2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nils</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>No religion in family. Have some religious friends.</td>
<td>Non-religious</td>
<td>Works at a electronics retailer</td>
<td>Currently studies a course in English.</td>
<td>28 min</td>
<td>A sunny day and mild temperature. One man sat in the benches. One lady who worked there walked around doing small tasks.</td>
<td>15: 55. 3 April 2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johan</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Parents non-religious. Father's sister is a priest. Have some friends that is religious.</td>
<td>Undecided between Atheist and Agnostic</td>
<td>Two part-time jobs</td>
<td>Studies a bachelor in social sciences</td>
<td>30 min</td>
<td>A sunny day and a little bit cold. A group of small children and two teachers had some kind of activity around the tombstones</td>
<td>11:08. 27 Mars 2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Father not religious but mother is a bit religious. Some family friends that are members of a free church. Know some Christian friends.</td>
<td>Non-believer</td>
<td>Works extra in real property management.</td>
<td>Currently studies a bachelor in property management</td>
<td>33 min</td>
<td>A cloudy but reasonable warm day. A group of older people was talking inside the church.</td>
<td>14:01. 5 April 2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunnar</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Mother is somewhat spiritual and his father was member of a free-church before but moved away from that later in life. Some friends at university was religious.</td>
<td>Atheist</td>
<td>Works as a Physiotherapist</td>
<td>License in physical therapy</td>
<td>42 min</td>
<td>A sunny day and quite warm. IT had been a sermon some time before we entered the church and some people worked to clean up.</td>
<td>14:17. 15 April 2018</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹. Their own definition.
2.5 Ethics
In this study, relevant ethical considerations for researchers by the Swedish Research Council have been taken into account (Vetenskapsrådet 2017). To ensure that the subject understood their positions in the research process and their rights, a checklist is presented before each interview, see attachment 1. The first two are Målbeskrivning och Teman [Aim of the Study and Theme] which describes in short, the aim of the study and if the subjects’ is willing to take part of the survey (Ibid: 16, 26). The third entry Sekreterad [Secrecy] elaborates on that the data collected will only be used in this study and not distributed. The fourth entry Anonymitet [Anonymity] regards that the subject is presented anonymously and will be referenced with another name. Furthermore, any other part of their narratives that could be used to identify them will be changed or removed (Ibid: 42). If the subject agreed, the interview was recorded by the use of a Dictaphone. Furthermore, after each Transect Walk, the subject also had the option to not take part and any recordings will be erased on site. The recordings were erased after the study is finished to prevent further distribution.

By following these set of principles, the researcher can be facing problematic ethical considerations. These could emerge in this study if the gatekeepers feel coerced to provide subjects or the subjects in turn feel an obligation to help the gatekeeper (Webster et al 2014: 81). This is mitigated by clearly stating the checklist above to make sure the subject knows that leaving the study is an option. Furthermore, there is the risk of asking too intrusive questions about sensitive matters regarding such as matters, religion or different ceremonies. This issue is mitigated by stating that no answer is right or wrong and there is no need to answer each question in the checklist entry Inga rätt eller fel [No right or wrong]. However, too much ethical consideration could essentially blunt the research quality instead an approach that target what is best for the subject is adopted (Ibid: 82). In this study, the ethical considerations above are deemed as sufficient to safeguard the subject’s interests.

Besides the concerns covered by the checklist, a risk when analyzing non-religious by creating a possible stigma the group or put them against another group. This risk is mitigated by that the result is not generalized for any population, which is further elaborated under the section 2.6. Another concern is that the Transect Walks was conducted near a graveyard which were minimized by not publishing any identificatory names, being respectful to any potential mourners or users during the research process.

2.6 Method- and Source Criticism
The case of Maria Magdalena church was decided as stated in the Introduction, due to its architectural appearance of a typical Lutheran Christian church, which can be deemed as the most common type of church that the subjects had previous contact with. Although, another church could have been chosen but Maria Magdalena was the most practical and suitable of the churches that is part of the Stockholm skyline.

The drawbacks of the use of a pre-determined route in a Transect Walk is by putting the subject in an unusual and unfamiliar position. This may provoke experiences of something outside their ordinary life, and thus, effecting the results. Thus, this method is especially useful when focusing on specific buildings or landscapes and can yield unexpected and comparable results (Evan and Jones 2011: 850). Furthermore, by walking during the interview, the subject is prompted by the connection to the landscape and materialities around them. Furthermore, as the subjects engage with the materialities during the Transect Walk, it could trigger different responses than vocal such as body language which cannot be
captured by a Dictaphone. This could be captured by a Video recorder although it can be problematic when dealing with religious spaces and the ethical considerations of bystanders. Although, it is not only the materialities that could affect the subjects’ during the Transect Walk, other individuals on the site or the weather could have an impact. This is due that there was a drastic change in the climate in Stockholm ranging from snow in the early February to warm pre-summer in the middle of April. This could affect the sensory experience as we engaged the transect path by foot.

One main critique that falls upon grounded theory is in which degree the researcher can put aside his awareness of theories (Bryman 2012: 574). This is due social researchers are generally sensitive towards social theories and how the world is constructed. This can influence the researcher’s previous knowledge about the current topic which can influence the choice of theories in the last stages of coding. This in turn could force data in the coding process and in turn the connecting theory (Glaser 2010: 98). In answer to this, this research make use it as a useful coding method and do not encompass grounded theory as a whole. However, this was mitigated by that the data coding process was thorough and well designed.

During the Transect Walk, the researcher and the subject co-create the narratives by influencing the result with our positionality (Yeo et al 2014: 180-181). This creates a relationship between the researcher and the subject both can express thoughts and emotions that are guided by the different social system of their contexts (Wimark 2016: 439). This co-creation is affected by the power imbalance where the researcher could influence the data to gain an advantage (Yeo et al 2014: 182). Each interview situation is unique and the positionality varies for both the researcher and the subject, creating different results in each new meeting (Wimark 2016: 446). Possible power imbalances can be mitigated with the adaptation of a reflexive view on the Transect Walk, the final product and the researcher’s positionality. In addition, I fall under the same sample as the subjects’ in this study which makes me an insider in this case (May 2013: 180). Although, in other ways I am an outsider depending on the interplay of our contexts such as gender, interests, age or education. In turn, this could affect my responses in the interview situation but also during the research process. These problems and my own positionality have been reflected upon during the conduction of the study.

In these types of qualitative studies, the reliability is deemed low, due to the problem of replicating the same interview situation, related setting and context (Lewis et al 2014: 355-357). Instead, the focus lies in a constant iterative process from the start, evaluation that the study follows a sound and appropriate research design and its conduct. The internal validity of this study is deemed sufficient by the precision of the aim, research question and the final study’s execution. The external validity relates to what type of generalizations that can be made. The desired result of this study is not to statically generalize its findings on a specific group characteristic. Instead the focus is a qualitative form of representation that can be made which informs social theory and is dependent on the interplay between qualitative data, categories, concepts and explanations (Ibid: 352-354).
3 Theory and Previous Research

In this chapter, the theoretical perspective that emerged from the coding process and relevant previous research is presented, that were deemed to aid the investigation of the aim and research question.

This study has a social constructive perspective whereby the social reality is created by social interactions between individuals (Wennerberg 2009: 177). As no objective knowledge can be obtained they are instead formed by subjective processes. These can consist of processes such as social interactions by language, norms or other social conventions (Ibid: 175). This creates a subjective reality of the individual which is produced by the individual and reproduced by maintaining norms and structure in a society (Ibid: 162).

3.1 Religion

In order to reveal the importance of religion and how it interacts with place and space but also with individuals, a definition is required. This study, as in the field of geography of religion, views religion as a human construct which interacts with society and individuals in many ways (Park 2003: 19). However, there is no universally acceptable definition of religion due to its wide range of individual belief systems, cultures and contexts (Ibid: 32). These systems, cultures and contexts’ can also reveal vastly different set of beliefs inside one type of religion. These stem from a variation in temporal, geographical distribution, cultural, political aspects and other influencing contexts. Also, the problem of a coherent definition stems from that it presumes a homogeneity and cohesiveness between each individual view on religion that is not possible. In light of this, and in order to make sense of the myriad of ambiguous definitions, Park’s (2003: 32) advice to adopt a working definition of religion is taken. In line with many author (Wallis and Bruce 1992, Zuckerman 2008, Kesselstrand 2015) this study utilizes a substantive aspect of religion, which concerns what religion is. By using this definition, the functional aspects which regards what religion does, can be revealed due to its ability to remain in a context void of belief of the supernatural. In this study, the definition used by Wallis and Bruce (1992: 10-11) will be used:

Religion for us consists of actions, beliefs, and institutions predicated upon the assumption of existence of either supernatural entities with powers of agency, or impersonal powers or processes possessed of moral purpose, which have the capacity to set the conditions of, or to intervene in, human affairs.

In a historical perspective, religions have greatly influenced societies in various ways, but notably in its effect on culture (Park 2003: 5). As for geographers who traditionally been interested in analyzing cultures in various places, the heritage of religion is notable in cultural manifestations. This interaction could be in the form of prohibition and restriction of certain activities but encouraging others (Ibid: 3). This could shape an individual’s behavior and activity patterns that could result in the adaptation of religious symbols, specific dresses and identity formation. Such cultural traditions can be in the form of different ceremonies of that religions identified life events and often varies depending on societal context. In the case of Sweden, one of these ceremonies is the funeral, that is viewed traditionally as the last goodbye by both the congregation and mourners when they handover the passed to gods mercy (Svanberg and Westerlund 2011: 387). Another example is the weddings which symbolizes the marriage of two individuals and is considered by the Church of Sweden as a holy sacrament (Ibid: 384). Although, traditions are also viewed as being connected on different scales, such as Massey’s (1995: 184) view of traditions as interconnected in different scales.
As a social process, traditions are actively constructed by different users and changing over time (Ibid: 185). As the individual remember a past ceremony, this is a time stamp of that ceremony and what context affected it at that time (Ibid: 188-189).

For the believing individual, the relevance of religion is that it functions as a guide for particular actions, moral codes, ethics and lifestyles (Park 2003: 2). These guidelines can influence or be contested which generates different effects or responses of the individual, such as their emotional response and experience of place (Finlayson 2012: 1764). This could be viewed as expressed by Kong (1990: 367-368) as the latent function of religion which provides a socially cohesive force in society. This is in contrast to its manifest function which defines what is outside mankind and this world and its mysterious aspects. In a wider societal perspective, this could influence the economic, demographic, social and political patterns in a society but is also in turn influenced by them as well (Park 2003: 3).

3.2 Sacred Space

In this study, the concepts of Place and Space as inspired by Massey (2005) will be used in order to give a more nuanced image of place and space. Massey view space as something created by individuals that interacts, reacts and relates to each trajectory (Ibid: 9). These trajectories consist of a change in an individual or phenomena but also physical features (Ibid: 12). In this study, these natural or manmade features will be named materialities to focus on their presence in space. Both materialities and individuals reside in these spaces which are temporal as they change with time and have subjective meanings ascribed to it by individuals, thus creating multiple identities. This forms trajectories that intersects and creates ‘stories so far’ (Ibid: 142). In addition, it contains ordered into social interactions of different systems of power, boundaries, hierarchies (Ibid: 152-153). These orderings of spaces can be produced and reproduced by individuals or groups which may have an own agenda or collective goal. This view makes areas porous networks of multiple social relationships and processes (Massey 1994: 121). Although, these processes and interactions can be localized inside an enclosed area in space by forming a place. They are not fixed in space or time, as there are no clear boundaries, either on the inside nor the outside (Ibid: 138-142). Both spaces and places stretch beyond and connects to wider relations and processes in society both locally and globally (Ibid: 120). This creates relationships between places that in different ways integrate or exclude diversity (Massey 2005: 192).

In order to gain a spatial connection to religion, the term Sacred Space will be used. It stems from the view that religion is a strong influencer of culture and in turn influences in turn spatial impressions, in both rural and urban cultural landscapes (Park 2003: 2). This is evident by the translation and adaptation of spiritual belief into spatial manifestations such as organization and planning of settlements (Ibid: 198). These religious components of place are often clarified by differentiating the site from the profane and secular. This definition is not needed to be updated by each generation which affirms continuity for the adherents (Ibid: 250). Although, as previously discussed, a working definition will be adopted, and in this study the definition of Jackson and Henrie (1983: 94) will be used:

…that portion of the earth’s surface which is recognised by individuals or groups as worthy of devotion, loyalty or esteem. Space is sharply discriminated from the non-sacred or profane world around it. Sacred space does not exist naturally, but is assigned sanctity as man defines, limits and characterises it through his culture, experience and goals.
Sacred is often viewed as something that stands out from the ordinary and interrupts routines from daily life together with a spiritual component (Yi Fu Tuan 1978: 84). And as with most religions, there is a sacred part of a religious community which often is spatially grounded (Park 2003: 250). These sacred areas have something that separates them from secular or profane places and are often clearly defined (Ibid: 251-252). In turn, these sacred spaces, affects human experiences and activities that is triggered by a variety of emotions (Finlayson 2012: 1763). Furthermore, these spaces are often described as something unique although as Massey (2005: 140) argues, that what makes a place unique is not the pre-given qualities of a place. The uniqueness stems from the meeting of unrelated trajectories and the formation of new configurations (Ibid: 141). It is the negotiation between the individual and the place together with interconnected past events which creates a “Throwtogetherness”. This makes it a collection of processes rather than a pure unique materiality through sensory connections between individuals and place (Ibid: 140-141).

Religion leaves imprints in the form of different architectural styles, landmarks and connection to institutions, which creates different forms of sacred spaces (Park 2003: 2-3). The most striking example in Christian areas is the frequency of churches in both urban and rural areas (Ibid: 201-202). The architectural styles vary greatly from spatial- and denomination -context and is expressed through vernacular building traditions. These styles are often influenced by the building materials that are regionally available and the denominations view on the role of the church. For Catholics the church is literally the house of god which often produce elaborate decorated and visually dominant architecture. On the other hand, Protestants view that the church as a place to assemble to worship god, but he does not live there. Hence, these churches tend to be more functional and less ornate than their Catholic counterpart.

3.3 Secularization
In order to reveal insights on the wider processes regarding spatiality of religion in Swedish society the concept of secularization will be used. This concept is useful to explain the shift from traditional religious influences in modern industrial societies towards a more secular society (Park 2003: 48). Thus, in this study, a combination of Glasner’s (1977) and Fenn’s (1969) definition of secularization will be used, which views the decline in social significance of religious practice and institutions together with the disengagement of religion from society. These patterns of secularization can be seen in a number of countries during the twentieth century as the importance of religious influences is clearly declining (Park 2003: 48). Furthermore, in many contemporary western countries there is an emergence of a secular society, which look for other sources than religious wisdoms, customs and ethics as a force in society. The emergence of secular societies does not follow a pre-cut pattern and strongly differs in structure depending on their religious, social, spatial and temporal contexts. In a secularized society the features of past religious traditions are often clearly visible but the boundaries between the secular and past religious influences is hard to discern (Ibid: 50-51). Instead, it is often a mix between the new and the old, where old religious traditions mixes and blends into a new formation which emerges as more or less secular.

3.4 Place-Attachment
In order to reveal individuals’ attachment to religious places, the three-dimensional framework developed by Scannell and Gifford (2010) will be utilized. The framework is a response to the numerous unstructured definitions regarding place attachment in previous
literature (Scannell and Gifford 2010: 1-2). This variation stems from the perspective where place attachment is viewed to serve several functions that over the years have been explored by a multitude of approaches. Most notably these include a focus on social features such as Woldoff (2002), physical features as in Stokols and Shumaker (1981) or a combination as in Riger and Lavrakas (1981). Scannell and Gifford (2010: 2) focusses to find commonalities in this throughout previous research and integrate them to structure the definitions to bring them together as a whole. This also utilizes previous advances in theory by bringing no new concepts but instead bridging existing approaches into a one single comprehensible approach (Hernández, Hidalgo and Ruiz 2014: 127). This results in a framework that discerns and reveals what place attachment as a bond consists of between an individual or a group towards a certain place (Scannell and Gifford 2010: 5). The most common reasons that for these bonds to exist is survival and security, temporal or personal continuity and goal support.

The tripartite framework by Scannell and Gifford (2010) treats place attachment as consisting of three dimensions; person, place and process, see figure 2. Some of these dimensions are highlighted, more or less important or interrelated for every individual (Ibid: 5). This forms a mosaic of combinations which is unique for each individual attachment towards places. In the Person dimension, place attachment can evolve both on an individual level but also on a group level. (Ibid: 2). For the individual, connections to a place can be influenced by personal preferences. The bond between the place an individual can also be stronger if it evokes personal memories or connects important events such as different ceremonies (Ibid: 2). This can form a strong attachment to place by contributing to a stable sense of self. On the other hand, the group level reveals shared meanings of place between members of a certain group. These bonds can vary vastly depending on culture, gender and religions with can focus on different values and symbols (Ibid: 2). These can also be based on religion which can shape the preference towards different kind of places such as churches in different scales (Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2004). These experiences can both individual or for a certain group and may overlap between dimensions (Scannell and Gifford 2010: 2).

Figure 2. The Tripartite Model of Place Attachment (Scannell and Gifford 2010: 2).

In the Place dimension the focus is on place itself (Scannell and Gifford 2010: 4). The social aspect of this dimension regards connection to social relations and group identities for the
individual. If there is a focus the social ties and not the specific characteristics of the place itself, it is considered a mostly social bond. The familiarity of place can also influence the bond which is influenced by stories, histories and prompts by social connections. Although, the physical materialities are dependent on the level of specificity of place (Ibid: 4). It can be if the subjects’ talk about a specific building such as a church or buildings in general (Manzo 2003). Another aspect is that that certain materialities can represent and symbolize different desirable features for an individual. Furthermore, rootedness which is the length of interaction can also increase the attachment to a place. Lastly, both the social and physical features can interrelate at different scales.

In the Process dimension both individuals and groups relate and form bonds to places by which psychological interactions is important (Scannell and Gifford 2010: 3). The affect aspect is the bonding between person and place which involves an emotional connection to particular place. The bond is determined by emotional investment such as love or hate of that place or materialities. The cognition aspect is strongly affected by beliefs, meaning and knowledge associated to place. Moreover, places can be ascribed meaning and a connection to the individual’s self by the memories of important events or settings based on past events (Rishbeth 2014: 106). On the other hand, the behavior aspect is how attachment is expressed by the use of different actions. These actions can consist of the degree of maintaining closeness to preferred places which different types can have more or less preference. (Scannell and Gifford 2010: 4).

A challenge with this type of framework is how to handle other aspects that is not included in the framework such as body language (Hernández, Hidalgo and Ruiz 2014: 127-128). This could be mitigated by the researcher notes these aspects on a paper during the interview. It also gives a static representation of the attachment and do not explain well how individuals cope with changes of materialities (Devine-Wright 2014: 166-167). As gradual change of a place is not the focus of this study this aspect effect is deemed low. However, these limitations the researcher must acknowledge in this type of comprehensive approach but instead seeing them as a journey to better understand the bond between theory and individual experience of place (Hernández, Hidalgo and Ruiz 2014: 127-128).

3.5 Previous Research
Early researchers within the field of geography of religion investigated the spatiality of religion especially regarding various pathways from and to hearths such as Mecca, Jerusalem or other important religious sites (Stump 2008: 33-36). This allowed religion to disperse in space and various local context have influences both the culture and beliefs of the adherents. Later, researcher often with an interdisciplinary focus, investigated different cultural systems and the territoriality of religion to reveal nuances in the structure of human cultures and religious ideas (Ibid: 5-6). Also, the importance was how religious individuals constructs and enact their religious systems, the imaging and construct places of religious significance are of interest (Ibid: 221). This spatial connection of religion regards these sacred spaces which is viewed as one of the clearest spatial indication of religious presence, mainly by differentiating the site from the profane and secular (Finlayson 2012: 1764). These sacred spaces create important spatial entities which is part of religious systems. Although, religion do not only intersect with these spatial aspects but also influence identity construction, social life and spatial patterns of individuals (Brace et al 2006: 29). These topics have also been covered by Christian scholars that investigates the centrality of religion for human culture and daily life (Aay 2009: 89). Lastly, Christian ethics have influenced the topics by these scholars in order
to confront injustice, oppression, poverty and other indicators of in their view a broken world (Ibid: 90).

The field of geography of religion in a Swedish context is rather an underexplored area of research. Recent focus has regarded the ongoing secularization in Sweden and their effects on society (Gustafsson Lundberg 2018, Thurjell 2015, Tomasson 2002, Zuckerman 2009). Attempts to shed light on this includes Kesselstrand’s (2015) study which identifies Sweden as one of the most secular countries in the world. However, the Church of Sweden is able to maintain a significant role in society by providing certain services such as ceremonies and care of cultural heritage. This in contrast to the trend of declining participation in regular Church activities and Christian beliefs. Kesselstrand (2015: 291) also concludes that this number is likely to continue to decline as part of the secularization process. In line with the findings of Davie (2000: 25) which also reveals that the church can maintain a significant role in society despite the secularization process and declining participation in Church activities and beliefs. Although, with her term vicarious religion which describes a type of religious affiliation that belongs to a church in order of achieving different goals other than religious ones (Davie 2002). In line with this, Demerath (2000) discusses that many Swedish children are socialized into Christianity by various sources such as ceremonies, observing religious holidays and learning hymns. In addition, they are void of belief in most of the basic theological content that Christianity contain (Zuckerman 2008: 152). Taken together, this leads to the conclusion that Swedes are viewed as are belonging without believing which supports previous research that Swedes tend to be cultural Christians.

There has also been a focus on particular churches in Sweden such as Widmark’s (2010) study of the effects of closing a church in Rosengård, Malmö. During the Miljonprogrammet (million program), the Church of Sweden was involved in the planning of Rosengård, Malmö by focusing on the spiritual life of the inhabitants. In so, they were a big actor in planning the religious spaces by constructing space and constituting places in this area. Due to changes in demographic and economic composition in Sweden, Rosengård fell into neglect and the number of adherents decreased. This led to the de-consecration of the church due to economic circumstances together with declining worshippers. As the church was considered being part of the Swedish society, the act of leaving the area was identified as a move of segregation. This stemmed from that the church’s material presence in the area which shaped the sense of belonging by the inhabitants. This historical context had and still today influence the formation of individual lives of the inhabitants of Rosengård. Another study is that of Helgesson Kjellin (2016) carried out which describes the project “Framtiden bor hos oss” at a church in Skärholmen, which focused on the changing role and new challenges of the Church of Sweden in the Swedens secularized society. The church as a space is identified to be related to identity building which can both include and exclude depending on context and as a limiting line for the global- and local-networks. The study also identifies that the believers are decreasing and it is a result found in the study that the Church of Sweden must plan for.

Places can also function as bridges to the past by individual’s emotional relationship to places. This was explored by (Manzo 2005) that conducted depth interviews with a grounded theory perspective, which reveals that place meaning stems from an array of emotions and experiences in combination. These form “Experience in Place” which emphasize the combination instead of a single explanation to form the attachment to place. One aspect that was identified as important was that memories could help individuals to remember past places and experiences. This helped the individual by being able to connect the integral
components such as other individuals, current places and experiences and feelings that together creates their life (Manzo 2005: 78). In addition, attachments can be religiously based such identified in Mazumdar’s and Mazumdar’s (2004). In this study, religion is viewed as an important part of place attachment towards sacred spaces such as churches and gravesites for religious individuals (Ibid: 394-395). This does not only depend on material structures or landscapes but can also be learned through socialization by ceremonies, shared history or storytelling (Ibid: 390). Altogether, this also reveals the interconnectedness of religion, individual’s context and attachment towards place both for the individual and on a group level.
4 Results
This chapter begins by presenting the core- and significant category which have emerged during the coding process. Furthermore, the five concepts will be presented namely: The Physical Church, Ambiances, Secular Holiness, Changing Christianity and Secular Guest. Each concept will be presented together with their abilities and notable quotations from the transcriptions. The original quotes in Swedish will be presented in endnotes. Lastly, the concepts are summarized to give a clear overview of the main themes in each concept.

4.1 Core and Significant Categories
During the coding process, the core category Occasionally for Me was identified which related to all concept. This core category related to the majority of the subjects’ experience of Maria Magdalena Church. The core category relates to the occasional individual use of churches such as for recreational, aesthetic pleasure, ceremonial or other special purposes. In addition, another significant category was also identified as Participation Without Belief which described the subjects’ as belonging to Christian traditions but without believing in the religion. This is due to many traces of Christian beliefs, norms and traditions was identified in each concept throughout the Transect Walk.

4.2 The Physical Church
The main theme in this concept lies in the aesthetic appeal of churches for the subjects’ as they made remarks regarding the physical structure of the church and the surrounding area. This was noted during the Transect Walk when different topics emerged in connection to which materialities were present. As evident from different scales, the church tower (transect point 2a) sparked thoughts about the aesthetic outlook of the church, see image 3. The subjects often connected this preference in regard to their own contexts.

… It is already here a powerful sight when you know that you will soon arrive at a big building… it is beautiful, nice to look at. It is often a place for calmness, I can think, it is like, but its still somewhat intimidating, I know that we have been and looked, passed by some buildings, been in someone’s company that is like, hey come on lets go inside an look around a little, but its somewhat intimidating with these big, its big and powerful and I do not really belong there [laughter]. Maria¹

Image 3. The church tower in a distance (Photo: Per Göransson)
Most notably it was the architecture of the church that was noted as aesthetically appealing which emerged when engaging at different scales. They briefly discussed Maria Magdalena church and then moved on to talk about other churches in general but also specific ones from memory. Half of the these noted specific materialities such as different parts of the building and the other half mentioned the architecture in general. This in turn was true for Maria Magdalena church but also other churches in Stockholm.

… I do not know if I think so much. It feel so big, it feels bigger from this side, yes big and powerful […] it feels like it is made to be seen from a distance, because here you have to turn your neck of [laughter] ye, its not at much embellished on the gate, otherwise it is pretty simple. Maria  

This appreciation of the architectural qualities was also present when standing in front of the church which mainly sparked sensations about the church as a pompous building, see image 4. The subjects’ talked about an overwhelming sensation which was increased due to the proximity (Transect point 5a). The subjects’ noted in half of the cases that the proximity increased the experience.

I feel like it is kind of welcoming, the open door feels like welcome in, its many Swedish churches that have been forced to have closed doors bigger part of the years, which I find little bit sad. But yes, I think it is kind of welcoming. Laura

Image 4. Main entry to church (Photo: Per Göransson)

The majority of the subjects’ described that it was the distinct architecture of a church that made it beautiful. This would then be elaborated in conjunction to personal preferences such as some who had a partiality towards Catholic or Protestant churches. With regards to this, Gunnar made a clarifying remark.

… some churches are very powerful when you see a really old building that is built with a special kind of architecture, it is like, really like pointy and almost symbolize like a medieval feeling of a big city, I think it can be very powerful. City silhouette. To look at
a big church-building at a distance. It is absolutely a beautiful part of a city I think. 

Gunnar 4

A few of the subjects’ disliked the aesthetics of Maria Magdalena church and talked about other churches they had visited in the past. This was noted both for the church tower and up close and was connected to the preference of older churches as Maria Magdalena were deemed too new for their taste.

I did not like that particular church-tower much, one of the most beautiful because it does not look historical instead more modern […] 1700 so its built in a relative modern era, then it is not like preserve something then it is just a symbol of the religion and then I think it could have been any type of tower really. Gunnar 5

Half of the subjects’ stated that older churches are more aesthetically appealing than newer churches. Many of these connected this opinion to medieval churches as more appealing than newer churches. However, some of the subjects’ discussed their dislike of newer churches in detail such as those from the modernistic period of the Million program.

That church over there [Maria Magdalena church] have a beautiful architecture, it stand and symbolizes something. But if we take a church at Vasastan […] placed between houses […] then it feels like it do not achieve its function for me as something noteworthy visually or what to say, something spectacular in the landscape, it just are there. I would have prefered it was housing than churches instead, it looks like a residential building… Johan 6

Although, in some cases, the subjects’ identified the church architecture as protestant in the case of Maria Magdalena which differs from other Catholic churches they have seen either on vacation or in Stockholm. The subjects who talked about Catholic churches stated that they have a more appealing architecture. This stemmed from their more adorned appearance.

Kind of reminds me of my old school [laughter]. Maybe not the most beautiful church but it is something so to speak, I am not a fan of Swedish churches really […] it is the design [laughter] so I do not feel anything when I see the church, it is nothing that brighten my day or something I feel a connection to. Lars 7

During the Transect Walk, more than half of the subjects’ stated that a church is a pleasant part of a city which were mention in regard to the rest of the city. The subjects’ discussed this in connection to other specific churches but also churches in general. This often triggered memories or opinions regarding topics not only related to religion.

I often think that it is a nice building it is fun to see that it is still standing, and not torn down, I want to go inside and look if I am visiting this town [Stockholm] see the silhouette […] it is Riddarholmskyrkan that has a nice roof and the Stockholm Cathedral makes me think of the monarchy unfortunately. I am not a royalist so it bothers me [laughter]. Rebecca 8

During the Transect Walk, when entering the church area, the majority of the subjects’ noted mainly the graveyard which was receiving mixed feelings (transect point 4a). Half of the subjects’ talked in general terms of graveyards but the other half stated it was bland and boring see image 5. Although, regardless of feelings a majority connected their discussion to personal context, memories of previous visits to both ceremonies and graveyards. As Rebecca describes when asked if she use to visit a grave:
It is because it is a more close feeling, I could think about the person that died in the sofa, but it is like a moment with that person, only mine. It is nothing between me beside a piece of grass, and there is all the memories underneath. No one that bothers me [...] but my parent will probably would not be resting here but at home, it is more peace and quiet on the countryside. Even though the church is not located like this [...] you want them to be where they belong and where they want to be buried. Rebecca

Image 5. Graveyard (Photo: Per Göransson)

Furthermore, the experience of the remembrance garden was mixed (transect point 3a). Around half of the subjects’ discussed it in general terms and did not mention if they like the function of the remembrance garden. The other half discussed the intended function of a remembrance garden in connection to its physical appearance, see image 6. This were clarified when Frida were asked about her opinions of the remembrance garden:

I think it do not look like a remembrance garden or like the, or its quite similar to the remembrance garden at Adolf Fredrik church, it is a distinct small square very obvious, you can sit there on the benches, and sit there, there is like a place to put flowers in, maybe there is one of those here aswell, but at the Northen Cementary, there is also a big square with flowerbeds, there is a lot of flower, I think they bury under that hill or something, but here it is more you do it there [points at the field]. Frida
The other half no not like the aesthetic features of the remembrance garden and talked about it in ways of being not likeable or lacking a distinct feature. Many compared remembrance gardens they had visited before to the one at Maria Magdalena’s. A notable result was that nearly half of the subjects could not identify or describe the function of a remembrance garden even though it was presented before them. As William discusses after hearing the intended function:

…to me it does not say much, I would not have know but I do get it, it would have been frowned upon, but I could have though oh this is just a field of grass and put out a blanket at have a picknic, then people would have been annoyed but I would not have known because I did not know what a remembrance garden was. William

The subjects’ often described memories of previous visits to both remembrance gardens and graveyards. This was most evident in relation to graveyards which the majority of the subjects’ had previous experiences of visiting. Graveyard and remembrance garden sparked many memories such as previous experiences of funerals, which is further elaborated in the concept 4.4. In connection to this, half of the subjects’ described it as a place to remember people that passed away.

I think its a very beautiful place, a very peaceful place. My grandfather that died last year lies in a remembrance garden. I think its only beautiful. Really, a nice place to visit. Absolutely. [I asked if Klara use to visit her grandfathers resting place, a remembrance garden] You mean the one my my grandfather lies in? Yes since he passed away, it lies quite close to that church, there I have been five or six times, I though it was super super beautiful there, really, I think its pretty cozy to go there. Klara

A majority of the subjects did not express much about the interior of the church, see image 7. However, about half of the subjects briefly mentioned the church’s interior as powerful and with an aesthetically appeal usually while entering the church (transect point 1b). Some also stated that they liked the symbols and physical features but had mixed feelings about the
economic cost of the building. Some described it as a safe place to be with a warm feeling connected to it.

... when we arrived I thought is was really warm, is it that warmth we talked about earlier in regards to churches, maybe it is is always warm when you enter here, so welcoming. [...] that is, so cool and powerful really, I think it reaches for the heaven, a symbolical metaphor, maybe it is that what you feel when standing here, so much space here. Theodor 13

Image 7. Overview of the interior from the altar (Photo: Per Göransson)

4.3 Ambiances

In this concept, the church and its surrounding area were described as a calm place by a majority of the subjects'. The concept is connected to the concept the 4.2 although prominent on its own because it invokes ambiances rather than preferences for certain kinds of materialities. The main finding was that more than half of the subjects expressed often emotionally, the sense of calmness.

I have never been here before, very pleasant as I said before it brings some kind of calmness [...] it is in some way the buildings aura, that you become calm in its presence. I think most feel the same thing. You do not go and wreak havoc outside a church, and respects the dead and so. It gives some kind of calmness. Nils 14

The church was noted as a stress-free place by some of the subjects’. This was a special quality of the church put in contrast to the stressed city. In conjunction, some of the subjects’ stated that the silence in the church also was calming and safe.

Yes its something that is common for all churches, it feels really safe, even though I do not have a relation to a higher being or god or jesus, its very calm, comfortable temperature, it is almost like a library, you talk in a lowkey, respect what is there [laughter] Lars 15
Some of the subjects had specific thoughts on the area around the church. The most notable feature were the Graveyards and Remembrance Garden which as well were noted as calm. Some noted the physical layout and the neighboring street as a non-churchlike feature, which some thought unworthy for the dead.

I think it is a little bit sad that this very beautiful place, that the graveyard is right by the road, but you cannot really do much about that. [...] I think I do not want to be buried right next to a road. [...] because it is such a high contrast to this calm and peaceful place with cars that speed by. Klara

It was not only silence that was noted, but also the associated music and acoustic of the building was noted by some of the subjects. Few of the subjects’ experienced a connection towards the church bells but mentioned music more often. This was strongly connected to their own personal context, such as liking Christmas music in the winter to memories connected to their own music interest.

…. It is really only when I was little and played in [a church in a suburb to Stockholm], it was one of the reason I were active in the church youth organization, but it was only because the more you were organized, the more you could play music, it was really the only reason [laughter] but it was nice people there as well and it was fun to be there as well. Lars

Half of the subjects’ described the church as a welcoming place for everyone. Of these, the subjects described that they just could enter and just be there. The absence of consumerism and social control in contrast to the rest of the city were discussed as something unique in a church as well by the subjects’. Furthermore, many compared the church to a library that had a similar experience.

For me I think it is a calm place where I can go, but it is a religious place, then it feels like I am taking advantage of the place because I want to find a calm place, I do not know, like a library […] it is a place where you can go, you do not have to consume anything, you can just go there, often very calm […] nobody comes and say why are you sitting here you have to buy a coffee… Sara

During the Transect Walk, it was noted that the church and its area was perceived as something else compared to the rest of the city. The subjects’ stated that the combination of calmness and physical layout made the church and surrounding area something special. Furthermore, half of the subjects could not find a type of building or place that was similar to a church or its surrounding area. Some compared it to a library or nature with its related calmness and non-consumerism.

… when I enter a church I become very calm, it is so boring so it is calm, nobody screams, no stress inside, and when I am in nature I feel it the same way, for example when I am on Gotland, there is a lot of place where there are very empty of people and you can be by yourself, its stress-free. There I can feel the same type of calmness […] but not in another type of building… Klara

The other half described that they did not feel that they could access a church for various reasons. Some felt like they would be taking up space from the real Christians, which will be elaborated more in the concept 4.4.

…they [churches] are very calm and beautiful places, but in the same time, I do not know if I can be there, it is a little bit weird, but I never got if if I could enter a religious building, or if it is not respectfull […] I like to enter churches, they are very calm you
can sit there and think a little […] that I am taking someone’s place, that I take the christians place but it is a bit weird, to think that way Sara 20

Some described that they prefer rural churches that are smaller, cozier and with less people. They described the location and the architecture of the church vividly, stating that they were very fond of these buildings. Some also described that they would prefer different ceremonies to take place there, for example their own wedding. This combination made up the sensation of a special place that made an impression in their memory as Maria vividly describe:

…there is one [church] in the mountains […] in the mountains of Kvikkjokk, it is like a last outpost […] there is a small church there in a Norwegian style, pretty small, and in wood, low ceiling, very beautiful […] sometimes when I visit there with friends, I show them this church […] its open and small, not much people, its that combination which is pretty harmless that I like. Maria 21

4.4 Secular Holiness
In this concept, the majority of the subjects’ described that they respected individuals with a religious belief. The subjects’ stated that it was important to not ridicule or offend the believers that cared for the site. Within this concept emerged the subjects’ notion of that the believers would be offended by their presence as non-Christian. This were evident throughout the Transect Walk but in different circumstances for each subject.

…just because I do not believe in those thing does not mean that you have to go around [church area] and make a fool out of them. You should show respect for people […] people can believe what they want to marry who they want and all that. Who am I to judge them […] furthermore the church is in some way their house, you do not go home to people and harass them. William 22

It was also evident that they were aware of their own position as non-Christians when they were inside of their own place and context. This theme emerged as the majority of subjects’ described Christians as something in contrast with themselves as non-Christians. These descriptions were often in connection to respecting believers.

…it is something holy even in my mind, even though you are not a Christian, because when I am in a church, I do not swear, have something on my head, but I thinks it is a part to respect the church’s area […] I slaughter the Swedish language, but while I am in a church, I do not want to do that, it is then important to talk clean. Theodor 23

Some described that they would not care if a person was religious or not. Some described that they would treat it as background information or as private information which did not concern them. A few did notice that religion is sensitive topic to bring up in certain situations which in turn could influence how they viewed Christian spaces.

…religion is something more if someone is religious, otherwise I do not think about it much, it would be if someone say they are Christian or Muslim or Hindu. It is like saying you are from [a suburb to Stockholm] it is just a background information […] you could be more sensitive how to talk about certain topics due to its sensitivity… Theodor 24

One notable result was that the subjects’ described that they had respect religious individuals’ beliefs and used words such as respect. They then elaborated on the use of this word by highlighting the importance of not offending the believers. In the church area this respect for believers would lead them to regulate their behavior in order to respect both the believers
but also the physical site. Most notably they would respect the graveyard and the remembrance garden, a measure aimed for the buried individuals and their relatives.

… you should have understanding in order to show other respect for those who are present, to have that understanding that you could have when it is a remembrance garden instead of a playground or something else. **Laura** 25

The subjects would also regulate their behavior inside the church by restricting their actions, usually at transect point 2b, see image 8. The most notable way the majority restricted their behavior was that they talked with a regular volume outside the church but inside they lowered their voices. A few talked with a regular voice level inside the church but this was the case if the church was either empty of visitors or the people present talked with a loud voice. More specifically a few described this in act of respect during the Transect Walk.

…there is few buildings that you enter and get this overwhelmed. That you just look around yourself. Keep a lowkey voice. But there are probably other places that could fulfil the same purpose [I ask Nils to clarify what he means about the voice level] I do not know, it is just natural maybe out of respect maybe [...] you get calm and drop the volume a bit. **Nils** 26

**Image 8. Overview of the interior directly inside the church (Photo: Per Göransson)**

However, it was not only restrictions that regulated the subjects’ behavior but also traditions promoted certain actions. These consisted mainly of the subjects’ visits to the graves and remembrance gardens for lost friends and relatives. Some stated that they continuously do the same action when visiting a church, such as bringing flowers to a certain grave or as Laura describes:

…I always try to find the candles, we have had it as a fun little thing in our family, that we, or fun or fun, but light a candle and make a wish, not to light a candle and direct your thoughts towards someone who passed away, instead make a little wish, it started when we where children I think [...] so I try to locate these candles [...] it feel like you
could light candles anywhere but it feels more focus or what to say, to direct your thoughts specifically… **Laura** 27

Some of the subjects also described the actions they would not do inside a church. A few stated that they would take off their hats when entering a church which every individual that wore a hat did. They also stated that they would not perform such actions as checking their mobile phone inside a church as a sign of respect.

…I would never go inside here and look at my phone, I do that on the subway or anywhere else, it is the same thing if I would be by the sea on Gotland, then I would not look at Instagram […] it is just obvious not to do it, because if you have something to think about, then you become calm, and then I do not need my phone […] maybe as a respect for the place as well […] it could also be that the phone is a moment of stress in itself. **Klara** 28

Some individuals also used words such as holy, sacredness and reverence in their speech towards both the graveyard and the reverence garden. When prompted to elaborate, they discussed that they did not consider the church or its area as holy, instead it was holy for the believers. This would then also be a part in respecting the site and in turn the believer.

…it feels holy or what to say, like you should not go around and scream […] for me I think it means that you should respect other, when other see something as holy you should respect that. For nothing is holy for me because I am not a believer, but it is a word that demand respect […] but more like its something, something that is holy for other people. **Sara** 29

### 4.5 Changing Christianity

In this concept two main themes emerges, the first is that the subjects’ described the historical context of Christianity and the decline of religion in Sweden. The first theme described the historical importance in the development of society, morals and ideas in the Swedish society. Furthermore, half of the subjects also described that the history of Sweden and Christianity have provided value in the form of cultural heritage. This was stated in many forms and in relation to different materialities and topics. Although, one main find was that the church building was one of the main assets that connected the present to the past.

…I see it as a very nice feature in a city and a reminder to history, who we were, who we have become, which is very good to reflect upon. Because if you raze buildings you will forget fast as well, you need reminders and that is building quite good at doing […] churches is important because their importance to people, therefor I think its very important that they are conserved and taken care of… **Rebecca** 30

A majority of the subjects’ described that the Church of Sweden had an important function in the Swedish society with its social work. The social work was described as one of the main functions of the Church of Sweden today. Furthermore, it was stated by the subjects’ that it functioned as a social platform for people with trouble fitting in or older individuals. In one instance, an elderly man approaches us inside the church and greeted us, when Theodor immediately stated its social function.

…but now I come to think of it like a community service as well, its my social worker mind that starts, it is so easy just to come here, it do not cost anything, anyone can come, included […] I think it is very important to have a function like this in society, because I mean the Social Service is, I do not know what to say, bureaucracy is a clutter of favors here and favors there […] it is there to be accepted and guilt free. **Theodor** 31
Although, despite this important social function, the majority of subjects described the Swedish Church as having played out its relevant function in society. The function they had were described as being replaced by something else in the contemporary secular society of Sweden.

…I think it is just some kind of empty shell that do not fill any function really. It do not fill the function to be meaning-seeking for people, there is no, it is very unclear if even the priests believe in god, and if they do not have this connection to society that I think religion should have, they have been disconnected from what I think religion should satisfy, with this meaning of life or what to say, find your place or what to say… Johan 32

Half of the subjects’ stated that the church as a building was somewhat redundant and had lost its practical use. They often stated that it was redundant but with other qualities such as a beautiful feature of a city, as a space for the believers or as Johan continues with a connection to history.

…I do not think it [the Church of Sweden] fill a big practical function, but historically I think it fills a function that connect us in some way to our, our cultural heritage I think, but in a practical sense I do not think it means much, it do not mean so much in a practical way for me and I do not think it means much practically for most of the people in Sweden, but this is just an assumption. Johan 33

The second major theme in this concept was the declining relevance of religion in Sweden which was noted among the majority of the subjects’. The description differed between subjects’, but mainly it consisted of the decrease of religiosity among younger people and the decreasing importance of religion in Swedish society. However, they viewed the church as an important place for Christians and that it was a space mainly for them. This is revealed as Sara reflects over her Christian friends’ connection to the church.

…maybe it could function as a safe place that they can go to, I think that Sweden is quite secular, and it is nice to have such a place to feel safe in your religion […] religion is not so present in society as in other countries, but anyway in Stockholm I think, it would seem as a little bit weird to be religious, really religious […] especially it would seem really weird to be young and religious, it is more a place for community and to meet other Christians. Sara 34

Some subjects revealed that they felt a discomfort when the ceremonies contained too much religious aspects. These mentions included personal memories of past events that were vividly described. One of these memories were when Frida organized the burial for her mother and the dialogue with the priest.

…it did not matter that it was in a church, we picked hymns more about nature and those things, than god […] it was a bit interesting because the priest said these are the most common ones and I do not remember which one it was, but it is the one they play at almost every one, and she got very surprised over me and my sisters choice, and she said, this was a bit different music, we said it is not the music that matters it’s the text [laughter] Frida 35

4.6 Secular Guest
Throughout this concept, the subjects’ described both the church and its neighboring area as a place for occasional visits. This stemmed from the temporary nature of their visits to these places and is therefore connected to the core category Occasionally for Me, which in turn
highlights the occasional use of these places. The majority of the subjects also stated that different forms of ceremonies are important or suitable in a church. However, which Christian ceremonies that was important differed from the subjects’ as there was a mixed result. However, the majority of the subjects’ stated that marriage and funerals was the most important ceremonies to be held in a church. This was mostly connected to experiences in the past but also anticipations of upcoming ceremonies.

...yes, it is the funeral of my grandfather, it was my first, like my first time someone close died, because everyone else is alive, so that definitely stands out. The thing I remember the most, and then when my best friend got married, but that the thing which is fantastic with churches, it contains very much love and very much happiness but then also very much grief... Klara 36

Most subjects discussed that the preference and importance of placing certain ceremonies in a church stems from traditions and related little to their religious beliefs. Some discussed that they were indifferent to the actual site but as the church is traditionally the place for many life-events they would be held there. They viewed the ceremony as something beautiful and focused mainly on weddings and funerals. The importance of ceremonies were elaborated by William:

...because, kinda, memory, Instagram-opportunities, no but you gather with friends and family, it can be important without it it can be a beautiful and important thing without some higher power intertwined I think, so it do not have to, baptism and baptism, wedding could be something nice even though you don believe in the original meaning you could say it like that. William 37

Another common memory was the memories of ceremonies held in a church at the end of school. Nearly half of the subjects had fond memories of these events but the rest were indifferent to these experiences. They mostly connected these ceremonies to the end of school together with summer and not as a religious experience, despite that the event was location in a church.

...when you were smaller you got good, you always had an end of school ceremony, in the church, and then you have always associated church as something positive, because you associate it to the summer break, and that a very positive. I can still do it when I enter and get flashback to that [...] that is where the happiness came from, not that it was a church it could have been any place. Niils 38

Furthermore, the subjects’ described that visiting graves and remembrance gardens was important for them and as they imagine, for other people. Most of the subjects’ stated that they did visit the graves or remembrance gardens a couple of times after the burial or ceremony. However, these visits were then stated to decline in frequency sometime after the ceremony. These moments were in order to remember friends and family that passed away and a way to focus their thoughts. This was clarified when Klara pondered upon if she would want a funeral for herself.

I want that. Because it very very important that the people left behind mourn you and lives on after, it is a place to visit, honor your memory and to miss you, to talk to you, and so. I think it have been very nice to go to the remembrance garden for my grandfather for example, and light a candle for him, it would have felt like there was nowhere to go else. Klara 39
Half of the subjects’ stated that the visits were temporary due to the feeling that the church not being a place for them. A few stated that they did not have any reason to go church since they did not have friends or relatives buried. They viewed the church as a place for Christians and not for them as non-Christians.

I have nothing there to do. [I asked Frida if it originated out of respect] yes, and a general lack of interest if I would go to a church it is because I am curious about it. It would have been one that I have been scouting for something special, if it would have been in a travel guide this is interesting, I would never go church-exploring in Stockholm, then maybe more if I am in Uppsala, then I probably go to Uppsala Cathedral, it is a point of interest. Frida 40

4.7 Summary of Results

The main theme of the concept the Physical Church was the connection to physical materialities that the subjects’ felt in the way of aesthetic appeal. The majority of the subjects’ expressed an individual fondness of the architecture of churches in general. They described the church as mighty and pompous, which invoked an overwhelming sensation. Churches in general was also noted as being a pleasant part of a city. Half of the subjects’ stated that older churches were more appealing than newer. In the area around the church the main focus was on the graveyard which invoked many memories from past experiences. The remembrance garden was also noted but some did not know its function. Both the remembrance garden and the graveyard were noted as being important features of both a society and the church area but in the case of Maria Magdalena church it was found as not aesthetically pleasing and instead, rather boring. Half of the subjects’ stated that the interior made a powerful impression on them. Some also described that they had a preference to rural churches that are mostly smaller, cozier and less people.

The main theme of the concept Ambiances, was that the church area invoked an experience of calmness for the subjects’. The calm sensation of the church was seen in contrast to the rest of the city that was described as containing stress. Half of the subjects’ described the graveyards and remembrance gardens as the calm part of the church area. More than half of the subjects’ noted ambiances and feelings rather than focusing on specific materialities inside the church. Some compared the church to a library in the sense it was free of consumerism and you could just “be there”.

The main theme of the concept Secular Holiness, consist of the subjects’ usage of the term respect. When elaborated on this term is used to describe their attitudes and changes in action towards the church and its area. Although, it is mainly focusing on respect towards believers and an effort to not offend these. Some used words as holy or reverence in conjunction to the use of the word respect. The subjects’ spoke of Christians as something else than themselves and often with the distinction of their place and not my place. Half of the subjects also stated that they had a respect for the area outside the church due to the graveyard and remembrance gardens. This sense of respect for the believers and the physical site prompts the subjects’ into changing their behavior voluntarily in their actions. This led to a majority changed their behavior by lowering their voices inside the church during the Transect Walk. Other changes in behavior where they would voluntarily restrict the actions they would take on the church area or inside.

The main theme of the concept Changing Christianity, regards that the subjects’ discussed that they perceived a secularization of Swedish society evident in different forms. The most
notable was in the decreasing number of believers and attendants of church events. Although, they identified Christianity’s presence in society both in a historical and in a contemporary sense. Half of the subjects’ described how Christianity shaped the Swedish society and still today provides value in the form of cultural heritage. Although, half of the subjects’ stated that the Swedish Church had a function in society as a social platform for the less fortunate. This half also stated that the other function was that of being a place for the believers. The other half of the subjects’ stated that it did not have any function although a majority of all subjects’ also stated the social function it had was good.

The main theme of the concept Secular Guest, is that the subjects’ use both the church and its surrounding area for occasional visits. These visits are for the majority by participating in different kinds of ceremonies, mainly funerals and weddings. These are important both for themselves and as a social gathering with friends and relatives. Furthermore, visiting graves or remembrance gardens to remember lost loved ones was also an important motivation for the majority of the subjects’. These visits were often described as more numerous and important after a funeral and in time the visits decline. Half of the subjects’ recalled fond memories from the celebration of end of school with some however, described it as a non-vital memory.
5 Discussion

The aim of this thesis is to investigate what affects individuals that identifies as non-religious, place attachment towards religious spaces. In order to do this, the chapter will discuss the concepts from the results in light of the frameworks dimensions, together with theoretical assumptions and previous research.

In order to reveal this attachment, the concepts in chapter 4 will be viewed in light of the framework by Scannell and Gifford (2010). This is done to investigate what affects non-religious young individuals’ place attachment towards a sacred place. As evident in the Place dimension, the majority of the subjects’ stated that they had an individual preference for the architecture of churches in the concept 4.2. The subjects briefly mentioned the architecture of Maria Magdalena church as they interacted with the materialities in the area in different scales. Then they moved on to describe other churches in both a more specific but also a more general term. These narratives were often connected to their personal context through mentions of memories of places and past ceremonies. This reveals a low attachment to Maria Magdalena church due to its low specificity in the Place dimension. Instead, the church was seen as a venue for ceremonies which in turn symbolizes a potential of participation, which a majority desired. Which ceremony that was more or less important for each subject varied, but the most central were the wedding and funerals as revealed in the concept 4.4. Narratives were especially vivid in connection to the graveyard and remembrance garden regarding funerals. Furthermore, these ceremonies and their spatial connection to the church were viewed as something special and in turn the subjects’ desired to visit the church and its surrounding area in a temporary sense, limiting their length of interaction. Furthermore, these ceremonies had a strong emotional bond for the majority of the subjects’ which indicated a strong attachment to the Process dimension. The bond regards both friends and family’s weddings and funerals which affected them emotionally, which increased the place attachment towards the church in the case of an ongoing ceremony.

As the subjects’ engaged in the different physical features in the Transect Walk, many rich emotions and memories emerged. This was enabled by the Transect Walk that was suitable at triggering spontaneous experiences and emotions in connection to the materialities present. This was also enriched by the different scale levels which provided a richer image of their experiences. In particular, the subjects had respect towards the physical place but also the believers, which emerged in connection to different materialities. This was a major theme in the concept 4.4 and when examined through the Place dimension, both the social and physical aspects overlap. Explained by the fact that the subjects identify themselves as non-Christian which in their view is in contrast to Christians. Therefore, they feel urged to alter their actions in these Christian spaces out of respect (Finlayson 2012). This notion of respect also overlaps in the Person dimension when both the personal preference to be respectful overlaps with the respect towards both the physical place and Christians as a group. The way they expressed this respect differed but most of the subjects’ lowered their voice inside the church such as in the case of Nils in section 4.4. Although, this could have been influenced by my presence as a researcher together with the serious context of the interview. Furthermore, in the church area they would also avoid performing certain activities such as use their phones as Laura describes in the concept 4.4. This was evident when viewed through the Process dimension, where the behavior aspect reveals a weaker attachment due to their voluntarily changes in behavior inside these places. As a concluding remark is that the subjects’ distance themselves from the church and the surrounding area, if they are not
participating in a ceremony on their own or with friends and family. However, they also reveal a connection to these places in order to enjoy the sights, architecture and calmness.

As the subjects’ described the church as a calm and beautiful place and as a venue for ceremonies there is a connection to historical cultural practice in Sweden for these events. As evident in the concept 4.5, the subjects’ perceived a changing role of Christianity in Swedish society. In light of the Process dimension, one notable aspect was the strong cognition aspect where the subjects’ discussed the interplay behind other believers, symbolic meaning and their previous knowledge. They saw themselves as non-Christians in a society where religion took less of an active role. Instead, the church was identified as having a social function as a gathering point although they did question the church’s overall function. This was largely affected that the subjects’ recognized the church as a place for believers and its historical value.

In their narratives the subjects’ do not only connect to history but throughout the concepts they describe memories connected to churches. This was evident during the transect walk as the materialities functioned more as a trigger for personal memories rather than focusing on the specificity of Maria Magdalena church. These memories were often connected to ceremonies mainly weddings and funerals which were often seen as something beautiful such in the concept 4.6. As place attachment can be stronger towards places that triggers personal memories, these venues that symbolize the potential for ceremonies is important for place attachment (Scannell and Gifford (2010: 2). In turn, this highlights the importance of the effect memories have for the subjects’ regarding place attachment to churches.

The majority of the subjects’ discussed that they often had a special goal in mind when visiting church or its surrounding area. The subjects’ described that they aimed to enjoy the architecture, the peace and quiet or as a venue for ceremonies. This could be purely recreational visits and as a place for personal reflection due to the church unique setting. The action of utilize these settings supported the individuals goal to have a unique experience or to participate in a ceremony that would not be possible without the access to a church or its surrounding area (Scannell and Gifford 2010: 5). It is also in line with vicarious religion as they use it to obtain a certain goal (Davie 2002). As Manzo’s (2005: 2) description of “experience in place” there is an array of emotions and experiences in combination, which highlights that combinations are important rather than a single explanation, in forming attachment to place.

Throughout the concepts the subjects’ revealed an interesting connection to the history of religion in Sweden. The most vivid result is that there is a common theme of participation in Christian ceremonies without believing in the religion itself, as in the concept 4.4. In contrast to Christians, as seen in previous research where the church is seen as something unique (Yi Fu Tuan 1978, Finlayson 2012). For instance, considering the Person dimension, a religious attachment to place is not evident due to their lack of personal spiritual experience (Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2004: 389-390). Instead, the subjects seem to attach to churches in a different way that have more emphasize on ceremonies, specific materialities of place and the temporal aspect. Furthermore, this also reveals that the substantive definition of religion is suitable in this study, due to the subjects’ lack of belief in something supernatural but still seek participation. In turn, this reveals that the subjects are interconnected to the past that shapes their present. This is due to the historical influences of Christianity in Sweden even though they grew up in the increasingly secular society of Sweden after 1970s.
(Hagevi 2017). On a related note, ceremonies are temporal and actively constructed by its users, these non-religious subjects create their own interpretation set in their context. Together with the significant category Participation Without Belief which was present in all concepts, the subjects’ narratives are in line with previous research of cultural Christianity in Sweden.

There is no notable difference between the subjects’ connected to their attributes as they display a scattered result in many topics. Instead the most striking result is that the narratives of the subjects tend to converge on certain topics, such as and the preference of churches architecture and the importance of ceremonies. In turn, when these previous discussions are combined, there is an interesting mosaic of combinations that forms a specific attachment towards churches and their surrounding areas. As revealed from the Transect Walk the subjects’ stated that they like the aesthetic appeal of churches in a city. These places invoke a calm sensation which together with other qualities of the church makes it a distinct and unique area in a city. Although, the subjects’ respect both the church and its surrounding area, they view it as an area for believers and not non-Christians. In these spaces, they view the participation in carious ceremonies and traditions as important as well as visiting graves and remembrance gardens in order to remember friends and family. Furthermore, they discuss their perceived secularization of Sweden which has led both churches as buildings and Church of Sweden lose its main function. At the same time, the church is seen as having an important social function and as a meeting place. These experiences also connect to the subjects’ context by invoking memories of important events that is both cherished but also avoided.
6 Conclusion

This study has revealed what affects non-religious young individuals’ place attachment towards a sacred place, by applying the framework of Scannell and Gifford (2010) together with theoretical assumptions and previous research on the subjects’ narratives. In order to elaborate on this, the subjects’ experiences from the Transect Walk needs to be considered altogether. As the subjects engage with the materialities of Maria Magdalena church, the church was revealed to function more as a trigger of vivid memories and experiences towards churches in general. These were evident throughout the subjects’ narratives which highlights memories as important in place attachment towards the church. Furthermore, memories were a commonly occurring throughout the narratives of the subjects’ and mainly consisted of connections to ceremonies and past experiences. These memories connected the church as a venue for potential ceremonies which the subjects’ described as an important goal to achieve. Although, the subjects’ wanted to belong to these ceremonies without having to engage with the religious features, which is in line with previous research of cultural Christianity of Sweden.

During the Transect Walk, interconnecting trajectories of history, physical structure, memories and the subjective experience emerged in the subjects’ narratives and formed a collection of processes. This revealed that a church and its surrounding area was seen as something unique and distinct in a city. In turn, this emphasized this collection of processes instead on the church as one unique materiality. Together with their lack of religious place attachment which contrasted with believers’ connection, also affected the subjects’ place attachment towards churches. All taken together, this forms a mosaic of combinations that affected non-religious young individuals place attachment towards a sacred place. In turn, the mosaic of combinations reveals a specific form of attachment that saw churches as an instrumental venue that helps to obtain the goal of participating in ceremonies. This place attachment was also temporary due to the subjects’ occasional visits to churches as non-Christians’.

In this study there are mainly two limitations and one stems from my own positionality that can have affected the study by directing the conversation in certain ways. The second is that there is also a majority of subjects’ that have higher education that could skew the data in certain directions. However, these limitations are deemed minor and in total, this study has contributed in the understanding of what affects place attachment to sacred space by individuals that identifies as non-religious in a Swedish context.

A minor but notable theme that emerged during the study was that some of the subjects’ narratives vividly described their preference towards rural churches such as Marias description of the church in Kvikkjokk in concept 4.3 (Ambiances). In light of the redundant churches debate stated in the introduction, it could be fruitful to focus on specific types of churches in further research. This together with that Sweden is an interesting contemporary case with its changing religious composition, a narrow rural focus on a specific form of Churches could reveal interesting results. Furthermore with the importance of memories in place attachment, an emotional geographies perspective could be fruitful to discern emotional connections to these rural churches.
1. … det är ju redan här rätt maffigt man vet att man ska närma sig sen, en stor byggnad… den är väl fin, den är fin att se på. alltså det är ofta en plats för vädligt lugn, kan jag tänka, det är, så att. men det är fortfarande lite intimidating, jag vet att vi har varit och tittat och gått förbi nån byggnad och sårarb, varit, nån i sällskap som är sårarb men kom igen vi går in lite, men det är lite intimidating med de här stora, det är stort och pampigt, och jag bör inte riktigt hemma där hahaha. Maria

2. …vet inte om jag tänker så mycket. det känns som så stort, det känns större från det här hållet, ja stort och maffigt […] den känns ju som att den är gjort att beskådas från fält, för hår får man vrida nacken av sig hahaha, ja, den är inte lika mycket utsmyckad på porten och så, annars är den ganska enkel, Maria

3. jag känner att det är sårarb ganska välkommande, den öppna därren känns ju också som välkommen in, det är väldigt många svenska kyrkor som har blivit tvungen ha, tvungen att ha stängda dörrar större delen av året, vilket jag tycker är lite tråkigt. men ja, ganska välkommande tycker jag nog, Laura


5. …ja just det där kyrktornet tycker jag inte var vidare, en av de vackraste för man ser inte så historiskt ut utan den ser ganska modernt ut, […] 1700 så den är byggt i ganska modern tid ändå, och då blir det inte ens att man bevarar nänting utan då är det bara en symbol för själva religionen och då tycker jag att den, ah, det skulle kunna vara vilket torn som helst egentligen. Gunnar

6. mej men den där kyrkan där främme [Maria Magdalena church] är ju, har ju en fin arkitektur den står ut den symboliserar någonting, men om vi tar det finns en kyrka på eh. vid. Vasastan […] den är inspirerat i ett bostadshus […] och där känner jag lite grand att den fyller inte sin funktion som nått slags för mig då. som nått slags visuellt sevärd eller vad man ska säga. någonting spektakulärt i landskapet utan det är en eh. den bara är där och det hade det hade jag hellre sett att att det var bostäder än kyrkor mitt i som ser ut som ett bostadshus liksom… Johan

7. påminner mig om min gamla skola ungefär hahaha. kanske inte den vackraste kyrkan men den är ju, det är ju nänting, så att säga. jag är väl ingen större fan av svenska kyrkor egentligen, […] designen, hahaha. ehm, så jag känner egentligen ingenning när jag ser kyrkan, det är ingenning som jag känner förövar min vardag eller att det är känner nånting koppling till det eller så. Lars

8. jag tänker ofta att den är fin, vilken fin byggnad vad kul att den fär stå kvar. att den inte rävs, jag vill gå in och titta kanske typ om jag är på besök i den här staden [Stockholm] så brukar jag verkligens när man ser siluetten […] det var väl Riddarholmskyrkan har ett snygt takt, och så storkyrkan så tänker jag på kungligheterna tvärväg, […] fast jag inte är rojalist vilket stör mig hahaha. Rebecca

9. det är ju för och det ska bli mer nära, jag kan sitta hemma i soffan och tänka på personen som har dött. men. det blir ju som min stund med den personen, bara min. det finns inget mellan liksom förutom en liten grässlätt. men där finns alla minnen på något sätt. under och det är ingen som stör. till och med om det var här så. […] men mina föräldrar kommer förmodligen inte heller ligga här. hahaha. utan hemmavid. liksom. det är mer rojallist på landet. även om inte kyrkan inte ligger precis såhär. […] man vill ju att dom ska vara där de hör hemma och där de vill ligga. Rebecca

10. den ser inte ut som en minneslund tycker jag eller inte som den. eh. mej. den här är ganska kal. eh. minneslunden vid eh. adolf fredrik är eh. den är en liten fyrkant det är ganska tydligt det finns 16:21 man kan sitta i. bänkar så man kan sitta där. eh. och. liksom plats för att lägga blommor. det kanske finns här också. men vid norra kyrkgårdarna ja där lite grund. men vid norra kyrkgårdarna är det liksom minneslunden en en stor fyrkant. med rabatter. och det är jätemånga blommor. så. ja. det är liksom hela blommor. jag tror att dom liksom begravde under i jorden där eller något sånt. medan här är det säkert mera såhär. ja. man gör det där i [on the field] Frida

11. …det faktiskt säger mig inte så mycket, det hade jag inte vetat jag förstör ju att, hade dom gjort det så hade det varit väldigt frövned upon, men jag hade typ kunnat ba tänka att det här är bara en gräsmatta och ha en lägga ut en filt och ha en picnic då hade nog folk blivit sura men jag hade inte vetat om det för jag visste inte ens vad en minneslund var. William

...men när vi kom in så tänkte jag på att det är så himla varmt. är det kanske den värme som, jag pratade om värme tidigare när vi pratade om kyrkor, är det kanske det att det alltid är varmt när man kommer in här, alltid välkommande. mm ja, ja dit går tankarna. [...] amen det är det som är, så coolt och mäktigt alltså. jag tänkte att det sträcker sig till himlen, en symbolisk liknelse men, det är väl kanske lite så det känns när man står i. finns mycket plats. utrymme. **Theodor**

14. jag har faktiskt aldrig varit här. eh. jätterevligt som jag sa förut det inbringar nått slags lugn. [...] byggnadens aura på något sätt. att man. blir. lugn i närheten av det. och tror att de flesta känner samma sak. du går inte och härjar utanför en kyrka. och respekt för de döda och sådär. att det ger näm slags lugn. **Nils**

15. ja någotning som jag tycker är gemensamt med alla kyrkor är att de är, det känns jälkligt tryggt, även fast jag inte känner nån relation till, högre väsen eller gud eller jesus, att det är väldigt lugnt, behagligt temperatur, det är lite som ett bibliotek, man pratar kanska tyst, respekterar, det som finns hehe. **Lars**

16. ...jag kan väl tycka att det är lite trist att säsär våldigt vackra platsen, att kyrkogården ligger så himla nära bilvägen, men det kan man väl inte göra så mycket åt det [...] jag tror inte att jag vill ligga begravd precis intill en bilväg, det är för vad jag tänker på [...]därför att det är en sån himla stor kontrast, en sähär lugn och fridfulla platsen, och massvis med bilar som dundrar förbi. **Klara**

17. ...det var egentligen bara när jag var liten och spelade i [a church in a suburb to Stockholm], det var en av anledningarna att jag engagerade ganska mycket i ungdorns vad säger man, föreningen, men det var enbart för ju mer engagerad man var ju mer fick man ju lira alltså, det var väl egentligen den enda anledningen haha. det var ju snälla människor där också, och att det var kul att vara där med. **Lars**

18. ...det jag tänker att för mig är det en plats liten jag då, det är en religiös plats så då känns det såhär, som att jag typ utnyttjar det för att jag själv vill hitta nått lugnt ställe vill hitta nån lugn ställe. jag vet inte. typ, bibliotek [...] det är en plats dit man kan gå, man behöver inte konsumerare nätning, man kan bara gå dit, det är ofta våldigt lugnt [...] ingen kommer dit och säger varför sitter du här du måste köpa en kaffe typ. **Sara**

19. ...när jag går in i en kyrka så blir jag en kyrka så, är det så trist det är så lugnt, ingen skriker, ja, det är ingen stress här inne, och på samma sätt känner jag om jag är ute i naturen, som exempelvis som på gotland, där finns det en massa platser där det är våldigt tomt på folk och man kan få vara själv, där det är såhär stressfritt. där kan jag känna samma typ av lugn [...] men inte i nån annan byggnad. **Klara**

20. ...dom är våldigt lugna och fina platser, men samtidigt så vet jag inte riktigt om jag får va där, det är lite konstigt men sähär att jag har aldrig förstått såhär får jag bara gå in i en religiös byggnad, eller, är det orespektfullt, [...] jag kan gilla att gå in i kyrkor, för dom är våldigt lugna, man kan sitta där och tänka lite [...] att jag tar plats från nån, att jag tar de kristnas plats, men det är lite konstigt, det är kanske lite skumt att tänka så, **Sara**

21. ...det finns en uppe i fjällen [...] i Kvikkjokksfjällen så är det som en sista utpost [...] men det finns en liten kyrka där, men den har lite norsk stil, den är ganska liten, och den har såhär lite trä, lägt tak, och den är ju våldigt våldigt fin [...] det händer att jag åker dit och om jag har över kompisar så åker vi dit och tittar på den [...] den är öppen, men den är ganska liten men ganska öppen, och ganska folkomt, och det är väl en kombination av det. att det känns ganska farligt. så den tycker jag om. **Maria**

22. ...bara för att man inte själv tror på sånt där betyder det inte att man måste gå runt och göra nått eller liksom. man ska ju ändå visa respekt för folk. [...] folk får väl tro på vad dom vill göra vad dom vill gifta sig med vilka dom vill och. allt sånt där. vem är jag att döma dom [...] då dessutom det här är kyrkan blir ju på något sätt deras hus. man går inte hem till nån och trackar dom så. **William**

23. ...det är något heligt liksom över det även i mitt huvud. även om man inte är kristen. för att jag tänker att när jag är i en kyrka så svär jag inte, jag har inte på någotning på huvudet, men jag tänker liksom att det är en del av att man och så respekterar man kyrkans områden, [...] jag slaktar det svenska språket. men när jag är i en kyrka så vill jag inte göra det med språket, då är det viktigt att jag talar rent om man kan säga så. **Theodor**

24. ...det är religion är väl kanske mera om någon är religiös, annars tänker jag inte så mycket på det. det skulle väl vara, eh. amen ifall nån säger att de är kristen eller muslím eller hindu. det är som att säga att man är. ja jag kommer ifrå [a suburb to Stockholm], det är bara en bakgrundsaktor. [...] man kan kanske lite mer varsam med hur man pratar om vissa saker och ting eftersom det kan vara känsligt... **Theodor**

25. ...bara att man ska ha förstående att man ska kunna visa att andra ska kunna visa respekt för dom som är närvarande, att ha den förforståelsen som man kanske kan få när det är en minneslund snarare än en lekplats eller liknande. **Laura**

26. ...för det är få byggnader man går in i och blir såhär överväldigad, att man bara tittar sig omkring och. håller en låg prat-ton. sen finns det nog andra ställen som kan uppfylla samma syfte [I ask Nils to clarify
what he means about the voice level] jag vet inte, det bara kommer naturligt. jag vet inte det är väl av respekt kanske. […] jag vet inte varför men man blir lugn och. drar ner tonen. Nils
27. …brukar alltid försöka leta upp dom här ljuden, mest för att vi har haft det som en liten rolig grej inom familjen att vi, eller rolig eller rolig men såhär tänkt ett ljus och göra en önskan, inte så mycket att man tända ett ljus och rikta sina tankar mot nån som har gått bort snarare gör en liten önskan, jag tror det började när vi var små, […] ja, det känns ju man kan ju tända ljus lite var stans men det känns lite mer fokuserat eller vad man nu kan säga, man riktar sina tankar specifikt. […] Laura
28. …jag skulle aldrig gå in här och sitta och titta på min telefon. men det gör jag när jag sitter på tunnelbanan eller var som helst, samma sak om jag var ute alltså var vid havet vid Gotland, då skulle jag inte heller sitta och hålla på och kolla instagram, […] det känns bara självklart att inte göra det, för man har, man får någonting annat att tänka på man blir så lugn så att man inte behöver ha min telefon […] kanske en respekt för platsen också, […] och, det är väl för telefonen i sig är ett stressmoment. Klara
29. …alltså det känns lite säsär heligt eller vad man ska säga, men inte sähr man ska inte gå runt och skrika typ. och såhör vänsnas. […] jag tror att det för mig betyder att man ska respektera andras, när andra har något heligt så ska man respektera det. för ingenting är heligt för mig för jag inte tror alldeles liksom. men, det som är som ett ord som kräver respekt. […] men mer som att det är som det är nånting, nånt nånting som är heligt för andra. Sara
30. …många tycker att den är väldigt fint inslag i stadshylen och en påminnelse om historian, vilka vi var, vilka vi har blivit, att det är, det kan väl vara väldigt bra att reflektera över, för river man allt så glömmer man fort också, man behöver påminnelse om det, är byggander ganska bra på, att göra […] just ky för man känns med tanke på hur viktig del det har varit för människan så. tycker jag att det är väldigt viktigt att de bevaras och sköts om… Rebecca
31. …men nu kommer jag också att tänka på vilken sähr, samhällstjänst det är också, min soxcomomhärna som går igång nu, att det är såhär så himla det är så enkelt. bara komma, det kostar ingenting, vem som helst får koma. inkluderaande. […] ja, jag tänker att det är. jenen så himla viktiga att en sån funktion finns i samhället för jag menar att socialtjänst är inte helt, vad ska man säga. byråkrati är ett virvvarr mellan tjänster hit och det […] det är liksom till för att det ska vara accepterat och. skuldfrist. så. Theodor
32. …tycker jag nog den är bara nånt slags skol och den fyller inte egentligen nånt funktion, den fyller inte funktionen att vara meningssökande för människor, för det finns liksom inte ah, nånt högst oklart om ens prästerna tror på gud liksom. eh, och dom har inte den liksom kopplingen till samhället som jag tror att religion ska ha liksom, dom har blivit för disconnectade från liksom sin ah, från vad jag tror religion ska uppfylla just det här med mening med livet eller vad man ska säga. hitta sin plats eller vad man nu ska säga… Johan
34. …manska en trygg plats som man kan gå till. det är ju, hm. jag tänker att Sverige är ganska seklulört och det är trevligt att ha en sån plats som man kan känna sig trygg i sin tro […] alltså att religion är inte så närvarande i samhället, som i vissa andra länder. och att det är i alla fall i Stockholm så tycker jag det, jag tror det ses lite konstigt att vara religiös, alltså väldigt konstigt eller nånting. eh och speciellt det ses som ganska konstigt att vara ung och religiös för dom är det nog en plats för gemenskap. att träffa andra kristna. Sara
35. …men det spelade inte så stor roll att det var i kyrkorummet ehm. vi valde också psalmor som handlade mer om om naturen och sanna saker i än. om. Gud […] det var lite intressant faktiskt för den prästen så sähr att den här är den vanliga och jag kommer inte ihåg vilken det är men det är den som spelar på nästan alla. och så blev hon väldigt förvånad över mitt och min systers val, och så sa hon jaha det var lite annorlunda melodii och så sa vi det är inte melodii som spelar nån roll det är texten. haha. Frida
36. …ja det är ju begravningen av morfar, det var ju min första alltså det var första gången jag var med om att nån i min närhet dog, för alla andra är vid liv. så den sticker definitivt ut. eh och det är det som jag minns allra starkast. och sen när min bästa tjekompis gifte sig. men det är det som också är så fantastiskt med ky för dom els så får det plats supermålet är lite och super mycket gladde, och sen supermålet sorg. eh mmm. Clara
37. …för. typ. minne, instagannommomhärna. nej men sähr ja. att man samlas vänner och familj. det kan ju vara viktigt utan det kan ju va en fin och betydelshul grej utan att liksom nån högre makt inblandad tänker jag. typ så. att det måste inte. dop dop och giftermål kan ju vara nånting fint även fast man inte tror på det som ursprungligen var inneboende med det om man kan säga det så. William
…när man var liten så fick man goda man hade alltid skolavslutning i kyrkan och då har man alltid förknippat kyrkan med något positivt för att man associerar det till sommarlov. och då blir det ju väldigt positivt. det kan jag nästan fortfarande göra när man kommer in och sen ser liksom. man får flashbacks till det. […] det var väl det där gladjen kom ifrån. den och inte göra med att det just var en kyrka det tror jag kunde ha vart vilken plats som helst. Nils

39. ja, det vill jag. för tror att det väldigt viktigt att dom som sörjer en och lever kvar efter en, att de har en plats att besöka, att hedra ens minne och sakna en, och prata med en, och så. jag tycker att det har varit jättekönt att gå till minneslunden för min morfar till exempel, och tända ett ljus för honom, skulle ha känts om man inte hade haft någonstans att ta vägen. Klara

40. jag har ingenting där att göra. [I asked Frida if it originated out of respect] ja. och lite såhär allmänt ointresse om jag ska gå till kyrkan för jag är nyfiken på den, då är det för jag har spanat på nån väldigt speciellt. det har stått i nån travel guide att man borde titta på just den här eller vad det nu kan vara. jag skulle inte gå liksom kyrkautforska i stockholm. utan det handlar mer om i så fall kanske jag om jag är i Uppsala men då går jag antagligen till domkyrkan för man liksom, det är en sevärdhet. eh. mm, Frida
References


## Attachments

### Attachment 1 – Interview Guide

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Checklist: Målbeskrivning, Teman, Sekreterare, Anonymitet, Inga rätt eller fel, Inspektion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Inledning</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Kan du beskriva vad religion betyder för dig?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Kan du beskriva vad kristendom betyder för dig?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Omgivningen</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Kan du beskriva vad en kyrka är för dig?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Vad känner du när du ser en kyrka i staden?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Kan du beskriva om det finns någon kyrka som du har någon relation till?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Vad har du för relation till din lokala kyrka?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Vad tänker du på när du ser denna kyrka?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Kan du beskriva hur du upplever kyrkogården?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Kan du beskriva hur du upplever minneslunden?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Finns det någon annan religiös plats du har en relation till?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kyrkan som byggnad</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Hur upplever du området runt om kyrkan?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Om du tänker kyrkan som byggnad, vad tänker du på då?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Hur upplever du kyrkan som en del en stad eller ett samhälle?</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Interiör</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Kan du beskriva vilka känslor du känner inne i kyrkan?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Hur upplever du kyrkans interiör?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bredare perspektiv</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Hur ser du på Svenska kyrkan som organisation?</td>
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<tr>
<td>17. Kan du beskriva ett minne som är kopplat till kyrkan?</td>
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<tr>
<td>18. Har du varit del av någon ceremoni i kyrkan?</td>
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<tr>
<td>19. Kan du beskriva vilken funktion du tror kyrkan har i samhället?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Hur skulle du beskriva vad din familj har för relation till kyrkan?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Hur skulle du beskriva vad din bekantskapskrets har för relation till kyrkan?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Känner du någon som är brukar vara i en kyrka?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Kan du beskriva vad du tror personen gör där?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. När besöker du en kyrka?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Kan du beskriva varför du gör det?</td>
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<tr>
<td>* Kan du beskriva vad skulle få dig att besöka en kyrka?</td>
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<tr>
<td>24. Om du jämför en religiös och en icke-religiös plats, vad tänker du på då?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Finns det någon plats som liknar kyrkan?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Framtid</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Kan du beskriva om din bild av kyrkor har förändrats över tid?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Är det något du vill tillägga som vi inte tagit upp i denna intervju?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Avslutning: Ålder, Sysselsättning, Utbildningsnivå, |

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Attachment 2 – Photo

Image 9. Transect point 1a (Photo: Per Göransson)