

DOCTORAL THESIS

THE ROLE OF MUSIC IN CHURCH COMMUNITIES A CASE OF A POLISH CHURCH COMMUNITY IN LONDON

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THE ROLE OF MUSIC IN CHURCH COMMUNITIES: $\textbf{A} \ \textbf{CASE} \ \textbf{OF}$

A POLISH CHURCH COMMUNITY IN LONDON

By

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Abstract

Music has been intrinsically connected to culture, and it is virtually impossible to find any culture without music. The role of music cannot be studied or understood when taken out of a given context. Music has also been present in religious communities, especially exerting an enormous influence on worship practices in all Christian traditions. This study looks at a specific context of Polish church music in London a decade after Poland's inclusion into European Community.

Music appears to play a significant role in religious lives both in church and outside of the sacred contexts amongst Polish immigrants. The main aim of this research is to explore the role music fulfils in these immigrant communities. This will be achieved by looking at the functions of music, the meaning of music, and identities in music within these church communities.

Through the employment of mixed methods, this research aspired to clarify the connections between the functions, the meanings, and the identities. It described a case of a church community, and its congregants' music participation, in the Polish church in North London. The main fieldwork of the study was one Catholic parish around which the musical activities took place. The research questions related to the functions, meaning and identities were explored quantitatively and qualitatively. From the quantitative point of view, the study employed a survey. 78 Polish church attendees answered a questionnaire about *the role of music in church communities*. The findings suggest a close relation between music and religion for the church attendees and that Polish church music might *contribute to the continuity and stability of culture* and the sustenance of the ethnic identity.

The qualitative part employs the data collected from the interviews with 31 interviewees conducted individually and in groups. Some valid data from observations of the church choir and the liturgical music workshops are also used to explain the relation between musical experiences and identity. The interview findings reveal high musical engagement amongst participants at services, church choirs, or liturgical music workshops. The study shows that music can fulfil various functions from the sociopsychological perspective. Such functions as *emotional expression*, *integration of the society* or *validating of social institutions and religious rituals* pervade the research. Some new functions such as *prayer facilitation* and *induction of ineffable experiences* are also suggested.

Furthermore, the role of music in the church is studied through the construction of musical meaning and identities. The emergence of different identities is quite evident within the communities of musical practice, where the shared language, music and practice boost the sense of belonging. The findings suggest the emergence of postnational group identities and identities in music in the context of an immigrant church. This research shows a dynamic picture of the role of music in a migrant church in London. Although limited to this particular sample, it suggests some practical implications, such as the need for a more professional attitude towards music in churches, which should be addressed by the church authority and the laity alike. Thus, for the church's musical potential to be realised, good music leadership and good soil for the formation of communities of musical practice in local churches need to be provided.

Keywords: functions of music, the meaning of music, identity in music, communities of musical practice, Polish church in London

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your smile and your love for anybody and everybody. The journey started in Roehampton, and this is where the circle ends.

Let us build a house where all are named,
their songs and visions heard
and loved and treasured, taught and claimed
as words within the Word.
Built of tears and cries and laughter,
prayers of faith and songs of grace,
let this house proclaim from floor to rafter.
All are welcome, all are welcome,
all are welcome in this place.

Marty Haugen (1995)

In memory of Robert Kaggwa

Glossary of keywords in the research

Aesthetic awe

A very strong and overwhelming emotion, such as fear or reverence, on the positive valance of the emotion spectrum, experienced when faced with tremendous natural phenomena or reality such as a mountain view, classical music concert or a religious experience.

Charismatic

Relating to a Christian revival movement which is based on a belief that the Holy Spirit still inspires and acts in the Church and in believers as described in the Acts of the Apostles, manifesting himself through subjective gifts of healing, miracles and other phenomena, also referred to as charisms (McFarland, 2011).

Church

A community of Christian believers in general, such as the Catholic Church or Orthodox Church, or a community congregating in a particular place or building. In scriptural sources "[t]he Church is the body of Christ in which the Holy Spirit brings about *koinonia* [communion] with God and among its members" (see, e.g., Rom. 12:4-8; 1 Cor. 12:12-13) (Healy, 2011, p. 153).

Church music

A general term related to all music, be it religious or liturgical practised or played in church contexts of different Christian traditions.

Communities of practice

A community in which either formal or informal practice takes place, where a group of people meet regularly to take part in a common endeavour (Eckert, 2006). In this research communities of musical practice are studied.

Function of music

Concerns the reasons why music is employed by humans in society and a "broader purpose which it serves" (Merriam, 1964), e.g., *the function of enforcing conformity to social norms*.

Glossolalia

A form of unintelligible language or a series of sounds often employed during a prayer or a trance-like state, usually associated with a religious or mystical experience, a subjective spirit possession, or in Christian tradition, under the influence of the Holy Spirit. A recent interpretation of glossolalia in charismatic contexts is that it is the indicator of baptism in the Spirit and mysterious prayer language (Goodman, 2008; Cartledge, 2011).

Ineffable experiences

Experiences often related to some mystical, religious events, which are very difficult to describe as one lacks linguistic power to do so, often associated with some higher power or tremendous and overpowering phenomena both natural and man-made, e.g., a great piece of music.

Liturgy

From Greek, *leitourgia* [λειτουργία] (Lewis, 1960), the work of the people, all the solemn actions of the celebrant and the faithful celebrating either a Mass or other church services such as Liturgy of the Hours, a word mainly used in Catholic, Anglican, Orthodox, and some Protestant traditions, in most Protestant Churches the word worship service is commonly used.

Magisterium

From the Latin word for 'teacher', the teaching office of the Catholic Church, "rooted in Christ and transmitted through Apostolic Succession to all bishops in communion with the Papacy" (McFarland, 2011, p. 295). Its task is to preserve the faithful from error through authoritative interpretation of Scripture and Tradition (Catholic Church, 1995; McFarland, 2011).

Meaning of music

- Extrinsic meaning concerns the meaning constructed outside the structure of
 music itself, which takes the contexts and the subjects of the musical experiences
 into consideration and how the subjects interpret their music themselves, e.g.,
 through their emotional expression or associations.
- 2. Intrinsic meaning concerns the meaning constructed within the music itself, within its structure and qualities.

Worship

Acts of worshipping; activities related to religious or church practices such as prayer, sacraments, liturgy, church singing or art, as well as moral attitudes with a primary focus on God or a deity. In more specific meaning, worship is

synonymous with adoration which is the act of acknowledging God as a creator and saviour in respect and submission (Catholic Church, 1995).

Religion

A set of beliefs and ideas organised into a system, characterised by rituals and tenets in which a group of people, a community or a part of society take part in and adhere to, often validated by a given society.

Religiosity

The term refers to a complex and multidimensional phenomenon with various positive and negative aspects (Bergin, 1983), one of them being the level of people's involvement in religious activities – cultic and devotional dimensions (Cardwell, 1980), aspects relevant to this research.

Religious music or sacred music

- A general term describing music composed to cultivate the religious and moral life of believers, often contrasted with liturgical music used solely during the liturgy in the Catholic tradition (Pawlak, 2001).
- Music composed for religious purposes regardless of religious affiliation (Beck, 2006).

Sacred mysteries

The term refers to the celebrations of the Eucharist, which is de facto the central act of worship in most Christian Churches (Irwin, 2011). Sacred Mysteries are another term for the Holy and Divine Liturgy and both express most intensely the celebration of the Eucharist (Catholic Church, 1995).

Spiritual

- Related to or inspired by the reality of God, the Holy Spirit, as understood in the New Testament, supernatural; usually contrasted with the perceived reality of the material world.
- 2. Concerning the inner aspects of a human being, including his beliefs, values and emotions.

Spirituality

- 1. The propensity of the faithful to hold an idea or a belief that there is a different reality other than what we perceive in the natural world, in the sense that it cannot be explained or proved by science. In current understanding, spirituality refers to various transcendent experiences people might have (McIntosh, 2011).
- 2. The part of our belief system including our values and emotions, especially those associated with humanistic ideals such as love, compassion or aesthetic awe.

Chapter 1: Introduction and background

1.1. Personal background and interests in music

This research on Polish immigrant communities in London is a result of a long personal musical journey. It is a result of my interest in and commitment to music, community and faith. It would have never happened if I had not become an immigrant in London myself. It would have not happened if I had not once stepped into a Catholic Chapel at Roehampton University. This is where I met people who encouraged me to play music for a small congregation of international students and who inspired me to study music psychology.

The ideas for the research, however, were maturing in migrant communities in East London where I started working as an *ESOL* [English for Speakers of Other Languages] teacher at then Tower Hamlets College. This is where I noticed how important music is for migrant communities. I was teaching an all-ladies class with students from Bangladesh, Somalia, and Turkey when I decided to do action research in this particular group to collect some preliminary data on music and ESOL. I was struck by the importance of music amongst the students. Despite all students being Muslim, music was not taboo for these ladies and preoccupied a considerable amount of time in their lives. I remember, especially, how emotional music was for Turkish ladies, something which I learnt was very culturally specific. On the other hand, Bengali ladies played folk songs that reminded them of their homeland or used music as a form of meditative Nasheed (Islamic chant). That was when I realised that music fulfils many roles in migrant faith communities.

However, to realise my intention to research the migrant communities in London, I moved to my native Polish community. I was already involved in a Polish Catholic

Church in London. This church was located in a rather affluent area of London, built next to a street-long row of Victorian houses. It would not be a problem if it was an Anglican or even English Catholic church. However, as it would often be with Polish Catholics, the church space was not enough for Sunday worshippers. One could see people congregating outside in a small street in a residential area, causing an occasional nuisance for the neighbours.

This church was different from churches in Poland. First of all, it was much younger and more vibrant. Compared to Poland, the average age of a churchgoer was lower. The parish had a character of a community, and there was more openness and connection between the parish priests and the parishioners. Other researchers reported similar observations studying the religiosity of Polish Catholic migrants in Ireland and the UK (Dunlop & Ward, 2012; Gallagher & Trzebiatowska, 2017). I still remembered a very clear picture from my hometown in Poland, where older generations of people would fill up the benches and aisles. In London, the picture was different. This was a new migrant cohort, the post - 2004 EU inclusion migrant church.

Secondly, it was a migrant church with a long tradition and history. By now, it comprised the older immigrant community and their children and the new immigrants whose number was still growing as new arrivals were still joining. It was different as it was a community and culture hub. A Polish canteen served typical Polish food, lunches, dinners, and desserts. Many cultural and musical events were taking place on a regular basis at that time. The church was not only spiritually but also a socially thriving place. Last but not least, there was a well-established choir and a *schola cantorum* [liturgical music group]. I immediately saw it as a potential context for music research, and I decided to grasp this opportunity and make it my case study.

This research explores the role of music amongst Polish immigrant church communities in London. The study's focus has been music in a Polish Catholic parish in North London. This congregation was chosen as a case study due to its unique place in Polish immigration history and its recent context in which abundant musical activities have taken place. If any participants were not representative of this parish, they were connected to it through the community network of friends, choir, or other church group members. These additional participant samples represented other church attendees involved in the liturgical music workshops and the choir and a few participants representing other denominations who agreed to take part in the survey and interviews.

1.2. Being Polish in London: music, religion, and identity

The Polish church in London is a place where Polish migrants have inevitably sheltered their culture and identity and formed communities which allowed them to withstand the hardships of immigration (Fuksa, 2013; Gallagher & Trzebiatowska, 2017; Gula, 1992; Podhorodecka, 2010; Winslow, 2001). These two statements might refer to the Catholic Church as much to any other Polish Church. This research deals mostly with a Catholic congregation and some churchgoers associated with it through a network of connections.

Being Polish in London has not always been easy. The tragic events of WWII and its aftermath have resulted in forced emigration from Poland (Stachura, 2004), which continued in several waves until the 2004 EU inclusion. However, 2004 marked a new chapter in Church history, with a new wave of Polish immigrants joining and expanding the existing parishes.

The Catholic Church has been one of London's main centres of Polish culture and community forming (Fuksa, 2013). Historically, the first Polish parishes in London

were famous for providing shelter and spiritual care for Polish soldiers during WWII (Fuksa, 2010) and for further immigrants to the UK after WWII. Not only does the church provide pastoral care but also the opportunity to meet and organise different cultural activities. The church is not only a place for sacred celebrations but has also hosted literary and artistic evenings, lectures, discussion clubs, dance parties, theatre performances, cinema and choirs (Fuksa, 2010). This community and identity formation has been happening through the congregation's participation in the church's sacred and cultural life, in which Polish music plays an important role. Other churches in London have also been instrumental in strengthening the Polish immigrant community and upholding the Polish culture and identity (Fuksa, 2013; Gula, 1992; Winslow, 2001).

The fertile context of a Polish church community in North London became the focus and the research field of this study. No research has been done in the English language that looks at the musical activities in the Polish migrant community from the current and situated perspective. It is crucial then to undertake such research to broaden existing knowledge in the social psychology of music and inform the existing knowledge on the role of music in migrant communities in the UK.

It is also believed that the findings from this research might be beneficial and informative to parishes or churches in the UK and in Poland. First, it might inform church authorities about the dynamics and the potential of music in the Polish church in London. Second, it might encourage other churches and church communities more locally to improve the quality of often underperformed music during services through the formation of communities of musical practice. Finally, a more professional formation of communities of practice will contribute to the better integration of the local community and positively affect the experience of the liturgies.

The research design incorporates two main studies. The first study (a survey) looks mainly at the functions of music in the lives of Polish immigrant church attendees in London. Furthermore, the survey explores the construction of musical meaning and the identities in church contexts, which is further explored in the process of the second study.

The second study, which utilises interviews, attempts to further explore and explain the functions, the meanings and the significance of music as well as the identity in Polish church music. The results from studies 1 and 2 will be further augmented by some data collected from observations, field notes and sample recordings of two groups, referred to as *communities of musical practice*, namely a church choir and liturgical music workshops.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1. Introduction

Music has been used in religious contexts across different cultures for millennia, and some researchers have suggested that there is a connection between religious and musical experiences (e.g., Beck, 2009; Beit-Hallahmi & Argyle, 1997; Marti, 2012; Otto, 1950; Shuter-Dyson, 2006; Sloboda, 2005; Stringer, 1999). There is substantial evidence of the empowering qualities of both music and religious activities in peoples' lives. Studies in music psychology (Clarke et al., 2010; Clayton, 2009; Hargreaves & North, 1999; MacDonald et al., 2013; Merriam, 1964; North & Hargreaves, 2008) indicate that music can fulfil many different social functions. Firstly, it is suggested in the literature that music may contribute to social bonding and cohesion (e.g., Freeman, 2000; Pearce et al., 2017; Schäfer et al., 2013). Secondly, it may have a positive effect on individuals through its mood-regulating qualities in increasing subjective well-being (DeNora 2000; Creech et al. 2013; MacDonald et al. 2013; Västfjäll et al. 2012). Finally, music might also nurture the spiritual aspects of human beings (e.g., Cobussen, 2017; Tshabalala & Patel, 2010; Williams, 2004). Although spirituality may be understood in various ways, it is clear that music can touch people on a deep emotional level producing experiences of ineffable nature. Similarly in the literature on faith and religion it has been suggested that certain aspects of religion may be equally empowering both for society and for individuals (Bergin, 1983; Larson et al., 1992; Lee and Newberg, 2005), one such aspect being the role of music in worship and its effect on

Music and religion can be looked at and studied from different perspectives. Due to their social, psychological and cultural impact, this research attempts to look at religious

the faithful, which is one of the main foci of this research.

music from the perspective of the social psychology of music. The research explores whether and how music affects church communities either through socialization processes underlying the music function models or the construction of musical meanings and identities.

2.2. Social and contextual functions of music (Hargreaves & North, 1999; Merriam, 1964)

Music as a social phenomenon has the power to impact not only individuals but whole communities. It might even affect bigger societies or nations fulfilling functions of social integration and validating institutions and religious rituals (e.g., Clarke et al., 2010; Merriam, 1964; Sloboda, 1985). It is also a very strong aspect of cultural identification, thus, strongly contributing to the continuity and stability of any given culture. Because it is never created in a social vacuum and is often based within particular cultures, music plays an important role in forming identities, whether ethnic, national, group or individual (Folkestad, 2002; Folkestad, 2017; Hargreaves et al., 2002; Lidskog, 2016).

Music has recently acquired a widespread social and global appeal, most apparently due to technological changes and social media spread (Hargreaves & Lamont, 2017), which has provoked a significant amount of research in ethnomusicology and the social and applied psychology of music (Clarke et al., 2010). Despite later attempts to disequilibrate the importance of social use of music in favour of self-awareness and self-regulatory propensities (Schäfer et al., 2013), music remains in the centre of social endeavour, in specific communities, and as reported in this research, in church communities.

The fact that music is a social phenomenon does not preclude the fact that it is also experienced differently by individuals, both socially and individually. After all, all societies are groups of individuals, and the social dynamics depend on the interactions between these individuals. Similarly, Freeman (1998) proposes that the perception of music as one of the neurological activities evolved to bridge a gap between what is considered to be solipsistic, meaning individual, and social. Thus, a social psychological approach to the role of music is favoured over any dichotomous approaches in this research.

These recent academic developments have been an encouragement for this research to explore the effects of music experienced in Polish church communities in London from the perspective of the social and contextual functions of music. The following chapters will look at the functions of music from this socio-cultural perspective and investigate how they are situated in religious contexts.

Music plays many functions in societies as well as in the individual lives of human beings. Merriam (1964), for example, identifies 10 main music functions including:

- emotional expression
- aesthetic enjoyment
- entertainment
- communication
- symbolic representation
- physical response
- enforcing conformity to social norms
- validation of social institutions and religious rituals
- contribution to the continuity and stability of culture

contribution to the integration of society

Recent developments in the social psychology of music, however, place the functions of music at the centre of the social spectrum and stress the social context in which the music appears. Hargreaves and North (1999) proposed that the idea of understanding music functions should be redefined, as most functions of music appear to be social and contextual. Following further research on the functions of music Hargreaves et al. (2002) suggest that they fall into three separate categories, namely *the management of interpersonal relationships, mood,* and *self-identity*. A similar observation was reported by researchers investigating the extant literature on music functions, who concluded that people listen to music mainly "to regulate arousal and mood, to achieve self-awareness, and as an expression of social relatedness" (Schäfer et al., 2013, p. 511).

The majority of the social functions of music might be relevant in church communities, which will be detailed in the following chapters. The socially defined functions will partly overlap with some functions defined by the church, differing mostly in the terminology. Some functions such as *emotional expression*, however, might be differently fulfilled in Catholic contexts from evangelical contexts, due to the different character of either Catholic or Protestant liturgies. This research does not seek to compare the current trends or worship practices of different Polish denominations in London, but it looks at church music from a specific, situated, and contextual point of view. It examines how the functions model identified by Merriam (1964) and redefined by Hargreaves and North (1999) may be applied to religious contexts, through a study of one specific case.

2.2.1. Social bonding qualities of music

Before re-examining the above functions model, it will be useful to pay closer attention to the social propensities of music from a top-down perspective. This will allow us to identify the intrinsically social nature of music and how it permeates human beings in a unique way, ranging from adaptational to neurological and to more contextual levels. Quite a few studies have examined the social qualities of music. For example, from the evolutionary perspective, it is claimed by some that music might have evolved simultaneously or even before the emergence of language (e.g., Freeman, 2000; Mithen, 2005), functioning as a tool in social integration. As Clarke et al. state, music "might also be likened to physical grooming among primates in that it provides an opportunity for social bonding" (2010, p. 104). This quality or function of music might be exemplified in modern humans in a form of courtship in much a similar way as it is used for example by birds (Brody, 1991; Cross, 2001; Miller, 2001). However, the social function of music in humans goes beyond instinctual or adaptational behaviours. From the social perspective, music is a vehicle to get people together in groups and communities to practise music, worship or simply enjoy music together. There are many functions and uses of music which emphasise its bonding qualities and singing comes to the fore in the growing research in the field (Lamont et al., 2018; Murray & Lamont, 2012; Pearce et al., 2016; Pearce et al., 2017; Stewart & Lonsdale, 2016). Music has also been studied in terms of its effect and emotional responses in human beings from the neurological perspective. Some studies have suggested links between listening to different types of music with the release of different types of hormones, for example, the release of serotonin during listening to relaxing music or the release of oxytocin which is linked to social and intimate interactions in humans (Chanda & Levitin, 2013; Clarke et al., 2010; Freeman, 2000; Keeler et al., 2015).

Music is also very rhythmic, which strongly corresponds to and encourages the movement of the human body, which is often realised through such social activities as dance, choreography or march (Clarke et al., 2010; Cohen, 2008; DeNora, 2000; Rouget, 1985; Weinberg & Joseph, 2017). Such socially fulfilling and culturally meaningful activities are at the core of social bonding and would not be possible without music.

After looking at the bonding qualities of music the following section will discuss the functions of music from the socio-psychological perspective. The term 'functions of music' denotes that something is operational and active. Having a function suggests 'playing a part' or 'being active', not in a random way (Meriam, 1964). Thus, when discussing different functions of music, one looks at how music operates in specific contexts or situations, what it does exactly and how functional it is. Merriam's typology (1964) does not place any order of importance on different functions, so this research will follow a flexible approach in this discussion, omitting some of the functions in this section altogether.

The four subsequent functions outlined in this chapter as redefined by Hargreaves and North (1999) are closely related to the social bonding qualities of music and stem from the idea that music is primarily active in social contexts. They include "...enforcing conformity to social norms, validating social institutions and religious rituals, the continuity and stability of culture and the integration of society" (Hargreaves & North, 1999, p 75).

2.2.2. Enforcing conformity to social norms

This function of music is rather culturally specific and might use not just music but also lyrics in the form of songs to usurp some sort of social control (Merriam, 1964). It often

relates to what is permittable or morally acceptable in a given culture or society.
Enforcing conformity to social norms and validating religious rituals seem especially relevant in church communities but historically and contextually are not always uniform.
On the one hand, the 'social norms' are reflected in Christian teaching and morality and proclaimed in words as well as through music. On the other hand, with its variety of styles and traditions, church music has sometimes exposed different attitudes on 'the continuum of conformity to social norms'. For example, some black churches in America at times of social unrest, racial inequality, and the civil rights movement, might have used gospel music covertly to defy the prejudices of social norms of the time (e.g., Castellini, 2013; Reed, 2019). However, although there is evidence for social justice engagement in Catholic Church, music in the church is conforming to social norms and to Catholic Christian teaching.

2.2.3. Validating social institutions and religious rituals

When talking about this function Merriam (1964) refers to research by Reichard (1950) who studied the culture of Navaho Indians' symbolism. According to Reichard, the main function of songs is the preservation of the order in society and the coordination of the ceremonial symbols. In today's societies, music all over the world validates social institutions in one way or another. For example, music is used during national celebrations as a symbol of a given identity in the form of national anthems or other music (Clarke et al., 2010). Most major events in life which have a ritualistic character, such as funerals, wedding ceremonies, daily prayers or festivities, are accompanied by music of some sort.

Magisterium [the authorised teaching] of the Catholic Church (Catholic Church 1995, p. 256), through its long liturgical tradition, has established and formulated rituals and musical forms which are recommended and validated during Masses, services, and celebrations throughout the liturgical year. Music to different seasons of the liturgical calendar constitutes the circle of celebrations and rituals in the church and shapes the dynamics of the liturgy. It is worth noting that Evangelical churches, however, will to a greater or lesser extent adopt a freer and less institutional approach towards music during services (Cox, 2013; Ingalls et al., 2013).

The difference between the Catholic liturgy and other churches' worship services as well as between the Mass and other services within the Catholic Church marks a degree of the validation of the religious rituals. On the whole, the liturgy is ritualistic in itself as it requires coordination of the actions, words and music between the celebrant and the faithful (Catholic Church, 1995; Ratzinger, 2000). First of all, the Catholic Mass is a solemn celebration and re-enactment of the sacrifice of Jesus Christ at Calvary (Catholic Church, 1995). It is the summit of all Catholic prayers and worship services. The music for the Mass is also more solemn and comprises the proper parts such as Gloria and Sanctus and other hymns for a particular occasion (Pawlak, 2001). There are many other music services, such as praise and worship, contemplation, or adoration services. These are much freer in style and might resemble the non-liturgical worship of other evangelical or charismatic churches (Cartledge, 2007; Kasomo, 2010). Additionally, the most evangelical and charismatic [concerned with the church renewal in the Holy Spirit] churches usually adopt a different style of worship in which music is more contemporary and representative of mainstream popular music (Ingalls, 2018; Tepera, 2018; Thorngate, 2011). Such music might be very suggestive and often arouses intense emotions or trance-like behaviour in the faithful (Cox, 2013; Kgatle, 2019; Miller &

Strongman, 2002; Rouget, 1985). The lyrics often contain important keywords or phrases which are repeated in long-lasting choruses (Ward, 2005). This type of singing is often in contrast with music used in Catholic liturgy. Hymns for the Mass should be carefully selected, devoid of mainstream hooks, sensuality, and emotionalism; mainly used to aid prayerfulness and create a focused atmosphere of piety in the faithful.

2.2.4. Contribution to the integration of society

Integration of the society is linked to enforcing conformity and validating functions of music, as described in the previous chapters, and might be an effect of social bonding. When music starts fulfilling these functions, through people's communal activities, be it celebrations, festivals or religious services, the integration is already at play. Such musical endeavours require coordinating actions of a group of people, which might require cooperation and communication between the members of the group (Merriam, 1964). These coordinating actions might describe music more locally as well as from a more social perspective. A regular choir rehearsal or performance in a church will exemplify a local contribution but a performance of the same choir at an event to mark the anniversary of Polish independence (Smol, 2021), will have a more social contribution. Music then might act as an agent of societal and cultural unity and integrity, which is also evident in communities of musical practice such as a church or community choir (Lamont, 2018; Pearce et al., 2017).

2.2.5. Continuity and stability of culture

It might be that a few important factors converge here, magnifying this cultural function of music in relation to migrant communities. Firstly, the migrant population itself is in a

way in 'danger' of this continuity and stability disruption. Folkestad (2002) notices that especially those ethnic groups or nations whose sovereignty was already historically undermined feel very strongly about preserving their culture. Secondly, it is the music itself which, just like language, is a strong ethnic indicator assuring this continuity. Thirdly, the church or the community's faith might contribute to this cultural stability, as evidenced by research on migration (e.g., Brettell & Hollifield, 2014; Stepick et al., 2009). In this respect, the Polish migrant church in London is not necessarily unique but on a par with other migrant churches or diasporas with strong faith affiliations. The Irish Catholic Church, for example, played a similar role in post-war London amongst Irish immigrants as did the Polish Catholic Mission in the Polish diaspora (Garcia, 2015). In this way migrant churches might be places where culture and identity are indeed sheltered and preserved and where the community formation happens through the congregation's participation in sacred and cultural life, with music at its heart.

It was explained in the introductory chapter how Polish migrant churches had played a role in cultivating the Polish culture and how vital a role church music might play in upholding the culture amongst immigrants. One of the objectives of this study is to identify the connections between music and identity in the Polish migrant church.

2.2.6. Emotional expression

Emotional expression as a music function (Hargreaves & North, 1999; Merriam, 1964), important as it may be in different social contexts, might assume a different role in the context of the Catholic Church. However, as it was already suggested, different denominations or communities even within the Catholic Church might differ in this respect (e.g., Cartledge, 2007; Cleary, 2011; Cox, 2013; Kasomo, 2010), and the

question of emotions as this research has evidenced will indeed play a paramount role in various musical experiences in the church.

Pawlak (2001), in his typology of liturgical music, does not specifically mention the emotional function of music but suggests that liturgical music should not form any 'profane' associations, imagery, or sensuality typical in such genres as dance, pop or film music. He refers to some other writers who suggest liturgical music's intended effect to create an undisturbing atmosphere of "piety and devotion in the temple" (Pope Pius X, 1903, para.1). Music, inspired by the Holy Spirit [Pneuma] should be directed towards Jesus [Logos] yet devoid of pure sensuality (Ratzinger, 2000).

Depending, however, on the situation or the liturgical moment, music in church communities can indeed enhance or affect emotions in some way. This effect of music has been evidenced in research on how people use music to regulate their mood or manage their emotional states. (e.g., Clarke et al., 2010; Clarke et al., 2015; DeNora, 1999, 2000, 2007; Thomson et al., 2014). It is worth adding that liturgical music always develops and evolves in a context which changes depending on "the type of liturgy, the time of day, the time of liturgical year, and the year of the liturgical cycle" (Schaefer, 2008, p. 2). The liturgy evolves around the celebrations which mirror the biblical events related to Christ. The two most important events in the history of salvation are celebrated at Christmas and Easter, with the latter being the culmination of the whole liturgy. As the drama of the events develops during the liturgical year, so does music change, accordingly, reflecting the mood of different events. For example, the pensive and reflective music of Lent, which proceeds Easter, should contrast with the joyful and jubilant music which celebrates Christ's resurrection at Easter. Thus, the constantly changing character of liturgical music might also impact on the way we experience the liturgy.

2.2.7. Communication

Because communication is an intrinsic and unique feature of any language, applying it to music seems to be natural. Already Merriam (1964) notices that music "communicates something [but] we are not clear as to what, how, or to whom" (p. 223).

Unless it is in the form of a song or hymn, however, music communicates ideas differently and most researchers agree that it cannot be qualified as 'universal language' (e.g., Campbell, 1997; Clayton, 2009; Cross and Tolbert, 2009; Patel, 2010).

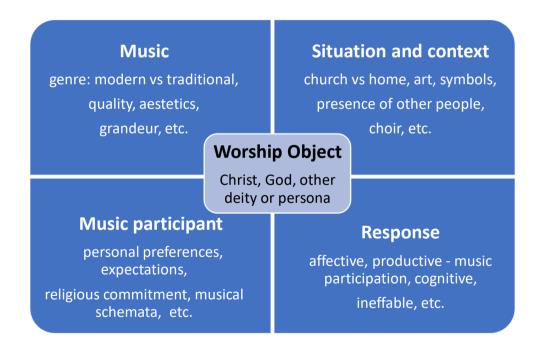
Hargreaves, MacDonald, and Miell (2005) adopt the 'information transmission' model of musical communication, (Bandura, 1986), which they call a *reciprocal feedback model*. In this, musical communication is seen within a specific situational context between a performer and a listener, who are both active in the process. Van Der Leeuw (1963) suggests that in worship, God and the faithful become "the form of their reciprocal relation experienced in action" (p. 447). Communication in religious contexts may acquire a more transcendent meaning, as in prayer and meditation, the faithful seek a subjective connection with God or a deity. This aspect will be taken up in the next section.

2.2.7.1. Reciprocal feedback model (Hargreaves, 2012; Hargreaves et al., 2005)

According to Hargreaves et al. (2005), there are a few key factors at play that might constitute what music communicates in a given context. The model follows the information transmission model of communication, which Hargreaves et al. (2005) redefine in line with social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1986). According to this model, 'the response' (e.g., the constructed meaning or emotional response) in the listener is a reciprocal effect of the type of music and the situation or the context the music is

experienced in. In the context of worship, this model might acquire an additional dimension with the object of worship (e.g., God or a person of Jesus Christ) in the centre of the experience (see Figure 1). Interestingly, Partridge (2014) takes up a similar model in referring to the *transactional theory of literary work* (Rosenblatt, 1978). He writes that as people "are shaped by social forces, informed by interpretive communities, subject to the jurisdiction of discourses and particular lifeworlds", the responses to music and its meaning emerges (Partridge, 2014, p. 48).

Figure 1
Suggested Religious Music Perception Model Based on the Reciprocal Feedback



Note. This figure demonstrates how music in religious contexts might be perceived or experienced by participants. An extra element is added to the original model in the form of the Worship Object as it is judged that, although possibly a part of the religious context, it might have a crucial effect on the perception and the other elements of the matrix.

After examining the social functions of music, it is useful to look at the specific functions of liturgical music (Pawlak, 2001).

2.2.8. Functions of music in religious contexts and in the church

There is hardly a single religious system that does not use music in its rites and practices (Beck, 2006). The musical traditions of the main world religions are very rich, and the European classical music can trace its origins back to the Gregorian chant which gave the origin to the whole Western musical tradition (Kelly; 2011; Page; 2010). Music has played a prominent role in worship practices from the very early church (Hurtado, 2000), and is recorded in many New Testament passages (*Revised Standard Version*, 1 Cor. 14: 26; Col. 3:16-17; Acts 16:25). Church tradition regards music as "a treasure of inestimable value, greater even than that of any other art" (Catholic Church 1995, p. 326). Despite various challenges in terms of defining the connection between music and religion, music has fitted perfectly well in Christian worship and, according to Marti (2012), has the "power [...] to accomplish unity among people of different races and ethnicities" (p.10).

Apart from communal impact, music as well as worship can be a source of individual empowerment and is often a necessary alternative to communal worship. Silent or vocal prayers said on one's own can be a very intimate act of worship, bringing a lot of peace and consolation (Catholic Church, 1995, p. 710; *Revised Standard Version*, Mt 6:60, 1952). Similarly, listening to or performing music individually can be a very satisfying experience (Clarke et al., 2010, p. 98).

As music often overlaps with religion, it is suggested (e.g., Beck, 2006) that they are both the culture's principal components, in terms of social and individual expression.

These connections between music, religion and culture are clear in Christianity, especially Catholicism, which is *bona fide* universal. That is why the social functions of music can be observed in various church contexts. Pawlak (2001) identifies four functions of liturgical music in the Catholic Church: *community bonding, meditative, ornamental* and *kerygmatic*. The functions identified by Hargreaves and North partly overlap with those typified by Pawlak (2001).

2.2.8.1. Ornamental function: aesthetic enjoyment

The first music function identified by Pawlak (2001) is *ornamental*, which freely corresponds to aesthetic enjoyment in the social and contextual typology (Hargreaves & North, 1999; Merriam, 1964). The question of aesthetics is not a straightforward one and perhaps it would be useful to define what aesthetic or aesthetic enjoyment constitutes. Aesthetics is a concept very much associated with Western art and an aesthetic object could be defined as any piece of art including musical composition, a painting, a poem, and so on (Beardsley, 1981). The ontological problem exists as to what exactly art is and what criteria one should use to assess it. According to Ranciere (2013) aesthetics refers to a process of "identifying and reflecting on the arts" (p. 4) and finding corresponding connections between the art pieces and what they represent. This process does not necessarily refer to the concept of artistic beauty as something which is considered beautiful for some might not be beautiful for others. Hence, it would be fair to say that the concept of art and aesthetics is constructed culturally. However, aesthetically enjoyable musical experiences will consist of those musical experiences which subjectively cause positive reactions and might be described as beautiful or pleasant.

Liturgical music accompanies various parts of the liturgy such as Holy Mass in Catholic Churches or the services in other churches. This function of music in the church is important in that it might enhance the liturgy and affect the way people experience the service. It relates indirectly to the concept of musical preferences. In the church context, these preferences will play an important role as favourite tunes will certainly produce positive emotional responses or associations (North & Hargreaves, 2008). The response to music will also be significantly affected by the context and the ambience of the church in which the music is experienced.

Evidence has been mounting, supporting the importance of the social context in musical behaviour and expression (Clayton, 2009; Lamont et al., 2018; Murray & Lamont, 2012; North & Hargreaves, 2008; Zapata & Hargreaves, 2018) so situating music experience in a church, not only as an assembly of the faithful but also as an architectural structure creates a more complete picture of the ornamental function of music.

In the experience of the liturgy, the senses play a very important role and so do music and other art (Catholic Church, 1995). The spiritual aspects have their realisation in the physical world and the sacred celebrations cannot be devoid of the appropriate experiences of the physical senses, manifested by various liturgical signs and symbols. According to Catechism of the Catholic Church (1995) "God speaks to man through the visible creation [...]. The same is true of signs and symbols taken from a social life [...]: washing and anointing, breaking bread and sharing the cup" (Catholic Church, 2007, pp. 324 - 325).

Although music in the early Church was limited to vocal music and the use of any instruments was not allowed due to apparent pagan connotations, vocal forms eventually started developing and the use of organs was accepted in the Church (Hurtado, 2000;

Pawlak, 2001). All in all, the church tradition throughout the centuries stressed the importance of the physical experience and developed the liturgies which utilised available means to enhance the celebration, be it the use of imposing architecture, paintings, sculpture or music (Dillenberger, 2004).

2.2.8.2. Meditative function

Through the *meditative function*, music fulfils more than just a simple ritual. Although the ritualistic character of the music is important, its potential to lead to transcendence is very important. In order to understand this aspect of music, it would be useful to define what meditation is in the context of this research. From the Christian point of view, the practice of meditation is often associated with the monastic tradition. It is a process which engages thought, imagination and emotions and directs attention to the mysteries of Christ, reflecting on the love of God (Catholic Church, 1995). In a general sense, meditation is a type of mindful and focused prayer, so ascertaining that music fulfils a meditative function in the church might mean that it aids prayer and helps to focus one's attention on God.

Music and art, signs and symbols, words and liturgical actions constitute the essence of the liturgy as they speak through the physical realities to the spiritual, through what is material, and accessible by senses to what is hidden in human hearts and thoughts.

Schaefer (2008) writes, elaborating on Ratzinger (2000), that "[t]he music of the liturgy is [...] more than harmony and rhythm, it is a vehicle for the transcendent realities of the liturgies, and thus, it must be ordered toward that transcendence" (p. 23).

Music in the form of a hymn, a song or an instrumental passage can function as prayer.

This has been attested by the long church traditions and supported by various authors

who point to the meditative quality of music itself (e.g., Bruhn, 2002; Troeger, 2013; Østrem, 2002). Pawlak (2001), when mentioning the *meditative function* of liturgical music, quotes from *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, a church document which stresses the importance of both physical and spiritual aspects of music:

In the earthly liturgy we take part in a foretaste of that heavenly liturgy which is celebrated in the holy city of Jerusalem [...]. With all the hosts of heaven we sing a hymn of glory to the Lord; venerating the memory of the saints, we hope to share their company; we eagerly await the Saviour [.] (Vatican Council II, 1963, para. 8)

2.2.8.2.1. Prayer as a conversation with God

Various religious traditions and sources regard prayer as conversation or dialogue with God, a reciprocal relation and encounter between people and God. Throughout centuries religious people conversed with God as though He was present with them. Both biblical and extra-biblical sources provide examples of conversations with God. Sanders (2016) compiles various examples of prayer from different traditions:

The Lord came and stood there, calling as the other times, "Samuel! Samuel!"

Then Samuel said, "Speak for your servant is listening." (NIV, 1 Sam 3:10)

The Lord says, "Because he loves me, I will rescue him, for he acknowledges my name. He will call upon me, and I will answer him; I will be with him in trouble, I will deliver him and honor him." (NIV, Psalm 91:14-15)

You called and cried aloud and shattered my deafness. You were radiant and resplendent. (Augustine: Confessions X.27)

O Son of Man! Be thou content with me and seek no other helper. For none but Me can ever suffice thee. (Words of Encouragement and Inspiration, Bahh'u'llah)

(pp. 9-37)

Moreover, Psalms, a collection of prayers of praise, were usually sung, and music and song in the church a very much akin to conversational prayer. The following example illustrates this quality of music and singing in the biblical context: "Make a joyful noise to the Lord, all the lands! Serve the Lord with gladness! Come into his presence with singing!" (*Revised Standard Version*, Psalm 100:1-2, 1952)

Singing and music can be forms and expressions of prayer as much as any recited prayer (Catholic Church, 1995). Throughout this research, it has been attested that music functions as prayer. Thus, because prayer can be subjectively a dialogue, music and singing can also be dialogistic.

2.2.8.3. Kerygmatic function

The word kerygma, derived from the Greek word kērússō (κηρύσσω), refers to the proclamation of the Good News about salvation as described in the Book of Acts of the New Testament (Briggs, 2018). Music, then, can also be proclamative. In other words, music and especially hymns or worship songs are supposed to instruct the faithful about the doctrine and the creed and convince them about their faith. Sound instruction in the faith will go beyond the doctrine and the creed and will also encourage people to put faith into action. The proclamation of 'good news' is also about living with and loving other people, transforming the world around us, and being open to life in general (Cañizares Llovera, 2014). These should be manifested through people's actions,

willingness for change, and promotion of social justice, charity, and community work.

Music has always been a great vehicle to advocate for social justice for many musicians and artists.

There are also many examples of English hymns which promote justice, peace, and charity and are uplifting and encouraging, such as *Brother*, *Sister Let me Serve you* (Gillard, 1978), *Let there be Love* (Bilbrough, n.d.), or *Christ Be Our Light* (Farell, 1994). The following excerpt from the hymn by Bernadett Farell exposes the transformation human beings can and indeed should bring to others.

Longing for food, many are hungry

Longing for water, many still thirst.

Make us Your bread, broken for others

Shared until all are fed.

Christ, be our light!

Shine in our hearts.

Shine through the darkness.

Christ, be our light!

Shine in Your church gathered today.

Longing for shelter, many are homeless

Longing for warmth, many are cold.

Make us Your building, sheltering others

Walls made of living stone. (Farell, 1994, p. 883)

In this sense, the 'kerygmatic function' corresponds to the enforcing of conformity to social norms from Merriam's typology (1964). This function of music is very important

and should not be underestimated. Music in the church context should be in the service of the word and, through its artistic qualities, should add to or magnify the importance of the words proclaimed as "faith comes from what is heard, and what is heard comes through the word of Christ" (*New Revised Standard Version Catholic Edition*, Romans 10:17, 1989/2004).

2.2.8.4. Community bonding function: integration of the society

From the bottom-up perspective, *community bonding* seems to be an inevitable effect of practising or making music together or worshipping through music within the church, as such activities have a 'high potential to integrate' (Ignatowicz, 2018). Indeed, it is suggested in the literature and described in the paragraphs above that music may contribute to social bonding. This function of music, typified by Merriam as *the integration of the society*, is a key function in church communities, and much evidence exists from different fields supporting the fact that group music activities may help to form stronger bonds between people (Clarke et al., 2010; MacDonald et al., 2013; North & Hargreaves, 2008).

Singing together in the church during a Mass or a service might be a very integrative experience, although it does not mean that people will form bonds outside of the church just because they sing together at the service. Neither does the experience of singing always guarantee a good aesthetic sensation due to either the discouraging singing of the other faithful, poor music leadership or both.

2.2.8.4.1. Liturgy as the work of the people

All these functions of music do not happen in isolation but are part of the liturgy which literally means 'the work of the people', from the ancient Greek *leitourgia* [λειτουργία] (Lewis, 1960). Catechism of the Catholic Church speaks of liturgy as 'source of life' which manifests itself 'as the visible sign of the communion in Christ between God and men' (Catholic Church, 1995, pp. 302-303). The Church encourages the active and fruitful participation of the faithful in liturgy and public worship. This participation is often 'given expression through symbols perceptible by the senses' (Flannery, p 121), music being an integral part of this symbolism.

There seem to be two intrinsic elements to the nature of the liturgy: its communality and its dualistic, 'physical-spiritual' character. Ratzinger (2000) compares the liturgy to 'play', and as in play, we have many participants, often two teams, a set of rules and the beginning and the end of the play, so it is with the liturgy. There is an expectation of active participation in the liturgy but very special participation as though the whole experience was a foreshadow of something greater, something otherworldly. Further comparison describes the liturgy as "a kind of anticipation of life, a rehearsal, a prelude for life to come, for eternal life, [...] no longer of exigency and need, but of freedom of generosity and gift" (Ratzinger, 2000, p. 14).

In the celebration of the liturgy, the dualism is manifested through the liturgical actions of the participants, the art, the holy images, the music and through what these symbols and signs represent, namely the nonvisible sacred mysteries of Christ's death and resurrection re-enacted.

Some scholars in earlier and more recent studies (e.g., Arnold, 2014; DeNora, 2000; Marti, 2012; Stringer, 1999) have pointed out the power of music practices in certain

social contexts, one of them being worship. Marti (2012) has found that in order for music worship to be successful, it needs to be practised in a community. Furthermore, the importance of communities of practice in the socialisation of people, exchange of knowledge and social bonding is also well evidenced in literature (Clarke et al., 2010; Clausen et al., 1968; Eckert, 2006; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992; Lave & Wenger, 1991; MacDonald et al., 2013; Wenger, 1998). Despite various challenges in defining the connection between music and religion, music has fitted perfectly well in Christian worship and, according to Marti (2012), has the "power [...] to accomplish unity among people of different races and ethnicities" (p.10).

2.2.9. Uses of music

Uses of music are intrinsically related to its functions, although there is a subtle difference between them. One might say that the uses of music describe how music is used in society and what musical forms are used to fulfil the music functions. Merriam (1964) explains that the uses of music refer to the ways people employ music in society. For example, when worshippers use music to approach God, they employ it with other actions such as prayer or religious rituals (Merriam, 1964). Uses of music, then, focus on the situation in which music is used to perform some human action; [functions] concern "the reasons for its employment and particularly a broader purpose which it serves (Merriam, 1964)."

North, Hargreaves and Hargreaves (2004) explain that both uses and functions of music are very much context-dependent. There is evidence that people use music to fulfil different functions in different situations. These researchers conclude that "[t]he value of music in people's everyday lives depends on the uses they make of it and the degree

to which they engage with it, which are in turn dependent on the contexts in which they hear it" (North, Hargreaves & Hargreaves, 2004, p. 41).

Gregory (1997) describes different uses of music from the ethnomusicological point of view, listing uses which are more specific to Western cultures and those that might not be so familiar. He makes an important observation that in many societies, music is not used simply for its own sake but rather integrally within a given culture. A few traditional examples include using music to put babies to sleep (lullabies), accompany work, dance, tell a story, or mark a religious ceremony. Amongst other cultures, music is often used alongside languages to communicate some messages, an example being a talking drum in some African societies (Durojaye et al., 2021). Thus, in various societies, perhaps more than in Western cultures, music can fulfil a function of communication in a similar way to language.

Another way of understanding the way people use music in their lives is through the uses and gratifications approach (North et al., 2000). The key element of this approach extant in the research on why people, especially, adolescents listen to music is that music contributes to identity formation as young people tend to use music as a 'badge' of identification with a certain type of music or musical sub-culture (North et al., 2000). Furthermore, people might use music to manage or enhance their mood following the mood-optimization strategy as they seem "to listen to music that would help them to get the most from the given listening situation" (North, Hargreaves & Hargreaves, 2004, p. 68).

2.3. The meaning of music in social contexts

While different functions of music can be relatively clearly identified within various social contexts, as was evident in the above discussion on social and liturgical models, musical meanings are more complex and difficult to define. The problem already starts on the level of defining the word 'meaning' concerning music. In other words, one can pose a question: "What Does One Mean by 'Meaning'?" (Patel, 2010, p. 303). Indeed, musical meanings can be considered from different points of view. Furthermore, some terms might be 'lost in translation' as the English word 'meaning' has multiple translations and interpretations in the Polish language. First, there is the 'meaning' as in the question: "What does this word mean?" [Co to słowo oznacza/znaczy?]. Here, in Polish, as one can see, the word "mean" [znaczyć] can be easily replaced by the word "signify" [oznaczać], where they are synonymous. Also, for most respondents, the question "What does this music mean?" is very vague; more likely to be interpreted as "How meaningful/significant is this music?" or "How important is this music?" Hence, when discussing musical meanings, one considers various related aspects, be it the meaning, the significance, the signification or the importance.

There are also various classifications and approaches to the meaning of music. There are many theories, and some may be more helpful than others in understanding music in the church context. Many early theorists, as well as more recent ones, have seen the meaning of music as intrinsic to musical structures (e.g., Cone, 1974; Hatten, 1994; Kivy, 1993; McClary, 2000; Meyer, 1956; Ockelford, 2009).

For example, Meyer (1956), who represents a more absolutist position, asserts that musical meaning lies within the context of a musical work itself. In light of this understanding, any emotions that may arise as an effect of listening to a piece of music are directly related to this piece and not to any other extra-musical aspects (Sherburne,

1966, p. 579). Mayer attaches his theories to the fact that music has the potential to exert emotions on people due to its structural elements, such as unpredictability versus familiarity. For example, musical pieces with unpredicted patterns might produce tensions in listeners which are associated with different emotions. On the other hand, the patterns which are logically resolved, predicted, and anticipated might also produce emotions akin to the sense of completeness. Huron (2008) described the relation between music and emotional responses from the psychological perspective in "Sweet anticipation: Music and the psychology of expectation." In fact, the meaning of music can be looked at from both intrinsic and extrinsic perspectives, and there is no reason why these two approaches should be irreconcilable (North & Hargreaves, 2008).

This research adopts a more referential and extrinsic approach to musical meaning,

which looks beyond the structure of music itself and considers the outside context and subjects (DeNora, 1986; Langer, 1953; Miell, MacDonald & Hargreaves, 2005). It is in line with a social and contextual understanding of music, focusing on meanings constructed in the context of worship.

2.3.1. Musical and linguistic meanings

Understanding the musical structure and comparing it with the structure of language is indeed very interesting. The relation has already been investigated widely (e.g., Campbell, 1997; Cross & Tolbert, 2009; Patel & Daniele, 2003; Schenker, 1933), but this approach will not answer those questions which fall beyond the scope of linguistic interpretation. Language is a very important medium in spiritual contexts, and music cannot be divorced from it. However, the meaning of music produced in spiritual

contexts does not always have to be linguistic in nature (Best, 1993; Catholic Church, 1995; Pawlak, 2001).

Music is often paralinguistic and might refer to experiences that are difficult to describe (Bennett-Hunter, 2015; Otto, 1950; Van Der Leeuw, 1963). Here it will be necessary to understand musical meaning from the point of view of people's experiences and affect in the context of the church, which will be addressed later in the chapter.

2.3.1.1. Relation of music to text

There is almost an intrinsic relation between music and words; this connection is especially visible in the artistic expressions of cultures in different social contexts worldwide (e.g., Beardsley, 1981; Hull, 2002; Merriam, 1964; Rabinowitz, 1992). The words, then, might give meaning to music which otherwise would be linguistically incomprehensible.

Although music as such cannot be successfully interpreted in linguistic terms, it is through the synthesis of texts and music that meaning fully manifests itself in the church. The proclamation of the Word of God in the liturgical context is paramount, and the music plays a *kerygmatic function* in its proclamation. It instructs the faithful through musical forms, which are part of the words of the liturgy but also through hymns and worship songs, which find their way into the liturgy. Beardsley (1981) refers to the *fusion theory* of musical meaning and the concept of the *presentational specification* to explain "the relation of music to words" (p. 339).

Music, then, according to *presentational specification* "must not merely underline the words, and intensify their meaning, but add to them in some noteworthy way" (Beardsley, 1981, p. 346). The relationship between music and words is reciprocal, in

the sense that music might give or alter the meaning of the words as much as words might affect the perception of music (Beardsley, 1981; Hull, 2002).

This concept might explain the fact that music in the church is at the service of the Word [logos in Greek]. Theologically speaking music renders an immensely important service since Logos also signifies Jesus Christ. This has a very strong implication as Jesus in effect represents the same Word as written in the Scripture. The whole liturgy, music included, is centred around Logos – Christ (Ratzinger, 2000, p. 38, p. 71).

The implication is then that the Church needs artists and musicians and that the art and music should be of good artistic quality.

In order to communicate the message entrusted to her by Christ, the Church needs art. Art must make perceptible, and as far as possible attractive, the world of the spirit, of the invisible, of God. It must therefore translate into meaningful terms that which is in itself ineffable. (John Paul II, 1999, p. 10)

2.3.1.2. Music as a sign: referential meaning

Music is often regarded as a sign or has a symbolic meaning, a tenet which is quite consistent in the literature. This type of meaning is described as referential and suggests that music simply refers to something which is beyond music itself (Beardsley, 1981; Merriam, 1964; Sherburne, 1966) in much the same way as a metaphor. According to Sherburne (1966), music refers to "the extramusical world of emotional states" (p.1). In a similar way, Schaerlaeken et al. (2022) studied associations between metaphors and specific emotions and concluded they might relate to one another through "the embodied knowledge and the perception of movement in space" (2022, p.1), meaning that metaphors and emotions associated with the movement are related to one another.

There is no linguistic meaning in musical sounds, but such meaning might be culturally approximated and assigned as in examples of African talking drums or Wagnerian leitmotifs (Beardsley, 1981; Durojaye et al., 2021). Similarly, as research proves that "signed and spoken languages share basic linguistic properties" (Mann et al., 2010, p. 1), the liturgical sign, which music is, might bear some linguistic meaning.

One way of looking at musical meaning is to see if music has any 'significance' or if it signifies anything (Beardsley, 1981; Langer, 1954; Sherburne, 1966). When dealing with liturgical music, the Catechism of the Catholic Church (1995) stresses that it should be understood as any other liturgical sign. It instructs that "[s]ong and music fulfil their functions as signs in a manner all the more significant when they are 'more closely connected ... with the liturgical action' (Vatican Council II, 1963)" (Catholic Church, 1995, p. 327).

This concept aligns with the idea that music is 'sacramental' (Arnold, 2014; Blackwell, 1999). In other words, music might signify a divine reality. Although Christians approach and understand the concept in various ways, there is a fundamental consensus as to what a sacrament is or what it represents, namely the visible sign of a spiritual, invisible reality effective through the grace of God (Catholic Church, 1994; Lyden et al., 2015).

The concept of a musical sign is taken up by Beardsley, for example. The theory of signification, which describes musical meaning from the viewpoint of semiotics (Beardsley, 1981), aligns with the concept that music in the Church is a sign. Music might signify a spiritual reality or be an instrument of sanctification, something akin to a sacrament. The symbols are ever-present, important, and very helpful in understanding faith. Music, thus, can be a powerful sign or symbol, signifying and pointing at

something other than itself. Indeed, many past musical works were created to point to the grandeur of the creator and were composed *to the glory of God*, a term often accompanying works by such famous composers as Johann Sebastian Bach or George Frideric Handel (Butt, 1997; Burrows, 2005).

Music is regarded as a liturgical sign in the Church, which is attested by the church tradition and stressed in church documents. Especially singing as a sign is considered to be of great importance as it is closely related to the word of God (Pawlak, 2001). The faithful's participation is confirmed by the congregation's singing, who join in the form of dialogue with God. "For in the liturgy God speaks to his people, Christ is still proclaiming his gospel, and the people respond to God both in song and in prayer" (Flannery, 1996, p. 129).

2.3.2. Psychological perspectives on musical meaning; music and affect

Both music and religion have been the subject of psychological investigations for some time, and two separate disciplines – music psychology and the psychology of religion – have developed. However, the number of studies interested in both areas is limited (Sloboda, 2005), and more cross-disciplinary research is needed, especially in immigrant church communities where music is practised. Nevertheless, those who have engaged in research in these two areas have encountered two phenomena which overlap in many respects in terms of human culture and tap into the human psyche in a strikingly similar way. Two shared aspects of either music or religion seem to stand out inevitably, one being their ineffable character and the second their affective qualities.

Emotions are one of the key aspects of the musical experience. Research in the role of emotions in music listening and the effect of music on the human affect is quite

abundant but it is beyond the scope of this study to devote a lot of time to discuss it.

Because one of this research aims is to study the meaning of music, the role of emotions will be treated as such. It has been stated that despite some structural similarities between language and music, the latter cannot communicate the meaning, with the exception of hymns and songs, in the same way as language does (e.g., Campbell 1997; Clayton 2009; Cross and Tolbert 2009; Patel 2010).

That music is not a proxy language does not preclude the fact that it communicates something (Merriam, 1964). In fact, music communicates a lot through the emotions, feelings, and states it might evoke (e.g., Cook, 2001; Cooke, 1959; Hargreaves & North, 2008; Juslin & Sloboda, 2010; Sloboda, 2005; Sloboda & Juslin, 2001). Furthermore, what language often cannot express might be vented through the medium of art and especially music. If music then communicates something through the evocations of different emotional states, it certainly has some meaning. This meaning perhaps might be reflected in different emotional states it imitates or evokes. Music, thus, is at least a certain analogy for emotions it strives to express, and they both have a dynamic structure (Sherburne, 1966). This 'element of motion' with its creativity, might be manifested "in a variety of forms" (Hanslick, 1957, p. 25).

2.3.2.1. Ineffability of musical and religious experiences (Raffman, 1993; Sloboda,2005)

First, a number of researchers have pointed out the many connections that exist between music and religion (Bruhn, 2002; Otto, 1950; Partridge, 2014; Sloboda, 2005; Van der Leeuw, 1938). Sloboda (2005) suggests that "music is thus a very good analogy for certain key aspects of worship" (p. 347). Elaborating on the work of Raffman (1993)

and the concept of the ineffability of music, Sloboda draws a number of further similarities between music and worship, arguing that "at the heart of much worship is the sense of being in the presence of that which is beyond capture of human senses" (p. 347).

The concept of ineffability is deeply rooted in modern aesthetics and refers to artistic experiences, which often "cannot be put into words" (Raffman, 1988, p. x). This quality of art is especially strong in music as "music articulates the forms that language cannot set forth" (Langer, 1942, p. 198). Ineffability is not only something "inexpressible" but also beyond our "conceptual grasp"; a "mystery" (Bennett-Hunter, 2015, p. 10).

2.3.2.2. The 'aesthetic awe' and 'numinous' (Konečni, 2005; Otto, 1923)

The idea of the "ineffable" brings into mind the "numinous", a concept associated with the "non-rational" experiences of God, introduced by the German Lutheran philosopher Rudolph Otto (1923). A similar concept has been postulated by other earlier scholars (Lowie, 1925) and redefined by Konečni (2005), who describes the emotion of awe as something people experience when confronted with something surprisingly much greater than themselves, such as powerful images of nature like the Grand Canyon, grandiose classical music like *The Creation* by Haydn, or something supernatural like God (Konečni, 2005; Konečni, 2011; Lowie, 1960; Peck, 2017). In the case of music, meaning might be constructed through people's subjective experiences, and their 'peak' emotional responses to music are manifested in the emotion of awe. Both music and worship experiences are ineffable on various levels; therefore, they might tap into each other and work effectively together. We often lack the verbal power to express these elusive experiences of either music or worship.

Konečni (2005) refers to the idea of the *aesthetic trinity: awe*, *being moved* and *thrills*, claiming that for an object or a phenomenon to be aesthetically impactful, it needs to be of 'colossal' size. Accidentally, this concept resembles or borrows from an idea of the *Holy Trinity*; Father, Son and the Holy Spirit, a Christian theological concept which itself is difficult to grasp, the ineffable. This symbolism or the doctrine of a triune God suggests another analogy in the context of church music. Alluded to by Ratzinger (2000, p. 142), who sees the Holy Spirit as an inspiration, a breath of life, and Jesus Christ as the Word, music gives life to the words of hymns which become inspired and alive.

2.3.2.3. Other affective responses to music and religion

Aesthetic 'awe' and 'numinous' experiences are examples of the most sublime emotions and are very characteristic of certain musical and religious experiences but are not the only ones observed. Some other researchers have pointed out that other emotions aroused by music are similar to those associated with the experience of 'the holy' or of 'the numinous' (e.g., Konečni, 2005; Otto, 1950; Partridge, 2014; Raffman, 1993). Such musical experiences as classical or rock concerts might generate emotional responses similar to those present during religious experiences. A few authors have even drawn associations between rock musicians and ceremonial priests who are able to lead their 'congregation' into various states of elation or ecstasy. For example, North and Hargreaves (2008, p. 229) quote a few previous studies that have compared Elvis Presley to a 'spiritual leader' and rock concert experiences to 'worship experiences' (e.g., Ratzinger, 2000).

Because musical experiences are usually accompanied by certain emotional responses, attempts have been made to codify them into a system. Cooke (1959), for example, relying on Western tonal music developments, suggested 16 different types of musical affective expressions. These expressions and experiences form a certain 'language' of emotions in which musical meaning can be perceived. Music, then, can acquire meaning through the emotional states it generates or refers to (Patel, 2010).

2.3.2.4. Musical preferences, tastes and differences

The discussion about the meaning of music would not be complete without a section on musical tastes and preferences. In the literature, in the social psychology of music, the question of music likes and dislikes is very much researched and is studied separately from musical meaning. It is impossible to neglect it in the context of church music because musical tastes contribute to the subjective experiences of music. Studying music in everyday life situations in contexts requires taking into consideration not just music in the context but also the participants and their relations and responses to the music. People have various musical tastes and preferences, and their musical experiences would vary in terms of the emotional effect or associations (North & Hargreaves, 2008).

Furthermore, the research shows that there might be some gender differences in terms of musical preferences and behaviour (Kemp, 1997). Some of these differences are likely to be socially constructed as there is a stereotypical attitude towards the way men and women behave musically or the type of instruments they are encouraged to play (North & Hargreaves, 2008; O'Neill, 1997). Historically women were musically disadvantaged in Western culture and were encouraged to play only specific types of instruments.

Furthermore, it was believed that women did not possess the qualities of a good composer (O'Neill, 1997). Although such attitudes have changed over time, some stereotypes still exist.

The differences in music preferences and taste might actually have more to do with personality differences, and there is a growing body of evidence to support such a claim (Kemp, 1997). Another interesting finding links *musicality* and *religiosity*, suggesting that people who are musicians have more tendency to be more religious than those who are not so musical (Beit-Hallahmi & Argyle, 1997; Shuter-Dyson, 2000; Shuter-Dyson, 2006). In this research, the level of religiosity and church engagement amongst the participants is relatively high. At the same time, there is a substantial level of musical engagement and awareness amongst the participants.

2.3.2.4.1. The circumplex model

The circumplex model might explain why people like certain pieces of music and dislike others. This model is a development of Berlyne's theory (1971) who proposed that preferences or liking for something is linked to 'arousal potential'. According to this theory, "[s]timuli with an intermediate degree of arousal potential are liked most, and this degree of liking gradually decreases towards the extremes of arousal potential" (Hargreaves & North, 1997).

North and Hargreaves (2008), however, tested the model, which explains the two-dimensional and dichotomous attitudes to music in terms of emotional responses. According to these researchers, any affective response can be described and located somewhere around the two-axis model, active-passive and pleasant-unpleasant dichotomies. For example, the feeling of serenity could be located somewhere around

sleepy and attractive music (North & Hargreaves, 2008). This model could potentially be used with regard to the effect of the music of various degrees of quality or standard, whether in secular or religious contexts.

2.3.3. Socio-cultural perspectives: meanings and identities in situated contexts (Engestrom, 1999; Vygotsky, 1966; Wenger & Lave, 1991)

Much research attention has turned to the situations and contexts in which social processes occur. Music is often constructed and experienced socially, so there has been a lot of research attention to social contexts where music appears organically (e.g., Clayton, 2009; Greasley & Lamont, 2016; Kenny, 2016; Hargreaves & North, 1999; Hargreaves et al., 2006; Robson & Zachariou, 2022).

Understanding the construction of social meanings needs to be approached through social contexts in order to achieve a real picture of the phenomenon. This approach stems from the socio-cultural perspective pioneered by Vygotsky (1966). Vygotsky understood that from the very start of human development, children appear to be "social beings" by interaction with others and continue to be so throughout their lives (North & Hargreaves, 2008, p. 315).

The meaning of music is multifaceted, but this multidimensional character of music can be best understood in a given context where various social processes are at play (Cross & Tolbert in Cross et al., 2009). The socio-cultural approach might be helpful in understanding the construction of musical meaning in Polish church communities in London. Musical meaning, achieved through the affective responses experienced during worship, will often be a by-product of a social experience in a given context where specific people congregate in a specific place and time for worship.

Some proponents of social theories such as the theory of social learning (e.g., Lave & Wenger, 1991) or cultural-historical activity theory (Engeström, 2015; Engeström & Miettinem, 1999; Robson & Zachariou, 2022), stress the importance of practice and learning processes such as self-regulation in their social context. Music seems to be a strong agent in social groups, and the concept of communities of practice might clarify the construction of musical meanings and identity in the church. However, it would not be possible to fully understand the meaning of music without situating it in a specific context, in this case, the Polish migrant church, and without examining music's identity-forming qualities, which according to Partridge (2014), underlie the construction of meaning.

2.3.3.1 Communities of practice (Wenger & Lave, 1991)

The concept of communities of practice was first defined by Lave and Wenger (1991) and refers to social situations where people "come together to take part in a communal endeavour" (Eckert, 2006, p. 683; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992; Wenger, 1998). According to Sutter (2009, p. 64), being a member of a community of practice is a key element in acquiring knowledge. Learning new skills or knowledge in a given field stirs up interest and fulfils the needs of the participants, enabling self-realization in a given area, at the same time strengthening the motivation to participate in a communal activity (Bonshor, 2017; Clausen et al., 1968; Higgins, 2012; MacDonald et al., 2013; Veblen, 2008).

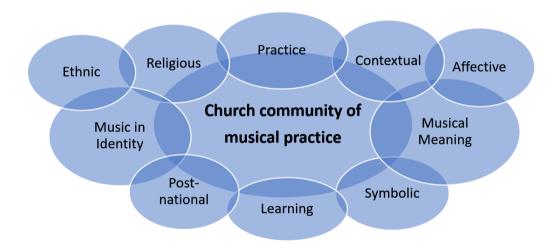
Eckert (2006) lists such communities as book circles, groups of friends, and nuclear families, but also crack houses, the latter being examples of socially marginalised

communities of practice. She mentions a church congregation as an example of a community of practice among many other groups.

According to Wenger (1998), several components are necessary to make up a community of practice. They include a community, identity, meaning and practice, and learning as a result of these. Though learning processes are at the heart of the concept, Wenger (1998) stresses that the nexus can be easily shifted between the components. Using Wenger's initial model, the following model, which places identity and meaning at its centre, might demonstrate the processes at play in a church community of practice.

Figure 2

Meanings and Identities in the Church Community of Musical Practice



Note. This figure demonstrates the connections between constructed identities and meanings in church communities. Both identities and meanings often overlap and are constantly constructed and reconstructed during musical practice in the church.

According to this model developed by Wenger (1998), the meanings and identities are strongly related. In a church community of practice, the identities are negotiated in the experience of participation in music. For example, negotiating identities in a choir will be an interplay between the individual and the collective, the unfamiliar and familiar, local and global, ethnic and immigrant – post-national (Folkestad, 2017). Various meanings will be constructed during participation and practice.

As community members will learn new hymns, many processes will be at play. For example, there will be the negotiation of musical knowledge between the choirmaster and the participants, various individual as well as group responses to the lyrics or the various voices and harmonies; there will be musical associations and memories brought to life. Finally, the learning and socialisation of the members will take place. The meaning will be constructed in the process of interplay between the music, the text and the context. Similarly, various identities will be assumed and sustained through the construction of the meanings. In the immigrant communities, the new post-national identity might appear as the migrants will try to find a place to belong to a community, which is at the same time familiar – Polish and unfamiliar – situated in a different migrant context and reality.

2.3.3.2. Church and communities of musical practice

Some researchers stress the importance of the social use of music in a religious context and how it might strengthen group cohesion and identity (Clarke, 2010; Marti, 2012; Myrick, 2017). In various religious worship traditions, the sense of 'togetherness' is very strong, and communal worship often proves to have a powerful effect, as Beck (2006) states: "[generating] elation, social cohesion, and empowerment within the identifiable

communities" (p.1). Such contexts are fertile fields for activities which are meaningful to people, and musical activities might assume this meaning through their bonding, affective and identity-forming qualities.

A church is an example of a social situation where music is practised, performed, and experienced in a community of the faithful. Though the concept of communities of practice is not always mentioned overtly in music or religious research, the effects of communal musical activities are very similar. For example, in the research conducted in racially mixed American churches, music, or more precisely people's participation in its production and absorption, has, according to Marti (2012), demonstrated a degree of success in creating coherence and promoting racial diversity in multi-ethnic churches in the USA. In the UK, McLean (2007) suggests that the organisation of black churches in post-war Britain contributed to their gradual social inclusion. One of the forces that kept the community going and largely impacted on its members was "the liturgy with its melodic songs, rhythmic clapping and dance" (p. 130).

Marti (2012) observed that it does not really matter what style of music is practised if it encourages communal or group participation. On the other hand, music cannot be separated from the identity of immigrants. Clark et al. (2010) claim that music is an expression of the tradition and values of a given culture. Immigrants from different parts of the world bring this identity with them and they often cultivate it through communal practice.

Wenger places a lot of stress on the construction of meaning and identity in the communities of practice and church music groups might be places where the meaning is negotiated and constructed and where identities are formed.

2.3.3.3. Musical participation and reification: meaning and identity

There are two elements involved in the construction or, to borrow the term from Wenger (1998), in the negotiation of meaning, namely *participation* and *reification*. For a balanced and successful community of practice, the participation must be meaningful, and it must be reified. The process of reification refers to the produced results of the practice and participation (Wenger, 1998). For example, a rehearsal might result in a ready 'product of a song' or a performance at a Sunday Mass, in which case the song or the performance will be the reification. In other words, the meaning is located in the process of its negotiation through participation in the music rehearsal and through its reification.

Understanding the meaning of music from this perspective will help us to understand its social character and its agency in creating social cohesion in a particular community of practice.

The concept of identity is closely related to the construction of meaning in a community. According to Wenger (1998) "[o]ur identity includes our ability and our inability to shape the meanings that define our communities and our forms of belonging" (p.145). Exploring the concept of identity in Polish churches, be it musical, ethnic or religious, will mean taking into consideration contexts in the church as well as outside of the church, in people's past and present lives.

2.3.3.4. Music in identities

In *Musical Identities* MacDonald et al. (2002) expose an interesting picture of the importance of identity formation in social situations where music is practised or experienced. They tackle the problem in detail from the psychological point of view.

Music appears to be a force which contributes a lot to the picture of some people's identities. The research suggests that music's ability to affect human emotions, thoughts, values and social relationships is instrumental in developing the sense of identity, values or belief systems (MacDonald et al., 2002).

Music might become a token of identity, a badge that some people use to show others where they belong (North et al., 2000). Such musical 'badges' are especially visible in young people's behaviour which is manifested not only by the type of music they listen to but also by the clothes they wear, the language they speak and the beliefs they hold. These specific cultural behaviours within a given culture often give rise to musical subcultures. The musical identity does not have to be restricted to musicians only but can extend to other people affected by music.

Although potentially interesting, it is beyond the scope of this research to find out if any type of church music might function as a 'badge'. Nevertheless, a church is a place where people might form their identities because this is a place where they belong. With its social and ritualistic character, it will inevitably exert influence on the faithful. Identity construction will happen accordingly depending also on the type of participation, whether full or peripheral (Wenger, 1999). Especially in communities of musical practice in the church, where the level of participation is relatively high, the sense of belonging and identity can be strong, and the music practised together is considered to be the main contributor to identity formation (Phelan, 2017; Kelly; 2011).

2.3.3.5. Musical functions, meaning and identity in worship

Concluding the argument: musical functions, meanings and identities will overlap, and clear-cut boundaries between them might often merge. For example, the musical function

of the continuity and stability of culture might produce the meaning of music through the experience of hymns sung in one's native language and the feeling of nostalgia or patriotism associated with the hymn. Similarly, the referential meaning of music might also be the musical function of signifying something.

In immigrant communities such as Polish church communities in London, music might mean or signify the connection to realities that are no longer available such as the people's culture and their motherland, or to realities that are still being constructed. The use of the mother tongue guarantees this connection *sensu stricto*, and music might bolster this connection but also provide a bridge to creating new, present realities and identities in a different country.

On the individual level, Polish songs and hymns might evoke associations with past events and memories. On the social level, musicking might help to connect with the present and the future through interactions with others. On the national level, Polish music might signify a bridge between the past, the present and the future realities, something which upholds national identity (Folkestad, 2002). On the emotional and religious levels, communal music experiences might tap into psychological needs and open the door to experiences of "the numinous" and "the wholly other" (Otto, 1950). One of the aims of the present research is to explore how Polish immigrants understand these meanings of music and how the meanings relate to the identities of those immigrants.

Music, just like language, is a very strong medium of cultural identity. In Polish immigrant communities the sense of belonging and national identity has often been cultivated and promoted in churches. Participation in group activities or, as it has been here defined, in communities of practice, builds social and personal bonds between

members of the community and has a very positive impact on the well-being of the group members (Beck, 2006; MacDonald et al., 2013; Rogers & Robinson, 2004; Sutter, 2009). Group activities such as music workshops encourage participation and cooperation, often leading to group integration.

Church choir or music workshops might then provide the participants with the opportunity to challenge themselves in the group, become active members of the group and in effect bond and identify with the group. Moreover, the spiritual dimension of these groups might also further contribute to their bonding, which has also been suggested by some other qualitative research (e.g., Marti 2012; Arnold 2014). They are also places where different identities are formed or upheld, be they national, ethnic, religious or musical, such as a Polish immigrant, a Catholic or a guitarist.

2.4. The relation of the thesis to other work in the field

This section highlights several important studies which are somehow related to or have been a relevant background to this study. They are rather selective and include examples of research done in the last decade or so in the church contexts as well as in singing or musicking together outside of the sacred contexts.

2.4.1. Practising religious music in the church and outside of the church context

Some studies have addressed the relation between music and worship practices, but few have addressed this relationship from the perspective of social psychology of music in a mono-ethnic faith context. One study looks at music practices in multiracial congregations in the USA. In this, Marti (2012) argues that it is not the style of either

the music or the worship that determines the success of such multiracial groups but "the complex of practices of the worshipping community in the production and absorption of music" (p. 17).

Arnold (2014), on the other hand, maintains that sacred music still exercises a great influence on today's British society, either through people's continuous participation in liturgies and concerts, or through the increasing popularity of church choir membership. He carried out a series of interviews with several professionals from the musical and theological fields to find out why sacred music still plays such a significant role in secular society. His findings suggest that there is not really any clear "divide between the church and the concert hall, or between religious or secular society for the art of music is received by everyone alike... [and it] provides for us the means to explore the indefinable, the inexpressible, that unknown to us and yet that for which we search and long" (Arnold, 2014, p. 147).

According to the Magisterium, music of various styles is encouraged and "held in due esteem", especially in places where people "have their own musical tradition, [which] plays an important part in their religious and social life" (Flannery, 1996, p.154).

In a recent study Ingalls (2018) argues that worship music has given rise to new ways of congregating. She explores social events (e.g., concerts or conferences) and communities (e.g., a church or public and networked congregations). Her findings depict a congregation as a social organism which is actively involved in the musically driven communal practice. This participatory worship activity does not necessarily happen within local churches but predominantly at events outside of the church context. Ingalls' observations and interview findings suggest that big conferences with music worship at their centre provide models of belonging to a larger religious community,

with people describing the event as "almost *more* sacred than a church" (Ingalls, 2011, p. 273).

In relation to her findings, Polish church communities usually congregate and practice in church buildings but also often outside the context of the services. Participants of liturgical workshops are often drawn from different churches through social media. Their choirs also perform in other venues and at other cultural events, although this is outside the scope of this research. Further exploration in the current research is needed to investigate these assumptions about Polish congregants in the UK.

2.4.2. Emotions induced by music in religious contexts

Some research has been done on music, religion and induced emotions from the ethnomusicological point of view. Rouget (1985) refers to various examples of studies from different 'spiritual' perspectives. Examples of music-induced trance or ecstasy have been abundant in Christian churches throughout history and still exist today in some religious traditions (Cox, 2013; Goodman, 2008; Sacks 2006). Most commonly they are attributed to a belief that a deity or a force emanating from it in some way enters the subject, "which ... controls him and causes him to act and speak in its name" (Rouget, 1985, p. 26).

An interesting investigation of the emotional effects of music on religious experience was conducted by Miller and Strongman (2002), who studied a sample of 146 people of whom 105 belonged to a Pentecostal Church. Two studies were conducted. In the first, a questionnaire was used, and a series of interviews was conducted with 95 church attenders. The participants were asked to rate their emotional experience of music on a Religious Service Experience scale.

It turned out that music was the major mood raiser when the results of pre- and post-service tests were compared. The second study, carried out with two groups (non-religious choir members and Pentecostal church attenders), revealed that the familiarity and associations with the music strongly influenced their level of enjoyment (Miller & Strongman, 2002). This finding supports those of other researchers such as Berlyne (1970); Eagle (1971) and Hargreaves (1982 and 1984).

More recent examples include observations by Becker (2010), who writes about Pentecostalism, where the belief in the power of the Holy Spirit is very strong and where "music is the driving force for the emotional apotheosis" (p. 143). The emotional response to music during Pentecostal services might be so strong among some of the believers that it often manifests itself through various trance-like behaviours such as "dancing in the Spirit" or "glossolalia" (ritually employed invented singing) (William, 2005, p. 15, Goodman 2008). The role or meaning of emotions in response to music in the Polish Church on immigration is yet to be clarified, and this study will aim to investigate these musical meanings empirically.

2.4.3. Effects of singing together

A study to investigate the effects of people singing together was conducted by Durrant and Himonides (1998). It was carried out through observations of a London-based choral society, a questionnaire and interviews with its members. The study's outcome suggested that singing together in a choir produces a state of well-being, gives opportunities to form friendships and broadens musical knowledge and skills. Although choirs in our society are not necessarily affiliated with church communities, the positive outcomes of church choirs and sacred music are attested, and as Arnold (2014) observes,

"in today's so-called secular society, sacred choral music is as powerful, compelling and popular as it has ever been" (p. xiv).

Recent studies are confirming the previous suggestions that singing together can bring a lot of benefits to participants. A very interesting study by Pearce et al. (2016) looked at the effects of singing on social bonding within and between different singing groups.

The groups, referred to by authors as 'cliques', were mixed up and new groups consisted of 5 to 20 people were created. The experiment compared two different singing situations: competitive singing and cooperative singing.

The findings, which are discussed from the perspective of social cohesion and social identity theories, suggest for example that singing produces the feeling of closeness "to the members of other pre-existing cliques after singing with them...regardless of whether they competed or cooperated" (p. 1266).

Similarly, Pearce et al. (2017) conducted a study to find out if singing together produced stronger bonding than other communal non-singing activities such as creative writing or crafts. Their results supported their hypothesis that the social ties within a group of singers "increase more rapidly" than those within a group of non-singers (p. 506). Their findings are in line with the findings of Stewart and Londale (2016), who compared 'choral singing' with other activities, namely 'solo singing' and 'team sport'. The results strongly indicated that team activities had a stronger effect on the improvement of well-being than solo activity. This study will explore the social bonding effects of music in the church as one of the musical functions.

2.4.4. Role of sacred music in expression of group connectedness and identities

Tshabalala and Patel (2010) explored the role of praise and worship activities in the spiritual well-being of a selected group of young people. Forty young people took part and completed a questionnaire and an adapted version of the Spiritual Well-being Scale (SWBS) designed by Paloutzian and Ellison (1982). Music was rated second on the scale of the activities, and the 'sense of connection' with other people in the group was mentioned as one of the most important elements of the experience. In the context of praise and worship, music produced very positive reactions of "upliftment and transformation" and improved relationships with God and others (Tshabalala and Patel; 2010, p. 79).

Fung (2017) demonstrates that musicking might positively affect the subjective well-being and the social, emotional and spiritual lives of the musicians involved in the process. She draws on both Western and Eastern spiritual and philosophical concepts to conduct a case study of two Australian-born Chinese Christian musicians. She concludes that musicians are able to find their identities as migrants through music in the spiritual context. This identity formation happens through the combination of parental, institutional and peer encouragement, personal perseverance and the choice of commitment to worship music (Fung, 2017).

Radocy and Boyle (2012) have argued that music often functions in a social context as an agent for the expression of patriotism and religion within a group of people, whilst Hoffer (1992), states that we need to look at music from the perspective of how it is used and learned in societies and in particular cultures. The Polish Church on immigration might be a good context in which to study the expression of patriotism and religion, as according to anthropological studies, immigrants get involved in activities which express their ethnic and religious identities more prominently than they do in their home

countries (Bava, 2011; Leonard et al., 2005; Levitt, 2007; Park, 1989; Ralston, 1992, Stepick et al., 2009).

2.4.5. The rationale behind the current study

The studies reviewed in this chapter provide examples of the role of music in religious contexts from the Christian perspective. Marti (2012), for example, stresses the significance of practising in the worshipping community, regardless of the style of music. He suggests that it is not the music itself but the experience of it with other people that matters (Marti, 2012).

A musically driven community emerges from 'networked congregations', as more and more people get together for music worship at conference places rather than in local churches (Ingalls 2011, 2018). Emotional responses induced by music in spiritual contexts have been evident with peak responses such as ecstasy, enjoyment or glossolalia (e.g., Miller and Strongman 2002, Becker 2010). Motivation for and benefits of singing together in the church have been emphasised, with social bonding and states of well-being mentioned by the participants. Music functions to provide a means of expression of patriotism and religion which is evident in immigrant communities (e.g., Radocy & Boyle 2012). This picture of the research, however, still appears incomplete and has perhaps been undertaken from too many different perspectives.

Despite some suggestions that music may enhance the religious experience in a community (Durkheim, 1915; Sloboda, 2005), there have been relatively few studies either in ethnomusicology or in the social psychology of music which can adequately explain the nature of any connection or interaction (Beck, 2009; Sloboda, 2005). Thus, the relation between music and religiosity, specifically in the context of a migrant

church, is still open to further academic enquiry. There have been attempts to study the behaviours of members of mostly Evangelical and Pentecostal traditions, where music seems to be one of the major factors shaping the worship.

Although more and more evidence has been mounting to support the claim that music experiences indeed tap deep into our psyche, which some associate with religious or mystical experiences, the existing studies are not conclusive about why exactly music itself might contribute any better to the experience of worship than silence or other forms of arts. It might be that the role of music in the church as in a wide society is the same as the role of religion, that through its ineffability, it speaks to similar sensitivities of human beings as religion or art, which all communicate ideas not through linguistic means but by something beyond words. The fertile context of a Polish church community in London and a specific parish in North London was chosen for this research because of their unique and abundant presence of musical activities.

2.4.5.1. Research aim, objectives, questions and hypothesis

The main aim of this research is to explore the role of music in worship in church communities.

The objectives are:

- to investigate the different functions of music in the worship of church attendees
- to investigate what meanings are constructed during musical activities in worship
- to explore relations between music, faith and identities in church contexts

To pursue these objectives, the following research questions were formulated:

- 1. What functions does music fulfil in church attendees?
- 2. What musical meanings are constructed in different church contexts?
- 3. How are musical experiences in the church related to the participants' identities?

These will be explored in the context of the Polish church community in London.

Hypotheses

Seven hypotheses were formulated for the purpose of this research and in order to explore the quantitative elements of each research question. The following three hypotheses addressed the first research question:

H₁: The importance of music in Polish immigrants' lives is positively related to the importance of religion in their lives.

H₂: Music during Mass or service is reported as one of the most important religious practices.

H3: The level of religious commitment is related to the level of sacred music activities in people's lives.

The following two hypotheses addressed the second research question:

H₁: The significance of music in religious contexts is positively linked to people's religiosity.

H₂: Music experienced in religious contexts has a greater effect on the faithful than music experienced in secular contexts.

The following two hypotheses addressed the third research question:

H₁: Positive experiences of music in church communities are associated with more commitment to religious practices in attendees.

H₂: Participation in Polish church music is associated with stronger national identity amongst migrant Poles.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1. Research purpose

This research investigates the role of music in the Polish church community in London. It explores in more detail the functions of music, the meaning of music and the identities related to music in some Polish church communities in London. The study's main focus was a Catholic congregation in one particular London parish and the faithful affiliated with it. The investigation was achieved by using mixed methods, which will be further described in this chapter.

3.2. Ethical considerations

Prior to conducting the research, formal ethical approval was given according to the procedures agreed by the University Ethics Committee. All conditions to carry out the research were met. A major part of the research was conducted in church institutions, mainly in one Polish parish in North London. The permission from the parish priest to carry out all studies was successfully obtained. Because research on religious practices and faith-related issues might be personal and intimidating for some people, the questions in the interviews were drafted so as not to be personally intrusive, and the research was conducted in a friendly way with minimum interference by the researcher. According to Braun and Clarke, "ethical thinking is a really important element of design" (2022, p 28). They claim that researchers should be involved not just in ethics but in an active ethical process happening throughout the whole research (Braun & Clarke, 2022). Ethics should be integrated into all stages, from ethical approval, through studies' development to data analysis and beyond.

Before proceeding with the questionnaire and interviews, participants were asked to agree to participate on an attached consent form and given an option to withdraw. All participants were assured that their real names would not be used in the thesis. They were also given information about the data processing during and after their participation and assured about the confidentiality and protection of their personal data in accordance with Data Protection Act (1998) and the University's Data Protection Policy (see Appendix A).

3.3. Philosophical and theoretical considerations

This research uses a mixed-methods approach, so the question of philosophical and theoretical considerations is not straightforward. Quantitative and qualitative approaches represent quite opposing views when it comes to philosophical and theoretical stances. Quantitative research is often associated with the post-positivist worldview. On the other hand, qualitative approaches are typically aligned with constructivism, which has "a different set of assumptions" (Creswell & Plano, 2018, p. 36). This is why there is no single and unique theoretical stance for a researcher undertaking a mixed methods approach. Although pragmatism might be seen by a large number of researchers as an overarching philosophy (Biesta, 2010, p 95), there is no need for one philosophy in mixed methods, and different stances can be assigned to different parts.

The current research follows the explanatory sequential design where the quantitative analysis is followed by qualitative data collection. In such a design, different assumptions within each phase are encouraged:

...since the study begins quantitatively, the researcher may begin from the perspective of postpositivism [.] When the researcher moves to the qualitative phase that values multiple perspectives and in-depth description, there is a shift to [...] constructivism. (Creswell & Plano, 2018, p.78)

This research adopts mainly a constructivist approach.—According to constructivists, the reality around us is constructed and what 'we take as an objective knowledge and truth is the result of perspective' (Schwandt, 1994, p 125). Two related terms, 'constructivism' and 'constructionism' are often mentioned in the literature but are not always clearly demarcated. Constructivism generally has more to do with the individual construction of social meanings (Crotty, 1998). On the other hand, 'social constructionism', much akin to 'critical theory', stresses the importance of the world and the reality which preexists and is independent of the observer. However, these theoretical positions are better understood as a continuum rather than being in opposition to one another.

This distinction, as well as the relation of one to the other, is reflected in the way the data were analysed in this research. Both individual and collective experiences of the music were important in the data analysis. For example, during the second phase of thematic analysis when the coding process started, the individual responses identified as data items were tagged as codes (Braun & Clarke, 2022). Only later in phase three were they collected to form initial themes, thus creating more collective sets of meaning. Consequently, this research takes into consideration the fact that the social construction of meaning, and interpretations of religious and musical experiences, are affected by the culture, language, and the context in which they appear, namely the Polish migrant church. The perception of this church is shaped by individual musical experiences as reported by the individual participants during interviews.

From the ontological point of view, this research most closely aligns with the assumptions of critical realism. According to Creswell and Plano (2018), critical realism as a philosophical perspective might validate and facilitate the relations between quantitative and qualitative research. Braun and Clarke (2022) mention critical realism as the most usual theoretical choice for reflexive Thematic Analysis (p. 169), which is extensively used in this research. The above authors point to the integration of ontological realism with epistemological relativism or constructivism in critical realism. As they explain, the reality of the world exists independently of human perceptions or constructions. However, it cannot be accessed directly as humans' practices and experiences shape this reality, giving "rise to contextual truths" (Braun & Clarke, 2022, p. 169; Creswell & Plano, 2018).

In critical realism the importance of ontology cannot be underestimated. For Bhaskar (2020, p. 113) an attempt to reduce ontology or to merge it with epistemology is the 'epistemic fallacy.' Ontology, the nature of reality, is separate from and presupposes epistemology - one's knowledge and experience of reality.

The implications for the research are that reality is only partially accessed as the data provides the researcher with a reflection of the reality as it is understood, experienced, and perceived by the research participants (Willig, 2013), and in the case of this study, by the cultural context of Polish emigrants in London and the nature of the Polish émigré church.

Critical realism describes experiences and the reality that is mediated by language and culture (Braun & Clarke, 2022) and in the case of this research, specifically by music and religious affiliation. Assumptions of critical realism have immense consequences on the way people understand and shape reality. According to Pilgrim (2014), people's

experiences are socially located, and their perception of reality is strongly influenced by the language and culture of those experiencing it. Similarly, in this research, participants' musical experiences are affected, filtered or shaped by their culture and language. Polish language and culture are key in this research as both participants and the researcher are Polish. They become the lenses through which the reality experienced by the participants is in effect analysed and interpreted by the researcher through the process of Thematic Analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2022, p. 171).

3.4. Research strategy and design

The overall research design incorporates two separate parts, quantitative and qualitative. Study one consists of a survey distributed among the faithful, and study two includes interviews and focus groups. Observations of two communities of musical practice, a church choir and liturgical music workshops, complement the qualitative part.

3.4.1. Mixed methods

Mixed methods were used to conduct this research. According to Plano & Creswell (2008), mixed methods "combine the qualitative and quantitative approaches into the research methodology of a single study or multiphase study" (p. 119). The fundamental principle of this method is combining what is strong in both quantitative and qualitative methods while 'compensating' for their weaknesses (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). There are several advantages of both methods as well as their weaknesses. For example, the quantitative samples are usually bigger, which is the case in this research. The variables are conceptualised, the trends and relationships are easily traced (Punch & Oancea, 2014), and the hypotheses can be tested, so the data produced is harder.

Qualitative research such as interviews brings the researcher more flexibility and face-to-face human interaction. It is more sensitive to a particular context and its meanings and can produce wealthy data. The sheer amount of data and its often "messy and organic" character would require a very good analysis method and might be a drawback in itself (Braun & Clarke, 2022, p. xxvi). However, as the above researchers suggest, it might also prove to be a rewarding adventure with creative and reflexive approaches (Braun & Clarke, 2022).

Bearing in mind the complexity of the topic; the role of music in church communities, it was judged that the mixed methods would provide the most comprehensive results. The congregation would provide a potentially good sample for survey distribution, and selected individuals could be approached afterwards and asked to participate in interviews. That would allow for the data to be further investigated and explained. Various authors use different typologies to classify Mixed Methods and often use slightly different vocabulary to describe the designs.

This research uses Creswell and Plano Clark's typology (2011) as a guide to structuring methodological design. The explanatory sequential design was chosen as the most appropriate approach with the quantitative part followed by the qualitative part. The survey data collection started before any interviews or observations began. The quantitative data analysis was "followed by the collection and analysis of qualitative data to elaborate or explain the quantitative findings" (Bryman, 2016, p. 640). This approach has two phases: qualitative data builds upon the quantitative results (Punch & Oancea, 2014). The second phase is usually necessary when a researcher needs a follow-up to understand a phenomenon in question more deeply (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007, pp. 71-2).

Finally, mixed methods were chosen to better understand the phenomena under investigation and contribute to the research's validity. According to Bryman (2016), the combination of different methods might enhance the validity and generalisability of the research (Bryman, 2016).

3.4.2. A case study

This methodology chapter would not be complete if an approach behind a case study were not discussed. Although the research design incorporates mixed methods approach, the thesis title suggests a case study. Indeed, a mixed methods case study is one way of data collection where collecting quantitative and qualitative data provide evidence for a case (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018). A case study or case studies are not a method or an approach but should rather be considered a strategy (Punch & Oancea, 2014). One might undertake mixed methods, quantitative and ethnographic case studies in education or social sciences.

Although not easily defined due to its seeming flexibility, a few authors describe this research strategy as a study of a phenomenon occurring within clearly defined boundaries (Punch & Oancea 2014, Creswell & Plano Clark 2018). Thus, especially in the mixed methods approach, it is essential to determine these boundaries precisely as well as to choose the right data collection design. Although in most mixed methods case studies, a convergent design is preferred (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018), this research utilises a sequential design with a convergent design in the interpretative stage which is also an accepted design in a mixed methods case study.

As already mentioned, a case study takes place within certain boundaries and might involve the study of an entity or a phenomenon. This strategy involves in-depth case

analysis, usually using different research methods. Bryman (2016) lists various case studies research examples such as a single community, a school, a family, an organisation, a single person or a single event.

This research is a case study of a Polish church community in London. The subjects for the study were drawn from two partly overlapping sources. First, they came from two parishes in North London and second, they were affiliated with two musical groups or events related to these groups: the main parish church choir and liturgical music workshops. The questionnaire respondents were mostly drawn from one Polish parish in North London. Similarly, most interviewees came from the same parish. Observations took place in two parishes, with church choir rehearsals being observed in the main parish and liturgical music workshops being observed in two parishes. There was some flexibility in this case study, and the boundaries were fluid as the participants came from more than one church. However, they were Polish immigrants, congregating in North London and drawn by musical activities, which clearly defined the sample.

Research incorporating a case study or case studies has often been criticised for its limitation. Many authors claim that the main limitation and criticism are that the findings are restricted to a particular case or cases which are not usually generalisable (e.g., Punch & Oancea, 2014). Similarly, Bryman (2016, p. 62) debates the reliability, replicability, and validity of case study research, suggesting that it is up to the researcher to decide whether these criteria are appropriate to evaluate that research.

However, an in-depth study of a phenomenon or a group from a more ethnographic perspective is the right point of departure if the research has to move from local to global. "A case study in this meaning is an ethnographic description of how patterns at a micro level interact with those at the macro level" (Garson, 2015, p. 33).

Despite its alleged limitations, a case study is a contextual study of a phenomenon which uses various sources of evidence (Yin, 2009). This strategy aligns in this sense with mixed methods approaches where various quantitative and qualitative methods are combined to achieve better validity. On its continuum, there are cases which would not require generalisation and those whose uniqueness is simply worth studying (Punch & Oancea, 2014).

Furthermore, the way the data are analysed in a case study can also "inform theoretical development that can be potentially applicable to other cases" (Punch & Oancea, 2014, p. 152). This study of a specific Polish church community might also be a good place of departure to further comparisons with other church communities where music is experienced, whether it be in migrant groups in London or in Poland.

3.5. Fieldwork

The main fieldwork took place in a Polish parish in North London. However, some data collection took place in another Polish parish elsewhere in London, where liturgical music workshops took place. Some interviews took place outside church buildings, either in a café or at participants' homes.

3.5.1. Recruitment

Specific recruiting techniques were used during the research and before the questionnaire administration to get a substantial sample of respondents. For example, a calling card and a recruitment leaflet were produced and distributed through the network of the researcher's friends and acquaintances in the church (see Appendix H). These

materials, however, were not very productive and did not serve a full purpose. A limited number was distributed due to some logistic problems; it was not convenient for the researcher to distribute the leaflets to anybody after Mass, for example.

A network of social groups and events in the church and online was used to recruit people. Those more direct ways of contacting people were more productive, as the researcher could speak to people face to face or contact them on Facebook or by email. The emails were collected during church meetings or social events such as liturgical music workshops, church choir sessions or the senior group. Social media like Facebook were helpful in finding many recruits through the network of friends as well as in the distribution of the survey itself. About a third of all the respondents were sent a direct link to the survey via Facebook.

One problem in recruiting more people was the fact that slightly more than 50% of those who were sent a personalised survey link did not accept the invitation to take part in the survey. The response rate was 48%. Some respondents who were sent the general link to the survey responded rather promptly. Others were reminded a few times, and some did not respond even after multiple reminders were sent via email or Facebook. The sample is not representative of the Polish Catholic or Christian population in London and is a convenience sample. Initially, the survey was intended to include four categories of church attendees: Catholic clergy, religious (e.g., nuns), church community leaders and lay members from different Polish congregations. However, this strict expectation became much more relaxed in practice, mainly due to the fact that it was difficult to encourage certain categories of people to do the survey.

Practically speaking, the only people who took part in the survey were lay people, except for one Catholic priest. There are no other representatives of those taking

leadership positions, in either Catholic or Protestant churches. Among those, one person withdrew and decided not to take part either in the survey or interview, and another did not respond to a prompting email and did not do the survey despite the initial interest.

3.5.2. The population and the sample

The sample was chosen from the population of Polish immigrants in the UK. According to the Office for National Statistics (United Kingdom), Polish nationals in the UK have "continued to be the most common non-British nationality in the UK since 2007" (2020, p.7). There are currently around 800,000 Poles in the UK and around 150,000 in London, according to the 2011 census. These numbers are changing and are fluid as recent events such as Brexit and Covid-19 might cause return migration.

There is no official count of all Polish Christians in the UK or London. However, according to the Polish Catholic Mission statistics (2018), there were 48,686 registered church attendees in Catholic churches in England and Wales. The numbers are not precise, though, approximating 50,000 depending on the statistical source. It is difficult to compare the Polish migrant church attendance to the situation in Poland. According to the National Statistics Authority of Poland (GUS, 2011), based on the 2011 census, 87.7% of Polish citizens in Poland regard themselves as Catholics, but the figures relating to church attendance have been declining for the last decade, according to some sources (e.g., PAP; 2020; Mały Rocznik Statystyczny; 2021). The statistics in the UK and Poland might not reflect the reality as some people choose not to be officially registered in the UK, and those in Poland might not always attend or be active church participants.

This research is not so concerned with statistics as it focuses on some church communities in London. Polish Catholic Mission's website reports that there are about 20 Polish parishes in London, with at least seven being exclusively Polish churches (Polish Catholic Mission, 2022). The Polish church community in London was chosen for the study, with the specific focus and case of a Catholic church community in North London.

3.5.2.1. The sample for the survey

The pilot questionnaire, the interviews and the main survey were delivered in Polish. A total of 78 respondents (30 males and 48 females) answered the questionnaire, and the overall response rate after combining all the surveys was 45%. Most of the participants of the survey came from two Catholic parishes, but some subjects represented different parishes or denominations. This was so because participants were also drafted during musical events or groups (e.g., liturgical music workshops or a church choir), which attracted the attention of people from different parts of London and outside.

The survey sample consisted of respondents drawn from four age groups. The proportion of the sample between the ages of 18 and 34 was 49% (n = 38); between 35 and 54 was 42% (n = 33); between 55 and 74 was 5% (n = 4); and 75 or older was 4% (n = 3). Almost half of the participants (the biggest group) were from the first age group. A high percentage also represented the second age group. Although it is impossible to estimate the exact average age of the participants as the exact age was not asked in the questionnaire, the vast majority of the participants were young adults around the age of 35.

Four immigration waves were represented on the questionnaire. None of the respondents immigrated to the UK before 1940. Five people (6%) immigrated to the UK between 1940 - 1991, 9 (11%) between 1991 - 2004, and 64 (82%) after 2004.

The ratio of Catholics to non-Catholics was 61 to 17. 78 % regarded themselves as Catholics, 13% as Protestants, 1% as Orthodox and 8% as 'other'. The ratio between various religious affiliations does not necessarily represent the whole Polish population on immigration.

The respondents were also asked about their vocation and church ministry. The questionnaire included the following vocational groups; an ordained person (e.g., a priest), a consecrated person (e.g., a nun), a lay person, a pastor (Protestant Church) and 'other' (please specify). There was only one ordained person (a priest). The majority (n = 66) regarded themselves as 'lay people'. The 'lay people' or 'laity' are "...all the faithful except those in Holy Orders and those who belong to a religious state approved by the Church" (Catholic Church 1994, p. 258). 11 people believed to have 'other' vocations in the church, n = 11. For example, there was a "Lay Missionary of Charity" or "a professional musician, soloist and a theologian, working in an Orthodox Church as a psalmist."

In terms of church ministry, 40 respondents did not consider themselves as carrying out any, and 18 respondents considered themselves to carry out 'other' ministries, the most prevalent being the 'music ministries'. Other participants identified themselves as 'choir members' (15 respondents), cantors (8 respondents), catechists (2 respondents), worship leaders (2 respondents), a choir master (1 respondent) and a parish priest (1 respondent). As Punch & Oancea (2014) state, sampling has been an important aspect of quantitative research methodology. However, they also note that in most current research sampling

might be problematic as researchers might face problems related to the availability of or access to large samples required in quantitative research.

On the one hand, the sample used in this research was a convenience sample as the researcher took advantage of the accessible situation fit for the purpose of the research (Punch & Oancea, 2014). On the other hand, it was also purposive as the people who were approached as potential participants were already interested in or involved in church music. According to Creswell and Plano Clark (2011), purposive sampling is used when a researcher 'purposefully' chooses participants who have experience in the research phenomenon. Some participants were recruited through a network of acquaintances from the church.

3.5.2.2. The sample for the qualitative part

Thirty-one participants took part in focus groups or interviews (16 males and 14 females). The participants were mostly recruited from the observed groups as well as through the network of acquaintances from the church. Most of the interviewees came from one Catholic parish, but some subjects were friends of the parishioners, or they were related to the parish through the choir or the liturgical music workshop participation. All in all, five individual, five joint and 4 group interviews were conducted. However, amongst the interviewees, there were people who were not choir members nor took part in liturgical workshops (13 interviewees) but who regularly took part in some musical activities either in the church or outside of the church. The remaining interviewees were either choir members or took part in the liturgical workshops. One choirmaster and two liturgical workshop leaders were interviewed, and the majority were lay people, with only one priest participating in the interview. In this

case, the sample was purposive as most participants actively took part in some musical activity in the church.

The sample for the qualitative part of the research came from the same source as for the quantitative part. It was chosen from the population of Polish immigrants in the UK congregating in churches in London. The observed sample of the choir consisted of approximately 15 members, with usually four to six male and 10 to 12 female singers. The liturgical music workshops were different in character and varied in numbers. At some stage, during the 5th or 6th edition in 2015, the number of participants got close to 80. The choir members were affiliated with the parish, which is the main fieldwork of the study, as this was the church where the rehearsals and most performances were taking place. However, not all choir members were parishioners, and some commuted from other parts of London to practise and perform. Regarding liturgical music workshops, they usually took place in two parishes in North London and attracted participants from different Polish parishes.

3.5.3. Insider versus outsider 'continuum'

To a certain degree, the sample used in the study was a convenience sample, but the choice of a Polish church community was dictated by the following arguments. First, it was crucial to get the trust of the participants and interviewees (Arweck & Stringer, 2002). Being a part of a community that trusts the researcher could positively affect the reliability of the data collected. Second, being a church attendee and a community member means that the researcher has a grasp of the liturgy and the significance of music in the church. The data analysis might be more informed as the researcher can further build from his knowledge and experience.

The third argument relates to the question of the outside-insider dichotomy. Being a Polish immigrant might also be advantageous as the researcher is not seen as an intruder or outsider. In effect, there should be less interference with the congregation or the way the congregation behaves than if the researcher was an outsider. Moreover, sharing the same language with the researched community might be an asset. A sample of people speaking a different language, even another Catholic community in London, would not be as accessible as the Polish speakers. The data might not have been as informative or as linguistically proficient. Interpreters might have to be used, which could be logistically problematic for the researcher. Lastly, sharing religious views with the researched community would create mutual empathy, creating research without the insider/outsider divide (Arweck & Stringer, 2002).

Being an insider has some disadvantages as well. For example, an insider is more likely to see a phenomenon in question less objectively than an outsider. It is difficult for an insider researcher to detach emotionally from the researched community and the subject. Effectively, the data collected and the analysis risk being less reliable and objective.

To avoid bias and improve reliability, the researchers might need to detach themselves from the studied community to a certain degree. For an insider, in this research, there was a conscious attempt to distance oneself once out of the fieldwork. On the other hand, Braun and Clarke (2022) stress the importance of reflexivity in research, the consideration of the identities, experiences and relations of the researcher and the participants (p. 18). This was achieved through constant evaluation of these aspects of the research in terms of power relations and the clarification of the research purpose and the roles of the researcher and the participants.

Throughout the studies, every effort was made on the side of the researcher to be open-minded and non-judgemental, and an unbiased attitude was assumed during interviews. Furthermore, the interviews and selected observations were recorded which allowed reflexivity over time and the possibility of revisiting recordings. The fact that the interviews and excerpts from observations were transcribed also meant that the data could be revisited and analysed more objectively. The idea of the insider versus outsider divide also often seems to be redundant in anthropological research (Collins, 2002, p. 77) because the role of the researcher is quite messy and changes throughout the research (Braun & Clarke, 2022, p. 216) oscillating between various shades of the 'continuum'. This happened in the case of this research, with the researcher starting as an insider, then moving towards a more neutral position throughout the data collection, to becoming an outsider during the analysis period and towards the end of the research journey.

3.6. Pilot studies

The pilot studies took place in the academic year 2014/2015, prior to the two main studies. They were designed to pilot and assess the potential effectiveness of the tools used in both quantitative and qualitative studies, allowing for the main themes to emerge (Creswell, 2009). In order to assess the effectiveness of the quantitative tool, a pilot survey was conducted prior to the final questionnaire. A follow-up group interview with five survey participants was organised to get feedback on the survey completion experience.

The pilot questionnaire included 20 questions related to the role of music in the lives of church attendees. It was distributed via email to 18 respondents from the Polish

immigrant community in England. All 18 participants were from the Polish Catholic congregation from a large parish in North London. All participants completed the questionnaire, and 17 agreed to take part in further study. Although the final questionnaire was still under development, the pilot survey was very similar and differed only in some details.

The pilot survey was very useful in determining the survey's effectiveness and helped to resolve certain inconsistencies. Some key findings and feedback included the following points. The percentage of men who took part in the pilot study was 55%, and the percentage of women was 45%. The participants included one parish priest, one organist, two praise and worship leaders, five choir members, one cantor, two catechists, and six other functionaries or ministries. Almost all respondents felt they played a role in the church, which is a very positive finding. A majority of female respondents categorised themselves as choir members, while most males quoted various functions in the 'other' category.

In terms of music experiences in different life situations, music is mostly used individually, for example, to develop one's own instrumental skills, though a few people mentioned social activities. As for music genre preferences, there was a little divergence, with some female respondents favouring pop, world or funk/soul as opposed to rock, blues or reggae, which were quite popular amongst male respondents.

Relatively low interest in certain Christian music is worth noting. It turned out, for example, that 'traditional hymns', 'sacred classical music' or 'Gregorian chant' were not as popular amongst the respondents as 'praise and worship songs', 'Christian rock' or 'Gospel'. However, men, for example, favoured 'Gregorian chant' and 'choral music' as well as 'Christian rap' or 'rock' more than women.

Following the questionnaire, a group interview with five respondents was held to find out about potential difficulties. Nobody had any significant problems with completing the questionnaire. A few respondents suggested that there could be more 'frequency options' for the respondents as it was not always easy to find the relevant option (e.g., less than once a month, etc.). One participant asked if a 'confession' as a religious activity needed to be included as it seemed to be a private matter for him.

Another technical problem arose halfway through the pilot when it was suggested by one of the supervisors that the survey be modified to include a consent form. Four of the 20 participants who agreed to complete the questionnaire acknowledged the consent form by ticking the 'I agree' box prior to completing it. There were a few minor technical problems with the questionnaire and how clear it was for the participants to complete. It was a very useful stage that informed what exactly needed to be improved upon before the final survey was distributed.

In order to assess the effectiveness of the qualitative tools, three group and two individual interviews were conducted. The final interview questions were still being formulated, but some core questions remained essentially unchanged. Effectively, the pilot interviews' data could potentially be combined with the main interview and focus group results in case such a need arose.

On average, between five and seven questions were asked, and the core ones were as follows:

What expectations did you have before the workshops? E.g. (meet people and make friends, vocal practice, spiritual experience) Did the workshops come up to your expectations?

What feelings did you experience during the workshop?

Did you experience any physical reactions during the practice and performance?

In what ways was the workshop a spiritual experience?

What does music mean to you in the church context?

The interviews took place in communal rooms in two Polish parishes in London. The pilot interviews and focus groups produced 100 minutes of audio recordings and also included about 800 words of field notes in all. They followed a one-weekend session of liturgical music workshop which took place in two Polish parishes, both in North London. The results of the pilot interviews were not included in the main study, but they provided a very useful insight into the effect of the liturgical music workshop on the participants and constituted a good foundation for study two and are briefly reported in the following section. The names in the research have mostly been anonymised, but for the convenience of reading a few pseudonyms have been used during the Thematic Analysis.

The experience of participation in the workshop affected participants in positive ways. For example, one respondent's state of mind improved and motivated him to participate in consecutive workshops. Others mentioned being emotionally or spiritually affected by the music and the atmosphere of the workshops (e.g., communal singing in dimmed light or the church) as conducive to these experiences.

Two main reasons for taking part in the workshop were noted. First, the opportunity to acquire new skills and learn new songs that could be potentially used later outside of the workshops.

Second, the people were drawn by the opportunity to meet and work with other people from the church community, whether it be people from the same parish or newly met people from other parishes.

Some participants expressed a need to improve their musical skills during the pilot group interview. Ben came to the workshop more because of the music. He was particularly interested in the contemporary approach to liturgical music and wanted to meet people who do it professionally and are up to date with it [Pilot Gr 1, Ben]. For Mira, music was also in the foreground; she wanted to improve her vocal skills [...] and was attracted to the opportunity to work with others in the group. [Pilot Gr 1, Mira]

Whether people intended to experience the workshop in a religious way or not, the sheer atmosphere made this event spiritual. One respondent, Mika, claimed that it [was spiritual] and recalled one situation when suddenly someone turned the light off in the rehearsal room. She reports that the atmosphere was amazing, and everyone started singing the song *Increase the Faith*. This experience was deep and spiritual for her. On the other hand, Ben did not anticipate any specific spiritual experiences but stated that he had experienced such [Pilot Gr 1, Mika & Ben].

Conducting the pilot survey and the interviews allowed the development of effective research tools. Regarding the survey, it was necessary to improve some of the scales. The Likert scales with frequencies had to be carefully structured as different activities might have required different frequencies. Although it was not possible to create a perfect survey, those aspects signalled by some of the participants were taken into consideration.

The pilot interviews went well, but after reflexive consideration, it turned out that they lacked consistency in terms of the questions asked, and they were too unstructured.

Also, some questions asked during the interview might have been too direct, and they almost suggested the answer, which should have been avoided if possible. Better

preparation, consistency and interview guidance were required to improve them and structure them in a less suggestive way.

3.7. Study 1 - quantitative

Following the pilot study survey, a questionnaire was created online, and the data analysis was carried out using the SPSS statistics package.

The main purpose of the questionnaire was to find out what functions music fulfils in Polish church communities in London. The first part of the questionnaire related to music preferences in general and focused on different life situations in which music can be used. The second part concerned the religious practices among Polish church attendees in London. The third, most crucial part concerned the uses and the importance of music in religious contexts. The secondary purpose of the questionnaire was to explore some aspects of the meaning of music and identities, thus contributing to the second and third research questions. The last question on the questionnaire (Q15) explored more specifically such aspects as music tastes, significance, emotions or upholding of national identities in relation to church music (see Appendix B for the complete questionnaire).

3.7.1. Validity and reliability

The question of validity is not always straightforward. In simple terms, validity describes the degree to which a method, for example, a questionnaire, measures what it is supposed to measure. In the case of this research, the survey was primarily designed to measure the functions of music. However, in the hypothesis development process, it

became apparent that the questionnaire would be used to analyse data related to all research questions: the functions of music, the meanings of music and music and identities. Creswell (2003) identifies a few characteristics of quantitative methods, some of which are relevant to this survey study. First, quantitative research identifies the variables and relates them to hypotheses. Second, it uses standards of validity and reliability. Various statistical tests established significance, validity and reliability during the survey results analysis (Creswell, 2003) (see Chapter 4, 4.1.4. & 4.1.5).

3.7.2. Instruments of quantitative analysis

The study one survey was constructed using an online survey tool

www.onlinesurveys.ac.uk (formerly BOS), for which the University of Roehampton

provided free access. This version of the questionnaire was an improved form of the

pilot version. The pilot version was constructed using the www.surveymonkey.co.uk

tool. The initial idea of the survey was directed mostly by the first research question;

What functions does music fulfil in church attendees? However, after the pilot

questionnaire, it became clear that the questionnaire could potentially be used to answer

RQ2 and RQ3, related to the meanings of music and to identities, respectively. Thus,

during the hypotheses development stage, all research questions were taken into

consideration.

Both the pilot and the main study surveys were delivered in the Polish language. A total of 78 respondents (30 males and 48 females) answered the first study questionnaire, and the overall response rate after combining all the surveys was 45%. The first study was conducted in the academic year 2015/2016, using the improved (post-pilot) version of

the survey online. The questionnaire was opened on 15th October 2015 and was closed on 30th June 2016.

First, personalised links were sent to 111 email contacts, and the questionnaire was subsequently posted on Facebook and addressed to Polish contacts in London. The survey consisted of 20 actual questions, excluding Q1 and Q22, which asked respondents to read a declaration and either 'agree' or 'not agree' to take part in the survey and subsequent follow-up studies, respectively. The key questions used to analyse the data were:

- 4. What are your favourite styles of music? Tick all that apply.
- 6. Please indicate on a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 signifies 'not important at all', and 7 'very important', how important is music in your life?
- 9. Please indicate on a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 signifies 'not important at all', and 7 'very important', how important is religion in your life?
- 10. Out of your overall music activities, can you estimate how much is devoted to sacred music (e.g., liturgical music, praise and worship or other religious music)?
- 15. How much on a scale from 1 to 5 do you agree with the following statements?

E.g.,

- a. Music in the church is indispensable.
- g. Music is for me, the sign of God's presence.
- h. Polish music upholds my national identity.

j. Music outside the context of the church also affects my emotions and state of mind.

The variables in questions 6, 8 and 9 were measured on a seven-point semantic differential scale. (*Please indicate on a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 signifies 'not important at all', and 7 'very important', how important is/are music, aspects of Holy Mass/service and religion in your life, respectively?*) The remaining questions used various forms of a five-point Likert scale.

This questionnaire aimed to collect information about the functions and meanings of music in the lives of Polish Christian communities in London. The name of the questionnaire was *The role of music and the musical preferences in the Polish church communities in London*, and it took approximately 20 minutes to complete. Before doing the survey, the participants had to read and sign a declaration indicating by ticking whether they 'agree' or do 'not agree' to take part.

The first part of the questionnaire related to music preferences in general. It focused on different life situations in which music can be used. The second part concerned religious practices among Polish church attendees in London, and the third part concerned the uses and the importance of music in religious contexts. The last part was intended to explore some aspects of the meaning of music and identities, thus contributing to the second and third research questions (see Appendix B).

There were no major problems while filling in the questionnaire. Only a few people reported having some issues with answering some questions on the Likert scale. Especially when a person did not want to answer a particular question, the option 'it doesn't concern me' was not always provided. The respondents could, however, get around this by choosing the option 'never'. Some respondents, especially those from the

Protestant tradition, reported that selected vocabulary or expressions were unfamiliar as the content was mostly directed to Catholic congregations. However, that did not significantly impact the overall survey completion and referred to some isolated examples. The researcher tried to make his survey more inclusive by using vocabulary which was more generic to all Christian traditions or used phrases often as alternatives, from Catholic, Protestant as well as Orthodox traditions e.g., *Mass/service*, *Communion/Eucharist*, *Church* [kościół - Catholic, Protestant, cerkiew – Orthodox], and priest/pastor.

3.8. Study 2 - qualitative studies

The interviews and focus groups informed all three research questions, although they were initially created to explore mainly the meanings of music. Although all research questions were explored quantitatively, the majority of data was gathered through qualitative methods.

Interviews and focus groups explored and explained the functions of music, the musical meanings and music in identities of the Polish church attendees. The results from the interviews and focus groups have been augmented by some data collected from observations of two groups, referred to in the research as *communities of musical practice*, namely a liturgical music workshop and a church choir. The data comprised of field notes and sample recordings from the participant observation. The case of these two communities focuses on the question of identities amongst Polish migrant church attendees.

The interviews and focus groups were conducted in a friendly and informal atmosphere.

Upon agreement with the participants and the parish priest, the focus groups took place in

a room in the church. As a matter of convenience, most interviews took place at participants' homes or in a café.

The main interviews took place between March and July 2016 and included four focus groups and nine interviews exploring themes related to the role of music in religious contexts. Each focus group interview took about one hour, and each individual interview took about 20 minutes. During the lead-in to the interviews, the respondents had the opportunity to listen to three musical excerpts, a classical piece, a church hymn, and a rock song. The idea behind it was two-fold. First, the music would make the respondents feel comfortable, at ease, and readier for the interview, and second, it would be a springboard to the interview and general talk about what type of music the respondents identify with.

Altogether 31 Polish church attendees from London were interviewed and about 10 hours of audio data were recorded.

The interviews were preceded by participant observations of 6 types of congregations.

Between May 2015 and June 2016, eight groups/events, including Catholic Masses,

Neocatechumenal Way Eucharist (Arguello, 2017), Evangelical services, a senior church group, a church choir and liturgical music workshops were observed, and field notes were taken. Only some excerpts from the observations of the liturgical music workshops and the church choir were taken into consideration in this research to explain the dynamics of identity formation in musical communities of practice.

3.8.1. Instruments of qualitative analysis

The qualitative exploration of the three research questions included three different categories of worship groups, mostly from two Polish Catholic communities in London.

The participants included church choir members, liturgical music workshop attendees, and other regular church attendees. Four focus groups consisting of three to six people were formed, and 10 individual and joint interviews were conducted (Arskey, 1996). A total of 31 participants were interviewed. The interviews were semi-structured, and questions were designed to collect data related to the second research question but also to triangulate RQ1 and RQ3 (see Appendix D for interview questions).

3.8.1.1. Interviews

Interviews and the data they produced constitute a crucial part of this research.

Although various writers describe specific differences between individual interviews and focus groups, they are not a dichotomy in this research. Because not only individual but also joint interviews and focus groups were conducted, they each constitute a part of a continuum. Punch and Oancea (2014, p. 186) suggest that the terms "focus group interviews" and "group interviews" are often used interchangeably. Therefore, it would be more natural for this research to use the term *group interviews* when referring to focus groups.

All individual or group interviews might be conducted in a structured, semi-structured or unstructured way. However, it would also be helpful to look at the potential differences and advantages of one type over the other type of interviews to be heeded. For example, according to Breakwell et al. (2006), structured interviews include a set of questions which are asked in a fixed order. Although such interviews do not give respondents much flexibility, they might produce more quantifiable data. This research utilises semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions. This type of interviewing is the usual choice in ethnographic research (Garson, 2015).

Authors such as Breakwell et al. (2006) recommend that much attention be given to the schedule and the order of the questions asked. It is a valid point, although this research did not always stick to the exact order of the interview questions. Especially in group interviews, when the core questions were always present, there was space for diversion, restating questions, stories, anecdotes and even humour. The advantage of semi-structured or unstructured interviews is that they have the potential to produce richer, often surprising data. In such interviews, interviewees have more control and time for their responses, give examples, "tell stories and bring up new topics or questions" (Garson, 2015, p. 24).

The same question usually concluded all interviews: *In what way, if at all, can music make you feel closer to God?* The answers often recapped what was already said, as a lot of data proved to explain music's ineffable nature and connective ability.

Many authors see focus groups as distinct from interviews. The focus group is usually defined as a discussion-based interview where data are produced by participating interviewees interacting and 'taking ownership' of the interview (Morgan 1997, Breakwell et al. 2006, Hautzinger 2012, Garson 2015). The word 'focus' indicates that it needs to be focused on an external stimulus and requires a moderator (Breakwell et al., 2006), in many cases, the researcher himself or herself. The data produced by such group interviews might turn up to be more voluminous but also richer and more interesting. The sheer size and complexity of the data might be a big challenge for the researcher and is the method's main disadvantage. On the other hand, a well-facilitated group interview might yield aspects of the phenomenon under investigation which otherwise would not be revealed (Punch & Oancea, 2014). Another problem with group interviews is that it might be challenging for the researcher to balance different participants' interactions (Fontana & Frey, 1994).

Various authors suggest different numbers of participants in a focus group. For example, Breakwell et al. (2006), discussing focus groups in psychology research, quote a number ranging between six and twelve. Morgan (1997) considers it a 'rule of thumb' to have between six to ten participants per interview and three to five groups per project. However, from the ethnographic point of view, the groups typically include three to ten people. This research conducted four group interviews consisting of three to six participants.

The analysed data come from the corpus of transcribed audio recordings of 14 interviews - five individual, five joint, and four group interviews. A total of 31 participants were interviewed for this analysis.

3.8.1.2. Observations

The interviews were very informative, but there was a further need for exploration of the question of identity formation during the musical engagement. The third research question was considerably augmented by a case study of two musical communities of practice: a church choir and a liturgical music workshop. The methods were ethnographic in nature, with participant observations lasting approximately 16 months in the case of the choir and over a period of about two years in the case of the liturgical workshop.

Data collected during the observations of the two communities of practice (field notes, recording samples of rehearsal) were combined with the data collected during interviews to explore and explain the questions of identity in Polish migrant church attendees. The selected excerpts from the observations were included in the thematic analysis.

Observations were an important part of the research, although they do not feature largely in the analysis. They provided a background to the whole research and were a part of

the complete fieldwork. Before any interviews were conducted, the observations were already taking place and often immediately proceeded the interviews.

Observations are used mostly in ethnographic research and are very important methods in social sciences. The strengths of the observations lie in the fact that they allow the researcher, the observer, to focus on particular aspects or nuances of human behaviour manifested in a particular natural setting (Marvasti, 2014). On the other hand, they risk the subjectivity of the observer, who naturally filters the observed data through their "orientations toward the object of the observations" (Marvasti, 2014, p. 355).

According to Patricia and Peter Adler (1987), there are three main roles an observer can assume during the observation (p. 35). First, there is a complete observer who assumes a 'peripheral membership', then there is an active member, and finally, a complete participant whose position is very much the same as those of the observed subjects. According to the Adlers (1987), these roles are rather fluid and might shift during the observation process. In this research, participant observations were used as the researcher assumed the role of an observer and a participant, be it either a choir member or a liturgical music workshop participant.

During the observations, active participation was assumed, which allowed fuller engagement in the music activities and the creation of good rapport with other participants. Through the processes of reflection and reflexivity, the researcher positioned himself in the right proximity to the participants making the research less biased. The analysis process was reflective and selective, omitting data and information which appeared to be less relevant (Gray, 2021). The collected information in the form of field notes or recordings was analysed against the research questions. The focus of interest was on research question three, which aspired to explore the relations between

music activities, faith and identities. As the participation in a musical activity was engaging, it was hoped that a picture of different identities would appear within the contextual musical interactions.

The participant observations of the church choir took place on a few occasions at different times, first during the Christmas period, between December 2014 and February 2015, second between June and July 2015, and again in January 2016 and during Lent in April 2016. The observations of the choir produced more than 10 hours of audio recordings. The choir rehearsals took place weekly, and the choir consisted of 12 to 20 members. During the last observation round, the choir was preparing for a church performance of a *Requiem* by Fauré.

The liturgical music workshop observations ran for a period of two years and a half, and five weekend workshops were observed between March 2014 and September 2016. The workshops produced more than 20 hours of audio recordings. About 4000 words of field notes were written. The first workshops took place at the start of Lent, and the music practised included relevant Lenten hymns. All the consecutive workshops took place at different times of the Liturgical calendar, allowing the participants to know and practise a variety of suitable liturgical music. However, only a few data from the first rounds of observations were used in this research (see Chapter 4, 4.3.3.3.).

3.9. Thematic analysis

After the collection of qualitative data, mostly from interviews and focus groups but also from observations, a decision had to be made on how to analyse and interpret the data.

Because of the largely qualitative nature of the research and the data, and following the

theoretical assumptions, it was decided that the thematic analysis would be the best choice.

Several guides were consulted before the analysis proceeded. The work of Braun and Clarke (2006, 2013, 2022) was especially influential when choosing the methodology, and most of the advice is taken from these researchers.

The general idea behind the thematic analysis is to organise data into themes. There are different types of thematic analysis depending on the research question, the theoretical standpoint or the type of textual material (Fugard & Potts, 2020). The overarching aim of any thematic analysis is to find out what particular themes the data try to express (Ryan & Bernard, 2003).

A theme, according to Braun and Clarke, "is a pattern of shared meaning organised around a central concept" (Braun & Clarke, 2022, p. 77). Themes are usually more general and more overarching than codes and represent a broader idea. Many codes might make up one theme. For example, in this research, a theme of *prayer facilitation* might be composed of smaller chunks of meaning (codes), such as *prepares for prayer*, *dialogue with God*, and *the most efficient prayer*. A code is a building block and the output of the coding process, which captures a significant concept related to a data segment (Braun & Clarke, 2022).

The coding process is an elaborate work which encompasses different stages. Various authors suggest the following or similar steps of analysis (Terry et al. 2017, Braun & Clarke 2022).

Step 1. Familiarisation with the data.

Step 2. Generation of initial codes.

Step 3. Searching for themes.

Step 4. Review of themes (and codes)

Step 5. Defining and (refining) themes.

This research follows this guide with some flexibility, as indicated in the parenthesis.

During familiarisation with the data corpus, all transcribed interviews were read several times, sometimes with the accompaniment of the recorded audio.

All interviews were transcribed and imported into the online software Maxqda, designed to analyse the qualitative and mixed methods data. All interviews were conducted in the Polish language, and they were transcribed as such. Only relevant data sets used for code generation were partially translated into English. Examples of coded segments appear as quotations translated into English throughout the qualitative analysis chapter.

In step 2, the initial codes were mostly generated by the data, which means they were being developed inductively. However, as Braun and Clarke (2022) caution, the coding process is not a dichotomy but rather a spectrum, with both approaches likely taking place to some extent. Indeed, when the main themes were searched for and reviewed in steps 3 and 4, a more deductive approach dominated as the research questions and the theory informed the process. The data and theory were important in finalising the theme and code names in refining both themes and codes (step 4).

As mentioned before the coding process and the analysis had a few stages, with the development of themes inductively and deductively throughout the process. The entire data corpus consisted of 14 interviews, five individual, five joint, and four group interviews, with a total of 31 participants having been interviewed.

The coding process was an elaborate endeavour in which codes and themes were renamed and reorganised. At this initial stage, two more coders were employed to achieve better reliability, a process described in detail in the next section on inter-rater reliability. The coding was completed after the desired inter-rater reliability agreement of 88% was achieved.

3.9.1. Inter-rater reliability

In order to assess the inter-rater reliability of the coding system, two additional coders were employed to code a sample of the data. O'Connor & Joffe (2020) suggest that most qualitative research uses the term intercoder reliability (*ICR*). Therefore, this research also adopts the terms 'coders' and 'inter-coder reliability' to describe the reliability processes.

First, the coders were given a code book (see Appendix G for the code book) with existing codes in order to familiarise themselves with the system. Many researchers stress the importance of creating a code book before starting the whole process of coding and developing it further throughout the process of inter-coding (Belur et al., 2021; DeCuir-Gunby et al., 2011; Guest et al., 2011). It is essential that inter-coders know the code book and that all the code meanings are clarified (Guest et al., 2011).

After familiarising themselves with the code book, the coders started coding the data. The inter-rater sample consisted of one focus group and one individual interview chosen at random. The sample constituted 14.6% of the whole data corpus, which was critical in order to calculate the basic percentage of agreement. It is recommended that the

subsample used for inter-coding is chosen randomly and constitutes 10-25% of data units (O'Connor & Joffe, 2020).

After the initial coding, some inconsistencies emerged due to the coders' occasional misunderstanding of the categories, codes and sub-codes. According to O'Connor & Joffe (2020) all discrepancies should be discussed amongst coders, and a coding frame (a code book) should be used to clarify definitions and refined if necessary.

Further explanation of the code definitions and the broader categories (functions, meaning and identities) was given to address these arising problems. More clarification and translation were required until the coders and the researcher agreed on the meaning of the codes.

The two inter-coders worked in such a way that each of them read through the data sets twice. First, one coder read a particular set, applying the codes, and then the other read the same extract and applied the codes, marking what she agreed with and what she had doubts about. The former read through the set again, addressing doubts and making corrections. The latter made the further correction. As the coders got more and more familiar with the material, the necessary adjustments were made in the process. Finally, after the independent coding, the coders and the researcher arrived at the calculation after comparing the scripts. Then, the final calculation of *the basic proportion of agreement* was made.

Cohen et al. (2018) suggest that reliability as equivalence might be achieved through inter-rater (intercoder) reliability. In the case of this study, it was achieved by making sure that the two additional coders coded the material in much the same way as the researcher. The achievement of such agreement between the coders is especially

important in semi-structured interview data, with all coders agreeing on the coded categories (Cohen et al., 2018). After a few-stage process highlighted in the previous paragraphs, the researcher and the extra coders arrived at 88% agreement.

First, a matrix of the basic proportion of agreement was created in which the coding of the researcher was juxtaposed with the set of coding achieved by additional coders (see Appendix F). Then the calculation of the codes was made, and the inter-rater agreement was calculated as a proportion. There was a total of 119 segments (codes/subcodes) coded with 106 agreements and 14 disagreements. The following calculation was performed - the number of agreements divided by the total number of agreements and disagreements:

$$\frac{105}{105 + 14} = 0.88$$

This means that the basic proportion of agreement is 88%, which is relatively high.

Chapter 4: Results

4.1. Analysis of the quantitative data

The purpose of the first part of this chapter is to present the data analysis and the results of the survey data, which constitute the quantitative part of the study. Next, the research objectives and questions will be revisited, and seven hypotheses attached to the quantitative part of the research will be presented. This will be followed by the operationalisation of variables and preliminary data chapters. Finally, the analysis and results of the main data will be presented and followed by a discussion.

4.1.2. Research aim, objectives, questions, and hypothesis

The main aim of this research is to explore the role of music in church communities.

The objectives are:

- to investigate the different functions of music in the worship of church attendees
- to investigate what meanings are constructed during musical activities in worship
- to explore relations between music, faith and identities in church contexts

 To pursue these objectives, the following research questions were formulated:
 - 1. What functions does music fulfil in church attendees?
 - 2. What musical meanings are constructed in different church contexts?
 - 3. How are musical experiences in the church related to the participants' identities?

These will be explored in the context of the Polish church community in London.

Seven hypotheses were formulated for the purpose of this research and in order to explore the quantitative elements of each research question. The following three hypotheses addressed the first research question:

H₁: The importance of music in Polish immigrants' lives is positively related to the importance of religion in their lives.

H₂: Music during Mass or service is reported as one of the most important religious practices.

H₃: The level of religious commitment is related to the level of sacred music activities in people's lives.

The following two hypotheses addressed the second research question:

H₁: The significance of music in religious contexts is positively linked to people's religiosity.

H₂: Music experienced in religious contexts has a greater effect on the faithful than music experienced in secular contexts.

The following two hypotheses addressed the third research question:

H₁: Positive experiences of music in church communities are associated with more commitment to religious practices in attendees.

H₂: Participation in Polish church music is associated with stronger national identity amongst migrant Poles.

4.1.3. Operationalisation of variables.

This section explains the meaning behind the variables in an operational way. This is separate from the section on the glossary of the keywords which is located before Chapter 1 (see p.9). Variables 1 to 6 relate to the first research question, and variables 7 to 10 have been used in the two hypotheses related to the second and third research questions.

- **1. Importance of music in people's lives** describes how much the respondents value music in their lives on a scale from 1 to 7. It is meant to measure musical involvement in general terms.
- **2. Importance of religion in people's lives** describes and measures respondents' religiosity or religious commitment on a scale from 1 to 7 in general terms.
- **3. Level of religious commitment** is a more specific variable, stresses people's active commitment and describes how often they take part in various religious activities specifically.
- **4. Music experienced in religious contexts** or **level of sacred music activities** refers to all activities and ways people can use music in the church or religious contexts (in this study also: uses of music in religious contexts), whether it is singing in the church choir, using music at home for meditation or music during services.
- **5. Music during Mass or service** refers to all music in the liturgy of the Mass as well as hymns and songs used in other services including music used in services of other, non-Catholic churches. The term 'Mass' is used with reference to the Liturgy of the Catholic Church and some Anglican churches.

- **6. Religious practices** describe all practices or parts of the service the faithful take part in, such as listening to the sermon, communion, reading from scripture, or praying at home.
- **7. Significance of music in religious contexts** describes how important or meaningful religious music, as opposed to secular music, is in people's lives. This variable is more specific than variable 1 in as much as it focuses on the meaning of religious music in church attendees.
- **8. Music experienced in secular contexts** describes music which is not related to or written for the church. It may include everyday situations in which people experience music, such as listening to the radio or while exercising (Q2 on the questionnaire).
- **9. Participation in Polish church music** refers to all Polish church music activities people take part in, such as singing Polish hymns at Masses.
- **10. National identity amongst migrant Poles** in this research is mainly defined by the use of the Polish language during services and Polish hymns and worship songs.

4.1.4. Preliminary analysis and normality tests

The data from the questionnaire were entered into the SPSS software. Four questionnaire questions included sub-questions, and these were combined into total score variables. This computation allowed subsequent statistical tests on each total score variable, thus avoiding numerous statistical tests on the individual sub-questions. Those questions which used Likert and semantic differential scales, which are ordinal measurement types, did not require normality tests as the data was not parametric in those cases. The total score variables were constructed so that the lower scores

represented low-frequency experience and the higher scores represented high-frequency experience. These were described as scale (interval or ratio) measurements in SPSS. In these cases, the data was parametric, which allowed testing for normality.

The following questions were computed (i.e., the values were combined into single variables with total scores):

- 2. How often do you experience music in the following situations?
- (Music experienced in secular contexts as a variable)
- 7. How often (if at all) do you take part in the following religious practices? (The level of religious commitment as a variable)
- 11. Please specify how often do you take part in the following musical activities in the religious context? (Music experienced in religious contexts as a variable)

(see Appendix B for full questions)

The normality tests revealed a normal curve for the above three variables. *Music* experienced in secular contexts (D (78) = 0.06, p = .20 (K-S test), D (78) = 0.99, p = .79 (Shapiro-Wilk test), the *level of religious commitment* (D (78) = 0.07, p = .20 (K-S test), D (78) = 0.98, p = .20 (Shapiro-Wilk test) or *music experienced in religious contexts* (D (57) = 0.07, p = .20 (K-S test), D (57) = 0.99, p = .77 (Shapiro-Wilk test), did not deviate statistically from normal distribution. Because some of the tick boxes on Q11 in the questionnaire were not ticked off by some of the participants, the SPSS reported a total of 21 missing answers, hence 57 rather than 78 participants.

Similarly, sub-questions from Q15, (b. When I hear music which suits my tastes, I feel closer to God, g. Music is, for me, the sign of God's presence, i. Music in the church affects my emotions and state of mind (e.g., It calms me down), k. Religious music has a

stronger effect on me than any other music) were combined to create a total for *positive* experiences of music and presented as a scale variable. In this case, however, both K-S and Shapiro-Wilk tests revealed that the data was not normally distributed, D (78) = 0.17, p < 0.01 (K-S test), D (78) = 0.89, p < 0.01 (Shapiro-Wilk test). Here the p values for both were below 0.05, indicating statistically significant deviation from the normal distribution. As a result, non-parametric tests were used with these variables.

4.1.4.1. Gender differences

The percentage of female respondents in the study was 61%, with 38% male respondents. Several test results revealed some gender differences. There were some differences between men and women in terms of religiosity, with women attaching more importance to religion than men in general. Similarly, some gender differences emerged in music genre preferences. Although not central to the research, these differences are worth reporting.

Two Mann-Whitney tests were run to find out differences in the importance of music and religion, respectively, between males (n=30) and females (n=48). Because the data did not meet the parametric assumptions, the non-parametric equivalent of a t-test was used to compare two independent samples (Field, 2015).

The importance of music in men's lives did not differ statistically from the importance of music in women's lives, (U = 610.00, Z = -1.23, p = .22). The difference in the importance of religion between the two genders, however, was statistically significant (U = 558.50, Z = -2.06, p = .04, M = 5.70, SD = 2.14 (men), M = 6.52, SD = 1.07 (women)).

Furthermore, a Mann-Whitney test revealed statistically significant differences in Christian music genre preferences between men and women, with women preferring listening to classical sacred music (U = 453.00, Z = -2.81, p = .005), Gregorian chant (U = 443.00, Z = -2.81)

-2.93, p = .003) and church choir music (U = 500.50, Z = -2.33, p = .02) and men choosing Christian rock as the most favourite genre.

Two separate Spearman's correlations within each gender group (male and female) were performed to see if there are potential differences in the relation between *the importance* of religion and the level of devotion to sacred music activities. There was a statistically significant correlation between these two variables for women, $(r_s = .34, p = .02)$, but no significant correlation for men $(r_s = .27, p = .14)$.

This suggests that there might be a link between subjective religiosity and religious music devotion in people, with women potentially being more involved than men in religious activities, especially music.

4.1.4.2. Age groups and immigration waves

In the survey, the participants were asked to specify their age group: 18 to 34, 35 to 54, 55 to 74 or 75 and above. Because there were not enough participants in the older age group, the sample was regrouped, and two new age groups were created and tested for differences. Two tests comparing the younger (18-34, n = 38) and the older (35 +, n = 40) groups were run.

A Mann-Whitney test found that the importance of music in the younger group did not differ significantly from the importance of music in the older group, U = 751.00, Z = -

0.98, p = .92. Neither did the importance of religion differ significantly between the younger and older groups, U = 752.50, Z = -0.93, p = .93.

The majority of the participants immigrated after the inclusion of Poland into the EU, so no tests comparing the attitudes of different immigration waves were performed.

The preliminary test results, especially on gender differences, were interesting but only indicative in this research. More studies could be done to determine whether there is a significant difference between men and women in terms of religious music engagement.

4.1.5. Testing hypotheses

After the preliminary testing seven hypotheses were tested for statistical significance, which constitutes the main finding of the quantitative part of this research. Three research questions related to the functions of music, musical meaning and identities in music were considered, respectively. Out of seven hypotheses, five have been supported, a few of them at least partly, which indicates a relatively high statistical significance. The following are the detailed results of the hypothesis testing.

RQ1 H₁: *The importance of music in Polish immigrants' lives* is positively related to *the importance of religion in their lives*.

In order to address the first research question related to the functions of music and to test Hypothesis 1, a correlation was carried out to test the relationship between the two independent variables; *the importance of music* and *the importance of religion in peoples' lives*, questions 6 and 9 on the questionnaire respectively. Because the data was non-parametric and the two variables were measured on the ordinal scale, the Spearman's correlation was used. This is a non-parametric test used on ranked data (Field, 2013). The results revealed a statistically significant correlation between the two

variables. The importance of music in peoples' lives was significantly related to the importance of religion in their lives, $r_s = .25 p = .03$.

These results indicate that music is important for people who in one way or another, regard themselves as religious. The relation between these two variables is clearer when music and religion are considered in more general terms.

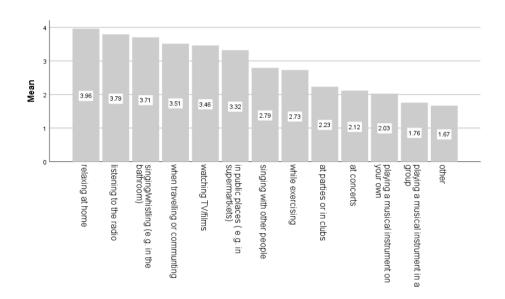
More tests were carried out to see if similar results would be yielded between variables which are more specific. Another Spearman's correlation was performed to investigate the relation between *the importance of music* and *the commitment to religious activities*, questions 6 and 7 on the questionnaire, respectively. This time, however, there was not a statistically significant correlation, $r_s = .18$, p = .12. This might indicate that the commitment to religious activities is different between individuals and is not equally important to all respondents. The scales used to measure these two variables were different, with *the importance of music* measured on the seven-point scale and *the commitment to religious activities* on a five-point scale, which might have affected the reliability of the test.

To further explore the above discrepancy, the variables: *music experienced in secular* contexts and the level of commitment to individual religious activities were studied.

First, a bar chart was constructed to show the frequency of different situations in which people experience music in secular contexts. Friedman's ANOVA identified statistically significant differences between these situations, χ^2 (12) = 321.36, p <.001.

Figure 3

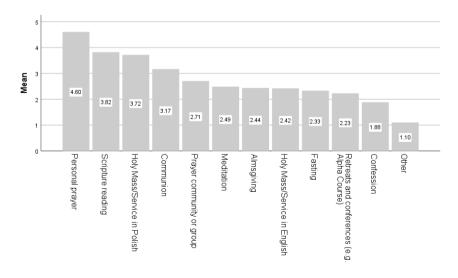
Means of Music Experienced in Secular Contexts



A similar bar chart was constructed to study the level of commitment to individual religious activities. A Friedman's ANOVA (non-parametric) identified statistically significant differences between these activities, χ^2 (11) = 327.39, p < .001. (see Table 3)

Figure 4

Means of Commitment to Religious Activities



Questions Q2 and Q7 were composed of subcategories which were combined and computed into two new variables, a total of music experiences and a total of religious activities in people's lives, respectively, and Pearson's correlation was run. The test did not yield a statistically significant correlation, r = .14, p = .22.

These results might suggest that various musical activities are experienced by different people with different frequencies in life as much as different religious activities show different levels of commitment amongst people. There is no significant correlation between those activities or between the sums of these activities in people's lives. Hence, the hypothesis that *the importance of music in Polish immigrants' lives* is positively related to *the importance of religion in their lives* has been only partly confirmed. A related hypothesis, a statistically significant correlation between the level of music in religious contexts and the level of religious activities in people's lives, will be discussed later in RQ1 H₃.

RQ1 H₂: Music during Mass or service is reported as one of the most important religious practices.

In order to test this hypothesis, Friedman's ANOVA (non-parametric) was performed to identify if there are statistical differences between the importance of different aspects of the Mass/service experience. The test revealed statistically significant differences in distribution between various aspects of Mass or service experience, χ^2 (7) = 192.01, p < .001. *Music* came in fourth, both in mean and median ranks, right after *Scripture*, *Communion* and *Sermon*, which can be seen on the following bar charts.

Figure 5 *Means of Various Aspects of Mass or Service*

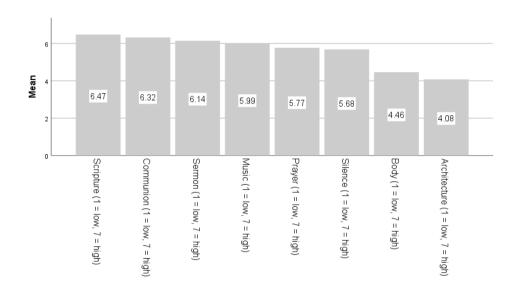
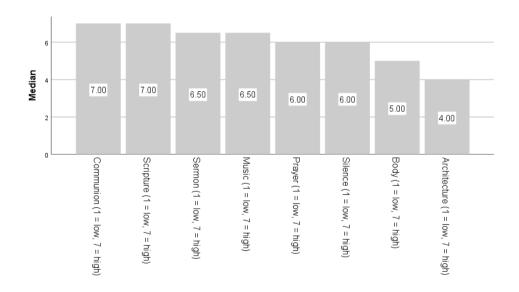


Figure 6Medians of Various Aspects of Mass or Service



Furthermore, Wilcoxon's Signed Rank test was performed to see where exactly the differences were statistically significant between *music* and all other aspects of the

Mass/service. There was a statistically significant difference between music and communion and scripture based on positive ranks, and music and silence, architecture and body movement based on negative ranks. See Table 2 for full results.

Table 1

Various Aspects of Mass/Service - Wilcoxon Signed Rank test results

	1. music			
	Mdn	Z	p	r
1. music	6.5	-	-	-
2. communion	7	-2.14 ^b	.03	24
3. scripture	7	-2.94 ^b	.003	33
4. sermon	6.5	98 ^b	.33	11
5. prayer	6	-1.69 ^c	.09	19
6. silence	6	-2.08 ^c	.04	24
7. body movement	5	-5.21 ^c	< .001	59
8. architecture	4	-6.65°	< .001	75

Notes. b. Based on positive ranks.

c. Based on negative ranks.

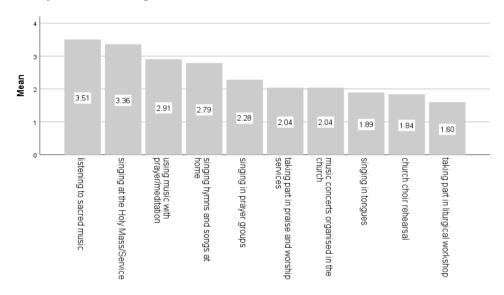
The results indicate that music, although not the most important element of the Mass/service, still occupies the fourth or third most important position, virtually on par with *sermon*.

To further support the above hypothesis, the following bar chart was constructed in SPSS. The chart with frequencies of different uses of music in religious contexts shows

that some are more frequently reported than others. *Singing at the Holy Mass/service* is reported as the second most frequent, right after *listening to sacred music*.

Figure 7

Uses of Music in Religious Contexts



A Friedman's ANOVA (non-parametric) was performed to test if the differences are statistically significant. The test revealed statistically significant differences in distribution between frequencies of different uses of music in religious contexts, χ^2 (7) = 263.94, p < .001. Singing at the Mass/service came second both in mean and median ranks right after listening to sacred music, which obviously might include listening at services.

Additionally, a Wilcoxon Signed Rank test was performed to see where exactly the differences were statistically significant. The following table shows that there was a statistical difference between *singing at the Mass/service* and all the other uses of music

in religious contexts apart from *listening to sacred music*. See the table below for Z, p and r values.

Table 2

Uses of Music in Religious Contexts - Wilcoxon Signed Rank test results

		1. singin	ng at Mass/service	
	Mdn	Z	p	r
1. singing at the Mass/service	3	-	-	-
2. listening to sacred music	4	-1.47 ^b	.14	17
3. church choir rehearsal	1	-6.84 ^b	.001	78
4. using music with prayer/meditation	3	-2.68 ^b	.01	30
5. praise and worship services	2	-7.19 ^b	.001	81
6. singing in prayer groups	2	-6.24 ^b	.001	71
7. singing hymns and songs at home	3	-3.45 ^b	.001	40
8. taking part in liturgical workshops	2	-7.26 ^b	.001	82
9. music concerts organised in the church	1	-7.04 ^b	.001	80
10. singing in tongues	1	-6.29 ^b	.001	71

Notes. b. Based on positive ranks.

The results of the above tests indicate that *singing at the Mass/service* is indeed almost the most important religious music practice. Consequently, the hypothesis was supported both in the context of comparing it to other aspects of Mass/service or in comparison with other uses of music in religious contexts.

RQ1 H₃: The level of religious commitment is related to the level of sacred music activities in people's lives.

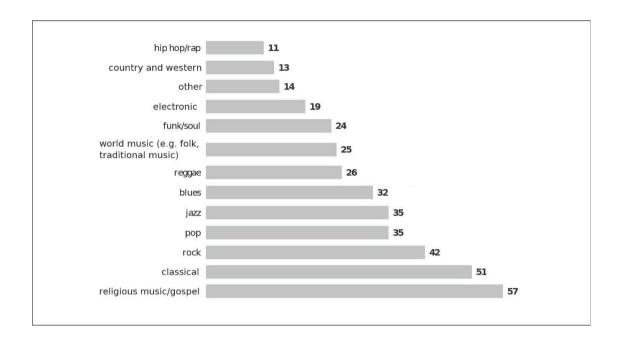
First, in order to address this hypothesis, a correlation was conducted to test the relationship between *the importance of religion* (Q9) and *the level of devotion to sacred music activities* in peoples' lives (Q10). *The level of devotion to sacred music activities* was measured in terms of four percentage groups; 0-25%, 26-50%, 51-75% and 76-100%, 0-25% being the lowest level of devotion.

Since both variables were ordinal, and the data were ranked, the Spearman's rho was used. There was a statistically significant relation between *the importance of religion* and *the level of devotion to sacred music activities* in peoples' lives (p = .01). As people become more involved in the church, religious music becomes for them a strong devotion and they also choose to listen to it outside of the church context. Although the relation was statistically significant, the correlation was moderate (r = .31). Furthermore, Spearman's correlation was performed between *the importance of religion* and the sum of *uses of music in religious contexts* (Q9 and Q11 on the questionnaire, respectively). A strong correlation between these two variables was observed, $r_s = .52^{**}$, p < .001

Survey Q4, which asked respondents to name their favourite music genres, seems to support RQ1 H₃. The respondents were asked to choose their favourite music from 12 different music genres. The question asked the respondents to tick all the relevant boxes. Religious/gospel and classical music were most frequently reported, with 57 and 51 respondents, respectively, choosing them as their favourites. Rock, pop, and jazz were also popular with 42, 35 and 35 respondents, respectively. Country music and hip hop/rap turned out to be the least popular genres, with 13 and 11 respondents, respectively (Figure 8).

Figure 8

Music Genres Ranked from the Least to the Most Favourite



The table shows that for the majority of the respondents (n = 57), religious and gospel music are the favourite genres, very closely followed by classical music (n = 51). These results indicate that for those committed to Church, religious and gospel music and related genres, such as classical music, should be the first choice in terms of listening or engagement. An additional correlation was performed between *the level of commitment to religious activities* Q7 and *the level of devotion to sacred music activities* Q10.

A total scale variable was created for Q7, and a Spearman's correlation was run. The test revealed a statistically significant correlation between *the level of commitment to* religious activities Q7 and *the level of devotion to sacred music activities* Q10, r = .36, p = .001. Taking all these test results into consideration, it can be stated that the

hypothesis that *the level of religious commitment* is related to *the level of sacred music activities in people's lives* has been supported.

RQ2 H₁: The significance of music in religious contexts is positively linked to people's religiosity.

It was hypothesised that the significance of music in religious contexts is linked to people's religiosity. In other words, church music will acquire more meaning and significance for people of faith. In order to check the validity of this hypothesis, 5 Spearman's correlation tests were carried out as the data did not meet the parametric assumptions. Q 9 (*Please indicate on a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 signifies 'not important at all', and 7 'very important', how important is religion in your life?*) and 5 sub questions from Q 15 (*How much on the scale from 1 to 5 do you agree with the following statements?*) were used to perform the test;

- a. Music in the church is indispensable
- c. I attach more significance to religious than to any other music
- g. Music is, for me, the sign of God's presence
- k. Religious music has a stronger effect on me than any other music
- l. Music in the church plays solely an ornamental role (reverse coded)

The tests revealed a statistically significant correlation between *the importance of religion* and the *effect of religious music*. However, there was no significant correlation between *the importance of religion* and *the indispensability of church music*, *significance of religious music*, *signification of God's presence* or *ornamental role of church music* - reverse coded (see results in Table 3).

Table 3Correlations between the importance of religion and other variables – Spearman's rho (rs) test results

of religion
61) -
28) .24*
14) .16
22) .19
35) .07
.21

Note. * p < .05

Hence, there is not enough evidence to support the hypothesis that *the significance of music in religious contexts* is positively linked to *people's religiosity*, so the null hypothesis has to be accepted.

RQ2 H₂: Music experienced in religious contexts has a greater effect on the faithful than music experienced in secular contexts.

Wilcoxon signed-rank test was performed to see if there are differences in the emotional effect of music in the church and music outside of the church context. Two items from Q15 of the questionnaire were used to perform the test, namely: Q15i (Music in the

church affects my emotions and state of mind) and Q15j (Music outside of the church context also affects my emotions and state of mind)

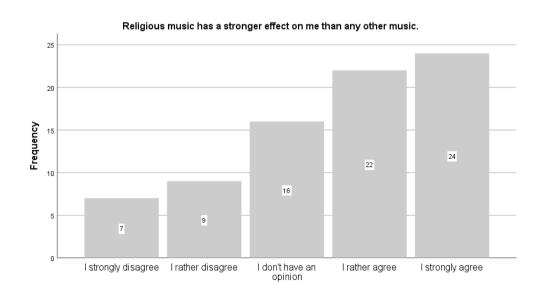
The result indicates that there is no statistically significant difference between the *music* experienced in religious contexts and music experienced in secular contexts, $z = -.81^{b}$, p = .42 (b. Based on positive ranks).

These results indicate that music, whether experienced in the church or outside of the church, has a similar emotional effect on people.

Q 15 k (Religious music has a stronger effect on me than any other music), however, produced different results with more people reporting 'I rather agree' and 'I strongly agree' than 'I don't have an opinion', 'I rather disagree' and 'I strongly disagree' combined. The ratio of those who agreed to those who disagreed was 2.88 to 1. That indicates that there is a difference in the way people experience secular or sacred music.

Figure 9

The Number of People Reporting the Stronger Effect of Religious Music



The Chi-Square (goodness of fit) was performed on Q15 k in relation to disagreement/agreement proportions. The results indicate that these proportions are statistically significant, ($\chi^2 = 14.69$, df = 4, p = .005). These results seem to support the hypothesis that music experienced in religious contexts has a greater effect on the faithful than music experienced in secular contexts.

However, because there was no apparent difference in the way either secular or religious music has an emotional effect on respondents, the results are inconclusive, and there is insufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis. More tests need to be done to see in what way the effect of sacred music on respondents is greater if it is not the emotional.

RQ3 H₁: Positive experiences of music in church (communities) are associated with more commitment to religious practices in attendees.

To address RQ3 H₁, a Pearson's correlation test was performed. First, questions 15 b, f, i and k were combined in order to acquire a total scale variable and recoded as *positive* experiences of music in the church:

- b. When I hear music which suits my tastes, I feel closer to God
- f. Music in the church sometimes annoys me or disturbs me (reverse coded)
- i. Music in the church affects my emotions and state of mind. (e.g., It calms me down)
- k. Religious music has a stronger effect on me than any other music.

Then all components of Q7 (How often, if at all, do you take part in the following religious practices?) were computed, and a total scale variable (*commitment to religious practices*) was also created. The variable comprised such religious practices as *Holy Mass/service*, *church retreats*, *prayer groups*, *confession*, *communion*, *almsgiving*,

personal prayer, Scripture reading, meditation or fasting. In this way, it was possible to carry out a parametric test.

The test revealed a marginally significant correlation between the two variables, *positive* experiences of music and commitment to religious practices, r = .22, $r^2 = .05$, p = .05.

R² or coefficient of determination was calculated to measure "the amount of the variability in one variable that is shared by the other" variable (Field, 2018, 276), which yields a more substantive result. This is calculated alongside every subsequent Pearson's correlation in this analysis.

Because after Pearson's test on the above variables, the correlation was marginal, a similar Pearson's correlation was performed to test the hypothesis. This time *positive* experiences of music in the church variable was correlated with religious music activities (Q10) which was a computed variable comprising of such activities as listening to religious music, singing at the Holy Mass/service or using music with prayer/meditation. The test revealed a statistically significant but weak correlation between the two variables, r = .34***, $r^2 = .16$, p = .003 (**Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)). Despite weak correlations, the above results support the hypothesis, and the null hypothesis has to be rejected.

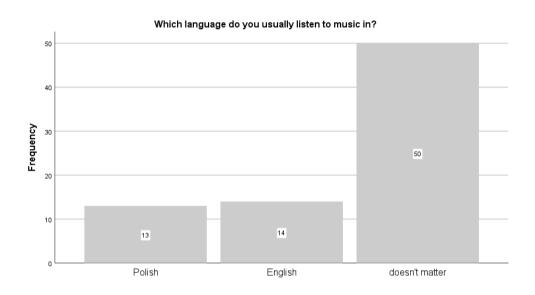
RQ3 H₂: Participation in Polish church music is associated with stronger national identity amongst migrant Poles.

First, the importance of the language in which respondents listen to music was studied. Polish language was used as an indicator of national identity. Q4b on the questionnaire asked about the preferred language of listening to music. A simple descriptive statistic revealed that the Polish language was not necessary a preferred language, n = 13 (17%)

as opposed to English, n = 14 (18%). For most respondents, n = 50 (65 %), it did not matter in which language they listen to music (see the figure below).

Figure 10

Music Listening Language Preferences

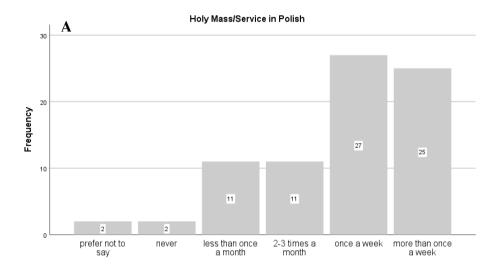


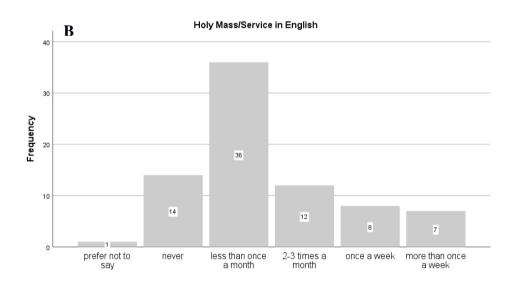
A Friedman's ANOVA (non-parametric) was performed to see if there are statistical differences between preferred language of listening to music. The test revealed statistically significant differences in distribution, χ^2 (3) = 68.97, p < .001 but clearly the differences were between 'Polish' and 'doesn't matter (which language)' or 'English' and 'doesn't matter (which language)' respectively.

The Polish language seems to be the preferred language of worship (Figure 11), as the descriptive statistics frequency test revealed that Polish people prefer attending Polish Masses or services to English ones.

Figure 11

Polish (A) vs English (B) Mass/Service Attendance



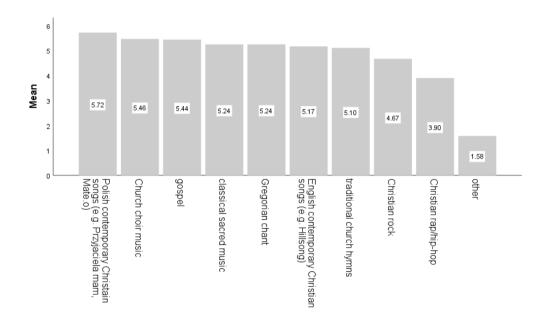


This is supported by a paired sample t- test which revealed a statistically significant difference between the means of the two variables. On average, participants prefer attending services in Polish (M = 3.72, SD = 1.27) than services in English (M = 2.42, SD = 1.20), t (77) = 5.91, p < .001.

This trend is also visible in the level of enjoyment of religious music where Polish contemporary Christian songs are generally more enjoyed than their English equivalents (see Figure 12).

Figure 12

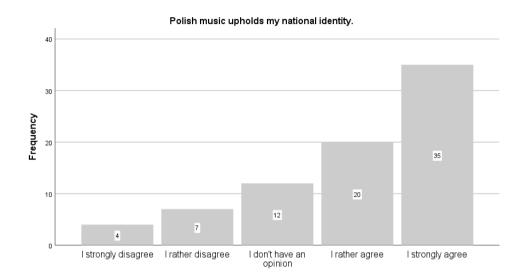
The level of enjoyment of religious music



A Chi Square test was performed to find the association between *listening to music in Polish language* and *upholding the national identity*.) There was no association between these variables. ($\chi^2 = 14.13$, df = 12, p = .29). Thus, the likelihood that listening to Polish music upholds the national identity is not apparent. However, most respondents agree that Polish music upholds their national identity (Q15h) (see figure 13 on the next page).

Figure 13

Polish music and national identity

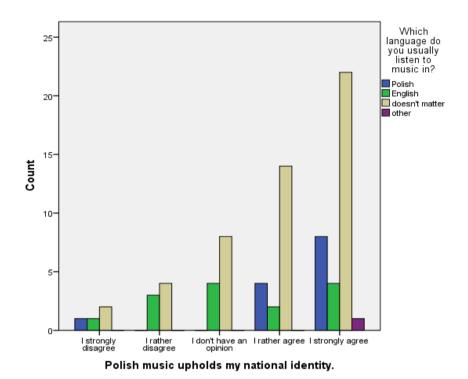


Note. The above figure does not distinguish between religious or secular music and is not precise.

The sample used in this research has a strong association with religious music and such might be a major part of their musical practices. Further tests are more precise pointing at the strong effect of religious music on identity.

The above finding seems to be in sharp contrast with the finding that listening to music in the Polish language does not uphold the national identity. The following tests seem to clarify and explain this discrepancy.

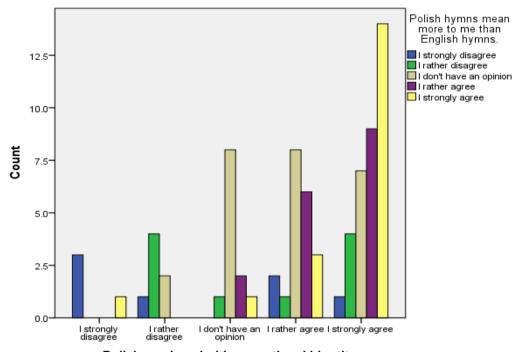
Figure 14Association between Language of Listening and Upholding of National Identity



Another Chi Square test, however, revealed a strong association between the meaningfulness of Polish hymns and upholding the national identity ($\chi^2 = 42.93$, df = 16, p < .001) (see Figure 15 on the next page).

Figure 15

Association between the Meaningfulness of Polish Hymns and Upholding of National Identity



Polish music upholds my national identity.

A significant association was also recorded between listening to music in the Polish language and the meaning of Polish hymns ($\chi^2 = 23.09$, df = 12, p = .03).

Additionally, 5 Spearman's rho correlations were simultaneously run to support the above claims. Four variables (*Polish music upholds my national identity, Polish hymns mean more to me than English hymns, I enjoy Polish contemporary Christian songs, I enjoy English contemporary Christian songs)* showed the same pattern of correlations (Table 4). There was a statistically significant correlation between *Polish music upholds my national identity* and *Polish hymns mean more to me than English hymns, r* = .44**, p < .001, as well as between *I enjoy Polish contemporary Christian songs* and *I enjoy English contemporary Christian songs*, r = .59**, p < .001. There was no statistically significant correlation between all the other above variables.

Table 4

Correlations to Support Associations between Listening to Music in Polish Language,
Meaning of Polish Hymns and Upholding the National Identity Spearman's rho (rs) test
results

variable	M(SD)	1	2 3
1. Polish music upholds my national			
identity.	3.96(1.20)	-	
2. Polish hymns mean more to me than	3.40(1.24)	.19**	-
English			
hymns.			
3. Polish contemporary Christian songs.	5.72(1.55)	.03	<.01 -
4. English contemporary Christian songs.	5.17(1.53)	<.001	.03 .35**

Notes. **Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Overall, the hypothesis that *Participation in Polish church music* is associated with *stronger national identity amongst migrant Poles* is only partly supported. There is an indication that Polish hymns and participation in Polish Masses might play a role in upholding the identity.

4.2. Analysis of the qualitative data

In order to respond to the qualitative elements of the research questions, a thematic analysis of the interview data was performed. Several guides were used for the analysis, but the work of Braun and Clarke (2006, 2013, 2022) was the main source for this. The

analysis had a few stages, as reported in the methodology chapter, with the development of themes taking place both inductively and deductively throughout the process. The entire data corpus consisted of recordings and transcripts of the interviews and selected observation excerpts. The data was augmented by several excerpts from observations of two communities of practice: a church choir and liturgical music workshops.

4.3. The thematic analysis of the qualitative data

A more experiential theoretical position was adopted in this part of the research, with the themes being identified and interpreted at the semantic level (Braun & Clarke, 2006). However, there is a degree of theoretical flexibility with aspects from critical orientation deployed in the data analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2022) (see Chapter 3). The themes were identified in a bottom-up way in which data is closely related to the themes (Patton, 1990).

However, the research questions and the theory were equally important in this process and especially informed the generation of the themes, which were directly related to the three research questions which make up the categories of functions, meanings, and identities:

- 1. What functions does music fulfil in church attendees?
- 2. What musical meanings are constructed in different church contexts?
- 3. How are musical experiences in the church related to the participants' identities?

The three broad 'categorical' themes were the starting point and the backbone of the coding process and the analysis. The categories of functions, meanings and identities

comprised all themes and codes related to the functions of music, the meaning of music, and the music in identities, respectively.

Initial codes were created after familiarisation with the data corpus and identifying general themes. All three research questions directed the whole encoding process, in which repeated patterns were identified. A list of codes from the data was generated and grouped under broader themes. As the themes were divided into three categories of functions, meaning and identities, three separate maps reflecting each of these categories were created. In the last stage, an attempt was made to group and code the interviewees' answers according to the same three categories, respectively.

Initially, five themes were identified within the functions of music: aesthetic experience, community building, expectations and preferences, mystical experiences and prayer facilitation. Similarly, five themes were generated within the meaning of music: meaning and context, meaning and emotions, motives for singing, power of words and music, and significance and signification. The identities in religious contexts category produced three main themes, namely church music identity - continuity and stability of culture, Liturgy - validating religious rituals and communities of practice. Each theme contained the codes that further specified and exemplified them (see Appendix E for the theme maps).

The interviews and focus groups were designed to elaborate on the categories of functions, meaning and identities already explored in the quantitative part of the research. The interview questions focused more on the category of musical meaning, with questions formulated to elicit the required data directly or indirectly. However, the data produced an equally significant number of codes related to functions and identities.

In the initial stages of the analysis when the codes and themes were still being formulated, the categories were very much driven deductively by the research questions and theory on the functions and meaning of music, and the identities in the church communities. However, as the analysis progressed, the boundaries between these three categories often disappeared and there was a lot of overlap and convergence between functions, meanings and identities in church music. An inductive orientation was also adopted as the data informed the process of coding considerably. The coding progressed with the interconnections between the three categories in mind. The overarching category of *the role of music in the church communities* is reflected in the research title.

4.3.1. Functions fulfilled by music in church attendees

The following section will describe the themes and codes categorised under the functions of music. The following research question drove the development of the category of functions of music; *What functions does music fulfil in church attendees?*However, a word of caution: the literature informed the analysis considerably, but not strictly. For example, it was more appropriate to place some of the themes related to the functions of music in chapters on musical meaning or identities.

4.3.1.1. Theme 1: Prayer facilitation - meditative function

The function of music as *prayer facilitation* is an appropriate point of departure in the discussion of the functions of music, as prayer seems to be at the core of church life. The theme seems to stand out in the whole data set, being on par with the following theme of *induction of ineffable experiences of God*, in terms of the number of coded

segments. Music seems to help people to pray and focus on worship. Within the theme itself, five codes related to this function of music can be identified, namely that it

- functions as or complements prayer,
- disturbs prayer when poor or inadequate,
- is conducive to prayer when well performed,
- praises and worships God and
- provides the antidote to life problems/situations.

The richest code, namely that music *functions as or complements prayer*, produced 35 coded segments and contained three additional subcodes (aids, prepares for prayer, dialogue with God and the most efficient prayer). These findings evidence the power of music to facilitate, help or prepare for prayer. The following section will focus on several codes and segments where respondents refer to music as prayer.

I think music is a prayer for me. And it brings me closer [to God], if it is arranged in some framework, be it worship, or service, it brings me very close personally. I would say even more than prayer. So, I treat singing, as I go to church on any occasion, I treat singing as prayer.

(Joint Interview 4, Pos. 149)

...singing in the liturgy, its rank, so to speak, is on the same level as spoken prayer, at least for me...

Prayer contains words, words that we say collectively, we take these words together before the altar, [but] [...] in a musical form.

(Joint Interview 6, Pos. 22 and Pos. 125)

Indeed, the presence of words usually decides whether we pray or not, but according to some respondents, prayer is not exclusive to hymns or songs only, as instrumental music might also be regarded or experienced in much the same way.

...and these communities, through singing together, [...] praying with words, and at the same time those who play instruments also pray [...], pray while playing.

(Focus Group 2, Pos. 53)

Apart from the simple claim that music is a prayer, it became apparent that it aids prayer, perhaps by preparing the faithful when they are not ready to pray yet. The quality of music, adequately chosen for an occasion, creates an atmosphere of calm or transcendence. The mood-regulating aspect of music might help to relax, focus or defocus. This is how one of the liturgical workshop leaders describes his subtle attempt to encourage prayer amongst participants:

That's why in the last piece I started humming different sounds so that you pick up on that. We didn't say it, because if someone does not have such experience, it may be difficult... For someone with experience, a natural prayer [...] be it in tongues or [...] be it a prayer supported by sound reality [music], is something completely obvious ... (Joint Interview 1, Pos. 78)

Another respondent who is a musician notices a connection between music and prayer and points out the fact that musical people might be especially sensitive. This assertion resonates with some earlier findings about how musicality might be linked to specific types of characteristics also present in religious people, a question discussed in Chapter 2.

...as a believer I expect [...] that at least some of what we present in our prayers will be heard, this is the greatest hope and if singing makes it easier for musically

sensitive people, [if it] facilitates participation in the service, I think, it is a very important [aspect] in all of this (Joint Interview 6, Pos. 32).

For some people, music is more than a prayer or as coded in this research, *the most efficient prayer*. This claim is also attested by scriptural evidence and church tradition, an example being a collection of Psalms from the Old Testament which were written to the accompaniment of music. The effectiveness of singing prayer is attested by this research.

I think that singing can be compared not only to a form of prayer but to [...] a higher form of prayer. It's not just expressing [oneself], it is as if moving to a higher level...

(Joint Interview 9, Pos. 16)

Prayer with music is for me the best prayer and the most effective one, the one that I personally believe in the most.

(Focus Group 2, Pos. 77)

This is reflected throughout this research in a subtle way and in a more direct reference to prayer as a conversation or dialogue with God.

... there have been many moments in my life, [...] which I could call losing my faith. And then, [...] God spoke through music.

(Focus Group 4, Pos. 151)

It is important to have [...] contact with God. If it's singing, it can really get you closer to God, because you sing to him and there is some kind of conversation you have with God.

(Focus Group 3, Pos. 190)

Singing can be a prayer itself as much as any other recited, vocal or contemplative inner prayer. It does, however, matter what kind of music is played at Masses and services, and as much as it can help people to pray, it can also disturb them. It may be that the faithful, in general, are especially sensitive to inadequate music, as more segments were coded for *disturbs prayer when poor or inadequate* than *is conducive to prayer when well performed*. That might indicate that a lot of music performed in churches, at least from the respondents' experiences in Poland, is not of good quality. This is how some respondents expressed their dissatisfaction with the quality of music in the church, which can be distracting or disappointing:

Yes, [music] is of great importance because if something is wrong, or if someone is yelling [...] and not singing in the church (laughs), it distracts me a lot.

(Joint Interview 4, Pos. 31)

Some people, especially those musically trained, might be especially sensitive to music which is out of tune or of low aesthetic value.

Well, [music] has to be well performed, I'm [musically] educated, and when someone sings out of tune, it irritates me. When someone screams, it irritates me. Well, if someone barely plays the organ, it irritates me too. When there's good music, I like it. (Interview 10, Pos. 27)

This obviously refers to the situations in which music is simply inadequate to the occasion and is inappropriately chosen or performed. Unfortunately, it is a common experience amongst the respondents to have been disappointed or discouraged by an organist's poor musical skills or unattractive singing. These two following quotations

from the respondents clearly describe the frustration at the inadequate music in the church:

We went to a local church for midnight mass. And the way the music was played ruined everything. [...] Karpiński [a Polish poet and composer of the late Enlightenment] is so joyful, you have to... sing and play. [...] I came out disappointed (laughs) [...] because of the way the music was played [...] I went there to experience joy because something happened, something was created, something new. This is Christmas. And this Christmas carol is probably Karpinski's most popular, and I know how to sing it; everyone knows how to sing it - it should be something that unites. And at one point it felt like [...] sadness.

(Focus Group 4, Pos. 39)

...it's strange how in our Catholic Church, praise and worship songs might sound like funeral marches. And it happens very often [...] that the lyrics worship God and the music [...] is dull.

(Focus Group 3, Pos. 110)

The above examples testify to the strong need for and effect of good music in the church. The respondents also reported such throughout the research. The following quotations explain how good music can be conducive to prayer. This is how one participant describes music mastery in Anglican tradition:

However, [...] the field of church music, sacred music and the way they have developed it, and the level at which it is performed and heard in cathedrals or churches, gives you food for thought. (Joint Interview 6, Pos. 141)

The high quality of church music might impact a listener very positively. This research evidences the positive impact of good music throughout the data set. For example, in the section on identities, within the theme of *communities of musical practice*, a code of *the effects of musical engagement* is explored. There is the expectation of good music in churches and respondents often bring up examples of such positive experiences.

...perfect music evokes some states of the soul. Classical music, some perfect phrases evoke some higher emotions and I think that it is more favourable than the prayer with words, as if this music complements the liturgy of the Mass, that there is this complementing element so that it works well and favours prayer (Focus Group 2, Pos. 74)

However, the reality might not always be so ideal, something that this research pinpoints and that the short quotation below can summarise:

There can be different types of singing (laughs). When something is sung well, it has a positive [effect]. (Interview 5, Pos. 18)

Another rich code (11 coded segments) is that music *praises and worships God*. This could be a subcode of *functions as or complements prayer*, but because of the specific character of the responses, it constitutes a separate code in this research within the theme of *Prayer facilitation*. Music for many is very much associated with praise and worship, and especially in charismatic communities, the faithful refer to praise and worship music as a specific genre. Praise is a specific form of prayer which focuses on the simple fact that God is God and "louds God for its own sake and gives him glory [...] simply because HE IS" (Catholic Church, 1995, p. 696). Examples from the participants, which relate to praise, worship and glorification include:

We constantly discover that the aspect of music that glorifies God, has some special, [...], power. It opens up in a unique way.

(Joint Interview 1, Pos. 56)

well, there is no doubt that music during the Holy Mass is extremely important for me. It's just a completely different dimension. [...] It is another form of worshipping God through music, by singing. It is not without reason that it is said that if you sing, you pray twice. [...] This is the way for me to praise God...

(Interview 3, Pos. 63)

The above assertion that 'to sing is to pray twice', allegedly attributed to Saint Augustin, has indeed been repeated by many respondents throughout this research. Although the saying itself might not be sourced in any of the Augustinian works, it certainly resonates in people and perhaps reflects their desire for the church music to be a powerful channel of prayer.

From the perspective of a Polish migrant brought up and living in the UK, one respondent recalls a humbling experience of 'praise and worship' in a poor Polish village church this way:

and it is a wonderful experience, knowing Europe from two extreme angles and experiencing it, its music, its liturgy in two totally distant places, praising the same God ... (Joint Interview 6, Pos. 88)

Both music and worship are, in fact, beyond space and time. They might be both universal and ubiquitous. They are contextual but can be experienced in different contexts differently. Just like in the above example, a simple worship music experience

might exert as profound an impact on an 'exiled' person as the spirited performance of a cathedral choir.

Music also *provides antidote to life problems/situations*. It might help people to forget about their life problems and bring them relief from difficult situations. This does not happen in a vacuum but in the context of a prayer when their attention is directed towards God. Music or a hymn might touch people on a deeper emotional level either through a meaningful lyric, melody or a combination of both so that it feels as though their prayers are being heard, and they experience a moment of relief or comfort. The following samples of quotations from respondents explain how music might subjectively affect people's perceptions of reality and change their attitudes:

You stop thinking, you turn off your mind from some sort of mundane things that go round your head every day, and a moment comes when you experience a departure, in a positive sense, from all these things, emotions.

(Joint Interview 7, Pos. 60)

In these moments of escape and solace that the music might bring, whether it is in a soothing melody, comforting text, or a combination of both, the respondents forget about their problems and might even experience a feeling of some divine revelation or enlightenment as though their prayers were answered, or God spoke to them. Such meditative states, assisted by the use of music, have been reported in many religious or transcendent contexts or seemingly secular occasions such as a classical music concert.

music is a temple, in a sense it's a temple where you can get energised, relax, where you can forget about anything material, anything which is heavy and stressful and concentrate on something that is purely spiritual...

(Joint Interview 6, Pos. 163)

4.3.1.2. Theme 2: Induction of ineffable experiences of God

An equally rich function identified in this research, perhaps unique to religious or other transcendent contexts, is the subjective induction of experiences of God. Although very much related to and overlapping with *prayer facilitation*, especially with the effect of *praise and worship*, this is treated as a separate theme as it usually describes the combined effects of music and prayer on the respondents.

In the early stages of the themes' development, a theme of *mystical experiences* was identified, with respondents reporting very deep emotional experiences which they described as 'supernatural', 'spiritual' or 'paranormal'. At the final stages of coding and after considering various vocabulary choices, the word 'ineffable' was used to refer to such mystical experiences: these are often difficult to verbalise and/or describe subjective feelings of being in God's presence. Six codes related to this function of music can be identified within the theme. The richest code with its sub-codes within this theme, encompassing 40 coded segments, is that music:

• opens up to/induces mystical/transcendent experiences.

Other codes within the theme related to the above function of music include:

- helps express/stirs up various emotions/feelings,
- God/faith helps open to music and vice versa
- helps approach/focus on God
- affects our imagination and sensitivity to harmony
- beauty of music/musical prayer induces ineffable experiences

When reporting 'praise and worship' experiences, some respondents claim that something opens up naturally, some inhibition barrier breaks up, and the whole act becomes a selfless expression of oneself towards the community: a community which already worships in some 'spiritual' reality.

When I start to do it [proclaim my faith through music], something unbelievable happens. There is such a spiritual power in it that the whole community feels it.

(Joint Interview 1, Pos. 61)

Similarly, another respondent reports experiencing something 'out of this world'.

It is probably not very important where you sing it, but it's the type of music.

The music itself transports those who listen and sing it into some high spheres.

- a state where you simply go beyond any earthly experiences. I think it is mainly [...] music that [...] takes you to such spheres.

(Interview 3, Pos. 49 and Pos. 65)

Even though the respondents were from the Catholic or other Polish Christian communities, it became apparent from some conversations that there is a general awareness that music might operate in a very similar way in different religious or non-religious contexts. Some respondents stress the effect music might exert on our emotions and state of mind. Especially interesting is the assertion that music is 'a state of mind', perhaps not just a philosophical but also a neurological and social question. Regardless of religious leanings or not, most of us respond to music, given the right context, in a powerful way, whether that is 'spiritually' or 'emotionally'.

... it may sound lofty, but in my opinion, music is not what is written [...] on the paper, but it is a certain state of mind.

If you don't [...] feel music, any music, or [if you] play music aridly, you will never feel connected to anything supernatural, whether it's God, Hari Krishna, or anything supernatural.

(Joint Interview 4, Pos. 151)

This quote from one of the respondents perfectly summarises the power of music in general to evoke some ineffable emotions and experiences.

in every music I look for a spiritual sound that makes me go deeper. [I] immerse myself and discover something that speaks to me, which reflects my state of mind, [...], something which will allow me to get closer to the truth, to my own emotions, to collective consciousness [...] so that I can feel that I am really alive, that I am really breathing.

(Interview 8, Pos. 11)

According to some respondents, music induces glossolalic/invented language singing, induces deliverance/healing, inspires/fills with the Spirit/God, induces prophecy and even induces hallucinations.

During *induction of glossolalic singing*, for example, a person taking part in an emotionally charged music experience might start vocalising a form of unintelligible language. Examples of glossolalia have been observed and documented across various religious backgrounds (e.g., Rouget, 1985). These two different accounts show how music might evoke glossolalia both in musicians as well as listeners and in two entirely different situations:

I had an approach [...] to use syllables, create words, languages that do not exist, i.e. like a small child that discovers the world of sounds and language. [F]or me

the subconscious message, the emotions evoked by hearing sounds are more important.... a given syllable, even an invented word. It's even a deeper experience for me. (Interview 8, Pos. 29)

I once had an experience at a Protestant service [...] at which there were several thousand people. And at one point the leader told everyone to start praying in tongues. And these several thousand people started praying in tongues. First, there was a buzz but, in the background, I could hear such amazing music, [...] I was just standing and saying to myself: This is some kind of cinema! Folks, it seemed like some gibberish but there was one melody in the background.

(Focus Group 1, Pos. 131)

Other experiences include, for example, the alleged induction of prophecies or even healing. Such phenomena have also been previously documented by different communities where music plays a ritualistic role. (Merriam 1964, Rouget 1985)

we have a time of such a breakthrough in singing that we feel that normal singing turns [...] into a worship song, ... something supernatural. There are prophecies, healings and ... inner relief, [...] the need to have a good cry...

(Joint Interview 6, Pos. 36)

Inevitably the role of emotions during those often ineffable 'experiences of God' must be paramount, as people reported that music *helps express/stirs up various emotions/feelings*. As many as 17 segments were coded solely in the context of the induction of those experiences. The role of emotions, in general, will be tackled separately in the context of the meaning of music.

There seems to be a strong relation and mutual effect between faith and music. On the one hand, the music experience might open up to God; on the other hand, faith can affect the way the faithful experience music. These codes have been grouped under the theme *God/faith helps to open to music and vice versa*. One respondent describes how singing may help to open up to God this way:

I think that singing also allows you to open up to God. That barrier we have, sometimes when we come to worship, we're so tough, we come so confident that everything is okay, and in fact when you start to sing, you start worshipping God, you open up and your spirit often cries too, precisely because there is this connection with God. (Joint Interview 6, Pos. 36)

This reciprocal relationship and the fact that faith might facilitate singing or music experience as much as music might facilitate the sustenance of faith was often attested by the church music participants. This is how one respondent describes how the experience of a relationship with God helped him overcome the barrier to singing:

.... for me singing in the church is not just about what we can sing but what we present [to God] in singing... if you don't have a close relationship with God, it is hard for you to put your heart into singing... (Focus group 1, Pos. 131)

4.3.1.3. Theme 3: Community building - integration of the society

Community building - integration of the society is the third richest theme in the broader category of musical function. This theme, driven by the literature, is important to the findings of this research. All other functions spring from it, and it is also a driving force behind all church communities. This will be later explored in the section on

communities of musical practice. The following closely related six codes constitute the theme. First, music

- encourages conversion/change of thinking
- connects in communal singing prayer and
- integrates and bonds people.

Second, music

• encourages some action and inspires creativity.

Finally, it

- encourages people in the church and
- deepens faith.

There is evidence in some respondents' reports that church music significantly contributed to their conversion or renewal of their faith. Perhaps the word 'testimony' would be more appropriate in this context, as subjective faith is not quantifiable, and its evidence is based on testimonies of people's personal experiences. Such music, it is evident, should be convincing and should have qualities that would touch the recipients. Sometimes, it does not have to be about the high-performance standards, which are inevitably important but about the right context. For example, a community of believers who worship together amongst whom one feels connection and trust. One person remembers his conversion this way:

As a former atheist, I was converted thanks to choral music. I joined the choir but hadn't been to church at all before; it was hard to get me to church, and it was thanks to the parish choir that I started attending Masses and started overcome the defences. And it's as if it happened gradually with me. [...] I was a musician

before, I just played a little, but thanks to the choir I had a chance to fulfil myself a bit as a singer and, by the way, I converted. (Focus Group 2, Pos. 118)

It is suggested by many interviewees in this research that music promotes community building through community singing or music participation. The words 'communal', 'community' and 'connection' are keywords in the coded segments related to singing in the church. "If you are in the church, there is no other option but to join in music' as one respondent testifies" (Joint Interview 6). It might be easier said than done for some, yet even if you do not join in, you are surrounded by others who sing. This is how two respondents testify as to how music *connects in communal prayer* as they sing or play together with other people:

This is especially important when there are a lot of people who approach singing as prayer and not just overly pay attention to music alone. This is when they enter this unique prayer connection.

(Focus group 1, Pos. 135)

...it [liturgical music] creates a sort of community. A community created through singing together, through prayers with words together, and also with those who play instruments, [...], they pray while playing.

(Focus Group 2, Pos. 53)

Music and singing in the church can be a bonding agent for many people as it connects them in singing. Not everybody who comes to Mass or to sing in the church will be driven by this potential bonding force. However, those who express commitment towards their faith might be more susceptible to church music activities and will be likely to partake in closely-knit communities where music is present.

...I heard such amazing music, such melody that I just stood there and said ... wow ... People seemed to be saying some gibberish but, in the background, there was one melodic line ... what's most important in this singing is that we sing to God with our hearts. And then in the spiritual realm ... we really build up in truthfulness. (Focus group 1, Pos. 131)

Music can motivate people to take action, encourage them to do different things, or take different decisions. One rich code in the theme of *community building – integration of the society* describes examples codified as *encourages some action and inspires creativity*. There are various examples of actions taken by respondents. The actions people take when experiencing music in the church are often associated with some movement, either physical or mental. It can be a dance, or it can also be a visualised action. In one example, a respondent recalls a military use of music. As she explains, there is a specific type of song used during services called 'a song of victory' (Joint Interview 6, Pos. 110), which is very powerful and inducive of the sense of victory in 'the spiritual battle'. Other examples include spontaneous movement of the body to the rhythm of music or clapping hands. When singing in the choir, one respondent reflects on how the whole body, the whole being actually sings and how ecstatic such an experience can be (Joint Interview 6). Lastly, music can inspire some action even outside of the church as one respondent reports:

there is something in it [music and hymns] ... there is some deeper meaning in all of this. Such depth. And it really attracts me and, I don't know, gives me inspiration. It often inspires some action in me... to spread Christianity a bit, even on such a small scale. So there's often such an inspiration in these various hymns. (Focus Group 4, Pos. 77)

Two more codes deserve mentioning, as they appear to be natural consequences of the above-mentioned functions, namely that music *encourages people in the Church* and *deepens faith*. It seems evident that good music has the quality to attract people, and good music played in the church might encourage people to attend. The musical heritage of church music is very rich and something that can be admired, so it would be good to showcase this legacy with taste. A few respondents had the advantage of the musical experiences that brought them to, kept them in or strengthened their faith in the church.

4.3.1.4. Theme 4: Motives for using music

This theme largely collects the responses to the interview question: Why do you take part in music activities in the church? The following five codes explain why respondents mostly take part in music, namely because they want to

- experience an encounter with God,
- worship/glorify/give thanks to God,
- use their talents for God's glory,
- take part in Liturgy, artistically enrich the Mass or for
- *enjoyment and familiarity.*

For some, music in the church is a spiritual experience and for others, there is a fine line between music in general and worship music. This section includes coded segments with the respondents' answers to the corresponding motives for using music.

Some respondents take part in music because they want to *experience an encounter with God.* Music is a spiritual experience for many respondents. This need for something supernatural is often the main reason to take part in musical activities. In the religious

context, the experience is twofold as the faithful are already immersed in the religious atmosphere with prayers and rituals, and music might help to sustain this religious experience.

[Music] is something that is part of my life at this point, and I cannot imagine that I would have to leave it [...]. If I had to move anywhere, I would definitely like to continue it. It also has to do with my spiritual life, the singing. Moreover, the fact that we sing sacred music helps me discover God anew and in my spiritual experiences.

(Interview 3, Pos. 47)

I often expect such an inner touch, such a one-to-one experience with God, and I have often had just such experiences at certain conferences, [...] where I just fell on my knees, and it was only time for me and God. [...] I also expect moments of a breakthrough in singing, a breakthrough, [...] from normal singing into something supernatural.

(Join Interview 7, Pos. 36)

The code worship/glorify/give thanks to God describes very obvious uses of music in the church context. These are naturally the main reasons for some people to congregate, which is evident in their reports. They also overlap with the already mentioned overarching function of music as prayer facilitation, and, more specifically with the function to praise and worship. The difference here is that the individuals explain why they use music.

Mainly, to express some gratitude, thank God, in general, I can say briefly.

(Join Interview 7, Pos. 21)

It's for the glory [of God], it seems to me, for a higher glory, for something higher. And there is such great joy from singing and playing together (Focus Group 2, Pos. 53)

Related to the previous use of music is the next code: *use talents for God's glory*. Some respondents feel the need for gratitude and want to use their voices to express it. Since many people have talents and singing skills, they feel the natural need to employ these talents to give glory to God:

[God] gave us something for free, something valuable, which is priceless... If we, as musicians, are able to give it back to some tiny extent, I think it brings us closer to God

(Joint Interview 6, Pos. 163)

[I take] an active part [...] If we have any talents that we can use for God's glory we should use them...

(Focus Group 1, Pos. 80)

Finally, the last three codes are placed on the same circular continuum with *taking part* in the liturgy, artistic enrichment of the Mass/service and enjoyment/familiarity as they seem to be three aspects of the same aesthetic experience. On one side, we have the solemn participation, in essence, detached from aesthetics:

So it's not just about some musical, melodic, aesthetic values, but more about experiencing this music, the experience of the Mass. So this is my motivation.

(Focus Group 2, Pos. 21)

There is liturgy in the church which is a dialogue. The priest says something, we respond so to speak. [We] as a group should participate in it together. However, sometimes you say the words and sometimes you sing, and I think everyone should participate in it. (Focus Group 3, Pos. 28)

On the other hand, people know the tunes, and they simply enjoy them as they would enjoy any other music from a purely aesthetic point of view:

Well, there are two reasons [why I take part in music]. First, because I have already learned these songs somewhere. And I just sing because I can sing. I do not even think about that.

(Focus Group 1, Pos. 91)

It's definitely fun to sing anyway. I am generally shy to sing, so when I come to church, this is a place for me where I can sing to myself, and there's no one who listens (laughs) whether I can sing or not. It's definitely a big pleasure ...

(Focus Group 4, Pos. 43)

Finally, whether we consciously focus on the solemnity or simple pleasure of singing we are more than likely to contribute to the artistic aspect of the celebration:

and if the Mass is enriched with singing or music, it is so much more [...] sublime. [...] It's much richer. From the artistic point of view, it's richer (Focus Group 1, Pos. 81-83)

I think that it's not only important to participate in it [liturgy], but [music] is the element [...] of the whole setting, of the whole liturgy. You know without singing the liturgy would not be complete.

(Joint Interview 9, Pos. 16)

4.3.1.5. Theme **5:** The function of aesthetic experience

This last theme, although quite obviously a function in many non-religious contexts, did not produce a very rich set of codes, although codes related to music preferences or the importance of good quality music have been noticed and categorised throughout the data set, for example, in the section on prayer facilitation. In this separate theme, two main codes have been identified. First, music

- embellishes the liturgy and services, and second it
- serves liturgy, people and God.

There is no doubt that music in the church is or should be of considerable aesthetic value.

The experience of the liturgy is multisensory and, for most people, is an aesthetic experience meaning that depending on their preferences or musical sensitivity, they will react to it accordingly. Music can be disturbing or conducive to prayer, which is also attested by this research and reported earlier in this chapter. Despite the theme being rather scarce itself, the idea that music in the church should be of good quality and should complement the service artistically appears consistently throughout the data set. First, it is ornamental and embellishes the liturgy, which the respondents are aware of and often speak about the importance of beauty and harmony:

For me, harmony is something that is associated with the structure [...] is associated with order, symmetry ... Music for me, especially in the church, as it fills, complements [...] an architectural, artistic idea... But of course, it has other advantages, because it can be taken outside of the temple and it can provide this experience outside of the building itself. (Joint Interview 5, Pos. 14-16)

A few respondents point out that music might make the worship or liturgy more interesting when otherwise it would be monotonous or shallow:

[Music] is inseparable when it comes to spiritual and sacred experiences, so I think that without music the character of the Mass would be shallower.

(Interview 8, Pos. 11)

For other respondents, music does not merely embellish the liturgy in a strictly aesthetic way but also performs an important, solemn ministry to the liturgy. The corresponding segments make a second code within the theme of *the function of aesthetic experience*, namely that music *serves liturgy, people and God*. This is how one of the workshop leaders describes this quality of music:

well, a few sounds composed into a structure, you know, with a melody, some rhythm, arranged in a pattern, and it seems to be something so banal, so obvious, and yet it turns out that God uses the fact that this is such a strong reality, it has such a strong effect on a person that it is not just about the [...] aesthetic experience...

(Joint Interview 1, Pos. 22)

Similarly, the following respondent expresses their awareness that music, a musician and any faithful in the church have specific roles which are very important but also dignified. For them, such roles demand commitment and skills in order to fulfil the musical potential and achieve a desired, positive effect.

there is this [awareness] of service, there is stress associated with it, you have to expose yourself and so on ... But if God is there and I do it for him, for these people, so that they come [...] and if the prayer is most important in all this and leads the singing, [...] it's impossible that anybody will take it [the music] negatively. (Focus Group 3, Pos. 61)

4.3.2. Musical meanings constructed in different church contexts

The meaning of music as a concept is distinct from the function of music and is undoubtedly looked upon from a different perspective. It is indeed more difficult to define than the functions of music. It seems to be more abstract and, thus, more challenging to study or understand. No wonder the participants in this research struggled with such direct questions as *What does music mean to you?* Nevertheless, the data around the meaning of music is extremely rich and was categorised into five main themes presented here in descending order in terms of the number of coded segments, namely:

- emotional expression,
- the semantic relation between music and words.
- musical expectations and preferences,
- significance and signification symbolic representation and
- meaning and contexts

4.3.2.1. Theme **6:** Emotional expression

As pinpointed in the literature review, one way of understanding the meaning of music is through its effect on human emotions. Although a function in itself, emotional expression describes not only how musicians use music to express themselves but, most of all, how music affects our emotions and how it can change our mood. Furthermore, different types of music or different musical modes, chord combinations, timbres or tempi might be associated with different emotional states, thus making music meaningful and seemingly understood in a similar way within specific groups of people.

The respondents provided rich insights into how church music affected their emotional states. Emotional expression constitutes by far the wealthiest theme in the category of musical meaning. The following five codes have been identified within this broad theme:

- strong/positive affective responses,
- neutral/negative affective responses,
- strong physical responses such as thrills or crying and
- emotional impact of secular music

That church music produces mostly *strong/positive affective responses* (the richest code) in people is a positive finding in this research. Respondents report various responses, from physical to subjective quasi-physical responses such as 'heart expanding', a sensation one respondent reports after listening to some instrumental guitar music in the church:

I felt [...] as though somewhere inside of me, my heart was expanding (laughs).

Such a sensation of such great inner joy.

(Focus Group 2, Pos. 66)

Within the large code of *strong/positive affective responses*, four subcodes have been identified, *inner peace/bliss - calming/soothing*, *stimulating positive energy/emotions*, *ineffability and awe at God's presence* and *joy/elation/upliftment/hope*. Music, with its mood-regulating qualities, is often attributed to calming and soothing effects, which might result in a feeling of inner peace. In the following segments, respondents report the experience of such an effect after listening to music:

This is sacred music [...]. It definitely contains such great peace, it brings some, I don't know, just such calm, so that you become so sedate.

(Join Interview 7, Pos. 8 and 16)

It is a sacred piece [Ubi Caritas]. So, for me, for example before going to bed, it's simply wonderful. Sometimes, when I want to calm myself down completely, whether after or before prayer, I just listen to it.

(Interview 3, Pos. 17)

In the following passages, a respondent juxtaposes sacred music and its effect with the 'shallow' effect of some examples of secular music. Indeed, the power of music is such that it might transmit a range of emotions. Some genres and songs will transmit emotions that will cause adverse reactions, bringing disturbance rather than peace. However, there is a variety of music out there, both religious and secular, which may bring calm, relaxation and relief. Church music has also been abundant in peace-conducive, calming compositions which are vital in creating an atmosphere of focused prayerfulness.

For example [...] Litaniae Sanctorum [Litany of the Saints]— it's just such depth, there's nothing shallow about it as it's often with [other] music, [...] sounds, [...] or words [where] you can't find any [...] joy or satisfaction, something you've been looking for. This [sacred] music simply has such depth in which the soul finds relief (Focus Group 4, Pos. 33).

Listening to music, singing, or making music might evoke various positive emotions.

Many segments have been coded which describe *stimulating positive energy or emotions* as an effect of listening to music, which makes up another subcode. This finding refers not only to church music but extends to experiences related to any other music, as the

following respondent attests. Again, as in the discussion on the functions of music, there is an observation that well-performed music will certainly evoke positive emotions. In the example below the respondent suggests that the quality of the music might indeed affect the way he experiences the liturgy:

I think it is a very positive effect and [...] I must admit with absolute [...] humility that sometimes the possibility of listening to music in the church prevails. I am more drawn to a church where I know there will be a well-performed liturgy musically than to a church where I would hear it either spoken or not fully prepared (Joint Interview 6, Pos. 34).

The positive energy or emotions transmitted by music might be indeed very suggestive and associative. These emotions might be both the effect of music and the stimulant or a motivation to take part in music. During a series of liturgical music workshops conducted in the church during the time of this research, music was a powerful agent in getting people together and motivating them to take part in the consecutive sessions.

I just know that it will be this dose of positive [energy] again, this dose of all these emotions, feelings, and a dose of many reflections, right. I just take it for granted in a way. For me it's normal when the workshops are taking place. I'm just going to be there, I will probably lose my voice on Sunday like today, but I just know it's all gonna be worth it (Focus Group 2, Pos. 48).

In many of these sensations or experiences, there is a sense of ineffability or awe as people often struggle to find words to describe their experiences, whether musical, religious or a combination of both. Such experiences were combined in one separate subcode *ineffability and awe at God's presence*. One respondent reacts to how the experience of preparation for church concerts affected her:

We sang last year in June, so the preparations themselves had a big impact on me. [...] It affected me somehow spiritually and emotionally. And the concerts themselves were amazing, sometimes it is impossible to put things into words.

(Joint Interview 4, Pos. 90)

In the following interview excerpt, one respondent tries to express how music might help us to know God. Music can be a platform where such an intangible and ineffable concept as God can be grasped and encountered. The music itself has a rather ephemeral and intangible nature and might be compatible with religious experiences. Such experiences, although subjective, show some insight into how abstract, often culture-specific phenomena shape the construction of meaning in people's lives.

We can't reach him [God] by means of our brains only as he is incomprehensible. However, let's say symbolically, we can get to know him more through our hearts. And music touches our hearts.

(Focus Group 4, Pos. 145)

Similarly, another respondent descriptively delights in the way music is performed in Anglican churches, which leaves the listener in awe. He clearly points at the music being somehow beyond a craft or a skill suggesting its potential quality of touching our deepest emotions. This pure aesthetic experience might be a springboard for something more emotionally charged or even transforming.

I think this is more than just digging into the subject and reading sheet music and being a professional. I think that something drives them, motivates them, and I like it. Listening to it, one can really experience certain emotions and spirituality [...]. And what amazes me the most is that sometimes suddenly, you happen to be in a town in this country, [...] in an Anglican Church, where there is even no

Catholic rite, [...] but music is at such a level that sometimes you would convert to their [faith] (Joint Interview 6, Pos. 141).

Joy, elation, upliftment or hope make up another subcode and are often reported in the interviews as strong emotional reactions in people. Some church music, by merits of the melody and/or words, has the ability to lift people up and bring instant joy into their hearts and lives:

During my studies, I sang in [...] the academic choir, and especially such choral performances move me in some way. First of all, I feel emotional, [...] there is some [...] state of such emotional joy (Joint Interview 9, Pos. 58).

[W]hen such singing stuck in me and I still remember it, [...] a fragment such as "Do not be afraid, do not be afraid, God alone is enough" ...in such situations, when you really have problems, [...] suddenly such words. [...] even such a short thing that gets stuck somewhere there. I simply know [...] in some strange way [it's] important and necessary in my life, just in my life.

(Focus Group 4, Pos. 110)

Taking part in a musical performance in the church will often produce very strong, often ecstatic reactions. The joy becomes overwhelming when there is positive feedback from those who take part in congregational singing. Indeed, such feelings of elation or near ecstasy are often reported by performing musicians or those who actively take part in music in the presence of a crowd or a congregation. This is well documented throughout the history of music, be it classical, jazz or popular. It is also attested by some of the participants and the researcher alike when they remembered situations when the crowd or the congregation reacted in an ecstatic way which produced reciprocal feedback of elation:

When we're already playing, and start taking on tones and these tones are, I hope, quite well in tune, it's ecstasy for me, the elation you could say. [...] Not only am I playing for myself, experiencing the feeling of elation while playing, but more importantly, [...] some people also listen and have some experience at that moment (Joint Interview 6, Pos. 68).

Apart from various subjective feelings and emotions, religious music, like any other music indeed, might produce *strong physical responses such as thrills or crying* which was identified as a separate code. A lot of segments evidencing such reactions have been coded, and here are a few examples. The most frequently reported are examples of deep moving accompanied by crying, but there are many other physical responses reported, the most dramatic ones being people falling on the floor:

And it affects me very emotionally, some new experiences of different music, in English, I don't only listen to Polish music. [...] I am generally the kind of person that when something sounds nice, I'm such a crybaby.

(Joint Interview 4, Pos. 109)

I remember [...] when they started singing but harmonizing on an Eastern mode and we were just in tears.

(Joint Interview 6, Pos. 77)

As it is often reported in secular contexts, music can produce such strong physical reactions as thrills or even chills as listeners might experience excitement or even fear. In church music contexts, the physical reactions are similar. They might be accompanied by feelings of reverence or awe.

...such as Exultat based on canons, they are still from the times of the first Christians, well, I exaggerated now, the times of [...] the ancient church, Exultat, and these are such melodies that actually send shivers down the spine when they are well sung. (Interview 5, Pos. 38)

Such dramatic reactions as described below might not necessarily be attributed to music alone but to a combination of factors such as music, the suggestive atmosphere of the place, quasi-hypnotic prayers and subjective attitudes and beliefs.

But when it comes to such physical half-fainting, I was with my fiancée's community of Renewal in the Holy Spirit and there was a workshop at the Dominican Fathers' in Szczecin and for the first time in my life I saw so many people lying there. As there were 80 of us there, a good three-quarters of them fell literally on the ground during intercessory prayers.

(Focus Group 3, Pos. 135)

When it comes to religious contexts, music might also have a negative impact on people, or it might have no impact at all, which might suggest that the affective quality of music, whether sacred or secular, is generally the same. These responses were codified as *Neutral/Negative affective responses*. Quite a few segments have been coded, which attest that music in the church might often be off-putting or of bad quality, be it the melody, lyrics or performance. This has already been shown in the chapter on musical functions when discussing the fact that poor/inadequate music disturbs prayer.

Nothing irritates me more than the flattening of religious content through someone's desire to be a songwriter. Songs that make the subject shallower, unfortunately, there is a lot of it in the mainstream of Polish religiosity, right?

(Joint Interview 6, Pos. 126)

An important aspect in modern church music has been addressed by the above respondent, who complains that the quality of lyrics has suffered these days, even in church music compositions. This 'modern' trend often seems to have mimicked what has been actually happening in some mainstream music-making and lyric writing.

For me, much of the so-called 'oasis catalogue' is like taking 10 words from English pop music and composing a lyric in any combination according to this list of ten words. It is very easy. We have 'yes, love, you, baby, forever, together' and so on. [...] [S]uch ordinary words, [...] with such frequency and lack of craftsmanship [...] we end up instead of 'Love you, baby, together forever' [with] 'Lord, I love you, I am yours forever' and 'I am yours, Lord, I love you forever, I love you always, my Lord, You are my Lord, my Lord'.

(Joint Interview 6, Pos. 133)

Unfortunately, there are quite a few reports of the *negative affective responses* to church music, and this is certainly a problem which should be addressed at the local level. Respondents often report that music played is *inadequate* or *amateurish*, that there are examples of organists who cannot play properly or sing out of tune or with a very unattractive mannerism. The other coded segments include *sad or dramatic effects* and the *sedative effect of classical music* and *irritating effect of jazz music*, as a few examples of the effect of secular music.

It is apparent from the interviews that the respondents do not expect perfect renditions of worship songs, nor every Mass adorned with a classical chorale, but they expect some degree of musical standard, and they would react negatively when this standard is not maintained. This is how one participant responds when asked about the meaning of music during the liturgy or service:

This is a difficult question, isn't it? Because on the one hand, it [music] is the most important office, activity of a Christian, and on the other hand, it might put you to sleep. [...] You want to praise God and give him something back, and you hear such songs [referring to low quality, pathetic music].

(Focus Group 3, Pos. 107)

In the following example, it is clearly stated that the effect of music is dependent on its quality:

I am positively influenced by music if it is reasonably well performed (laughs), while music that is very amateurish, even non-musical, scares me off a bit.

(Joint Interview 6, Pos. 34)

The bad quality of music in churches is inevitably noticed and deplored by trained musicians such as choir masters or people who have some musical knowledge. In this research, many participants took part in liturgical music workshops or were choir members, so they were quite sensitive to music:

Well, it [music] must be well-executed, because I'm educated and when someone just sings out of tune it irritates me. When someone screams, it irritates me. Well, if someone barely plays the organ, it irritates me too.

(Interview 10, Pos. 27)

Although the focus of this research was on church music, it appears that some other genres of secular music can produce very similar reactions or have similar effects on people. The difference is sometimes very subtle, but many participants would admit that church/sacred music indeed has a deeper meaning to them. The difference might lie in

the fact that the great majority of the respondents are people of faith, and they hold the sung religious texts and the truth carried by these texts in great esteem and importance.

According to some respondents, nonreligious music also impacts them on a very deep emotional level as they might identify with a particular musical piece. Genres that are culturally or historically related to religious music are mentioned as examples. Music, for some respondents, either touches on deep topics like passing away or patriotism or simply stimulates our natural impulses to move to music and let the feelings out.

There are, for example, some pop or rock songs, which are also very good and take people into various spheres. Whether it is [...] your favourite song, or an instrumental piece or lyrics, when, for example, you feel very bad and you listen to it and it helps to vent your emotions, it just helps you feel better.

(Interview 3, Pos. 49)

It's not just this [religious] music. [...] For me it's classical music, [...] because classical music is also specific. [...] I remember when we just went to the opera during my studies, and it happened that I wanted to sleep at this concert. But I don't think there's anything wrong with that. Because [...] you can be completely physically tired and then this music soothes you, calms you down. So you just drift away and that's it.

(Interview 3, Pos. 71)

Music affects listeners profoundly, but it also matters how or where we experience it.

Many other factors will contribute to our affective response and our reactions. Though
music is certainly the driving force, the context and the situation might largely
contribute to how we would react to a musical event. There is often a sense of
unpredictability and surprise in musical events, as one respondent reports:

I had such experience: We went, while in the army, I played in the church, we went to joint Polish-Czechoslovak-German exercises. [...] They took us to a training ground in Czechoslovakia. [...] [T]here was an amphitheatre, and at some point someone came up with the idea that a band from Poland would give them a concert. And now imagine that [...] honestly 350-400 guys from three countries are sitting in this amphitheatre, it's getting dark, we have the lights on, I'm sitting there behind the drums and playing. And you can't hear much, because of the sound system and so on, and suddenly we finish a piece, and suddenly there is a frenzy. These 400 guys are jumping up and screaming: more, more. It was something like that, I literally experienced something like that once in my life. It was amazing. (Joint Interview 4, Pos. 116)

The strong impact of any music and its spiritual character can be summarised in the following quote where a respondent describes music as a powerful agent able to provoke noble as well as evil reactions:

But I am also aware that music is now being used to destroy people. And it sounds blunt enough, but I have had such experiences indeed. So, from a religious perspective, it can be a blessing or a curse.

(Joint Interview 1, Pos. 18)

It is not certain what specific musical events the respondent meant, but some of his experiences suggest that music might be as much destructive as creative. There are many evidenced examples in the literature of the negative effects of music in general (e.g., North & Hargreaves, 2008), but this is outside the scope of this research.

It is rather evident that whether religious or not, music impacts our emotions in a similar way. The emotions and feelings experienced by people are universal, and different

music taps into different emotions in people. Listening to a soothing jazz standard, given the right context, might produce much more positive emotions and feel more spiritual than an inappropriately played organ at Mass and vice versa as the following quotation suggests.

Yes. Because, in general, the sum of our emotional experiences is limited; there are emotions, there are sorrows, there are joys, there are fears and we do not have any great range of our feelings. Now, these feelings can be moved by a very human factor ... very human, but they can be moved by just some religious factor. (Interview 5, Pos. 49)

4.3 2.2. Theme 7: Semantic relation between music and words

The relation between music and words is almost indispensable in the sense that one medium often relies on the other. In songs and hymns, music could be said to give life to the words, and words give meaning to the music. In the church context, this relation is almost symbolic. If the Spirit gives life and if Christ is the Word, it is impossible to escape this symbolism. For the respondents, the words sung are of paramount importance, and the music is the carrier of the words. The following codes encompass this theme:

- Creating meaning between music and words,
- Power/significance of words,
- Importance of understanding sung texts
- Words superior to music
- Music more prominent/expressive than text

First, the meaning is constructed or created *between the music and the words*. The respondents, when talking about what music means to them, often refer to the textual meaning but in the musical context:

However, when it all came together, it was amazing to combine such beautiful melodies with words that had a very deep meaning, [...] a prayerful meaning. So it means a lot. (Interview 2, Pos. 35)

It is difficult to talk about the meaning of music if it is not somehow related to lyrics, words or some liturgical texts. That is why the respondents when asked what music means to them or what is the meaning of music, either refer to the textual meaning or to some function of music.

For sure. Words are important ... because of the words, you can interpret a piece in such a way that it has the desired effect. [...] The words might refer to the time the author wrote them [...] but you experience them differently. [The] words are certainly important ... if the listener can read these words.

(Joint Interview 4, Pos. 147)

Let's say when it comes to the liturgy, [...] the task [of music] is to emphasize the importance of the words. Because you can say words, but for many people, no matter what, singing gives these words greater importance.

(Interview 5, Pos. 12)

This interplay between music and words is rather fluid and often depends on many factors, such as personal perception or preferences, the quality of music or singing, the importance of the lyrics, or the place where music is experienced. Some respondents are

more perceptive to music in general than others and might need some aid in the form of written lyrics on which they can focus when singing.

I think it [the lyric] affects me in much the same way as long as I am in the church and have words in front of me. I read, appreciate and sing these words and am sensitive to them. But generally [the music's] harmony comes to me first, the words reach me only afterwards. (Joint Interview 6, Pos. 18-19)

For the majority of the respondents, the words are of immense importance, and there is power in them. In the second biggest code, *power/significance of words*, respondents demonstrate how important the words are to them:

[The words] must be in harmony [...] with God, as they cannot be in denial, although it happens in churches that people [...] sometimes unconsciously [...] do not realize [...] the song [...] is unbiblical. [...] These contents seem to be more and more important for me with time. [...] They must be in line with God, with what we believe [...] and with what the message [and] the idea of God is and so on, so it cannot be anything accidental.

(Joint Interview 7, Pos. 124)

Some hymns are really beautiful, and their simplicity captivates me, really, the words of some of these hymns, of some of these songs are so simple, but it touches the person. (Interview 8, Pos. 27)

Because the words are meaningful, they can have a powerful effect on the listener, so it is essential that they are understood. These ideas were gathered under the *importance of understanding sung texts* code. There is a possibility that the meaning of the words that people sing passes them by. One of the functions of music in the church is the kerygmatic one which means that music also teaches about the faith, instructs or tells a

story. Whether one identifies with these texts is a different matter. Still, they are certainly important in the celebration of the liturgy, so if the faithful do not understand them, there is no point in taking part in the liturgy. Some respondents deplore that the liturgy's meaning and the essence might escape us when we ignore the words.

Well, unfortunately, [...] Because you say that music, melody, harmony is more important than words [...] for you and it seems to me that a lot of musicians, unfortunately, have a similar approach and because of that [...], it can turn against you ...

(Joint Interview 6, Pos. 130)

...the words are important, [...] faith comes from listening, doesn't it. If you listen, the mind processes it, and you start to understand it. If you understand it, you can accept it or reject it, if you accept it, you start to develop it in some way, build your worldview and faith. However, if you do not understand, it may [...] be a problem.

(Joint Interview 9, Pos. 73)

The text takes precedence over music because it is a carrier of textual meaning. In church contexts, the religious meaning is conveyed through the texts. However, if we do not 'read through the lines', if we do not get into the heart of the content being conveyed, we risk it being misunderstood or meaningless:

We have certainly learned that we can interpret the same text [...] in various ways. That you can approach it in an arid way, without identifying yourself with it or you can read it so that you feel what you're singing, and this is a great lesson for me during these workshops, that the content that is sung, is extremely important, because then it can be heard by [those at the receiving end].

(Focus Group 2, Pos. 104)

The fact that a given song has a religious theme is not decided by the melody but by the words. You can put secular words to the same religious song, and it is no longer a religious song, and conversely, you can put religious words to a secular song and you have a religious song, so the words are important because they give rank and character, whether religious or not.

(Interview 5, Pos. 54)

The above quotation explains in a clear way what makes a song religious. Although there are exceptions to this rule, the song usually becomes religious by the merit of its lyrical rather than musical content. A different discussion would have to be held to decide what makes a melody religious or spiritual.

The words are more important in the context of the church by the simple fact that church music is made so that the faithful can sing praises, give thanks, pray and so on. In other words, the office of music is here to help people to take part in the liturgy, which is word-based to a greater extent. The spoken or written word is the main medium by which the faith is proclaimed and professed. It seems that for the majority of respondents, music style or preference are secondary to the content that is sung, which has been coded as *words are superior to music:*

I was so prejudiced against all those psalms from the pilgrim's songs [...] because it is a bit tiring for me, but after the last recording in our church (the respondent sings: There is power, power, wonder-working power in the blood of the Lamb) I already learned it that way [...] and I accept it, you know, but we sing about Christ, that it is this power of blood and when you suddenly become

aware that you are singing about the power of the blood of Christ, [...] you put up with this kind of music, even if you don't like it.

(Join Interview 7, Pos. 89)

It's something like that... that the melody is beautiful ... or the melody can be anything. But it's the word that gets stuck. And you get up in the morning and you hear it somewhere in your head. Or you go somewhere and it comes back. Along with this melody.

(Focus Group 1, Pos. 149)

...it [the song] often expresses what you want to say to God. And you sing it too, it just somehow goes smoothly. [...] Words are very important. They are the core of the song so to speak and the music is added afterwards. So that one can express what is written.

(Focus Group 3, Pos. 165)

People usually perceive or process music more quickly than words because of the different ways we construct the musical or linguistic meaning, respectively. This is also supported by a number of segments coded as *music more prominent/expressive than text*: the musical meaning is very abstract. Still, at the same time, it does not require the same analytical processes such as various listening skills, prior cultural or linguistic knowledge or other schemata. Furthermore, music gets into our ears and gets processed instantaneously, and we do not need to understand it to appreciate it.

However, it is impossible to separate words from music when they are in the form of songs or hymns. They are simply the two integral parts of one whole. Different processes happen simultaneously when we listen or sing hymns or songs, and people

might construct either musical or linguistic meanings differently, but these two media support one another and inevitably often aid the experience of the liturgy. It goes without saying that music combined with words in a song, or a hymn is a strong amalgam.

4.3.2.3. Theme 8: Musical expectations and preferences

What is meant by musical expectations in this research is what people expect from church music or what type of music they would like to hear in the church. In order words, this is about their music preferences in the church context. The type of music people like will inevitably shape people's expectations and how they react to or experience the church music. We cannot expect a person who usually listens to disco music to be moved by various genres of church music in the equally same way as someone who is more open musically and enjoys a variety of music genres. The abundant research supports the idea that musical preferences and tastes shape people's reactions to music (Hargreaves, 1982; Hargreaves & North, 1999; North & Hargreaves, 2008; Greasley & Lamont, 2016; Vella & Mills, 2017; Hird & North, 2021). The theme encompasses the following seven codes:

- adequate music leadership and choice
- traditional church music genres
- expectations fulfilled/exceeded
- expectations not met
- no specific expectation
- honesty versus artistry
- various contemporary music genres.

Regardless of music preferences, a great majority of respondents quote *adequate music leadership or choice* as a great expectation, making it the richest code in the theme.

Without a good leader, there is a danger that the faithful might get discouraged or defocused. This is how the following respondents attest to it:

If there isn't at least one person who can sing well and somehow lead it, it annoys me a bit that sometimes we force ourselves to sing, because you must sing something. And in fact, it does not lead me to God at all, but it just gets on my nerves even more (laughs).

(Focus Group 4, Pos. 53)

We were constantly taught [...] that you sing with all your heart, that your mouth is open, that you are [...] truly taking part in it, [...] And I expect it, [...] and it seems to me that a lot depends on the leader who should be demanding, and [...] focus on what's the most important.

(Joint Interview 6, Pos. 30)

These two attitudes show the importance of the music leader in the church. The former explains that bad leadership can discourage participation in the liturgy. The latter shows how previous examples of good leadership place high expectations of good music in the church. With this comes the anticipation of a leader who will make sure that the music is adequate and of good quality. Following this argument, a good music leader should be able to encourage people to sing and should try and teach the congregation to sing some parts. In other words, the faithful should have some opportunity, perhaps just before the Mass or service to know and familiarise themselves with the music in advance.

Despite generally high demands for good leadership and music in churches, such expectations cannot distract the faithful from the celebration and importance of liturgy itself. The Mass or the service is certainly not a concert or a theatre performance, and as much as the quality of music is important, there is something beyond that. That is why a good leader would understand that the community of believers and communion with God takes precedence. Good leaders will lead with humility and understanding that some are less musically predisposed than others. They will try to include everyone in the celebration to give them a choice to join in. After all, singing or active participation in the liturgy is not a requirement in the sense that members could simply opt out of singing and perhaps participate in a passive way. The following quote from one of the leaders clearly explains the essence of the celebration:

Now, so to speak, we feel we have a role in trying to connect it [liturgical canon], that is, bring it closer [to people]. To approach the practice that is real. These are real people in parishes, in choirs, in teams, in parish choirs, etc. To do something to bring these people closer to this, [...] so as not to forget that the most important thing is a human being, the most important thing is their personal encounter with the living God. (Joint Interview 1, Pos. 34)

The question of the appropriate or relevant music genre is also interesting and not necessarily unequivocal. The liturgical canon dictates what type of music or hymns should be played during different times in the liturgical calendar. This is visible in the Catholic Church, especially at Masses. However, in different Christian traditions and in different churches, there is no liturgical canon in the same sense. For example, Polish evangelical churches in London usually use popular praise and worship songs and sometimes rely on English songs translated into Polish. Interestingly, this trend has also made its way into Polish Catholic churches in London as one can occasionally hear

praise and worship songs at some Polish Masses, especially at the end of the Mass, used as dismissal hymns. The order of Catholic liturgy might be very useful in celebrating in a more orderly fashion, but it might also lack the spontaneity of evangelical services, so finding a way to occasionally 'borrow' praise and worship songs from other traditions might be a great way to diversify the liturgy.

The majority of the respondents were Catholics, and they usually see the traditional approach as helpful rather than hindering and understand that different liturgical seasons might require different types of hymns. A lot of coded segments, then, relate to the expectations of *traditional church music genres* (the second richest code). Interestingly, the tradition and the craft of the music, which have been shaped throughout the history of the church, take precedence over the modern genres. One argument for this might be that history verifies which music stays and which goes away. Another argument is that certain genres are better at creating an atmosphere of the sacred than others.

For example, Gregorian Chant has been used in the Catholic and some other churches throughout the centuries. There has been a resurgence of Gregorian Chant in the post-Vatican II era, and its character and function in the church liturgy have been largely restored in the sense that it occupies a very special and privileged position in the Catholic Church liturgy (Catholic Church, 1995). Examples of traditional music that the respondents favour over others are traditional hymns with good organ accompaniment, examples of church choral music or Taizé chants:

If there is any choice, it is from these old hymns ... I sing in Gregorian choirs and [...] I only discover this. [There's] richness and the whole depth of the church.
[...] And I agree that sometimes something may not be right for a certain time.
But there are songs which are timeless, for example, *Zbliżam się w pokorze* [I

am approaching in humility - Polish interpretation of an ancient eucharistic hymn Adoro te devote [...] because they have survived so many centuries.

(Focus Group 1, Pos. 100)

A similar number of coded segments represent *expectations fulfilled/exceeded* or *expectations not met*, respectively. On the one hand, some respondents do not have any big expectations in terms of church music, but they are pleasantly surprised when it is of a high standard. On the other hand, some respondents often expect something special, and nothing special really happens. The focus of the celebration is not the quality of music but the Eucharist and the liturgy itself, yet this element of surprise when good music affects the celebration positively might be a missing element of the sacred. It often happens that a small village church might surprise one with the unexpected beauty and simplicity of its singing community. On the other hand, a performance of Cathedral music might appear to be too grandiose and overwhelming. A good musical balance is key in creating a suitable 'sonic' space for celebration. Sometimes it is apt to hear and sing to the huge fanfare of church organs, such as the resurrection proclamation of Christ in *Exsultet*, and on other occasions, perhaps it is better not to have any music at all if its presence is distracting. One respondent juxtaposes these two opposing situations in the two following coded segments this way:

sometimes I expect little and get much more than I expected. For example, I'm getting ready to go to some very concelebrated Mass in the cathedral where I know there will be very elaborate songs sung, with notes, words and so on, but somehow it's either too overwhelming, or too grandioso, or there's bad acoustics, or too much noise to be able to focus [...] on the liturgy parts that I feel as if deprived of the spirit that I would feel, where on the contrary, sometimes I go to

Mass, service, somewhere where I have never been, not expecting much, but where the music captivates me, where singing, the way it's performed, the simplicity [...], combined with a given place, with its congregation, so to speak, [...] impresses me much more. (Joint Interview 6, Pos. 32)

If music is to perform adequate functions in the church, it needs to have some identifying characteristics, follow some fundamental rules (Pawlak, 2001), and fulfil basic expectations of the faithful. These are linked to the musical functions of *aesthetic* enjoyment, mood management and integration of the society. There might be divergent opinions regarding expectations of musical styles in the church, with some preferring traditional church music and others opting for more contemporary music genres.

However, according to most respondents, the genre is not the crux of the matter. The most important is the liturgy itself, whether it is filled with long periods of silence or sounds of various music. A good point is also made by suggesting that *honesty* is more important than *artistry* in the church. Music might be the anecdotal 'cherry on the cake', the element of the surprise which makes the experience special. This is how one of the respondents expresses what is most important when singing in the church:

You know, the most important thing is what you sing in your heart. Whether you have a predisposition to sing is another matter. It's not really important. The point is that whoever guides you in singing is also supposed to lead you in this prayer. So, the words that you sing are felt in your heart and you identify with them. (Focus Group 1, Pos. 122)

4.3.2.4. Theme 9: Significance and signification - symbolic representation

As already mentioned, there is an overlap between the functions of music and its meaning. One of the functions of music is *symbolic representation*, but a decision was made to place it in this section because it is very much related to the meaning of music.

During the design stages of the interviews, various versions of the question *What does music mean to you?* were considered. There was some flexibility during the interviews because of the question's complexity and vagueness. The question is often misunderstood, and it is difficult to translate accurately. The word 'meaning' in the Polish language might be often interpreted as 'significance' or 'importance', and thus the original question might have been understood as *What does music in the church signify to you?* or even *How important is music in the church to you?*

It was not the researcher's intention to elicit any specific answers, let alone anticipate that the respondents would arrive at the intrinsic meaning of music. However, having been aware of the importance of the written or spoken word in the liturgy and that a majority of church music is sung, more in-depth answers were expected. Many segments were coded concerning the significance or importance of church music in people's lives and about signification.

What is understood by signification is this referential quality of music that can suggest something other than itself: for example, God or a deity, or might evoke some events or memories from the past. Here also, the symbolic meaning of music is considered, as indeed, in the church contexts where symbols are ever-present, this quality of music deserves attention. The following five codes were created around the broader theme:

- evocation of memories and associations,
- solemnity, significance and symbolism of liturgical music,

- reflection of emotional state or mood,
- symbol/language of God and love and
- God's glory and presence.

Not surprisingly, evocation of memories and associations became the richest code in this broader theme. According to a growing body of research, music is compelling in evoking past situations and memories in people (e.g., Clarke et al., 2010; Juslin & Sloboda, 2010; Belfi et al., 2016). In a vivid way, many respondents often describe how music or hymns played or sung in a church at a specific occasion, in particular circumstances, bring them back to childhood or earlier time or even reassure their identity, whether it be national or regional:

it was a church where it was dark, cold, we were shaking [...] it was the end of November and it was probably -20 degrees in Vilnius and babushkas sang in Polish, but with an Eastern lilt. [...] they started to sing, but harmonising on an Eastern note and we were simply in tears. It was very emotional because both [my partner's] grandmother and my grandmother were from Vilnius and it is a similar kind of experience, very emotional... (Joint Interview 6, Pos. 77)

The evocative power of music is unequivocal. It can transport us to our past, future and a different epoch or historical period. For example, for some respondents from non-Catholic traditions, organ music or Gregorian chant might be associated with a distant past from centuries ago but has a solid artistic effect on the respondents and is likely to create an atmosphere of the sacred:

I associate it [this music] very strongly with the Catholic Church in general, with sacred music, because it is sacred music, with something that I do not understand, do not know the words [...] but its very presentation, I mean, in the

sense of music, and yet all these choir parts and these vocal harmonies are fantastic. (Joint Interview 7, Pos. 8)

However, these evocative qualities of music are not restricted only to church music but can be attributed equally to other genres. Some respondents attest that secular music can also transport them into different time frames or bring strong memories and emotions:

I often associate music with some situations in my life, with maybe some friends that I might have lost there once, and I wanted to regain it. I remember when I was listening to this song, *I Am Coming Home* by *Steczkowska* [a contemporary Polish singer], it was when she sang it after a tragedy [...] when she had lost a friend [...] and I related so much to this song [...] as [...] I had lost a friend... (Join Interview 7, Pos. 119)

There is something solemn and deeply symbolic in the liturgical music, though, and many respondents stress this sacred character of the liturgy and its music. They are virtually inseparable. When entering the space of the liturgy, the Mass or the service, the faithful enter a different reality, something extraordinary. Music enters the same liturgical reality and becomes sacred by virtue of the liturgy. Respondents often speak of *solemnity, significance or symbolism of the liturgical music*. Regardless of the quality of music or its artistry, liturgical music is supposed to be or is expected to be different from secular music, which many respondents are aware of and which is attested by a number of coded segments:

... when you go to church you're not thinking you're going to a concert, but you're ready for a certain type of sensation for this [church] music. Whether it be *Ania Rybka*, who sings highlander carols in the church, a chamber ensemble, [...] *Mozart* or *Bach*, or *Beethoven*, it will be in the church, so sacred music. [...]

It comes from our tradition, from our culture, from our upbringing. When we go to [...] a church, we have a different attitude from when we go to a concert [...] at the stadium or at the concert hall. (Joint Interview 4, Pos. 112)

Music may act as a 'mirror' for our emotions or states of mind. It often reflects what we are experiencing at a particular moment. Sometimes we might make a conscious choice in order to find music that would regulate our mood, and on another occasion, we accidentally tap into music that we hear. This is what usually happens in the church. We often do not consciously influence what type of music we might hear in the church, but according to some respondents, church music can tap into our psyche and touch our hearts.

The last two codes relate to music's propensity to be a sign or the ability to signify something else. They are *God's glory and presence* and *Symbol/language of God and love* respectively. A few questions attempted to elicit the answers from the respondents, but some segments were coded independently of these questions. One question was *What does music in the church mean or signify to you?* Music might symbolise God's glory or even presence. This propensity is not exclusive to music only as other art forms, primarily paintings, can represent something else and thus be a sign. A religious painting, especially an icon, is an excellent example of a sign. Music also has the quality to produce or inspire good emotions or reactions in people, and so it is associated with love or the concept of loving God. The following two segments, respectively, describe these two codes clearly:

It seems to me that it [music] symbolizes, and it probably symbolizes the greatness of God, but in the sense [...] the presence of God, because I think that

God is present in people and also in their talents. And because of the fact that there are musical talents, it is for me the presence of God through people.

(Focus Group 2, Pos. 79)

Music in general is a symbol for me, a symbol of feelings, a symbol of a group's feelings, the group which shares its love. [...] Because it cannot be said that it [music] transmits hate. When someone sings, he always conveys a positive feeling, in my opinion.

(Interview 10, Pos. 47-49)

4.3.2.5. Theme 10: Musical meaning and contexts

Although not the richest theme in the category of musical meaning, this is undoubtedly crucial to the findings of this research. First of all, any musical meaning is dependent on the context in which music is listened to or performed. The same composition, hymn or song will acquire a different meaning or character when experienced during Mass, in concert halls or at home. Furthermore, the same music performed in the same place at the same time might acquire a totally different meaning or significance to different people. Then again, the same music performed in the same place but at a different time and occasion in the company of different faithful and musicians will still have a different impact and thus might still mean—something else. Three codes have been identified during the analysis of the data within this theme:

- different contexts provide different meanings and experiences,
- contextual continuum between sacred and secular music and
- deeper experiences of sacred music/contexts

The first finding and the code within the broader theme of *meaning and context* is that *different contexts provide different meanings and experiences*. This finding is in line with existing research on musical meaning and the importance of the context in which music is performed. Some respondents report that the atmosphere of the church provides an excellent context for the experience of sacred music. Throughout history, churches often represented art of high quality. The architectural styles were also represented in church art and in church music. To this day, many churches preserve the atmosphere of the sacred, which provides the context for the liturgy.

[S]uch a place, with nice lighting, with silence, with twilight, with these cool lights, candles and all this builds the atmosphere of sacredness, the mystery. [...]
[Y]ou enter the magical place, just as a stage should be a magical place for an artist, [...] for a dancer where you can experience something spiritual and a place where you can open up, right?

(Interview 8, Pos. 19)

The church, however, is not an exclusive context where people experience music and sacredness. In fact, many respondents describe other places where they have experienced music in a sacred context. They often remember specific or important occasions when music was played or experienced, such as a wedding hymn or a concert of patriotic songs.

The atmosphere of the place, the presence of other people, the occasion and the music itself will all play a role in how people react to or experience it. The same music performed in a different place and for a different occasion, simply put, in a different context, will have a different effect on people and might have a different meaning to those involved.

...you might experience in many different ways a piece that is very patriotic, somehow atmospheric, specific or special, for example, *Red Poppies on Monte Cassino*. You will experience the same piece differently by watching it in a musical programme on TV, in the theatre, and still differently when you hear it sung in a church, where it will be woven into some musical and lyrical context.

[...] You will sit in the theatre and you will think: yes, they fought, they died, because it was the need of a moment. In the church you will think: they gave their lives for their homeland. It is kind of the same but somehow different.

(Joint Interview 4, Pos. 123)

Although there might be a fine line between music in general and worship music, a substantial number of segments were coded testifying to *deeper experiences of sacred music or contexts*, a second code. Undoubtedly, music in the church serves a different purpose from most secular music and is devoid of its worldliness. There is a sense of more inclusiveness and less elitism involved in making church music. Anyone is invited to experience it either by joining in singing or taking part in the liturgy. With an attitude of openness, people are freer to experience sacred music in a stress-free, fraternal atmosphere without a sense of competition. Furthermore, people who come to church are a community of believers who, as a rule, come to experience something pious. Such an atmosphere is undoubtedly conducive to more profound or more reflective thoughts and feelings.

If a music group operates only on the musical level, sooner or later, it will probably come to the point that certain serious cracks will appear. Because in music there's always someone who is better, or worse. However, if there's

additionally a spiritual dimension attached to it, then one looks at it completely differently. (Joint Interview 1, Pos. 107)

One of the interview questions to find differences between various contexts was: *Did* you feel any difference between singing at rehearsals and singing in church during the Mass? (Interview 2, Pos. 26). Other questions concerned the effect of either secular or sacred music on participants. Many respondents reported that the type of music or the context, or the combination of both, affected their experiences. For most respondents, music was the main criterion, and for some, the context, be it at Mass or outside the church, influenced the experience.

According to the interview reports, music in the church may affect people differently, often more profoundly than other music. Although other types of music may also produce a range of emotions in people, religious music seems to touch people more deeply. This claim is, however, specific for religious people and this particular case. Such an effect might be a combination of many elements; the type of music, the importance and impact of religious words, the prayerful character of the place and the individual faith and attitude of the person experiencing music.

In Poland [...] there are such healing masses. It happens in the church. There is Mass, then there is worship. They look completely different. There are live instruments, not the organ, and there are also a lot of people [...] standing around each other, centrally around the altar, good acoustics. [...] God touched me so much just as I sang the word, Jesus. [...] I had such awareness of God as I had never had in the church before. It was such a touch that you could give your life to God. (Focus Group 3, Pos. 133)

It is understood that religious music, whether it be in the church or other contexts, has the potential to create an atmosphere of sacredness and might assume a profound significance and carry a deeper meaning. Participants in this research represent the faithful, so one might presume that religious music would be of particular importance. Indeed, this presumption is attested by many coded segments as in the quotation below:

In the church, music, or singing, is a form of prayer, right? This is not a concert that we listen to but we actively join this prayer and, well, we worship God [...]. Although also at concerts, you can worship too, right? But [...] this is such a holy place, so music is certainly presented in a different way, taking into account the fact that this is God's temple. (Joint Interview 9, Pos. 39)

To conclude the argument, the construction of the meanings of music in individuals is a multifaceted and complex phenomenon often driven by the individual as well as communal factors, by what is happening outside (church, music, people, etc.) and inside (sensations, feelings, prayers, etc.) of a person experiencing church music. Meaning is dependent on and occurs as a product of all these elements and can only be articulated by the individuals involved. Thus, the meaning of music, in this sense, is subjective and bound to the unique experiences of particular people in a specific context. Unlike linguistic meaning, musical meaning is abstract, fluid and often ineffable. Like music itself, its meaning is unexpected, devoid of deep analysis and often surprising to the faithful experiencing it:

Sometimes [...] we don't expect anything, or we expect the worst (laughs) in terms of music. And sometimes we go to some [...] forgotten church out there, we don't expect anything, well ... it's not Westminster Cathedral or whatever ... or ... the Vatican or something (laughs). [...] And at some point we are surprised

at what we experience [...]. It happened to me (laughs), and it was in Bukowina Tatrzańska, [...] [in] some kind of wooden church. [...] I sat down on a bench and at some point someone started to play. I don't know if it was good music or bad music. At that moment, it was the best music in the world for me.

(Focus Group 4, Pos. 69)

4.3.3. Relation of musical experiences in the church to participants' identities

This research looks at the role of music in Polish church communities in London. The previous two sections (4.3.1. and 4.3.2.) of Chapter 4 investigated the role of music from the perspective of its functions and meaning, and this one will report on the role of music in the construction of identities of Polish immigrants in London in church contexts. It will discuss the importance of music in sustaining these identities. The research analyses the interviews to see if there is a feeling of national or ethnic identity in people during church music activities. Furthermore, other identities might also be constructed during church musicking. During the interviews, none of the questions asked directly about identity, be it national, Catholic or any other, but many segments were coded, indicating that different identities are constructed. The word 'identity' appears in the coded data very sparingly, but there are other indicative words such as 'Polish church music', 'national' or 'patriotic sentiments'. There are three main themes identified within the category:

- Theme 11: Church music identity continuity and stability of culture,
- Theme 12: Liturgy validating religious rituals and
- Theme 13: Communities of musical practice.

4.3.3.1. Theme 11: Church music identity - continuity and stability of culture

During the coding process, the function of *continuity and stability of culture* was used as part of a categorical theme, *church music identity*. Rather than placing it in the section on musical functions, it was placed here due to the size of the findings of this research and the relationship to cultural and national identity. The national/ethnic identity occupies most of the report, and the Polish culture and language are intrinsically linked to it. The theme encompasses two codes:

- identification with the Polish language and culture (in worship) and
- different character of English and other music.

The richest code in the broader theme is *identification with the Polish language and culture (in worship)*. The Polish language is undoubtedly the main aspect of the national identity. In the past, religion, especially Catholicism, was an integral part of Polish culture, and to some extent, it remains an essential element for many Polish people. Many segments have been coded where people express the importance of the language of prayer and worship. The Polish language is the usual choice when it comes to Mass attendance or individual prayer. One of the interview questions is about the authenticity of the language; *Do you think that prayer or liturgy in English would be less authentic for you than in Polish?* (Interview 2, Pos. 38). For some people, the answer was affirmative, but for others, *the language was not a question of authenticity*. The following quotes from the respondents represent those two opposing opinions:

I think so, because I attended Holy Masses in English and, however, I haven't been long enough [in the UK] to identify with the English language to understand it as spiritually as Polish. Still, Polish is the language that we have in our blood (laughs), which probably means more to me.

(Interview 2, Pos. 39)

I don't know if *is it authentic* is the best question because the liturgy in Polish or English, or even in Latin, always seems authentic to me. If someone approaches it with an open heart and with a calling, I think that authenticity is not a problem.

(Focus Group 2, Pos. 133)

The first subcode combines interview segments where some respondents describe music as capable of the *evocation of patriotic sentiments*. Not many respondents across the data set discuss such sentiments, though. Some refer to patriotic themes in their choir repertoire, and others to secular music with deep patriotic references. However, one respondent representing the old immigration provides an exciting insight into how church, patriotism and identity have been entwined in migrant churches. Most participants in this research represent the recent wave of economic migration, to the UK, after the inclusion of Poland into the European community. Only a few participants represent earlier, for example, political migration. Those who emigrated after WWII or in the 1980s might have a different perception of Polishness and might be more sensitive to patriotic feelings:

well, there is a certain convergence between the feelings of patriotism, maybe especially for Poles, and participation in the service. There were times when both were very much the order of the day, I am talking of course about the 1980s, when the church and everything related to the church, music, liturgy and so on, were very much related to our country's aspirations for freedom and so on. I think that Poland is not the only country where such events have occurred.

(Joint Interview 6, Pos. 94)

The majority of the respondents regard the *Polish language as more natural or more authentic*, which makes it another subcode. The Polish language is the first choice for liturgy, prayer and singing. This is not a surprising finding, given the fact that all respondents were Polish. However, English liturgy is not unknown to the respondents, and it is often attended and well-understood. It is easy to follow the Mass in English due to the universal character of the Catholic liturgy. However, even during the English Mass celebrations, the most important prayers, such as *the Lord's Prayer* are usually recited in Polish by the respondents. Polish Masses also are reported as being either more musical or with more homely hymns and parts of the liturgy:

for me, the liturgy in Polish is more authentic [...] I can identify with it. I am talking about the Catholic Church; we are talking about liturgy and worship [...] because, in the Protestant Church, there's a sort of a free pattern [...] I can take it easy, it is also authentic for me, but when it comes to the liturgy in the Catholic Church, it is hard for me to feel it [in English]. [...] There were times when there were English Masses in Enfield on Sundays, and I didn't go to that Mass.

(Focus Group 3, Pos. 185-187)

The Polish Catholic Church on immigration is very specific and reflects the character of other minority faith groups as well as showing the *different nature of migrant churches* in general, another subcode. London is not an exception, and some respondents underline apparent differences between the Catholic Church in Poland and the UK. First, due to the recent waves of migration, the church in London is much younger and more vibrant. The older migration waves represent a very small percentage of the attendees now. Second, there seems to be a greater openness of clergy towards the

faithful, resulting in more opportunities for different activities and groups. This is how a choirmaster describes this community-friendly character of a London parish:

Well, my choristers are young people from the church, who attend this church, this parish. Well, it is definitely the fact that we are in exile that connects us more, because we are not at home and it makes us such a family here, the parish. Priests are also different, they are more interested in us personally, and in Poland there is no such thing, no, they are very distant. Even the very fact, that a mobile phone of every priest is known, you can catch him any time, but not in Poland. (Interview 10, Pos. 81)

Although the Polish language, the Polish church music and the services generally take precedence over the English ones, there is much evidence in the coded segments for interest, respect or even admiration for the English hymns and songs or even Anglican liturgies. The second code in the theme is *different language and music traditions*, with respondents showing their attitudes towards liturgy and music in different languages. Catholic liturgy in English might be perceived or experienced as in any other language, primarily because of the universality of the rites. However, for those more sensitive to the language and cultural differences, the experiences of the liturgy in other languages might be entirely distinct from the worship in Polish:

English hymns are very lovely in their own way, but for me extremely challenging to sing [...]. And I think the English have the same impression [about Polish hymns] because, as I say, they harmonize differently. It's just that they were taught the harmony of singing in a different way from childhood. That's it. And it's not just about religion, it's the same with regards to anything else. (Interview 5, Pos. 60)

The main problem for immigrants who are new to the UK is *the English language and church music barrier*, the first subcode. Two factors that often affect people's choice as to which Mass to attend, Polish or English, are the language barrier and the attachment to Polish Masses and liturgy. However, English churches are very inclusive of and supportive of the different faiths, so it is quite easy to familiarise oneself with the English versions and participate in the liturgy. That is why some Polish people choose the English Masses or services over the Polish ones. Although English church music and the opportunity to sing in English might encourage people to participate, prayers, scripture readings and other liturgical parts are more natural and easier to follow in Polish.

The following subcode collects segments reporting *the benefits and advantages of singing in English*. First, for some respondents, English can communicate the meaning more succinctly and might possess 'greater language depth'. Secondly, for those migrants still mastering the language, the possibility of attending English-speaking services and the exposure to worship music is 'motivating to learn English'. Finally, the English language might sound fresh and exciting as the experience of learning has the element of a discovery of something new, almost sacred in itself:

[Attending an English Mass] even helps me more, because I don't know the songs, I sing there at all, and it is so fresh and new for me. And also, in [...] English churches, they make sure to sing the hymns all over. And there are always songbooks available [...] and you can see that people are really engaged, and it helps me. [...]

Moreover, compared to the Polish church, when a priest gives communion and says the hackneyed 'ciało Chrystusa', the English 'this is the body of Christ' reaches me as something extraordinary. (Focus Group 4, Pos. 117, Pos. 133)

The language aspect of the identity, especially a shaping identity of an immigrant, should not be underestimated. The English language and music acquisition are as important as preserving the Polish language and culture. On the other hand, a few respondents pointed out that many old Polish hymns are translated from other languages, and translations of contemporary English worship songs often find their way into the Polish liturgy. Such language exchange is also a part of the process of acculturation. Migrants negotiate their identities through constant interaction between the Polish and English language and church music, the interplay between the old religious rituals and new communities of musical practice in the migrant church:

When I was a teenager, we sang [church] songs and then I came here, and it turned out that there were translations from English. [...] It was just a shock for me. That most of the songs that people sang out there at youth Masses were translations from English anyway.

(Focus Group 1, Pos. 235-237)

A great advantage of Catholic liturgy is its universality despite its multicultural and multilinguistic character. This means that the Masses in different languages have the same order and use the same parts, liturgical prayers and scripture readings. This catholic character of the liturgy might be a great source of diverse cultural heritage, traditions, languages and music genres despite its structural similarity.

Singing in Latin or other languages makes ups another subcode. Latin, for example, used to be the language of the Church for centuries, and as much as it might have been

an obstacle in the past, it might be a great asset presently. Although singing in Latin and other languages can be obscure for many, especially young people, those interested in traditional approaches and music are usually more open-minded. They mention the enjoyment of hymns in other languages, for example, Latin and Italian, English and Spanish. Singing in other languages might be enriching and very appreciative of other cultures:

Latin for me is the priority language of the church. And I also go to Latin and Tridentine Masses. And I must say that I find the greatest, real value there. You know they provide hymnals. [...] You can take a booklet, if you don't know the hymns and you read it. That's it.

(Focus Group 1, Pos. 240)

I have attended an Italian church several times, and I do not know Italian. [...] And I didn't know what they sang. [...] It was something so beautiful that for me they could just sing there for hours, and maybe I could sing, sing and sing. And the guitar was also playing there. [...] I didn't know the language at all and yet it made such an effect on me.

(Focus Group 1, Pos. 241)

Continuity and stability of culture might involve reconstructing the national or ethnic identities as migrants encounter new realities situated in a different culture composed of multi-ethnic communities co-existing together. The Polish Church is also a place composed of different people, albeit mostly Polish, who have already gone through different stages of assimilation.

4.3.3.2. Theme 12: Liturgy - validating religious rituals

The previous chapter dealt with the identity of church attendees from the language perspective and its importance in *the continuity and stability of culture* and hence the Polish church music. This chapter discusses identity construction during liturgy and the musical function of *validating religious rituals*. Because this function is particular for this research and contributes to the formation of the identities of Polish migrants and migrant church communities, it has been placed in this section.

Furthermore, being Catholic at some stage was synonymous with being Polish, especially back at the time of political changes in Poland and Eastern Europe during the 1980s and 90s. Two almost equally voluminous codes have been identified within the categorical theme of *Liturgy - validating religious rituals*:

- the importance of the liturgical canon and
- identification with sacred/familiar music.

Many respondents value and appreciate the church liturgy with its order of prayers, rites and music. The vast majority see its universality as being an asset despite its seeming monotony and repetitive character. However, it is the familiar tunes or hymns that the respondents often identify themselves with. Such native church music forms the basis for both Polish and church identities, be it Catholic or others.

First of all, liturgy, which literally means 'the work of the people', is organised in a memorable and orderly way so that everyone can take part in it as much as possible.

The liturgy has been formed and validated for centuries, and the canon that is used now has not been created in a vacuum. It is well thought out and prudent, as one of the liturgical music leaders testifies:

You definitely need to be aware that ... the law is not bad. It is very wise. It was created, I mean liturgical law, [...] concerning liturgical music. It has been thought out, it is very legitimate, it is, so to speak strongly argued, etc.

(Joint Interview 1, Pos. 34)

During the thematic analysis, it became apparent that the liturgy that springs from the Canon Law is fundamental in the Catholic Church. Most people are aware that it should not really be broken. The law concerning liturgical music has its contemporary basis in the Second Vatican Council and was set out in one of the key documents Sacrosanctum Concilium [Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy]. A few respondents stress the importance of choosing the right music for the right occasion. The leaders of liturgical music workshops, music groups and schools are very vocal and sensitive about the musical aspect of the liturgy. Unfortunately, according to a few testimonies from the interviews, some music leaders do not follow the liturgical law, and the results are not desirable. For example, the chosen hymns or songs are too complex for the congregation to sing, or the lyrics are not adequate for the celebration. The importance of an adequate music leader, which is often neglected, comes to the fore in the context of liturgy and liturgical music:

[T]here are certain rules written in canon law, [...] still valid, [...] written in very simple language, the instructions on several points how the hymns should be selected. [...] For example, there is such a remark; [...] The choice of the music performer during the liturgy should not be based upon his position in the church but on his vocal skills. [...] It is better to perform a simple piece well than a complicated piece badly or be unprepared. [...] Music is simply to worship, there should be a continuity of the words of the prayer [...], there is a spoken word,

and it changes into music in one sequence. [...] Whether it's a Mass, service, exposition [of the Blessed Sacrament], worship and so on, you should focus, close your eyes, someone says something, and suddenly the music comes and then you go back into words again. If at that moment you open your eyes and get distracted that means something was done wrongly.

(Joint Interview 4, Pos. 36)

Most respondents understand the solemnity of the Mass in the Catholic Church, so they are very vocal about the appropriate music choices for the right liturgy. They claim that there are enough opportunities and occasions within the church to showcase a variety of religious music and styles. There are church choirs that might perform at Masses, services or concerts, there are praise and worship meetings or Christian rap concerts. Various musical events are available at the right moment, place and context within the church communities:

There are songs that are approved for singing in the liturgy of the Holy Mass, the Eucharist, and there are songs that are not approved. [...] And it does not matter [...] [if] the words to this song were written by John Paul II. Okay, but he wrote a poem. Someone added music to it, and a [...] song came out.

A wonderful [...] song, but not suitable [to] perform at the Mass because it is simply out of topic, out of context, or atmosphere. It's just distracting.

(Joint Interview 4, Pos. 36)

A subcode within the importance of the liturgical canon code, the uniqueness of the Mass experience extends the respondents' reports to the unique character and experiences of the Liturgy of the Holy Mass as already outlined in the previous section.

The Mass is unique in the sense that for the faithful it is more than a worship service or

event. For many participants, it is a theatrical and spiritual journey towards meeting the living Christ through the liturgy of the Word and the Eucharist. It is dramatic in the sense that it takes the participant through many stages of celebration, starting from the introductory rites, the liturgy of the Word, which is the scripture readings, prayers of the faithful, and the liturgy of the Eucharist, Communion and so on. The climax of the whole celebration is the transubstantiation, the event and the belief that the bread and wine literally transform into the body and blood of Jesus Christ. Subjective as it is, this makes the Mass celebration unique and solemn.

However, the whole experience or event does not happen in a vacuum, nor is it devoid of sensory experiences. Just the opposite happens during liturgical music. The music itself becomes very important in the context of the Holy Mass, and "there is a completely different dimension" to it (Interview 3, Pos. 63).

The structure of the "church building helps to experience something deeper, and stimulates the imagination" (Interview 8, Pos. 15). This is the place where people pray and "meet with God, consciously, not accidentally" (Interview 8, Pos. 15). The ambience of a church and the art therein are meant to be conducive to religious experiences. The ample space and dimmed lighting, the candles and incense, the icons and holy symbols, the paintings and sculptures depicting biblical stories, the architecture and the acoustics contribute to the whole experience of 'something bigger'.

Many churches are built in such a way that the musical experience is more powerful because there is [great] acoustics. It's built that way to have an impact, like in amphitheatres. [...] This is how the architects planned it so in these old churches there is an amazing atmosphere and acoustics and there are [...] also spiritual experiences. If something spiritual is going on, that's even deeper.

(Interview 8, Pos. 17-18)

Another respondent juxtaposes a different non-liturgical experience with the solemnity of the Mass and points out how more intense the latter is. The awareness that this is the 'holy place' - the church and 'the holy time' - the Mass puts the respondent in a state of readiness. The importance of the context has already been pinpointed in the chapter on the meaning and the context. The Mass is a unique context encompassing different aspects contributing to the experience of music, be it aesthetic, artistic or subjectively spiritual:

The very fact that it is a Mass encourages some more profound reflections, and the music is experienced more intensely. During the rehearsal, you just work with the material. There is not much religiosity there. Besides, in the church, you are concentrated. This is a Mass, you cannot go wrong; hymns are sung in the presence of God so you have to be more mindful. And there is also the acoustics, [...] different auditory sensations. There is the echo that is not present during the rehearsal.

(Focus Group 2, Pos. 68)

Throughout the previous few paragraphs, the word 'experience' appeared quite a few times. That would indicate the emotional effect of music and the context in which we listen to it. However, these codes have been placed in the section which describes the construction of identities. The respondents report that these religious and musical experiences might affect their feelings and reactions, shaping their identities. They identify with these experiences and what is happening during these sacred celebrations. These are often reports that go beyond a Polish Catholic's ethnic identity on immigration.

Music might shape the character and the identity, and in the following examples, there is a hint at how religious music contributes to such identity formation. Experiencing music in the church can be a powerful force that changes us in a positive way and bolsters the conviction about one's belief, thus strengthening the identity of a Christian:

[When] a person experiences such music when people sing these words [...] from their hearts [...] God admits it too. And he comes, he sends the Holy Spirit who fills us [...] and gives you that awareness of the words you sing. These are different words. It depends on what God wants to tell us at a given stage of our lives. [...] I have more joy in myself and more hope, [...] excitement definitely [...] related to the experience that God gives me. (Focus Group 1, Pos. 137).

I must express myself by singing and so to speak discover the truths of faith through singing. Because [...] in good Christian and religious music these things are expressed in such a thoughtful way, what you actually sing is composed so that it directs you, all your thinking towards [these truths]. So I find myself more in praying with singing than in any other prayer.

(Joint Interview 6, Pos. 62-63)

Despite these positive aspects of the liturgy and liturgical music outlined in the above section, there are *liturgical barriers and limitations*, evidenced by a substantial number of coded segments. First, there is a big gap between what liturgical music should be and what it is in reality. This was noted during observations of liturgical workshops and the interviews with the leaders when they described the situation of church music in Poland. Second, there is a clash between the 'expected' music in the church and contemporary music, whether contemporary Christian music or mainstream music that people usually listen to or make. There are different parishes and different pastors or chaplains, and

some will be stricter than others. In the past, not many priests would allow drums and guitars at Masses, but recently, more and more priests are opening the churches' doors for more contemporary-sounding liturgical music, something that has already been happening in protestant churches for decades. The effect might be different. Some people like more traditional church music; others expect the church to go with the spirit of the age:

But we can see that this is where some kind of tension comes from. We see a huge discrepancy between theory and practice. Even the reality in Polish churches is very different, for various reasons. Of course, there is a lot of analysis going on here as to why this is so. And many conclusions can be drawn. But there is definitely a huge gulf.

(Joint Interview 1, Pos. 34)

Such gulfs sometimes disappear or decrease when there is good cooperation between the laity and the clergy, adequate music leadership and willingness and engagement of the faithful. The liturgical rules concerning church music are not always strict and can be flexible depending on the occasion and cultural context. Sacrosanctum Concilium is constantly being interpreted and understood anew. As the contexts and the times change, the music leaders might take a few liberties with the liturgical canon, sometimes to the surprise of the whole congregation:

We made a band, what shouldn't have happened, with the drums in the church, and at the moment we were singing the hymn at the entrance, the bishop would come in, he stopped halfway through the church, looked up and had such big eyes, and said that he had never experienced anything like that at any

confirmation or any ceremony before. Even though there were drums (Joint Interview 4, Pos. 32).

Although the drums and the guitars in the church might be shocking or at least surprising for some, some respondents would welcome such moves.

Another limitation mentioned by some respondents is the monotony, repetitiveness, and obscurity of the Mass rites. Although an advantage for some, the repetitive character of the liturgy might be its weak point for others. Shinichi Suzuki's quotation 'monotony is the worst enemy of music' (1996, p. 2) might come to mind in the context of liturgy and liturgical music. The mysterious and the ineffable in music are usually associated with something grand, captivating, and unexpected. For some, these are the qualities associated with the sacred, mystical and miraculous.

At the same time, many would expect the liturgy to be much simpler and more straightforward, devoid of lengthy, often obscure prayers and rites and the same exhortations. There is a danger that for an average churchgoer or an outsider, the Mass is not fully understood, and the point of the celebration might be missed. If there is something that could come to the rescue here, it is definitely well-suited music:

Well, the church is a bit monothematic in all of this; you heard a million times that Jesus died, that it happened, this and that. It's obvious we need a reminder, but the same thing is repeated over again. Sometimes this magic is missing, this mysticism, to experience something really deep, to go into it and say, this is fresh, this is new, this is what renews my soul, this is the charism that is really happening, the fact that someone was healed..., it is sometimes this depth that is lacking at Mass in my opinion.

(Interview 8, Pos. 37)

After reporting on *the importance of liturgical canon*, it will be essential to look more closely at the type of music the respondents identify with. These segments have been coded as *identification with sacred/familiar music*. The interviews gave the respondents opportunity to talk about different types of music and express their musical preferences as they had the chance to listen to a few musical excerpts at the start.

It turned out that most of the respondents identified themselves with sacred music but the type of music, e.g. sacred versus secular, was not the only determinant. Some suggested familiarity as an essential aspect of musical identification, whether in secular or religious genres. For example, one respondent felt more attachment to *God Save the Queen* by Sex Pistols than an unknown church hymn. On the other hand, one might identify with music that is not familiar, but because of its religious character or connotations, it is somehow closer to the respondent. A few respondents can identify with different types of music depending on the context or the mood they find themselves in:

[E]ven though I do not recognise the first and third tracks, I have the impression that these tunes are somehow closer to me. It's just a bit of relaxation, and the third one I'd say it's even adoration. But it's puzzling that I do not really identify with the piece that I know, surprisingly, the best.

(Focus Group 2, Pos. 19)

The opportunity for the respondents to listen to different types of music was a valuable exercise. Initially designed only as an introduction to the interviews, it produced informative data. Respondents could react with very natural and honest responses without previous exposure to music. The church music chosen for this introduction included examples of Gregorian Chants, some other choral works, and a few

contemporary hymns in Polish. The classical music example was a composition by Claude Debussy. The examples of church music produced very positive reactions ranging from relaxation to a sense of affiliation and identification.

Amongst church music that Polish people uniquely identify with are carols. Many segments combined in a rich code suggest a *specific (patriotic) character of Polish Christmas and carols*. First, Christmas time is a very warm, family-oriented festivity. The respondents carry a lot of good memories from their childhood and later times spent together with families and friends in their countries. The Christmas memories are very positive and vivid. People remember the first star on Christmas Eve, the presents, traditional Polish food, the multi-generational family get-togethers, and singing of Polish carols, the traditions which are still alive in homes and churches. Additionally, the Polish Christmas carols acquire truly symbolic meaning for those respondents who have lived as immigrants for decades. They become a token of Polishness, of the motherland, lost but not forgotten and always present in one's heart and memories. Finally, Polish carols are unique for Polish people, just like English or Italian ones are special for their nationals, and this is why they are recognisable, identifiable and patriotic. This is how one respondent comments on the character of Polish carols:

Christmas for me is associated with family, [...] with innocence, our human innocence as children, with some of the best, most carefree times. [...] I like music for Christmas, because unlike sacred Lenten music, [it is] our Polish music. Our carols are very distinct, they are very different stylistically, [...] different from Christmas music in England, in France or anywhere, and it is like a manifestation of me as a Pole, who at this moment, in this period of the year, feels most probably a Pole in such a positive sense, so to speak [...]. Our Christmas carols are original, they are unique, I think. There is simplicity in

them, but there is also an incredible depth that expresses both theology and our experience as Poland, as a country. I don't know what examples to give, but carols are very reflective.

(Joint Interview 6, Pos. 58)

There is a connection between Polish carols and great Polish patriotic music. Although the first Polish carols were already composed in the XV century, they assumed a character associated with traditional Polish values later in the XVIII century. During partitions of Poland in the XIX century, *Polish Patriotic Carols* emerged. They were lifting the spirits of the Polish captive nation in much the same way as the music of Fryderyk Chopin. In his rich repertoire, Chopin composed a lot of patriotic music, one of the most dramatic and recognisable pieces being *Étude Op. 10, No. 12 (Revolutionary Étude)*. Interestingly, in *Scherza h-moll op. 20* Chopin beautifully quotes a Polish carol, *Lulajże, Jezuniu [Lullaby for Jesus]. Polish Patriotic Carols* re-emerged mainly during difficult times for the Polish nation, such as World War II and the time of the Polish People's Republic, especially the Solidarity Movement struggle in 1980s during which a lot of people were interned or had to emigrate.

These patriotic sentiments in Polish carols blend gracefully with Polish folk traditional elements or refer to some historical events. The lyrics often combine religious motives with Polish folklore or patriotic stories. The religious figures of Mother Mary and St Joseph and Jesus himself are usually portrayed in a vulnerable situation of people not being able to find a decent place for the nativity. As one of the respondents noticed, the connection to Polishness and the inner longing of an exiled person is quite evident in the religious narrative:

Polish carols [...] are full of nostalgia, reflection, and sometimes pain, they are more associated with the person of a mother, with someone who was not admitted to the inn, who gave birth to a child in conditions she found herself in. And she simply poured all her tender words and all her maternal care on this child. And in some way, there are some associations between the experiences of our country and his (child Jesus's) experiences, and therefore it has a special meaning for me.

(Joint Interview 6, Pos. 60)

Lent and Easter are very much two parts of one significant celebration, one leads to another, and the sorrow of Lent and Passion culminates with the joy of Easter. Yet, according to respondents, Lenten music is far richer than Easter music. Easter is the most important celebration for Christians, but it lacks the musical repertoire of Christmas and Lent. The reason might be simply the length of Lent compared to a 'lightning' event of Christ's resurrection celebration at Easter. Respondents seem to experience Lenten music in a different and more personal way. There is more time for reflection, memories and meditation, and the music might help on this spiritual journey. The culminating part of Lent is the Paschal Triduum, during which music plays a vital role in creating the sacred atmosphere of Paschal mysteries. The Liturgy of Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday is abundant in scripture readings, ancient prayers, and solemn and reflective music and hymns, some of them very old. The quotes below, first, from a member of the clergy and then, from a lay person explain the unique nature of Lenten music:

As for the music? I think it's Lent. Because these are the hymns that have passed the test of time, I'd say. [...] [T]hey are the most personal to me, but everyone

can have different [...] feelings. They carry the greatest load of transcendence. And the hymns of Lent and The Holy Week mysteries are very old tunes [...] such as the Exultat, based on canons. They are still from the times of [...] the ancient church, Exultat. And these are melodies when well sung really get you chills.

(Interview 5, Pos. 38)

It is clear that it's Lent and the time of the Easter Triduum. A very special time, as it's most important in the liturgical year, and it is also most intensely accentuated with music specially created for this purpose. There is no doubt that this is the most beautiful church music that exists - Lenten - because it's the most profound; it presents the deepest truths and thus, it is definitely the most experienced.

(Joint Interview 6, Pos. 56)

Easter is the climax of the liturgical year, and musically it is supposed to be very triumphant and joyous. And, in fact, it is. For example, the most famous *Halleluyah* from Handel's *Messiah* is immediately recognisable. Polish Easter music does not have the same character as Polish carols but is also distinguished and celebratory. A few respondents report, however, that Easter music is relatively scarce though Easter should permeate all Christian worship reflected in the music. Perhaps the respondents who look at the church music in a less liturgical way (e.g., evangelicals) feel more liberty in the choice of the music:

For me the Resurrection time always dominates. And this joy that God is somehow pouring into my heart is amazing. Because, in fact, Jesus rose from the dead 2,000 years ago, and we should be happy about it every day. And somehow, this period rules in my [life]. (Focus Group 1, Pos. 197)

One group of respondents does not identify with any particular period in the liturgical calendar or any specific genre. Its members like different music and different hymns. Their emotional states might drive them at a time when they choose what to listen to. With a few other respondents, it might be Eucharistic hymns, praise and worship songs or evocative Marian hymns. These choices show a variety of motives to choose the type of religious music and to identify with, whether the music regulates one's mood, helps to meditate, leads in adoration, or evokes memories.

4.3.3.3. Theme 13: Communities of musical practice

This theme explains the dynamics of communities of musical practice in the Polish church in London. The codes focus on the experiences of the respondents who have taken part in liturgical music workshops or have been members of a church choir. As a result of the interviews, the following codes have been developed within this theme:

- the effects of musical engagement and
- belonging to the migrant musical community.

The results include coded findings from the observations of the two communities of musical practice: a church choir and a liturgical music workshop.

Many effects of musical engagement were reported by participants. Most effects are very positive and include music practice with others and spiritual enrichment but there are also reports of anxiety, nervousness or stage fright related to the upcoming performance in the church. Other dilemmas and logistical problems exist when it comes

to organising a choir. A migrant church is not usually made up of people living locally and a lot of people commute long distances, so there are limitations.

All in all, the two codes describe many examples of positive effects. First, a number of participants including one leader of the workshops report that perhaps despite no initial intentions for the workshops to be 'spiritually' focused they have become as such for many participants. Indeed, the communal music practice was a driving force but it resulted not only in some sort of temporal reification but also a spiritual experience, akin to a retreat.

The idea of musicking or music practice in the church is to make people ready to augment the sacred celebrations within a given community. Simple and obvious as it seems, the focus is often on how the music is employed and not necessarily why. These workshops proved that music does not have to be the aim in itself but could also bring some other fruits and transformations:

In fact, it's about people. The music begins to sound completely different, especially in the liturgy, when the people who sing will understand that [...] it's not just about them singing. The point is for them to confess their faith. So that the music becomes an element, as a means, and not an end in itself. [...]

Therefore, these workshops seem to shift a bit, and people often say that it's a time of retreat, [...] because there really is a lot of spiritual content, but it is accompanied by music all the time, right?

(Joint Interview 1, Pos. 15)

Second, taking part in either the workshops or being a member of a choir might be a very fulfilling experience with practical benefits. Apart from just a socially positive aspect of being with other people there are also individual benefits. One such benefit

might be the learning of new skills, which often is a big challenge for the participants. This was obviously noted during the observations of the two communities in question but is also reported by individual participants. First, the choirmaster reports this challenge as a positive experience, followed by a quote from a liturgical music workshop participant who sees his participation as great way of expanding his singing repertoire:

I like working with people, I like to create an instrument out of voices. I think it's as beautiful as an orchestra, a choir, making that sound. I like to see something develop, so [first] there is no hymn, people learn, learn and then it sounds like a concert and there is ... So it has a positive effect on me.

(Interview 10, Pos. 25)

And on the positive side, there are also [...] new songs [at the workshops].

Every new song we also try to sing at Masses later with the choir, so that they are used as we sing them at other times and not just just at the workshops.

(Focus Group 2, Pos. 59)

The next code is a point of arrival and a form of conclusion in that all the identityforming processes described above make *belonging to the migrant musical community*possible. Music is a social phenomenon, which is quite complex, which is also reflected
in the diversity of people's musical preferences, attitudes, expectations and skills.

With music [...] it's always like that. One is better, another one the worse, etc.

But if there is also a spiritual layer attached to it, then you look at it all

differently. Then you don't have to stress so much that [...] someone is weaker

[less apt]. Alright, he's weaker at the moment, and let him develop, and when he

develops, it is great. [...] But in the community, it is enough as long as people

understand that it is so. It's amazing how very developmental it is. Because people open up then. I've already noticed how people can make amazing 'progress'. (Joint Interview 1, Pos. 107 & Pos. 111)

The observations of two communities of musical practice - the church choir and liturgical workshops - provided valuable insight into the groups' musical engagement and augmented the findings on identities.

Musical practice in the church choir has a strong effect on the participants and is instrumental in its success. During the first round of the observation [Choir Observation, 11.2013-01.2014], it became apparent that discipline in the choir is paramount. The choirmaster was aware of the different and busy lifestyles of Polish migrants in London and allowed for some liberties. As choir members often came from very different parts of London, it was expected that some might be running late, which was acceptable given the circumstances. The routine was essential, though. Every rehearsal started with a warm-up directed by the choirmaster, which lasted between 10 and 15 minutes. Although the rehearsals were informal, there was an element of formality and a low level of stress. They were, however, vital elements of the choir practice as they encouraged discipline and motivated further improvement. The attitude of the choirmaster was as professional as it could get, given the hectic migrant lifestyles. She was a well-trained, classical choirmaster with clear expectations and a workable plan. In terms of voice work and singing skills, the voice projection and the clarity of the melody were more important than the texts of the hymns [Choir Observation 1, Rec 4, 28.11.13, 2'48"-2'58"]. According to this choirmaster [Choir Observation 1, Rec 4, 28.11.13, 2'47"- 3'10", 4'10"- 4'35"], in most genres, the sound, not the text, is the primary carrier of the melody, which is responsible for the aesthetics of singing. During

the warm-up and the practice, the participants spent much time on the projection of sounds, especially vowels, which are de facto the carriers of the melody.

There was a lot of positive encouragement as all members were pushed to achieve their singing potential [Choir Observation 1, Rec 3, 28.11.13, 8'20'' - 8'50'']. If someone got discouraged and was not able to try to overcome their doubts and weaknesses, one might have considered quitting. Moving on is the key to success. This is how the choirmaster explains this:

Whoever gets discouraged is out of the game. It's best not to judge oneself, just enjoy it. Because when you judge yourself, you get into a corner. "I can't do it. Why is it so hard? I won't do it." There is no such thing. We do it, we do it, we do it. I tell you what to work on. We are correcting it without judgement. No judgement. We are only improving and that's it.

[Choir Observation 1, Rec 4, 28.11.13, 8'28" - 8'58"]

One cannot underestimate the constructive feedback given regularly. There was no place for being judgemental towards others and oneself when practising. When the effects of the singing practice are visible, the positive psychological impact is guaranteed, and the members report improved well-being, boosted self-worth, and the feeling of achievement.

In this picture, a *group musical identity* emerges partly through group work. The fact that the choir is divided into four voices, sopranos, altos, tenors and basses, naturally boosts teamwork. First, the voices are practised separately and then gradually, other voices are added, for example, the bass to the tenor, until the whole choir can rehearse together. Such often tedious and challenging work bonds the members of the choir. The individual work on the sound and the vocal phrases might seem boring to others

who have to wait, but it teaches patience, respect and humility. Nobody feels left out, and everyone becomes a part of the whole. In such an atmosphere, people are likely to feel they *belong to the migrant musical community*.

An important aspect of group identity formation is the social interaction between rehearsing, and there is quite a lot of this. There is informal chatter, occasional jokes, and sharing of life stories. However, there is also an interaction between the choirmaster and the members, which might have at least two distinct roles. First, it is instructing in that the choirmaster is the leader and the facilitator, guiding and giving instruction to either individual members or the whole choir. This builds respect and trust between all participants. Second, it is educational as the choirmaster becomes a covert teacher. She might use examples of musical phrases and vocabulary, introducing many members to musical terminology used by professional musicians. Examples include *a capella, allargando, sharps* and *flats* and many others [Choir Observation 1, Rec 4, 28.11.13, 5'55'' - 6'03'']. The learning processes are apparent, and they also include the ability of sight-singing. Many participants come with very little or no musical knowledge at all and being part of a choir gives them the opportunity for informal music education.

Ethnic identity is boosted by the use of the Polish language and Polish-specific carols and hymns. During the Christmas period observations, all carols were sung in Polish [Choir Observation 1, 11.2013 - 01.2014]. Many Polish carols often adopt traditional Polish dances such as polonaise or mazurka which show patriotic depth and richness. The four-part harmony interpretations of Polish carols, which already have a particular Polish and patriotic character, add an almost mystic and ineffable quality. Although the liturgical repertoire of the choir is in Polish, being present and rehearsing in London means that there are different occasions when it is possible to perform, not only outside

of the liturgical contexts but also at different events. This also reflects that the ethnic identity, especially of a migrant, is fluid and constantly reconstructed.

Many aspects of the workshops were similar to those of the church choir. The technical aspects which made both communities of practice successful included the competent leadership and the organisation of the rehearsals. The practice timetable and the discipline were also important, and every session started with a thorough voice warmup. Because the workshop sessions were longer and usually lasted full weekend days, a lot of care was taken to do a proper warm-up. The importance of good voice projection was also stressed, and a lot of effort was made to make sure the participants did not underestimate the warm-up and understood how vital it is to achieve a better sound projection. Due to the size of the workshops (i.e., ranging between 20 and 60 participants on average), the vocal harmony parts were often practised separately. Tenors usually rehearsed with basses and sopranos with altos. Although there was no such requirement, the participants were strongly advised to stay until the end of the workshops. Nevertheless, the workshops were not about perfection but about learning new skills that would enable the participants to beautify the celebration of the liturgy in the future. From the purely practical point of view, the effects of the musical engagement on the participants were very similar to those of choir participation and included learning new singing skills, understanding the singing in harmony as well as motivation, sense of achievement and cooperation with other people.

However, the idea behind organising the liturgical music workshop was different from that of the church choir. They were organised so that anybody interested in the improvement and the experience of liturgical music could participate. The open attitude and the charismatic character of the leaders (i.e., either two or three) who were able to create a very stress-free atmosphere was a driving force of the workshops. Despite and

perhaps because of the higher numbers of participants, the leaders were able to create a family-like atmosphere where anybody and everyone could feel welcome regardless of their musical abilities. One of the first comments from one of the leaders at the opening of the workshops, on seeing the participants' beaming faces, some known and others new, was: "I feel like I'm at home" [Fieldnotes, 07.03.14].

After all, the workshops were about the people who for that particular time became a part of a community, *a community of musical practice*, and a church community. The music became a bonding element and an agent of the group identity. It is true that anybody was welcome at the workshops, but it was evident that most participants did not turn up at the workshop accidentally. First, they were driven by the eagerness to sing and improve their singing skills. Second, these were the people of faith for whom the relations with and the opportunity of 'meeting God' and others through musicking were certainly important. Finally, these were also the people who already enjoyed music, whether in the church or outside.

Another observed difference was a very important approach to the sung texts.

According to the workshop leaders, the lyrics of the hymns had to be exposed and clear so that the congregation understood them [Workshops Observations, Field Notes, 07.03.14]. Music is the carrier of liturgical texts, which have a dignified and important function in sacred celebrations.

We (viz., the workshop leaders) also convince and encourage everyone to have [...] awareness of what you always sing [...] what content you convey [...] because you actually do something extraordinary that touches the community very much. [...] If those who sing, pray deeply, that is, they know exactly what they are singing. Those who sing in the liturgy [...] know that when you start to

sing, you automatically enter such reality, such space where you are required to bear constant witness.

[Workshops Observations, Rec 4, 08.03.14, 2'10" - 3'30"]

Because of the danger that the hymns' words might occasionally blend together when harmonised, becoming unintelligible, emphasis was made on the correct diction of difficult words and phrases. This was indeed a difficult challenge which entailed both harmonisation of voices and the work on the clarity of sung texts in order to achieve the desired effect.

Indeed, most workshops were organised in Polish, for Polish migrants, so the identity of the group was fostered through the use of the Polish language. Furthermore, all hymns and songs were sung in Polish throughout most workshops. However, one of the last workshops was addressed to Polish and English speakers alike. It was evident through the workshops' official name, "1st International Liturgical Music Workshops."

Although only a few non-Polish participants attended, it was an attempt on the side of the organisers to attract more English speakers.

Throughout the series of workshops, there was some evidence of identities in music being formed, especially when different participants were allocated different voice parts and musical instrument parts. For example, in the case of some guitarists who were assigned roles at the first observed workshops, these roles were clearly solidified during the consecutive workshops when they continued, they continued playing the assigned roles.

These various identities were formed, constructed and reconstructed during the musical practice of both communities: the church choir and the liturgical music workshop.

Although there were differences between these communities, they both operated in a

similar 'social space'. They formed a space to belong and through the musical engagement they were able to express their identities.

Chapter 5: General discussion

5.1. Introduction

This discussion attempts to combine the results from both quantitative and qualitative studies. The three research questions are separately discussed in light of both quantitative and qualitative results. While several hypotheses drive the quantitative results, the main themes identified during the Thematic Analysis are the driving force behind the qualitative data.

In order to tackle the discussion in a more methodical way, the three research questions are restated below, and they are as follows:

- 1. What functions does music fulfil in church attendees?
- 2. What musical meanings are constructed in different church contexts?
- 3. How are musical experiences in the church related to the participants' identities?

Thus, this discussion will be divided into three main parts according to the three research questions. First, the research limitations will be pinpointed. Then, both qualitative and quantitative studies will be discussed with respect to each research question. Lastly, further research and some implications for practice will also be discussed.

The results of the questionnaire study support most of the hypotheses stated in the research. Furthermore, several functions of music in the context of the Polish church on immigration have been identified. The construction of musical meaning and music in identities in the church has been clarified. Similarly, the thematic analysis of the qualitative data revealed a rich plethora of functions, meanings and identities in a very intricate theme and code system.

5.2. The research limitations

Despite interesting findings related to the role of music in the Polish church communities in London, this research exposes some limitations. The first limitation is that the research is a case study, which means that there are generalisability problems. The sample is restricted to a particular group of participants and contexts studied at a particular time.

The second limitation relates to the case study itself. Although the research is mainly confined to a particular parish, the sample included subjects not necessarily from that particular parish. Hence, the boundaries of the case itself are fluid.

Another issue is the outsider/insider dichotomy, with the study conducted by an insider. Although partly justified and defended, the position might affect the question of reliability and the validity of the study. Another limitation refers to the character of the sample. First, the sample is not representative of the Polish community in London or the UK and is restricted to that particular case. Furthermore, the sample is not representative of any Catholic or Christian community, thus difficult to generalise from. However, it is an interesting and unique case restricted to that particular context, space and time (Punch & Oancea, 2014), which is a convincing argument for this research.

Finally, there are research design limitations. For example, although the study uses a mixed methods approach, the balance between the quantitative and qualitative parts is uneven. The qualitative part and its results constitute the majority of the research, with the quantitative results limited to approximately a quarter of the qualitative results.

5.3. Answers to research questions in relation to literature in the area

5.3.1. What functions does music fulfil in church attendees?

This research question explores what functions music plays in the church in general and in the attendees more specifically. In chapter 2, several functions of music have been discussed. Most of them related to the music functions in general, and some of them explicitly related to the functions of music in the church. The typology of Merriam (1964) and Hargreaves & North (1999) is used in this research to discuss the function of music in general. As typified by Pawlak (2001), the music functions in the Catholic Church have also been consulted from the ecclesiastical perspective.

The functions, meanings and identities in music are closely knit in this study. They are not a dichotomy or separate entities but rather a continuum or a non-linear spectrum. This is evident in the way some functions are better suited in the sections on meaning and identities. This idea is supported by literature, although the continuum or spectrum is never mentioned. Merriam (1964) and Hargreaves & North (1999) refer to *emotional expression*, *communication* and *symbolic representation* as functions, but they are placed in the section on the meaning of music in this research as they describe how its meaning is constructed. Similarly, the section on music in identities reports findings on the *contribution to the continuity and stability of culture*.

During the analysis of quantitative data, three hypotheses were formulated to help to answer RQ1:

• H₁: The importance of music in Polish immigrants' lives is positively related to the importance of religion in their lives.

- H₂: Music during Mass or service is reported as one of the most important religious practices.
- H₃: The level of religious commitment is related to the level of sacred music activities in people's lives.

From the qualitative perspective, five main themes were identified which might be referred to or are related to functions of music in church communities:

- Theme 1: Prayer facilitation meditative function
- Theme 2: Induction of ineffable experiences of God
- Theme 3: Community building integration of the society
- Theme 4: Motives for using music
- Theme 5: Aesthetic experience

RQ1 H₁: The hypothesis that the importance of music in Polish immigrants' lives is positively related to the importance of religion in their lives, was partly supported. The study results indicate that music is important for religious people in general. The relation between the importance of music and the importance of religion is not clear, however, when the two are studied in more detail in the context of everday life.

For example, the comparison of *means of music experienced in secular contexts* and *means of commitment to religious activities* did not yield statistically significant results. That might mean that musical activities in some people's lives are not as important as religious commitment and vice versa; some individuals might be less committed to religious practices but more engaged in music in their lives.

These results might not sound surprising as there is a variety of musical and religious activities or practices that people might choose to be involved in. From the secular music engagement perspective, the three most common situations are: relaxing at home, listening to the radio and singing/whistling and from the religious perspective, these are: personal prayer, scripture reading and Holy Mass/service in Polish. These findings do not largely contribute to RQ1 but suggest the uses of music outside of the church context.

What is evident, though, is the fact that these activities, apart from *Holy Mass/service in Polish*, are performed individually, which points to the two findings already present in the research literature. First, people are involved in different musical activities in different life situations on their own, but there are various degrees of involvement, depending on the context. For example, North et al. (2004) found out that people usually listen to music on their own during some other activities, mostly at home rather than in public places.

Second, musical activities in a specific context with the presence of other people or on their own seem to be more meaningful when there is more control over them, for example, in the evening and at the weekend when people have more time for themselves (North et al., 2004). In other words, the function of music will strongly depend on individuals and the specific context they are in. Thus, a religious context might navigate the function of music accordingly. A church is a specific context where people engage with other attendees and church music, usually at the weekend, in order to fulfil a specific liturgical action.

Although not central to this research, a preliminary analysis of the questionnaire revealed some differences in the importance of religion between men and women. The

results from the study in Polish churches in London are consistent with the finding that there are gender differences in religious commitment or church attendance. (e.g., Argyle & Beit-Hallahmi, 2013, p 71-79; Trzebiatowska & Bruce, 2012).

These results indicate and support other studies and observations that women tend to be more religious than men; that their church attendance is higher, and that their involvement in religious activities is more frequent (Argyle & Beit-Hallahmi, 2013; Loewenthal et al., 2002; Flere, 2007; Pew Research Centre, 2016). These studies perhaps do not explain personal beliefs but focus mostly on church attendance and commitment.

Regardless of gender differences, religious music becomes more important for people who start attending church regularly or become more involved in the church and when the music starts to fulfil more specific functions for the attendees. These findings mirror some findings which point to intrinsic connections between religious activities and musical activities (Beck, 2009; Beit-Hallahmi & Argyle, 1997; Marti, 2012; Partridge, 2013, Pfändtner, 2014; Sloboda, 2005; Stringer, 1999; Shuter-Dyson, 2006).

The results also indicate that the commitment to religious activities is different between individuals. The fact that religion is generally important to most respondents does not necessarily mean that the commitment to various religious activities is equally important.

On the other hand, the results might also suggest, in line with some studies (e.g., Shuter-Dyson 2006), that musical people might be inclined to be more religious than the average population. In the case of this current sample, a large percentage of respondents was drafted from music workshops, which would indicate that music was an important part of their lives anyway, a fact which could have largely affected the results.

The opportunity to take part in workshops was perhaps a chance for participants to either deepen their faith or develop their musical skills or both, a question which has been further explored and supported during the qualitative part of the study.

Overall, the results suggest that both musical and religious activities are experienced with different frequencies in life and there is not a statistically significant correlation between them. There might be a connection between the level of music in religious contexts and the level of religious activities in people's lives, as reported in RQ1 H3.

Music in the form of hymns and church songs might play an important role in upholding the level of religiosity or faith amongst Polish church attendees in London (Fuksa, 2013; Sword et al., 1989). Related to this is the function of music to 'validate rituals' and music's potential propensity to 'enhance the meaning of texts' (Cone, 1974; Hull, 2002; Merriam, 1964), although the latter might also answer the question of how meaning is constructed.

To conclude, there is a relation between the importance of music and the importance of religion in Polish immigrants' lives in general terms, and the hypothesis has been partly confirmed.

RQ1 H2: Music during Holy Mass or service is reported as one of the most important religious practices: this has been supported by the results. First, although not the most important element of the Mass or service, music is certainly a very important, almost indispensable aspect, encouraging communal participation of the faithful. This is also supported by previous research and ecclesiastical literature mostly but not exclusively from the Protestant traditions, which place music at the centre of worship, even more recently due to music's ubiquitous character (Kgatle, 2019; Miller & Strongman, 2002;

Myrick, 2017; Troeger 2015; Tshabalala & Patel 2010; Williams, 2004). For example, in a study conducted by Miller and Strongman (2002) in Pentecostal Church, music turned out to be the major mood raiser when the results of pre- and post- service tests were compared. Consistently with this research, Tshabalala and Patel (2010), when studying young Africans' worship involvement, ranked 'prayer' as the most important and 'singing' as the second most important activity.

The hymns contribute a lot to the services, especially to the scripture readings and communion rites, so that the whole experience becomes truly celebratory, a fact which is well attested by the tradition of the Catholic Church, which holds music in the highest esteem of all the arts (as referenced in Chapter 2). In fact, in most Christian traditions and certainly in most mainstream churches, music has been an indispensable element of the services and celebrations. Secondly, perhaps because the music at Mass or service acquires a special, celebratory character, it also occupies a very high position amongst all the other uses of music in religious contexts.

Finally, especially for Catholics, the Holy Mass is the summit of all the religious celebrations and "the Paschal Banquet" for which all the adequately prepared faithful are invited (Catholic Church, 1995, pp. 386-392). Although not the most important element of Mass or other services, it is certainly the one without which the services would lack the element of communal singing. Thus, music fulfils *the community bonding function* in the liturgy and an *ornamental function* to a certain degree. *The community bonding* and *the ornamental functions* of liturgical music will be further explained when discussing theme 3: *Community building - integration of the society* and theme 4: *Aesthetic experience*.

RQ1 H3: The level of religious commitment is related to the level of sacred music activities in people's lives: this was supported by the results. These findings are obviously limited to this particular sample, in which people's level of religiosity and musical engagement might be relatively high compared to the larger Polish immigrant population. The commitment to Church might mean that people want to invest more time in the genres which would support their faith or religious beliefs. This might mean that the music and songs will have a more religious focus, although the favourite styles of music, such as rock or pop, might still be adhered to. There will likely be a shift from listening for pleasure and entertainment only as the lyrical content becomes more important for the faithful. This finding, although still very hypothetical, is consistent with some of the extant research on music listening in young people in American Protestant churches (e.g., Ingalls, 2018; Tepera, 2018; Thorngate, 2011) but might be less relevant in Europe.

A lot of current and earlier church music makes up classical music (Butt, 1997; Burrows, 2005; Page, 2010) so the fact that most respondents also chose it as their favourite genre might mean that they listen to more church classical music.

Furthermore, classical music has often been consciously composed with a deeper emotional impact on the listener, and scholars often suggest its quality of evoking a wide array of states of mind (e.g., Beardsley, 1981; Blackwell, 1999; Cobussen, 2017; Cooke, 1959). The aesthetically profound and often meditative character of many classical works often arouses religious sentiments or creates prayerful ambience (Pieper, 1990).

In terms of rock music, it is not exactly clear why it came as the third favourite genre.

This might indicate that the music genre itself does not have a disqualifying quality for people to suddenly stop listening to it. People might keep listening to rock or any other

type of music if they have always liked it despite their current stronger religious commitment. Some might also likely shift to listening to Christian rock as they search for different content in the lyrical layer of the music, a fact which was attested during a later interview with one respondent in this study. This question will be elaborated upon in the qualitative part of the research.

The quantitative analysis signals some uses of music which might need to be further explained in order to state which functions are fulfilled in the church. A few music functions have been suggested at this point. Firstly, music seems to enhance religious experiences and fulfils the aesthetic function (Merriam, 1964). Secondly, as was demonstrated through the different uses of music in religious contexts, it might be community-bonding as well as meditative. Finally, whether music is proclamative will be further explored. Music needs to instruct the faithful about the faith in order to fulfil the kerygmatic function (Pawlak, 2001).

Overall, this hypothesis has been supported and suggests that religious commitment is related to more sacred music activities in people's lives. First, a church is a place where music is always present, whether at services or in church groups and communities, so regular church attendance will expose people to more music. Furthermore, with today's technology, we are able to access any music wherever we are and use it however it suits us. Religious people are likely to use this opportunity to listen to religious music of their choice outside of the church context, be it at home listening to daily prayer podcasts or simply on the way back home on their personal music players.

The qualitative data analysis reveals in more detail what functions of music are fulfilled in the church context. The functions of music as *prayer facilitation* and the *induction of experiences of God* stand out in the whole data set. Not specifically mentioned in

Merriam's typology (1964), these two functions certainly relate to the meditative function of music in the church as described by Pawlak (1999). However, this research paints a wealthier picture of the meditative function and proposes two related but separate functions not specifically mentioned in the literature.

Theme 1: Prayer facilitation - meditative function

Music might help people focus on worship activities and might function as a prayer facilitator. However, it might also distract the prayerful atmosphere when not well executed. The power of music then lies partly in its aesthetic value. When well performed it might indeed, in the context of liturgical celebration, have a transforming effect on people and, ultimately, potentially on people's lives. In light of this study's results, the effectiveness of music was evident, for example, during the liturgical music workshop when various instruments were combined with choir voices during the liturgy. The findings suggest that the power of music lies both in hymns and songs as well as in instrumental music. This is supported by the history of Western music, the scriptural evidence and the writings of Church Fathers (e.g., Augustine & Chadwick, 1992). Some scholars (e.g., Kelly, 2011; Page, 2010), referring to the historical development of music in Europe, believe that Western classical music can trace its origins back to the Gregorian chant. As referred to earlier sources, the use or study of music is documented both in the Bible and ancient Greek literature (e.g. New Revised Standard Version Catholic Edition, 1 Samuel 16:23, 2004; Plato, 1943). In the former, the writer of the book describes how David played and used the relieving properties of the lyre to heal Saul. Saint Augustin talks in *Confessions* about hymns, songs, and voices moving him

(Augustine & Chadwick,1992). Today we might feel captivated by both melody and lyrics whenever we listen to music, albeit often in various degrees.

Music might prepare the faithful for the celebration and prayer and create an atmosphere of calm and piety. Its mood-regulating qualities are vital in creating such an atmosphere (DeNora, 2000; Creech et al., 2013; MacDonald et al., 2013; Västfjäll et al., 2012).

The qualities of music aside, the research suggests there seems to be a connection between musicality and religiosity and that musical people might be especially sensitive to religious activities. Musicality in people might be linked to religiosity or spirituality as musical people are regarded to be more sensitive than the average population (Hills & Argyle, 1998; Kemp, 1996; Shuter-Dyson, 2000; Shuter-Dyson, 2006).

According to some respondents in this research, a singing prayer is *the most efficient prayer*. In fact, this claim is suggested by some scriptural evidence but lacks any empirical evidence. Church tradition regards Psalms, which were written to the accompaniment of music, as powerful examples of prayer. Singing can be a prayer itself as much as any other recited, vocal or contemplative inner prayer. According to Catholic Church, there are different forms and expressions of prayer and singing and music are among them (Catholic Church, 1995). The effectiveness of singing prayer is attested by this research.

However, the quality of church music does matter to the majority of respondents, as it may affect the way the faithful may experience the liturgy. In fact, more segments were coded which describe music that *disturbs prayer when poor or inadequate* than that it *is conducive to prayer when well performed*. Such attitudes are consistent with the current research literature, which discusses musical preference and prejudice in people (Greasley & Lamont, 2016; Hargreaves, 1982). Unfortunately, it appears that much

music in Polish churches, according to some respondents, falls below the required standards. Thus, there is a strong desire for the improvement of music quality in the churches.

This research suggests that the good quality of church music might impact a listener very positively. When analysing on *the effects of musical engagement* in the section on identities, it becomes evident that there is an expectation, and there are examples of good music in churches.

Music might simply act as a vehicle to *praise and worship God*, meaning that it is executed with the sole focus on God's existence through the expression of gratitude through singing. In fact, praise and/or worship is a type of prayer which focuses on a simple recognition that God is God, lauding Him "simply because HE IS" (Catholic Church, 1995, p. 696). Especially in charismatic communities, the faithful refer to praise and worship music as a specific genre. This powerful singing prayer is capable of inducing various strong emotional states, according to some respondents, a fact already observed in Pentecostal or other churches (Kgatle 2019; Rouget 1985, Taylor et al. 2014; Tepera 2018; Tshabalala & Patel 2010; Williams 2005).

Saint Augustin has been attributed a saying, 'to sing is to pray twice'. Although not necessarily authored by the saint, it reflects the powerful quality of music to articulate words and emotions in somehow an amplified way. For example, Beardsley (1981) refers to a concept of *presentational specification* in which music not only underlines the words but adds some extra meaning to them. Hull (2002) offers a more holistic way of looking at hymns by deriving their meaning from the text and music interaction. Such theories attempt to explain why musical prayer is so powerful and will be discussed further in the next section.

The results of this study suggest that music helps people to forget about their life problems and difficult situations. Several participants reported that it could bring solace and comfort through the lyrics, the melody, its beauty or its simplicity. 'God might speak to people through the music', but that might mean through many different things; the people, the place, the ambience, the sounds, the lighting, and the connections people make with these elements. God might not speak at all if such a connection is missing, and this research suggests that the context where people connect with others is important.

Theme 2: Induction of ineffable experiences of God

The function of *induction of ineffable experiences of God* is very much related to prayer facilitation as they often overlap. In fact, it is the most richly reported function, with 100 segments coded in the data set, in comparison to 93 coded segments for *prayer facilitation*. Both functions are very contextual and mostly but not exclusively specific to a religious context. The experiences related to this function are often described in the data set as 'mystical', 'spiritual' or 'transcendent'. The most important finding is that music *opens up to/induces mystical/transcendent experiences*. These experiences include occasions when music might *induce glossolalic/invented language singing*, *deliverance or healing* and some hallucinatory states. Respondents' reports might be very much related to strong belief as they often attribute such experiences to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit or God and not just music. Such phenomena have also been previously documented by different communities where music plays a ritualistic role (Merriam, 1964; Rouget, 1985).

Many of the respondents are aware of the role and the presence of various emotions and feelings during those experiences. If music as art or an aesthetic experience *affects many people's imagination* touching our *sensitivity to harmony*, a beautiful *musical prayer* might also become an *ineffable experience*. Ultimately, if it is not just music that induces these transcendent states, it might be music experienced contextually, with other people, in the church, on a particular occasion.

Music might affect people who experience it in a very similar way or, indeed, depending on many factors in a different way, both in religious and even non-religious contexts. For example, a classical music concert might induce ineffable or transcendent experiences in people who are otherwise non-religious (Arnold, 2014; Konečni, 2011; Peck, 2017).

An assertion that music is 'a state of mind', as coined by one of the respondents, is an interesting finding, perhaps from a psychological point of view, reminiscent of the idea that music is a process constantly being reconstructed (North et al., 2004). There is a reciprocal relationship between music and singing and religious and worship practices so that music might facilitate the sustenance of faith and vice versa (Van Der Leeuw, 1963; Hargreaves et al., 2005).

Theme 3: Community building - integration of the society

The function of *community building* or a related *contribution to integration of the society* is evident and pervasive throughout this research. According to Clarke et al. (2010) music, "might [...] provides an opportunity for social bonding" (2010, p. 104). The fact that the functions of music in this research are fulfilled in the church community is self-evident. The presence of the theme and the function in this research, which is an

important finding, is well supported by other researchers (e.g., Hargreaves & North, 1999, p 75, Pearce et al., 2017; Schäfer et al., 2013). The codes which specifically support this function relate to the potential qualities of music to encourage conversion, which in effect might bring more people to church, connect in communal singing prayer and bond people. Music also encourages some action and inspires creativity outside of the church. All these seeming actions achieved by music might deepen participants' faith and integrate them better. However, it is unclear, as there is not enough evidence in this research, how much Polish church music contributes to integrating people into larger British society.

There is some evidence that church music contributes to participants' renewal of faith and vice versa; renewed faith might open people to music. This reciprocal relationship and the fact that faith might facilitate singing or music experience as much as music might facilitate the sustenance of faith was also observed during testing RQ1 H₁. The communal worship practices where music is used have the potential to build connection and trust between believers. Music is attested to promote community building through community singing (e.g., Clarke et al., 2010; MacDonald et al., 2013; North & Hargreaves, 2008), which was also suggested by the interviewees.

However, not all church attendees will be affected by the bonding qualities. The literature comes to the fore again when one tries to explain why some people will be less susceptible to this force. Again, the *reciprocal feedback model* might partly explain this phenomenon. According to this model, musical experience or emotional response is an effect of the type of music and the context in which music is experienced (Hargreaves et al., 2005). Some people might simply feel unaffected by the experience. Furthermore, not all church goers will be equally affected by either religious or musical experiences, as research suggests that the experience of music depends on certain individual qualities,

such as a link between musicality and religiosity or gender differences (Kemp, 1997; North & Hargreaves, 2008; Shuter-Dyson, 2000; Shuter-Dyson, 2006).

In the literature, we read that one of the responses that music may encourage and a function itself is *physical response* (Merriam, 1964). There is some evidence of the effect of church music on actions taken inside and outside the church community. People often make some movement when listening, be it physical or imaginary, often in the form of moving hands, nodding, kneeling and so on. It can be dance, or it can also be some visualised action. Gestures and signs made by hand are part of the liturgy in the Catholic Church, and the physical movement is well evidenced in Protestant traditions. Outside of the church context, music can also inspire some action, as a respondent gives evidence of a hymn inspiring him to do some charity work.

Theme 4: Aesthetic experience – ornamental function

All music is an aesthetic experience, and church music is not an exception. The consequence is that all music, whether church or secular, will have an effect on those who experience it. This experience, again, will depend on many factors, such as who we experience it with, what we listen to, when and where we are, and why we take part in such musical activity (North et al., 2004).

Interestingly, the theme of aesthetic experience yielded fewer codes than other themes; its value cannot be underestimated as the codes relating to the importance of the good quality of church music pervade the whole data set. Catholic Church literature attaches considerable importance to the ornamental function of church music, and this research identifies it in two separate codes; music *embellishes the liturgy and services* and *serves liturgy*, *people and God*.

That church music should be of considerable aesthetic value has already been stated on several occasions (see e.g., Chapter 2, 2.2.8.1. and Chapter 4, 4.3.1.1., p. 141). The Church has always stressed the multisensory character of the liturgy. It has also stressed the importance of good quality music in the church. Unfortunately, in the present day, the gap between what church music should be like and what it is, has widened. It means that the quality of much music performed in churches, at least from the respondents' experiences in Poland, leaves much to be desired. The current situation is in stark contrast with what church music legacy has left and with the official stance of the Catholic Church on the quality of music in the liturgy, which encourages that "the religious singing by the faithful is to be intelligently fostered [...] in devotions and sacred exercises as well as liturgical services" (Sacrosanctum Concilium, 1963, paras.

The function of aesthetic experience should not be diminished or belittled in the church. It should remind the faithful that music is here to *serve the liturgy, people and God*, to make it more beautiful and easier to experience and ultimately to get the faithful together in the celebration of the sacred mysteries (Catholic Church, 1995).

Theme 5: Motives for using music

People use or want to experience music in the church for different reasons. The main two reasons, to *experience an encounter with God* and to *worship God*, are driven by the religious or liturgical character of church music, whether it be from a personal or collective perspective. The remaining uses of music, to *use talents for God's glory, take part in liturgy, artistically enrich the Mass* or for *enjoyment and familiarity*, are more generic, and most of them could be applicable in non-religious contexts. The literature

and research, including the present results, provide evidence that a clear demarcation line between music in general and worship music does not exist, or it exists only 'in the eyes of the beholder'.

5.3.2. What musical meanings are constructed in different church contexts?

Two hypotheses were formulated to help to answer the RQ2:

- H₁: The significance of music in religious contexts is positively linked to people's religiosity.
- H₂: Music experienced in religious contexts has a greater effect on the faithful than music experienced in secular contexts.

From the qualitative perspective, five main themes were identified which might relate to the construction of the meaning of music in the church communities:

- Theme 6: Emotional expression
- Theme 7: Semantic relation between music and words
- Theme 8: Musical expectations and preferences
- Theme 9: Significance and signification symbolic representation
- Theme 10: Meaning and contexts

RQ2 H1: The first hypothesis the significance of music in religious contexts is positively linked to people's religiosity is only partly supported. The findings of this research seem to be inconsistent. First, according to the results, music in the church is not necessarily indispensable, which is in line with Catholic Church teaching, as services and celebrations, either with or without music, take place and are equally valid (Catholic

Church, 1995). Music is not a belief, a necessary tenet or a sacrament (Woodhead, 2004), so the faith can be practised without its presence. This fact does not diminish its importance or its effect on the faithful. Similarly, there seems to be no indication that music is, for most faithful, a sign of God's presence, which again is not a totally surprising finding. Most people perhaps regard music as simply an instrument or tool to help them to pray and do not necessarily attribute any divine powers to it; something typified as the ornamental function (Pawlak, 2001).

However, according to the Catholic Church, music may be an instrument of sanctification, thus being one of the sacramentals, on a par with other forms of art.

Sacramentals are sacred signs instituted by the Church, which prepare the faithful to receive the grace of God (Catholic Church, 1995).

Hence, it would be an understatement to say that music in the church performs merely an ornamental function. Both church tradition (e.g., Augustine in Grout & Palisca, 1996) and the experience of the faithful documented by the existing and this current research can identify various functions of religious music (McLean, 2007; Marti, 2012; Arnold, 2014). Finally, it seems that music in the whole context of religious experiences, such as the Holy Mass acquires a different meaning to the faithful in this research through the effect it has in the context. It is not just music itself that has this meaning or significance but music in the specific context of religious experience, at a specific time and place and perhaps in the company of other worshippers. It is believed that *the reciprocal feedback model* (Hargreaves et al., 2005) can be applied to religious contexts, which will be further explored in the study. 'The object of worship' might be an extra element which enhances or gives more significance to the musical experience. The hypothesis was only partly supported, and more study is needed to validate it.

RQ2 H2: The hypothesis was that music experienced in religious contexts has a greater effect on the faithful than music experienced in secular contexts. The hypothesis was only partly supported. First, there was not a statistically significant difference in the effect of both types of experiences. Certainly, more detailed tests will need to be run to find out if religious music has a different emotional effect on people than secular music and in what way it is different. The questions were created to find out if music outside of the church context also has an emotional effect on people. It seems to be obvious and in line with research on musical meaning that all types of music can evoke an array of different emotional responses. It was, however, expected that church music would affect religious people more deeply and that they would report higher scores on the Likert scale. Overall, the results indicate that religious music has a different and stronger effect on people, although it is not clear how it is different and in what way it is stronger. It is evident, though, that the difference does not lie in the emotional effect, but it has to do with the meaning or significance of religious music, which previous tests have already evidenced during the RQ2 hypothesis 1 testing.

The data relating to the meaning of music is made up of five separate themes, which include: emotional expression, the semantic relation between music and words, musical expectations and preferences, significance and signification - symbolic representation and meaning and contexts.

Theme 6: Emotional expression

Emotional expression through music is one attempt to tackle the concept of meaning of music. In Meriam's typology (1964), emotional expression is considered to be a

function of music. The literature on the meaning of music is abundant in various theories and research concluding that music produces emotions in people and is a vehicle to express or regulate emotions by musicians and listeners alike (Cooke, 1959; DeNora, 1999, 2000, 2007; Juslin & Sloboda, 2010; Konečni, 2005; Meriam, 1964; Partridge, 2014; Patel, 2010; Rouget, 1985). The construction of the musical meaning will not necessarily depend on the musical structure but on the subjective emotional experiences of church attendees. The meaning will be tackled from a more extrinsic point of view (DeNora, 1986; Miell et al., 2005; Langer, 1954).

Surprisingly this research produced a lot of data supporting the affective qualities of music. Church music has the potential to produce *strong/positive affective responses* such as feelings of *inner peace/bliss*, *joy*, *stimulating positive energy*, and *ineffability and awe*. However, the research has found that secular music might produce similar affective reactions in religious people as well. Listening to music, singing, or playing an instrument might affect people in a positive way regardless of the type or genre, be it sacred or secular.

Two of the emotions or states likely evoked by the good quality of church music are ineffability or awe. These high-intensity emotions are postulated by such music theorists as Raffman (1993), Sloboda (2005), and Konečni (2005). From the religious point of view, their suggestions are in line with previous work by Otto (1923) and Lowie (1925). According to these theorists, the emotions evoked by a great piece of music or a musical experience are akin to those evoked by something tremendously impressive such as a view of the Grand Canyon. Those who experience such views or music might be overwhelmed by ineffable emotions, meaning that it is difficult to verbalise them. Konečni (2005) refers to the idea of the aesthetic trinity; awe, being moved and thrills, claiming that for an object or a phenomenon to be aesthetically impactful, it needs to be

of 'colossal' size. Accidentally or not, his concept bears a resemblance or borrows from an idea of the Holy Trinity; Father, Son and the Holy Spirt, the theological concept which itself is difficult to grasp, the ineffable.

Such high-intensity experiences reported by some respondents might be due to a few factors. First, the experiences are indeed impressive, for example, a huge conference hall with many attendees singing praise and worship songs. Second, the atmosphere of trust and emotional safety or absence of any "physical threat", something that Konečni (2005, p. 4) suggests is required.

Music might be an appropriate platform to know or experience God because both concepts are, in a way, intangible and ineffable. However, music, albeit elusive, can still be perceived by senses, something that the experience of God lacks. Music, thus, can be, to borrow a phrase from Sloboda (2005, p. 347), "a very good analogy" for God. Pure aesthetic experiences, which are so emotionally charged, might transform and impact the person who has experienced them positively.

Musical performances in the church will often evoke joy or related emotions. Such affective reactions might accompany participants during congregational singing. One of the benefits reported by research on singing both in religious and non-religious groups is that singing with other people might evoke various states of well-being and joy (Becker, 2010; Durrant & Himonides, 1998; Kenny, 2016; Miller & Strongman, 2002).

Strong physical responses such as thrills or crying are a part of some of the high-intensity experiences and are also described in the literature. In the aesthetic trinity, they might be related to the second and third stages of the experience, being moved or touched and thrills (Konečni, (2005). Some of them resemble music-induced trancelike experiences already documented in the literature (e.g. Rouget, 1984; Schmidt &

Huskinson, 2010), the most frequent being crying and the most dramatic being people falling on the floor. According to Rouget (1984), music on its own has not got a propensity to induce trancelike behaviour, and other factors are needed to achieve such states. This observation might explain why music and people's reaction to it are context-dependent and affected by other factors such as the ambience of the place, the presence of other people and subjective attitudes.

The question of the quality of church music resurfaces again, and there is evidence in the data set that the low quality of music will produce less positive affective reactions and might even discourage some church attendees. Unsurprising as it seems, there is not much research on the negative effect of low-quality music on people. North and Hargreaves (2010), however, tested the circumplex model which explains the two-dimensional and dichotomous attitudes to music, either pieces that are liked or disliked. This model could potentially be used with regard to the effect of music of various degrees of quality or standard, whether in secular or religious contexts. The negative effect of church music on people could only be reduced if the quality of music in churches in general improved, something which could be addressed at the grassroots as well as church authority levels.

Contrary to the stance of the Magisterium that church music in the Catholic Church should be devoid of excess sensuality and emotionalism, the data proves that there is a vast plethora of emotions exposed by the church goers and induced by music. Secular music might have a similar effect on people as church music. The difference might not be in the type of music experienced but rather in the attachment to a particular type of music. Lastly, the context where and how music is experienced, be it at church versus home, with other people versus alone, in an ambient space versus on the earphones, is the key to the affective reaction and the subjective construction of musical meaning.

Theme 7: Semantic relation between music and words

The relationship between music and words in the church is very important and quite symbolic. First, in the literature on musical meaning, it is impossible to ignore the sections on the relation between music and text (Beardsley, 1981; Hull, 2002; Meriam, 1964; Rabinowitz, 1992). Furthermore, this relationship might be reciprocal as music adds meaning to words and vice versa. (Beardsley, 1981; Hull, 2002) This is where the symbolism comes in: the Spirit gives life, and Christ is the Word (Logos) (Catholic Church 1995). This research shows that for many people meaning is constructed/created between the music and the words, and the meaning of music is tied to the textual meaning. The quality of music, personal preference and the importance of the lyrics all might contribute to the meaning construction.

It goes without saying that the words might be powerful, which is also evidenced by the code of *power/significance of words*, so it is paramount that they are understood. This research shows that many respondents are aware of the *importance of understanding sung texts* and some even express their worry that the essence of the liturgy might escape people. That is why a suggestion was made that written or displayed lyrics would be of enormous help, something which is not always practised in churches. Perhaps then, the kerygmatic function of church music could be better fulfilled. According to Pawlak (1999), kerygma is understood as the proclamation of God's Word through the available media in the church. The kerygmatic function is fulfilled when the Christian truths and beliefs, especially the Gospel, are clearly passed on in the texts of the music, hymns and songs. Thus, one might say that the words take precedence over music in this case which is evident in the code *words are superior to music*.

For some, though, music is *more prominent/expressive than text*. This only makes the question of music more complicated, contextual and subjective. And it is subjective because people react to both music and hymns differently as they have different musical preferences and expectations. The construction of musical meaning in the church then is largely fulfilled by the constant and fluid interaction between the music, the words, and the liturgical context.

Theme 8: Significance and signification – a symbolic representation

Symbolic representation is a function of music recognised by Meriam (1964). However, the symbolic function of music tackles the understanding of musical meaning from the point of view of semiotics, a study of signs and symbols. Furthermore, a considerable amount of data in this research relates to the significance of church music.

Evocation of memories and associations and reflection of emotional state or mood together constitute the most coded segments of Theme 9. In the literature, the evocative qualities of music are well-researched (e.g., Belfi et al., 2016; Clarke et al., 2010; Juslin & Sloboda, 2010).

Various church music, be it traditional hymns, classical music or Gregorian chants, might transport people to past events or create an atmosphere of transcendence. This quality is not exclusive to church music only, as music, in general, possesses propensities to bring association and regulate emotional states. The church authorities have been aware of such affective qualities of music and, throughout the history of the church, have restricted or controlled the music used in church.

The reason why music has been restricted is partly understood and also justified by church literature. Ratzinger (2000) explains that music in the liturgy should be directed

toward Christ and should retain a degree of solemnity, so in effect should have a different character from most secular music. Catechism of the Catholic Church (1994, p. 327) instructs that the music in the liturgy possesses "the beauty expressive of prayer, the unanimous participation of the assembly [...], and the solemn character of the celebration."

There is a general understanding among the respondents that certain types of music should not be used in the liturgy in the church. Much data evidence that some music is better suited to create an atmosphere of sacredness and solemnity. Although there are churches and Christian contexts where a variety of music is used, ranging from Christian rap, and Contemporary Christian Music to Christian metal, the Catholic and perhaps other mainstream churches still retain more solemn and more low-key approaches to music. Music might reflect emotions as much as it can induce them. Thus, the very solemnity of the liturgy requires music which is in line with the character of the celebration. It might be music which evokes a range of emotions and associations, but it cannot be as intensive as to defocus the faithful from the celebration.

Music is often considered to be a sign or has a symbolic meaning, all the more in the church. Although the literature mostly agrees that there is no linguistic meaning in musical sounds, there might be a linguistic approximation if this approximation is assigned to musical phrases, something achieved, for example, in leitmotivs. Similarly, just as research proves that "signed and spoken languages share basic linguistic properties" (Mann et al. 2010, p. 1), so might the liturgical sign, which music is, bear some linguistic meaning.

Two codes are especially related to the music in the church contexts: *solemnity*, *significance and symbolism of liturgical music* and *symbol/language of God and love*.

According to Pawlak (1999), music, especially singing, is a liturgical sign through the union with the liturgical text. Music 'needs to be in line with the spirit of the celebration' (Pawlak 1999, p. 98) and 'more clearly expresses the sacred mysteries it signifies' (Vatican Council II, 1963, section 21). Thus, since music is a liturgical sign, it has meaning or is meaningful. For example, some respondents talk about some church music signifying a different reality, whether God or 'spiritual realms' or such ideas as love.

Theme 9: Meaning and contexts

The most important finding in this theme is that musical meaning is dependent on the context. This contextuality of music is well-reported in different research (Clayton, 2009; Greasley & Lamont, 2016; Hargreaves & North, 1999; Hargreaves et al., 2006; Kenny, 2016).

The main finding supported by the literature is that different contexts provide different meanings and experiences. The church might create a specific and unique atmosphere and context to experience sacred music. In fact, from the historical point of view, churches were built so as to create an atmosphere of sacredness, supposedly mirroring 'spiritual realities'. The art and architecture, the physical and the perceived elements, were to point to and represent the glory and greatness of God. This is why the church buildings of many traditions have represented the best examples of art and architecture. Similarly, much of the church music composed was of fine quality. Thus, the ambience of the church itself has the potential to allow people to experience music in a special way. Furthermore, sacred music might be taken to a concert hall, for example, to experience such pieces as Handel's Messiah or Bach's St Matthew Passion.

A substantial number of segments that were coded provide evidence that non-religious contexts might also create an atmosphere akin to sacredness, able to evoke ineffable experiences. This is most probably attributed to the *reciprocal response model* (Hargreaves et al., 2005), in which the context, the music, the listener and the emotional response are interconnected, a concept explained in Chapter 2.

On the other hand, some respondents report *deeper experiences of sacred music or contexts*. Interestingly, a version of the same model could be used to explain why some people experience religious music more profoundly. In this version of the reciprocal feedback model, another element, namely, the object of worship (God), could be inserted. Thus, the model would encompass five reciprocal elements. A similar idea has been suggested in literary and religious research (Partridge, 2014; Rosenblatt, 1978; Van Der Leeuw, 1963)

The construction of the meanings of music in individuals is a multifaceted and complex phenomenon often driven by individual as well as communal factors, by what is happening outside (church, music, people, etc.) and inside (sensations, feelings, prayers, etc.) of a person experiencing church music. Meaning is dependent on and occurs as a product of all these elements and can only be articulated by the individuals involved. Thus, the meaning of music, in this sense, is subjective and bound to the unique experiences of particular people in a specific context. Unlike linguistic meaning, musical meaning is abstract, fluid and often ineffable.

Theme 10: Musical expectations and preferences

The abundant research supports the idea that musical preferences and tastes shape people's reactions to music (Greasley & Lamont, 2016; Hargreaves, 1982; Hargreaves & North, 1999; Hird & North, 2021; North & Hargreaves, 2008; Vella & Mills, 2017).

The most common expectation of most respondents is *adequate music leadership or choice*. According to the data results, a good music leader should encourage people to sing, select the right hymns or songs, demonstrate how to sing parts of hymns before services and choose music which complements the liturgy. The leaders need to be inclusive and understanding of the congregation's musical shortcomings and understand and explain that communion with God and other faithful takes precedence. Lastly, they would lead with humility, not expecting everybody to join in.

These qualities mentioned by the respondents are very noble but might seem ambitious in some churches. However, if the quality of the liturgical experience is to be improved upon, every church should have a competent music leader who will lead the congregation in a professional manner, something which should be initiated by the church authority and bolstered from the local parish level.

Another expectation is the choice of music, which does not show much genre variety. By far, *traditional church music genres* are preferred over modern genres. According to some data evidence, traditional music is still preferred as 'it has stood the test of time' better contributing to the transcendent atmosphere, one example being Gregorian chant, which occupies a very special and privileged position in the Catholic Church liturgy (Catholic Church, 1995).

All in all, for some church attendees, the musical *expectations are fulfilled*, but for others, this is not the case as some might have bigger expectations than others. If music

is to perform adequate functions in the church, it needs to have some identifying characteristics, follow some fundamental rules (Pawlak, 2001), and fulfil the basic expectations of the faithful. The summit of Christian celebration is the Eucharist, and the liturgy leads the faithful to the summit. And if good music happens to accompany them to this summit, the better. According to this data set, the type of music is not as important as long as it fulfils some expectation of descent and honest quality and is able to lead in the liturgy.

5.3.3. How are musical experiences in the church related to the participants' identities?

The following two hypotheses addressed the third research question:

- H₁: Positive experiences of music in church communities are associated with more commitment to religious practices in attendees.
- H₂: Participation in Polish church music is associated with a stronger national identity amongst migrant Poles.

From the qualitative perspective, three main themes were identified, which might be related to identities in music in the church communities:

- Theme 11: Church music identity continuity and stability of culture
- Theme 12: Liturgy validating religious rituals
- Theme 13: Communities of musical practice

RQ3 H1: Positive experiences of music in church communities are associated with more commitment to religious practices in attendees: this hypothesis was supported.

Respondents feel that experiences of music in the church are mostly positive and

perhaps supportive of people's faith. Music fulfils the function of aesthetic enjoyment and might also contribute to mood management. The results might mean that the more positive experiences of religious music people have, the more likely they are encouraged to commit to other religious practices or activities. This refers to religious music that people enjoy or that has a positive and emotional effect on them. It seems apparent that positive music experiences in the church will, in turn, encourage commitment to more music participation. For example, a Mass with a good church choir might stir up people's faith or encourage some to join the choir. Similarly, taking part in music workshops might instil in the participants the love and joy of singing at Masses. Consequently, the negative experiences of music, such as inadequate hymn singing and playing by an organist, might discourage some people from participating in religious practices and, instead of stirring up their faith, might drive some people away from the church. These findings might be partly explained by the circumplex model of emotional response (North & Hargreaves, 2008), where the positive reaction to music is dependent on two main aspects, the degrees of how active music is and how pleasant it is. If music is too close to some extremes, for example, it is too active and too unpleasant, it will produce negative reactions. However, active and pleasant music might produce positive and joyful reactions (North & Hargreaves, 2008).

These various effects of religious music are further explored in the qualitative part of the research.

RQ3 H2: The hypothesis that Polish church music maintains national identity among Polish immigrant people was only partly supported. Although most Polish respondents believe that 'Polish church music' upholds the national identity, 'listening to music in

the Polish language' does not necessarily do so. Thus, a distinction might be made between Polish music in the church and outside of the religious contexts, sacred and secular. It is Polish religious music that seems to have a stronger impact on the national identity, which would be in line with findings that affirm that sacred music in any given language contributes to a national identity and is especially visible among migrant communities (Radocy & Boyle, 2012). A distinction should be made in terms of meaning, preference and enjoyment of church music. Polish church music has a stronger meaning to Polish people than English church music. Although Polish services are preferred to English services, both English and Polish Christian songs are equally enjoyed.

Polish music becomes more significant and meaningful to the faithful during Polish services. This might also be more evident in communities of practice such as a church choir or liturgical workshops where more conscious processes are at play, and where the participants engage more actively in learning, practising and eventually performing the new hymns: this has been further explored in the qualitative part of this research.

Theme 11: Church music identity - continuity and stability of culture

The theme encompasses two codes: *Identification with Polish language and culture (in worship)* and *different character of English and other music.*

Language is undoubtedly one of the main aspects of national or ethnic identity (Fishman & García, 2010; Folkestad, 2002; Lytra, 2016). Similarly, music is equally expressive of a given tradition, culture and identity (Clark et al., 2010; Folkestad, 2002; Lidskog, 2016; Radocy & Boyle, 2012). The Polish language is the main language of worship and religious practices for the majority of Polish people in London. It is not because it is

not authentic to worship in English but mostly because of the *English language and church music barrier*. Polish hymns and church music have the propensity to evoke patriotic sentiments in some people. Interestingly, this is a representative of older emigration that is most vocal about the patriotic character of Polish music. Indeed, there is some evidence in the literature which supports this finding. The explanation suggested is that people who have been 'uprooted' from their motherland for some reasons, perhaps not dependent on their choice, feel very strongly about upholding their ethnic identities (e.g., Bava, 2011, Folkestad, 2002; Stepick et al., 2009;). That the Polish language is more natural and the first choice for liturgy and worship is not surprising, something which was also confirmed in the quantitative analysis.

There is an observation that there is a different nature of migrant churches in general, and the church community in this study is not an exception. The church seems younger and more vibrant than in Poland. This is due to the younger age of the recent population. There is a greater openness of clergy towards the faithful, although it might depend on the parish. The fact might be contextual, as English churches are smaller in attendance, and the English clergy are open and keen to greet the faithful after the Mass, something which is not practised in Polish churches. The Polish Catholic Mission in England and Wales is a part of the Catholic Church in England and Wales (CBCEW, 2020), so it certainly retains some of its character.

In fact, there is a certain admiration and respect among the respondents towards the English church, be it Catholic, Anglican or Protestant and some participants report the benefits and advantages of singing in English and taking part in English worship.

English churches are inclusive and supportive of different faiths, and their faithful tapestry is usually very multicultural, so some Polish people attend English-speaking Masses or services. For some respondents, singing in English is fresh and exciting as

they discover different ways to worship. It is also a good opportunity for some to improve their English language skills. The English language and music acquisition should not be underestimated. It is a part of acculturation or, more precisely, biculturalism (Roos, 2020), a process of reconstructing one's identity by assuming some traits of the new culture and simultaneously retaining one's native identity.

Due to its universality, the Catholic celebration is easy to follow, even in languages which are foreign to Polish people. Some respondents report experience and the joy of singing in Latin or other languages. Although there is a temptation to assume that the universality of the Catholic Church and its liturgy might contribute to the formation of Catholic identity in music, this research does not evidence such an assumption, and more research would have to be done to support such a hypothesis.

To sum up, the negotiation of identities is an ongoing process and requires the interplay between what is local and global (Wegner, 1999). Continuity and stability of culture might involve processes of reconstructing the national or ethnic identities as migrants encounter new realities situated in a different culture. Hence, given the nature and the context of the migrant church in London, it would be perhaps more appropriate to talk about post-national identity in church music, reshaped accordingly, yet not devoid of patriotic sentiments (Folkestad, 2017).

Theme 12: Liturgy - validating religious rituals

There is some evidence that certain identities are constructed during the liturgy in which Polish music is an integral part. The continuity of ritual might also contribute to the functions of validating religious rituals and the continuity and stability of culture. It was stated in Chapter 2 that the church, especially the Catholic Church, was instrumental in

maintaining the Polish identity in London for a long time (Fuksa, 2010/2011; Podhorodecka, 2010; Stachura, 2004). According to one respondent, being Catholic at some stage was synonymous with being Polish, especially back at the time of political changes in Poland and Eastern Europe during the 1980s and 90s.

However, despite the current Polish government's affiliation with the Catholic Church, there is an upward trend to leave the Church in Poland (PAP, 2020; Mały Rocznik Statystyczny, 2021). Moreover, the statistics about church affiliation include all baptised people, regardless of church attendance, which does not reflect the real number of the faithful.

Albeit not on such a great scale as in the previous decades, the association between being Polish and being Catholic still exists. The situation in the UK and in London is yet different. The Catholic Church still predominates, but other churches contribute to the migrant faith tapestry, and the role the church plays amongst Polish immigrants is still significant.

For many respondents, the liturgical canon is very important, and they see it as an advantage. Equally, many of them identify with sacred music and music which is familiar to them. Some respondents talk about the uniqueness of the Mass experience. The Holy Mass's high esteem is magnified by a range of other names used to signify it, namely 'the Eucharist, Breaking of the Bread, Communion, Eucharistic Assembly, Holy and Divine Liturgy' and others (Catholic Church, 1995). The solemnity of the Mass is often juxtaposed with non-liturgical experiences, which for many respondents, are not as intense or solemn. The Mass is as unique as it encompasses different aspects contributing to the experience of music. It takes place in a church whose space and

acoustics, architecture and art provide a unique context to celebrate the 'Sacred Mysteries'.

More than others, some respondents succumb to the ambience of the church. Others might be moved by worship music experiences outside of the Mass context where other aesthetic or sonic elements, such as type of music, variety of instruments, rhythm and technology, are at play. Regardless of the context, religious music might affect people's emotions and shape their identities (Bennett-Hunter, 2015; Bruhn, 2002; Fung, 2017; Hills & Argyle, 1998; Loewenthalet et al., 2002; McLean, 2007; Taylor et al., 2014). Some respondents point to a spiritual identity of a Christian. This claim is very speculative and not supported by enough evidence in this research.

The research, however, evidences some liturgical barriers and limitations. There is a gap between what liturgical music should be and what it is. Some respondents express their dissatisfaction with the type of music used in the church. For some, the church authorities are too stagnant and not always willing to 'go with the spirit of time' and they are very selective in terms of music.

Surprisingly, the liturgical rules concerning church music are flexible enough, and it is often up to a local priest to decide to take a few liberties. There is some place for a variety of music, especially in countries where people have got their own musical traditions (Sacrosanctum Concilium, 1963). Although the pipe organ is highly esteemed and traditionally used, other suitable musical instruments are accepted during the liturgy with the consent of competent authority (Sacrosanctum Concilium, 1963; Pawlak, 2001).

Suppose the church authorities, either local or central, do not take the initiative to encourage more effective use of music. In that case, there is a danger of ongoing monotony, repetitiveness, and obscurity of the Mass rites; something pointed out by

some respondents. Even worse, the point of the celebration is to be missed, and the faithful risk discouragement from coming to church.

There are occasions during the liturgical calendar to celebrate with music in a specific way, and the respondents in this research identify themselves with examples of sacred music.

A majority of respondents recognise the specific (patriotic) character of Polish Christmas and carols. The Christmas memories are vivid, and many people associate the celebration with singing carols. Polish carols are symbolic and meaningful to people both in their lyrics and melodies. There is a connection between Polish carols and great Polish patriotic music. These patriotic sentiments in Polish carols blend gracefully with Polish folk traditional elements or refer to some historical events. The lyrics often combine religious motives with Polish folklore or patriotic stories. There is evidence in coded interview data segments suggesting that Polish carols might contribute to maintaining ethnic identity in Polish people in general.

Lent, which culminates with the Easter Triduum (Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and Holy Saturday), is also quoted by many respondents as the season of solemn and profound music. The essence of Lenten hymns is specific to this liturgical time and entirely different from the character of carols. Lent is a time of solemn preparation for the celebration of Easter, and it comprises very reflective and even sorrowful practices, which is also reflected in the Lenten music. As Christmas time is often family-oriented and full of joy, reflected in more joyful and celebratory carols, Lent is an exercise in self-reflection and self-denial. The reflective and meditative character of Lenten music echoes this mood, helping in Lenten observances.

There are a few reasons why Lenten music might exert such a profound and transcendent effect, bringing some people to the verge of mysticism. First, it reflects the mystery of Christ's 40 days in the desert, where he fasted, was tempted and overcame temptation through prayer. Second, the music also foreshadows Christ's Passion, leading to the greatest of all the mysteries, His Resurrection. It encapsulates the cruces of the Christian faith and reveals the history of salvation. Finally, Lenten hymns belong to the oldest Christian music. Some have been around for centuries, which might be one more reason why they carry so much transcendence and emotion. The music literally transcends time, past generations, cultures, traditions, and sometimes even languages and there are still extant hymns sung in Latin across the Roman Catholic Church and other mainstream Western churches.

Easter music also features, albeit more sparsely, in the data set. Easter is the climax of the liturgical year, and musically it is supposed to be very triumphant and joyous. And, in fact, it is. For example, the most famous *Halleluyah* from Handel's Messiah is immediately recognisable. Polish Easter music does not have the same character as Polish carols but is also distinguished and celebratory. Many respondents recognise the scarcity of Easter music. A few things need to be considered to understand the supposed 'Easter music deficit'. First, if we want to count the number of hymns in the hymnal, Eastern music does not constitute the most extensive repertoire. This might be a superficial observation simply because the Easter mysteries are not limited to Easter time in the liturgical calendar. In the Catholic Church, every Mass is de facto a remembrance or a re-enactment of Christ's death and Resurrection, and in the Protestant tradition, celebrations focus on the effect of what 'was accomplished on the cross'.

Although only examples of sacred music have been outlined in this section, the respondents also identify with other types of music, also non-religious. The

identification with certain music is often linked to music familiarity, a connection often discussed in the literature (e.g., Hargreaves 1986; North & Hargreaves 2009). Together with the preference, they will play a role in identities in music. The research does not clarify the links between familiarity, preference and identities in music. On one occasion, it might be a non-familiar religious tune, and on another occasion, a familiar non-religious tune people might identify with, something discussed during the interviews. More experimental studies would have to be conducted to clarify such connections.

Theme 13: Communities of musical practice

Communities of practice, a term introduced by Lave & Wenger (1991), is used to reference two church communities meeting regularly during this research: a church choir and liturgical music workshops. In both communities, participants practised and performed church music, and thus, following a study by Kenny (2016), this research adopts the term communities of musical practice. This section will discuss two related codes, the effects of musical engagement and belonging to the migrant musical community.

First, most of the effects are very positive and range from engagement in musical practice with others to personal spiritual enrichment. Second, participating in the workshops or being a choir member might be an opportunity to learn new skills. Thus, singing in a choir or musicking at workshops might contribute to the feeling of belonging to the migrant musical community. Such communal music activities have been attested to affect the participants very positively in terms of well-being and group

integration (Durrant & Himonides, 1998; Fung, 2017; Pearce et al., 2016; Pearce et al., 2017; Tshabalala and Patel, 2010).

It seems that the ultimate role of music in the church is to create a platform for people to belong somewhere, thus making or remaking their group identity. Whether one is a performer, a cantor, a choir member, a priest or just a listener in the pew, one belongs to that community. One's identity might be of a peripheral participant (Wenger, 1998), or one can fully participate.

The findings from the observations of two communities of musical practice, the choir and the workshop, further explain the different effects of musical engagement and belonging to the migrant musical community. One of the aspects present in both communities of musical practice is discipline. What might be understood by discipline is everything related to the practice of signing and especially the engagement of the whole body. Indeed, various authors stress the importance of the somatic aspects of the art. For example, Phelan (2017) states that the body's engagement during singing is significant in the "theory of sung belonging" (p. 69). She suggests that the voice which is produced by the whole body, is a powerful agent in our experiences, thoughts and actions, thus, affecting our culture and identity (Phelan, 2017). The sound is the carrier of the melody and is responsible for the aesthetics of singing. Thus, it is vital that the voice is projected correctly.

The attitudes of either the choirmaster or the workshop leaders are paramount as they can encourage discipline and motivate further improvement, giving constructive feedback. Such approaches were evident during the interview with the leaders and during the observations. Positive feedback is essential in creating trust and a non-judgemental atmosphere. Encouraging attitudes, in effect, bond people and positively

affect individual well-being, self-worth, and sense of achievement. The results indicate that the group musical identity often emerges through challenging group work and the cooperation of people who assume different roles. The role of an informal chat and interactions during rehearsals is also a part of the larger identity-forming process. The bonding continues as the members engage in music practice and informal conversations, exchanging stories or sharing jokes; elements present in this research. The importance and the positive effect of a leader on migrant communities of musical practice are attested by two wealthy and independent studies by Kenny (2016) and Phelan (2017), respectively and equally supported by this study.

Simultaneously, learning happens in a semi-formal setting, which might also be an important element of social bonding. The choirmaster acts as a guide or a teacher who directs the sessions, instructs and assigns different roles. Because the sessions happen in the Polish language, this also cements the ethnic identity of the group. According to Wanger (1998), communities of practice are places where identities are constructed in different learning settings through the negotiation of meaning between the members and the roles they assume in the community.

Although many aspects were similar, the idea behind organising the liturgical music workshop was different. The attitude of the workshop leaders was somewhat more open and inclusive. Everybody was invited to the workshop, but once enrolled, a full commitment was strongly encouraged. Despite this open atmosphere and attitude, discipline was equally important. This was obvious through the routine of the workshops, such as voice warm-up and carefully arranged rehearsal schedule where different vocal and instrumental parts were assigned time and space to practise.

In both groups and during rehearsals, the importance of sound, music and words came to the fore, albeit with different emphasis. The projection of the voice was very important in both cases but more emphasis was placed on the quality of the sound in the choir. On the other hand, the leaders of the workshops stressed the importance of the words sung, giving a slight priority to the quality of sound. Many learning and social processes happen in both communities, with participants self-regulating their learning and co-regulating when learning skills from one another. The experiences are holistic and extend beyond just learning (Robson & Zachariou, 2022).

Regardless of these nuances, it is apparent and reminiscent of Phelan (2017) that the singing processes are very important and that they are somatic. This means that the whole body is engaged in the process of singing. This somatic process is a great contributor to the creation of identities and places of belonging.

Learning is a part of the endeavour in both communities, in the choir and at the workshops. Acquiring new skills might form part of a process of new identity formation. As participants become a part of a musical community, they start sharing the musical group identity. As a result of this shared, communal engagement, a participant is valued and accepted in a group. This might contribute to the formation of his/her individual identity as an 'amateur' musician, be it a vocalist or instrumentalist. Wenger (1998) stresses the temporal dimension of identity. He explains that identities are negotiated as people deal "with specific situations, participating in the histories of certain practices, and involved in becoming certain persons" (Wenger, 1998, p. 154).

In both communities, music contributes to bonding within the group, which is a part of group identity formation. The opportunity to meet other people and somehow experience God through musicking is a part of the identity formation process, both on

the communal and individual levels. The use of the Polish language during both choir sessions and liturgical music workshops naturally fosters the ethnic identity of the participants, but as Folkestad (2017) suggests, in many migrant musical communities, these ethnic identities are often negotiated so that it is more appropriate to refer to postethnic identities within such migrant groups.

5.4. Further research and some implications for practice

This research has demonstrated that music plays an enormous role in the Polish church community in London by fulfilling many functions, particularly in constructing a network of musical meanings and identities. This is a valid contribution to knowledge as church music has not been researched very much from the social and psychological points of view. This research might be especially valuable for those responsible for the music in different churches. It might be of interest to the church authorities and anybody willing to improve their musical participation in the church.

However, further research is needed to clarify the relations between musical and religious experiences in different contexts in greater detail. One of the areas which could potentially be explored is the relation between the effect of listening to either sacred or secular music by people in individual contexts. An experiment could be conducted to see if different musical genres, either religious or not, might significantly affect prayer or meditation practices.

There is still a need for an exploration of the impact of gender differences on listening practices in religious contexts. The preliminary analysis of the questionnaire showed some differences in the importance of religion between men and women but also indicated the divergent musical tastes in the two genders. Some results are consistent

with the previous findings from both musical and religious perspectives (e.g., Argyle & Beit-Hallahmi; Kemp, 1997; Trzebiatowska & Bruce, 2012), but more research would be needed to see if these differences are culturally constructed, contextual or have something to do with personality differences.

Personality differences, especially in religious contexts, might have been underresearched as not many studies compare religiosity and musicality in people.

There might be an apparent link between these two characteristics (e.g., Shuter-Dyson, 2000; Shuter-Dyson, 2006), which this research also indicates as music seems to be an important part of the respondents' lives.

Emotions induced by religious music versus secular music proved to be very interesting, even in Catholic contexts. Contrary to a widespread understanding that church music should not be too emotional, the results indicate that the majority of churchgoers are emotionally very much affected by music. This research has already evidenced that it might not be just the music but the whole context that produces certain emotional reactions in people, but more research on the importance of the affect in a church context, especially in the Catholic Church, is needed. Related to this is the effect of secular music in a religious context or in religious people, something which could also potentially be explored further.

There is still a need for further research to understand the concept of the ineffability of either musical or religious experiences. The question of whether music can be an approximation of God is still open for further investigation. More research is required as the idea is somewhat hypothetical.

In terms of practical implications, this research might suggest a few things. First, it might inform churches about the importance of good quality music and its potential

impact on the congregations and church communities. It appears that there is a certain deficit of good quality music in churches, which is something that should be addressed both at the church authority and grassroots levels. There is a strong need for the encouragement and formation of groups of musicians in churches, both from technical and spiritual perspectives. That is why such initiatives as liturgical music workshops or church choirs should be strongly encouraged.

Secondly, the findings from this research might also benefit other migrant communities, church communities in Poland, and other communities where music can be practised. Music is contextual, but often what is achieved in church contexts might also be achieved in secular contexts. For example, musical workshops such as those described in this research could be encouraged as a means of promoting community music. The musical communities created by the need to practice proved to be successful in social bonding, community integration and creating spaces in which people could belong. Finally, such practices should be encouraged, especially in those communities where social integration might be difficult due to social marginalisation or related problems. This research also signposts further ethnographies, which could highlight musical life stories or journeys of either migrant or local people, research that this researcher might willingly undertake.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

This concluding chapter summarises the main findings of this research. First, it will look at the findings from a top-down theoretical perspective and will then examine more details concerning the research aims and questions. The value and contribution to existing knowledge will also be discussed. The research aim was to discover the role of music in the Polish church communities in London. The findings suggest that music plays an enormous role in the Polish migrant church, which points to the integrative propensity of music as it is often described in the literature (Freeman, 2000; MacDonald et al., 2013; Mithen, 2005; North & Hargreaves, 2008; Clarke et al., 2010; Pearce et al., 2017; Schäfer et al., 2013). More precisely, the findings focus on the community's integration into singing or musicking for the benefit of the whole church celebrating the sacred mysteries. Music operates primarily on two overlapping levels: between people, in a 'horizontal' manner, for example, as 'the sanctification of the faithful' and between the people and God, in a more 'vertical' and ascending manner as 'glorification of God' (Sacrosanctum Concilium, 1963).

The people's communal participation in the church, which materialises in the liturgy, music included, is paramount in achieving a successful celebration. In fact, the literal translation of the Greek word leitourgia (λειτουργία) is 'the work of the people' (Lewis, 1960). In other words, if people do not cooperate or are not encouraged to participate in the celebrations, especially in the music, they risk acting passively, akin to being simply bystanders. On the other hand, liturgy should be active and participatory where music is concerned (Catholic Church, 1995). Although not indispensable in liturgy, music offers a platform for connecting with other people and God. This study suggests that when there is a sense of connection with other people, there is also a potentiality for

transcendence. Some people feel that participating in music connects them with the community. Moreover, through singing, many participants were much more open to 'spiritual', 'the wholly other' realities (Otto, 1950). There is, of course, the music itself, which might channel people into ineffable experiences by its quality of being ineffable (Raffman, 1993; Sloboda, 2005). However, it does matter what music is used to achieve transcendence, as not all examples will be simply appropriate to a given liturgical situation in terms of style, character or level of execution.

This research aim was to investigate the role or roles of music in the Polish church community in London with a specific focus on the functions of music, the meaning of music and the identities in music of some of those communities. The first objective was to investigate the different functions of music in the worship of church attendees; the second objective was to investigate what meanings are constructed during musical activities in worship; the third was to identify the connections and interactions between church music and identities in believers.

One of the findings of this research is that it is difficult to separate functions, meanings and identities as they all contribute to the effect of music on people, albeit from different perspectives. They constitute a continuum of the role of music in the church community, permeating one another. For example, *the function of emotional expression* is discussed in this research in the chapters dealing with the meaning of music because emotions are one way through which we may understand music and give meaning to it. This idea of apparent permeation is not explicitly mentioned in the literature but is valid in the light of this research.

The first research question, "What functions does music fulfil in church attendees?" was answered, and the findings suggest that there are many such functions. The two most

prominent, based on the thematic analysis of the interviews, were *prayer facilitation* and the related *induction of the ineffable experience*. Although the meditative function is mentioned in the literature on the Catholic Church liturgy (Pawlak, 2001), this research pinpointed specific roles that music plays in facilitating prayer through its propensity to induce emotions or semi-transcendent states.

The related finding evidenced by both the quantitative and qualitative data is that music is essential for religious people in general but that there is no correlation between musical and religious activities in people's lives. The question of involvement in either musical or religious activities is very individual.

Other functions mentioned in previous literature (Hargreaves & North, 1999; Merriam, 1964) have also been identified, including *integration of the society* or, more specifically, in this case, the community. Music builds the church community, but this study suggests that for music to be more effective in the community, it must be of good quality. Integration happens when the faithful are willing to take part in communal singing. When church music is discouraging, community integration is less likely to happen.

Motives for using music were also discussed within the functions of music. The function of aesthetic experience and the motives for using music shed light on the importance of music preferences in people and the quality of music in the church. The findings suggest, in line with previous literature (Kemp, 1997; Hargreaves & North, 1997; North & Hargreaves, 2008), that music preferences matter to a certain degree and that different people express different stylistic expectations in the church.

Above all, the quality of music matters as people often express disappointment with the poor quality of music experienced in churches and the need for better leadership in

musical performance. It is suggested that the change comes both from the grassroots as well as from the authorities. Only when there is solid support for music leaders in a church music performance, does it have a chance of success, benefitting the whole community.

The functions of *validating social institutions and religious rituals* and *continuity and stability of culture* were discussed in detail in the section dealing with identities.

The second research question, "What musical meanings are constructed in different church contexts?" was answered, but there were some challenges. The question of the *meaning of music* was more difficult to pinpoint because of its vagueness. The concept was more difficult to grasp, and some respondents struggled with understanding it. However, the meaning of music emerged more clearly in the concepts of its *significance*, *referential and symbolic meaning*, as well as *emotional expression* and *contextual meaning*.

That music is a symbol or a sign has already been established in the literature (Beardsley, 1981; Catholic Church, 1995; Merriam, 1964; Sherburne, 1966). This research stresses the relation between words and music in this symbolism. Some respondents claim that a singing prayer is *the most efficient prayer* (e.g., Joint Interview 9, Pos. 16). Despite some scriptural evidence (e.g. Old Testament Psalms), this claim lacks solid empirical proof, and more tests would need to be done to support it. However, the respondents' testimonies attest to the effectiveness of singing prayer as to any other prayer.

One of the main findings is that the role of emotions in musical experiences in the church cannot be underestimated. It turned out that music produces a variety of emotions in people in Catholic Church contexts. This finding is quite surprising and

fresh as not much is written about emotions induced by music in the Catholic Church, apart from the fact that church documents usually instruct the faithful not to use music which is too emotion-inducing or associated with sensuality (e.g., Ratzinger, 2000). An important finding was that music in the church produces mostly positive emotions despite some observations that it might affect people negatively, usually when it is not well executed. The church literature would benefit from clarifying the importance of emotions in church contexts and demystifying the idea that emotions should be somehow restricted or reserved in church contexts.

Furthermore, the results suggest a different and stronger effect of religious music on the faithful compared to secular music, but it is not clear how it is different or stronger. This research suggests that the difference lies in the significance of religious music, the preferences and the context. Based on this and previous research, a further suggestion is that there is an analogy between experiencing music and experiencing God, as both concepts are ineffable (e.g., Bruhn, 2002; Partridge, 2014; Sloboda, 2005). This research further suggests that because music is not as ineffable as God, it can potentially be a better approximation to God. This idea is, however, very hypothetical and would require further research.

According to previous literature and supported by this research, musical meaning is constructed precisely in a given context (e.g., DeNora, 1986; Greasley & Lamont, 2016; Hargreaves and North, 1999), and the word 'contextual' is one of the most frequent words featured in this study of the role of music. The study proposes that a version of the *reciprocal feedback model* can explain the relations between the music and the faithful in the church context. People's musical experiences and responses combine various aspects. These aspects might include the type of music (e.g., good or low quality), the context where it is experienced (e.g., a Cathedral or a meeting room) and

the individual relation (e.g., strong faith or little faith) to the object of worship (e.g., God or Christ).

The third research question, "How are musical experiences in the church related to participants' identities?" has been well explored. Within the construction of identities in church contexts, two music functions were explained: *validating religious rituals* and *continuity and stability of culture*. The former became very relevant as church music seemed to contribute to maintaining ethnic identity. Both quantitative and qualitative data suggest a relation between Polish church hymns and Polish identity.

Polish hymns and church music evoke patriotic sentiments in many people, and there is a special place reserved for Polish carols which expose a lot of symbolism and a very native character. However, there is not enough evidence to support the idea that a church music identity, whether Catholic or Christian, is constructed. More research is needed to support such a claim. This research suggests that music operates in various sacred or secular contexts. Its effect depends on the context and many other contextual factors, such as people and the type of music.

Continuity and stability of culture are likely to be maintained through Polish church music during liturgy. The use of the Polish language is the strongest indicator of ethnic identity. However, the character of the Polish migrant church is much different from Polish native church communities in that the faithful participate in reconstructing the national identity in the receiving culture. Some literature suggested that the term post-national identity would better describe the identity (e.g., Folkestad, 2017). The study of the two communities of practice, the church choir and the liturgical music workshops, further explained the strong effect of singing and musicking on forming identities in music and finding a space for people to belong (Phelan, 2017). Furthermore,

participating in musical communities proved to be a largely positive experience bringing many benefits to the participants, ranging from learning new musical skills to the reification of practice in the form of a learned repertoire or performances.

Overall, the picture of the different roles of music in the Polish church community in London is vibrant. The functions, meanings and identities in music form an intricate web of connections. This finding provides a new perspective on the role of music in situated church contexts. These relations were evident during the thematic analysis and the creation of theme and code systems. The research answers many questions about the functions of music in the church, and it unearths an interesting spectrum with such functions as *induction of ineffable experiences* or *prayer facilitation*.

Furthermore, the construction of musical meaning became evident on different levels, with the role of emotions and context-dependent meaning being the most evident ones. Existing models, such as the *reciprocal feedback response model* (Hargreaves et al., 2005), proved to be very relevant and helpful in understanding the meaning of music in the church context. Lastly, the construction of different identities during musical experiences was explored within the communities of musical practice in the church, which also provided a fresh perspective on how musical practice may benefit the church community.

Appendix A

Consent forms and statements in Polish and translated into English



FORMULARZ ZGODY NA UDZIAŁ W BADANIU NAUKOWYM

Tytuł projektu badań: Rola i znaczenie muzyki wśród polskich społeczności kościelnych w Londynie

Krótki opis projektu badań i wszelkich konsekwencji udziału w tych badaniach:

Badania dotyczą roli i znaczenia muzyki wśród polskich środowisk kościelnych w Londynie. Skoncentrowane są na polskim kościele katolickim pod wezwaniem Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej i Świetego Kazimierza na Devonia Road w Londynie. Jednakże grupy reprezentatywne dla innych zgromadzeń chrześcijańskich beda też poddane badaniu.

Projekt badawczy będzie zawierać trzy części. W pierwszej części dane będą zebrane przy pomocy kwestionariusza i uzupełnione wywiadami. Link do kwestionariusz zostanie wysłany e-mailem lub przez Facebook a wypełnienie jego zajmie około 20 minut. Wywiady w 4 lub 5 osobowych grupach będą trwać około 40 minut każdy. Pytania będą dotyczyły roli muzyki w życiu Polskich społeczności chrześcijańskich (przede wszystkiem katolickich) w Londynie.

Druga część badań będzie obejmować obserwacje i wywiady, a badania będą dotyczyć znaczenia muzyki w kontekście duchowym. Podczas obserwacji (np. chóru kościelnego), z których każda będzie trwała około 3 miesiące, badane będzie muzyczne zaangażowanie uczestników. Indywidualne wywiady będą trwać około 20 minut a 4 do 5 osobowe grupy fokusowe około 40 minut. Niektóre z wywiadów beda nagrywane lub filmowane i beda one miały miejsce w kościele. Anonimowość uczestników bedzie zachowana.

Trzecia część będzie formą interwencji, która zbada, w jaki sposób różne rodzaje muzyki lub jej brak mogą wpływać na indywidualne doświadczenia modlitwy. W trakcie tego badania zostanie zastosowany zaadoptowany test psychologiczny. Będzie się on składał z 20 pytań i będzie przeznaczony do pomiaru indywidualnego stanu psychicznego i duchowego uczestników badania. (Paloutzian i Ellison , 1982).

Dane badacza: Imię i nazwisko: Hubert Ignatowicz

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DEKLARACJA ZGODY WŁASNEJ NA UDZIAŁ W BADANIU NAUKOWYM:

Zgadzam się na wzięcie udziału w badaniach i jestem świadomy/a, że mogę wycofać się z udziału w tych badaniach w dowolnym momencie, bez podania przyczyn. Zdaję sobie jednak sprawę,
że moje dane wciaż mogą być przetwarzane. Rozumiem, że informacje które dostarczę będą traktowane jako poufne przez badacza, a moje dane osobowe będą objetę ochroną w trakcie publikacji
wyników badań, a wszelkie dane badawcze będą zebrana i przetworzone zgodnie z ustawą o ochronie danych osobowych z 1998 (Data Protection Act 1998) oraz zgodnie z polityką Uniwersytetu
Roehampton o ochronie danych osobowych.

Imio i nazwicko	Podpis	Data	
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Uwaga: Jeśli ma pan/i jakiekolwiek obawy lub pytania w związku z uczestnictwem w tych badaniach, prosimy o bezpośredni kontakt z badaczem (lub jeśli badacz jest studentem, z dyrektorem studiów). Jednakże, jeśli chce się pan/i skontaktować z niezależną stroną, prosimy o kontakt z Kierownikiem Badań.

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PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Title of Research Project: The functions and meanings of music in Polish church communities in London

Brief Description of Research Project, and What Participation Involves:

This research will explore the functions and meanings of music amongst Polish immigrant church communities in London. The study will focus on a Polish Catholic congregation in RC Church of Our Lady of Czestochowa and St Casimir in Devonia Road in London N1 but samples representative of other Christian congregations will also be included.

The research project will consist of three parts. In the first part the data will be collected through a questionnaire and interviews. The questionnaire will be sent as an attachment to the individual participants via email or Facebook and it will take about 30 minutes to complete. Interviews will be organised in 3 focus groups of 4 to 5 people and will last approximately 40 minutes each. Questions will focus on the function of music in the life of the Polish Christian community (mostly Catholic) in London. The second part of the study will include observations and interviews and the research will focus on the meaning of music in the spiritual context. During the observations which will last for about 3 months for each study group (e.g. a church choir) people's involvement during music practice will be studied. The individual interviews will last for approximately 20 minutes and focus groups consisting of 4 to 5 people will last around 40 minutes. Some of the interviews will be audio and video recorded and they will take place in the church. Anonymity of the participants will be respected. The third part will be a form of intervention, which will examine

how different types of music or absence of music can affect the individual experiences of prayer. An adapted psycho-spiritual test will be used during this study. The test has 20 questions and is designed to measure the participants' individual perception of spiritual quality of life and general wellbeing. (Paloutzian and Ellison, 1982).

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CONSENT STATEMENT:

I agree to take part in this research, and am aware that I am free to withdraw at any point without giving a reason, although if I do so I understand that my data might still be used in a collated form. I understand that the information I provide will be treated in confidence by the investigator and that my identity will be protected in the publication of any findings, and that data will be collected and processed in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998 and with the University's Data Protection Policy.

Nama	Cianatura	Data
Name	Signature	Date

Please note: if you have a concern about any aspect of your participation or any other queries please raise this with the investigator (or if the researcher is a student you can also contact the Director of Studies.) However, if you would like to contact an independent party please contact the Head of Research.

Director of Studies Contact Details: Head of Research Contact Details:

Professor David Hargreaves Professor Andrew Stables

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Appendix B

The questionnaire used in the quantitative part of the study

The role of music and the musical preferences in the Polish church communities in London. Questionnaire translation (Originally delivered in Polish).

Declaration

This questionnaire is part of Hubert Ignatowicz's PhD and aims to collect information about the musical preferencesthe functions and meanings of music in the lives of Polish Christian communities in London. This questionnaire will take approximately 20 minutes to complete.

1. Please read the following declaration before starting to complete the questionnaire and tick respectively 'agree' or 'not agree'.

I declare that I am of legal age and by completing this questionnaire, I agree to participate in the research, and I am aware of the fact that I can withdraw from this study at any time. I realize that my data can still be processed during and after participation in the research. I understand that the information that I give will be treated as confidential by the investigator, and my personal data will be protected, in accordance with Data Protection Act (1998) and with the University's Data Protection Policy.

I agree	
I do not a	agree [

Part I: Uses of music and musical preferences

2. How often do you experience music in the following situations?

	never	less than once a month	2-3 times a month	2-3 times a week	daily	comments
listening to the radio						
watching TV/films						
while exercising						
singing/whistling (e.g. in the bathroom)						
when travelling or commuting						
at parties or in clubs						
at concerts						
in public places (e.g. in supermarkets)						
relaxing at home						
playing a musical instrument on your own						

	never	less than once a month	2-3 times a 2 month	2-3 times a week	daily	comments
playing a musical instrument in a group						
singing with other people						
Other						
3. What musical instrument(s) do	you play if	at all? Tick a	at least one b	ox.		
guitar 🚨						
bass guitar						
percussion instruments (e.g. djen	nbe, maraca)) 🗆				
drums 📮						
piano 📮						
violin 📮						
I don't play any instrument	ב					
other 🚨						

What are your favourite styles of music? Tick all that apply
What are your favourite styles of music? Tick all that apply. blues □
funk/soul
hip hop/rap
jazz □
country and western
electronic 🗖
classical
religious music/gospel
рор 🗖
reggae 🖵
rock 🖵
world music (e.g. folk, traditional music)
other \square
4.b.i. Please specify if you ticked 'other'.

5. Name 3 favourite musicians. (e.g. a solo artis	t, a compose	er, a band)				
6. Please indicate on the scale fromusic in your life?	m 1 to 7, where	1 signifies '	not importan	t at all', and	7 'very impo	rtant', how imp	oortant is
	not important at all			neutral		ir	very mportant
Importance of music in life	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Part II: Religious practices 7. How often (if at all) do you take	part in the follo	owing religio	ous practices	?			
	never	less than once a month	2-3 times a month	once a week	more than once a weel	prefer not to k say	other
Holy Mass/service in Polish							
Holy Mass/service in English							
church retreats and conferences (e.g. Alpha Course)	g. 🗖						

	never	less than once a month	2-3 times a month	once a week	more than ponce a week	refer not to say	other
a community or a prayer group							
confession/penance							
Communion							
alms-giving							
personal prayer							
Scripture reading							
Meditation							
Fasting							
Other							
7.a. Please describe a particular pro	actice if you	indicated 'oth	ner'.	7 h V	Vhat is your u	sual nravor	
practice?				7.b. v	viiat is your u	suai prayei	

8. Please indicate on the scale from 1 to 7, where 1 signifies 'I don't attach any importance', 4 'I don't have an opinion' and 'I attach a lot of importance', how important are particular parts or aspects the Holy Mass/service experience?

	l don't attach any importance			I don't have an opinion			I attach a lot of importance
Communion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Scripture readings	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
music to different parts	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
church architecture/design	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
sermon/teaching	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
congregational prayers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
moments of silence	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
involvement of body and hands (clapping, dancing)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

9. Please indicate on the scale from 1 to 7, where 1 signifies 'not important at all', and 7 'very important', how important is religion in your life?

+ More information

In this questionnaire, the word 'religion' refers both to any religious practices, as well as to personal faith.

	not important at all			neutral			very important
Importance of religion in life	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Part III: Music and religion

10. Out of your overall music activities can you estimate how much is devoted to sacred music (e.g. liturgical music, praise and worship or other religious music)?

0%-25% □ 26%-50% □ 51%-75% □ 76%-100% □

11. Please specify how often do you take part the following musical activities in the religious context?

	never	less than once a month	2-3 times a month	2-3 times a week	daily	other
listening to religious music						
singing at the Holy Mass/service						
church choir rehearsal						
using music with prayer/meditation						
taking part in praise and worship services						

	never	less than once a month	2-3 times a month	2-3 times a week	daily	other
singing at the prayer meetings						
singing hymns and songs at home						
liturgical workshop						
music concerts organised in the church		0			0	
singing in tongues						
Other						

12. On a scale of 1 to 7 where 1 means 'I don't enjoy at all' and 7 means 'I enjoy very much', can you rate how much you enjoy each of the following types of religious music?

+More information

The use of the term 'religious music' suggests the possibility of including music genres from other religions. Do not tick more than one answer in one row.

Tick at least 8 answers.

	l don't enjoy at all			I don't have an opinion			I enjoy very much
traditional church hymns	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
classical sacred music (e.g. Bach, Purcell)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Gregorian chant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
church choir music	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Polish contemporary Christian songs (e.g. Przyjaciela Mam)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English contemporary Christian songs (e.g. Hillsong)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Christian rap/hip-hop	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Christian rock	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Gospel music	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
other	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

^{12.}a. If you stated 'other' in the previous question, please specify the type of music.

-	

13. What type of music would you like to experience during different Holy Masses/services?

	Sunday morning service	Sunday afternoon or evening service	Children's service	A weekday service	Special celebration service
traditional hymns with organ accompaniment					۵
modern songs with organ accompaniment					
modern hymns performed by a music band			٥		٥
church choir					
Gospel choir					
a variety of different music forms					
songs or hymns without any instrumental accompaniment			0		٥
with very little or no music and songs					
it doesn't matter to me					
other					

13.a Please specify the genre	e below if you ticked 'other'.
-------------------------------	--------------------------------

14. Do you th	ink that music sh	ould always be present at the Holy Mass/service?
yes □	no 🗖	I don't have an opinion □

15. How much on the scale from 1 to 5 do you agree with the following statements?

	I strongly disagree	I rather disagree	I don't have an opinion	I rather agree	I strongly agree
a. Music in the church is indispensable.	1	2	3	4	5
b. When I hear music which suits my tastes, I feel closer to God.	1	2	3	4	5
c. I attach more significance to religious than to any other music.	1	2	3	4	5
d. Music prepares me for prayer and to hear the Word of God.	1	2	3	4	5
e. Polish hymns mean more to me than English hymns.	1	2	3	4	5
f. Music in the church sometimes annoys me or disturbs me.	1	2	3	4	5

	l strongly disagree	I rather disagree	I don't have an opinion	I rather agree	I strongly agree
g. Music is for me the sign of God's presence.	1	2	3	4	5
h. Polish music upholds my national identity.	1	2	3	4	5
i. Music in the church affects my emotions and state of mind. (e.g. It calms me down)	1	2	3	4	5
j. Music outside context of the church also affects my emotions and state of mind.	1	2	3	4	5
k. Religious music has a stronger effect on me than any other music.	1	2	3	4	5
I. Music in the church plays solely an ornamental role.	1	2	3	4	5

16. If you have made any other observations, have any suggestions or questions concerning the functions of music in the faith context, please write your comment below

Part IV: Personal details				
17. Can you specify your gender?				
male 🖵				
female \Box				
18. Can you specify your age?				
18 to 34 🔲				
35 to 54 □				
55 to 74 🚨				
75 or older □				
19. When did you immigrate to UK?				
before 1940 □				
after 1940 □				
after 1991 🚨				
after 2004 □				
20. What faith do you profess?				
Roman Catholic				
Protestant 🚨				
Orthodox 📮				

None □
Other 🗖
20.a. Please specify if you marked 'other'.
20.b. Which church do you usually attend? (Please provide the name of the parish or the church).
21. What vocation do you have?
an ordained person (e.g. a priest)
a consecrated person (e.g. a nun) 🚨
a lay person □
a Pastor (Protestant Church) 🚨
Other (please specify)
22. What ministry, if any, do you have in the church?
a parish priest
a Rector
an auxiliary priest
a choir member \Box
a cantor $\ \square$

a catechist \square
a choirmaster \square
a worship leader
an organist
none 🖵
other \square
22.a. Please specify if you marked 'other'.
23. I would like to take part in an interview concerning music in religious/spiritual context.
Yes 🗆
No 🗖
The interview will last about 20 minutes in the case of an individual interview and about 45 minutes in the case of a group interview. In the case of an individual interview, it will take place either face to face or over the phone. The preferred location of the interview will be one of the Polish churches in London. Interviews are planned for the period between December 2015 and April 2016. Please provide contact details (name, surname, phone number or email) to arrange the date of the interview if you agree to take part in it.

Appendix C

Research Questions Data Analysis Matrix

Research questions, Hypotheses	Literature	Data	Analysis
1. What functions does music fulfil in church attendees? H1: The importance of music in Polish immigrants' lives is positively related to the importance of religion in their lives.	Functions:	Survey questions: 6. Please indicate on the scale from 1 to 7, where 1 signifies 'not important at all', and 7 'very important', how important is music in your life? 9. Please indicate on the scale from 1 to 7, where 1 signifies 'not important at all', and 7 'very important', how important is religion in your life?	 ♣ Spearman's correlation to test the relationship between the two independent variables: the importance of music and the importance of religion in peoples' lives. Spearman's correlation - data non-parametric, variables measured on an ordinal scale ♣ two Mann-Whitney tests to find out differences in the importance of music and religion respectively, between males (n = 30) and females (n = 48) data non-parametric - equivalent of a t-test used

Preference, gender and personality differences:

'musical' people might be more inclined to be religious (Shuter-Dyson 2006),

Survey questions:

- 6. Please indicate on the scale from 1 to 7, where 1 signifies 'not important at all', and 7 'very important', how important is music in your life?
- 7. How often (if at all) do you take part in the following religious practices? e.g.

 Communion personal prayer

 Scripture reading etc.
- **♣ Spearman's correlation** to investigate the relation between *the importance of music* (Q6) and *the level of commitment to religious activities* (Q7)
- Two bar charts showing frequencies of music experienced in secular context and the level of commitment to religious activities respectively.
- ♣ Friedman's ANOVA (non-parametric) to test differences between music experienced in secular contexts (Q2) and the level of commitment to religious activities (Q7).

H ₂ Music during Mass or service is reported as one of the most important religious practices.	Functions: ↓ ornamental ↓ meditative	Survey questions: 8. Please indicate on the scale from 1 to 7, where 1 signifies 'I don't attach any importance', 4 'I don't have an opinion' and 'I attach a lot of importance', how important are particular parts or aspects the Holy Mass/service experience? E.g. Scripture readings music to different parts church architecture/design etc.	 Friedman's ANOVA (non-parametric) to identify if there are statistical differences between the importance of different aspect s of Mass (Q8) Wilcoxon's Signed Rank test to see where exactly the differences were statistically significant Bar chart showing frequencies of different use of music in religious contexts Friedman's ANOVA (non-parametric) to test if the differences are statistically significant Wilcoxon's Signed Rank test to see where exactly the differences were statistically significant
H3: The level of religious commitment is related to the level of sacred music activities in people's lives.	Functions:	Survey questions: 9. Please indicate 11. Please specify how often do you take part in the musical activities in	♣ Spearman's correlation between the importance of religion (Q9) and the frequency of musical activities in religious contexts

		(011)
instructing about the faith (Pawlak, 2001)	religious contexts? e.g. listening to religious music singing at the Holy Mass/service church choir rehearsal using music with prayer/meditation singing at the prayer meetings singing hymns and songs at home etc. 7. How often (if at all) do you take part in the following religious practices? e.g. Communion personal prayer Scripture reading etc. 10. Out of your overall music activities can you estimate how much is devoted to sacred music (e.g. liturgical music, praise and worship or other religious music)? 0%-25% 26%-50%	 (Q11) ♣ Bar chart showing Music Genres Ranked from the Least to the Most Favourite ♣ Spearman's correlation between the level of commitment to religious activities (Q7) and the level of devotion to sacred music activities (Q10) ♣ Mann- Whitney test to see if there are significant differences in Christian music genre preferences between men and women. (Q12)
	12. On a scale of 1 to 7 where 1 means 'I don't enjoy at all' and 7 means 'I enjoy very much', can you rate how much you enjoy each of the	

		following types of religious music? e.g. traditional church hymns Gregorian chant English contemporary Christian songs (e.g. Hillsong) Gospel music Etc.	
RQ1 -qualitative data	Functions explored by interviews and focus groups: validating rituals, communication (Merriam, 1964) meditative function (Pawlak, 2001) Functions: physical response enforcing conformity to social norms (Merriam, 1964) mood management (DeNora 1999, Dissanayake 2006) improving well-being (MacDonald et al., 2012) Functions and meaning overlap:	Interview questions - some interview questions produced data related to functions of music, which informed the RQ1 E.g. In what way can music, if at all, make you feel closer to God? Has singing in the choir/workshops/church improved any aspects of your life? If so, how? Can music be a sign, a symbol of something or a sacrament during the liturgy/service? Please explain. (This interview question also produced responses to RQ2 related to meaning)	Thematic analysis of the interviews and focus group data. initial familiarisation with the data corpus and highlighting general themes encoding qualitative information and finding repeated patterns related to all research questions generating the list of codes from the data grouping the codes under broader themes comparing the answers of all interview and focus group participants' responses according to emerging themes related to functions of music

	 ↓ symbolic representation, ↓ communication Functions and meaning overlap: ↓ aesthetic enjoyment ↓ mood management (expressing emotions through music) 	5. Have you experienced any physical or emotional sensations during singing either in the church or outside?	Examples of codes identified, referred to functions of music # Prayer facilitation # Builds up the community # Aids perception of words # Enriches the liturgy # Brings closer to God Deepens the faith
2. What musical meanings are constructed in different church contexts? H ₁ : The significance of music in religious contexts is positively linked to people's religiosity.	Meaning: ♣ extrinsic meanings of music experienced in contexts; Reciprocal feedback (Hargreaves et al., 2005) ♣ Ineffability of musical and religious experiences (Raffman 1993, Sloboda) Meaning: ♣ relation of music to the text; presentational specification — music adds to text significantly (Beardsley, 1981) Communities of practice	9. Please indicate on the scale from 1 to 7, where 1 signifies 'not important at all', and 7 'very important', how important is religion in your life? (importance of religion) 15a. Music in the church is indispensable. (general, all contexts) (indispensability of church music) 15c. I attach more significance to religious than to any other music. (religious vs non-religious contexts) (significance of religious music) 15g. Music is for me the sign of God's presence. (various contexts not necessary in the church) (signification of God's presence) 15k. Religious music has a stronger	 ♣ 5 Spearman's correlations between the importance of religion in life and: indispensability of church music significance of religious music signification of God's presence effect of religious music role of music in the church

	negotiating meaning and identities	effect on me than any other music. (effect of religious music) (religious vs non-religious contexts) 151. Music in the church plays solely an ornamental role. (church context) reverse coded) (role of music in the	
H ₂ : Music experienced in religious contexts has a greater effect on the faithful than music experienced in secular contexts.		church) 15i. Music in the church affects my emotions and state of mind. (e.g. It calms me down)	Wilcoxon signed-rank test to check if there are differences in the effect of music experienced in religious and secular contexts Q15i and Q15j
		15j. Music outside context of the church also affects my emotions and state of mind.	
		15k. Religious music has a stronger effect on me than any other music.	The Chi-Square (goodness of fit) performed on Q15k in relation to disagreement/agreement proportions.

RQ2 - qualitative data	meanings and identities in	Examples of interview and focus	Thematic analysis of the interviews
KQ2 - quantative uata	situated contexts (Vygotsky 1966, Wenger & Lave 1991, Engestrom, 1999) affective responses to music and religion; the 'numinous', 'aesthetic awe' and other responses (Konečni 2005)	group questions more relevant to RQ2. What motivates you to take part in music activities? What were/are your expectations before choir practice/workshop/service and how were these expectations met?	and focus group data. initial familiarisation with the data corpus and highlighting general themes encoding qualitative information and finding repeated patterns related to the meanings of music generating the list of codes from the data grouping the codes under
		Does music mean or signify anything to you during liturgy/service? Can music be a sign, a symbol of something or a sacrament during the	broader themes comparing the answers of all interview and focus groups according to emerging themes related to meanings of music
		liturgy/service? Please explain.	_
		How important to you personally are the words that you sing?	Examples of emerging codes referred to meaning of music
			 evokes memories and associations signifies the glory of God carries the spirit of the times
			Positive effects on emotions;e.g. strong physical andemotional reactions

			Liturgical music assumes greater importance
3. In what ways are musical experiences in the church related to the participants' identities? H1: Positive experiences of music in church communities are associated with more commitment to religious practices in attendees.	Functions: ↓ aesthetic enjoyment, ↓ mood management ↓ improving well-being Experiences in faith contexts: ↓ states induced by music (e.g. Routget 1985, Cox 2013) ↓ singing together (e.g. Durrant & Himonides, 1998) Communities of practice ↓ importance of positive feedback – effect on well-being	Survey Questions 15. How much on the scale from 1 to 5 do you agree with the following statements? 15b. When I hear music which suits my tastes, I feel closer to God, 15f. Music in the church sometimes annoys me or disturbs me (reverse coded) 15i. Music in the church affects my emotions and state of mind. (e.g. It calms me down) 15k. Religious music has a stronger effect on me than any other music 7. How often, if at all, do you take part in the following religious practices? e.g. Holy Mass/service in Polish a community or a prayer group	 a Pearson's correlation to test the relation of positive experiences of music in the church to people's faith and worship practice, (combined Q15 b, f, i, k correlated with aggregated data from Q7) a Pearson's correlation to test the correlation between positive experiences of music in the church with the level of devotion to sacred music activities (combined Q15 b, f, i, k correlated with aggregated data from Q10)

		communionalmsgivingpersonal prayerScripture reading	
H ₂ : Polish church music maintains national identity among Polish immigrant people.	Functions:	4b. Which language do you usually listen to music in? Polish English Doesn't matter Other 7. How often (if at all) do you take part in the following religious practices? Holy Mass/service in Polish Holy Mass/service in English 15. How much on the scale from 1 to 5 do you agree with the following statements? 15e. Polish hymns mean more to me than English hymns. 15h. Polish music upholds my national identity.	 descriptive statistics to see the importance of the language in which respondents listen to music in (Q4b) Friedman's ANOVA (non-parametric) to see if the differences are statistically significant descriptive statistics frequency test to find out if Polish people prefer attending Polish services to English ones (Q7) A paired sampled t-test to see the difference between the means of attending services in Polish and attending services in English.
		15e. Polish hymns mean more to me	♣ A Chi Square test to find the association between <i>listening</i>

		than English hymns. 15h. Polish music upholds my national identity. 12. On a scale of 1 to 7 where 1 means 'I don't enjoy at all' and 7 means 'I enjoy very much', can you rate how much you enjoy each of the following types of religious music? e.g. Polish contemporary Christian songs English contemporary Christian songs	 to music in Polish language and upholding the national identity. A Chi Square test to find the association between the meaningfulness of Polish hymns and upholding the national identity. 5 Spearman's rho correlations to support the claim that Polish hymns uphold the national identity. Q15e, Q15a, Q12
RQ3 -qualitative data What I am looking for: If different church 'musical' communities of practice relate to their faith and identity differently. How different music church groups (communities of practice) practise towards a particular performance. (Reasons, motives, effects) The place of identities, be	Meaning and identity: ♣ Communities of Practice: musical participation and reification (Wenger 1998)	Case study of two communities of practice; a church choir and liturgical music workshops. - participant observations - field notes - audio recordings of rehearsals - Interviews with group leaders and a choir master Examples of an informal interview questions with two leaders of liturgical music workshop. What is the meaning of music in your	Thematic analysis of the interviews and focus groups; ↓ liturgical music workshop; two leaders, 5 participants ↓ church choir; a choir master and 3 choir members Field notes and audio recordings samples' analysis. ↓ developing the field notes from a descriptive state to an analytic state ↓ looking for patterns related to identity and faith across the notes and coding the data

it musical or national	life?	extracting parts of recordings,
	· ·	<u> </u>
during music practice.	Can music be a sacrament in some	e.g. conversations, and coding
	way?	them accordingly to identity
Importance of faith for	Can music in the liturgy affect	and faith themes
different groups.	people's faith?	
	Do you think music can touch people	Examples of emerging themes
	on the deeper, 'spiritual' level?	during choir rehearsals
	on the deeper, spiritual tever.	during chon renearsurs
	Examples of interview questions	Patriotic motifs in the
	more relevant to RQ3	
		composition style of some
	Has singing in the choir, workshops	carols, e.g., in a polonaise
	or church improved any aspects of	style
	your life? If so, how?	
	How different does it feel to perform	Polish hymns as practically
	inside the church from performances	exclusive choice for the
	elsewhere?	repertoire
		repertone
	Have you experienced any physical	 7771 11 61
	or emotional sensations during	Therapeutic qualities of choir
	singing either in the church or	rehearsals
	outside?	
	Do you think that worshipping in a	Community of practice;
	Polish church is more authentic than	learning new musical terms
	in English? Please explain	and skills such as note reading
	in English. I lease explain	and skins such as note reading

Appendix D

A selection of interview questions

Motives and expectations

- 1. What motivated you to take part in the liturgical workshops?
- 2. What are your musical expectations before you come to church and how are they met?
- 3. How much engaged have you been during these workshops? Emotionally? Physically? Spiritually?
- 4. Do you remember any special musical event, which was touched in a special way?

Musical Engagement

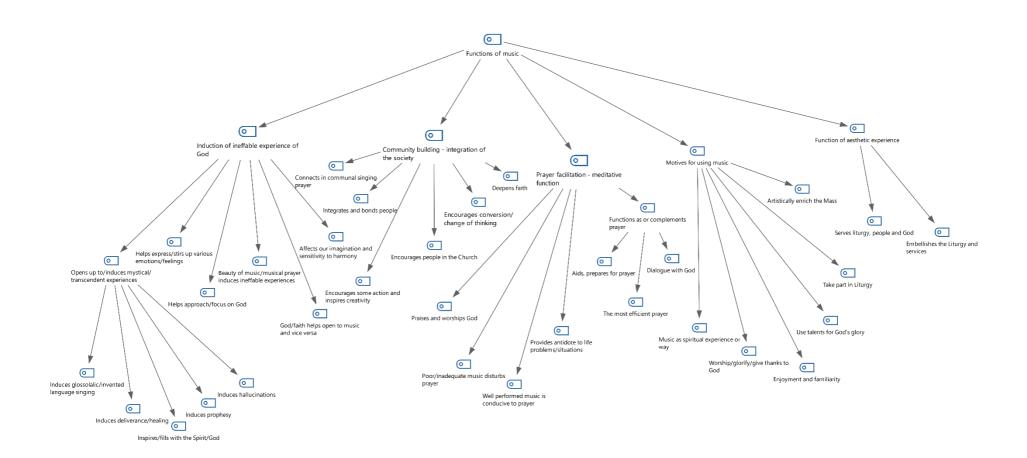
- 1. Is singing in a church choir a spiritual experience for you? or In what way singing in a church choir is a spiritual experience?
- 2. Has singing in the choir improved any aspects of your life? If so, how?
- 3. How different does it feel to perform inside the church from performances elsewhere?
- 4 How important to you personally are the words that you sing?
- 5. Have you experienced any physical or emotional sensations during rehearsals or performances? Experience

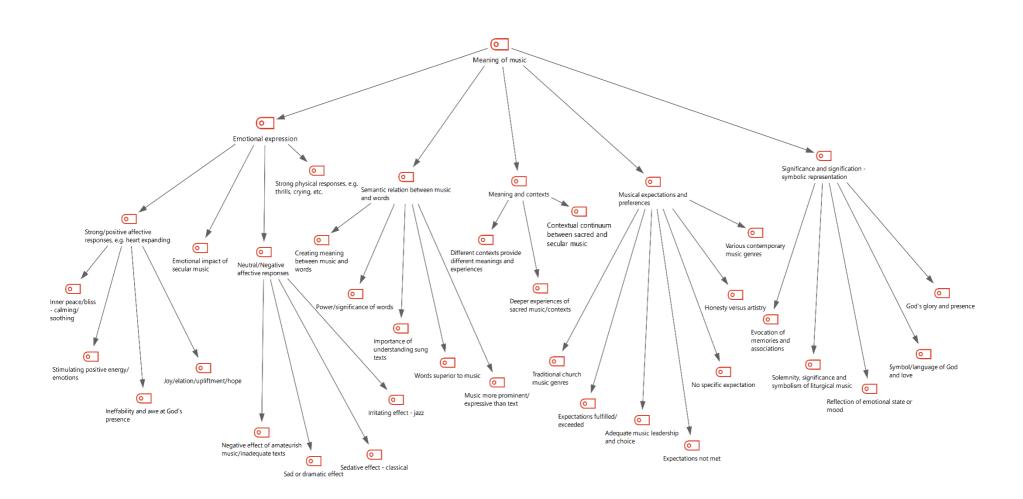
Music Meaning

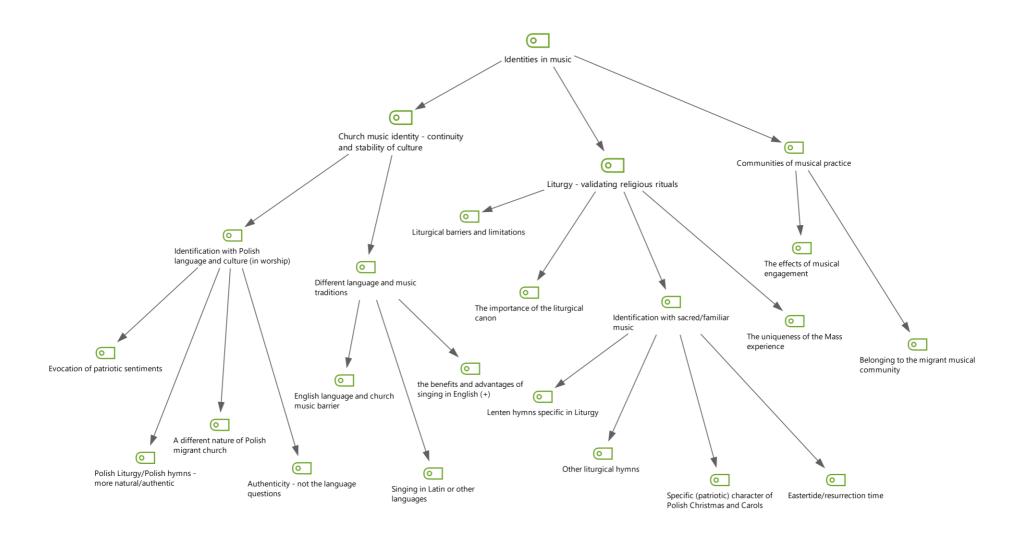
- 1. Does music mean or signify anything to you during liturgy/service?
- 2. Can music be a sign, a symbol of something or a sacrament during the liturgy/service? Please explain.
- 3. In what way can music, if at all, make you feel closer to God?
- 4. Do you think that worshipping in a Polish church is more authentic in English would be less authentic for you? Please explain

Appendix E

Maps of themes and subthemes identified during thematic analysis of interviews







Appendix F

Basic proportion of agreement

Codes	Code	Coders	
			agreement
Interview 1	Researcher	Additional Coder(s)	
1. Greater identification with religious music	1	1	100
2. Expectations exceeded	1	1	100
3. Functions as or complements prayer	1	1	100
4. Creates contexts to integrate	1	1	100
5. Stronger than in a secular context	1	1	100
6. Greater identification with religious music	1	1	100
7. Signification of God's glory	1	1	100
8. Functions as or complements prayer	1	1	100
9. Being moved and crying	1	1	100
10. Positive/strong affective responses	1	0	0
11. Music adds meaning to text or vice versa	1	1	100
12 Polish carols particular in Liturgical Calendar	1	1	100
13 Polish language as the first choice of worship	1	1	100
14. English less associated with church contexts	1	1	100
15. Brings closer to God	1	1	100
16. Functions as or complements prayer	1	1	100
17. Workshops encourage to join the choir	1	1	100

Focus group 1			
18. Sedative effect - secular	1	1	100
19. Negative/neutral affective	1	0	0
responses			
20. Irritating effect - secular	1	1	100
21. Irritating effect - secular	1	1	100
22.Empowering/Stimulating secular	1	1	100
23. Take part in liturgy	1	1	100
24. Use talents for God's glory	1	1	100
25. Artistically enrich the Mass	1	1	100
26. Music adds meaning to text or	1	1	100
vice versa	1	1	100
27. Adequate music leadership and choice	1	1	100
28. Functions as or complements	1	1	100
prayer			
29. Artistically enrich the Mass	1	1	100
30.Familiarity with hymns	1	1	100
31. Functions as or complements	1	1	100
prayer			
32. Worship and pray	1	1	100
33. Functions as or complements	1	1	100
prayer			
34. Contemporary music	1	1	100
35. Traditional hymns - standing the	1	1	100
test of time			
36. Traditional hymns - standing the	1	1	100
test of time 37. Prayer facilitation – meditative	1	1	100
function	1	1	100
38. Helps distract from life problems	1	1	100

39. Inspires/fills with God/the Holy	1	1	100
Spirit			
40. Helps approach/focus on God	1	1	100
41. Prayer facilitation - meditative	0	1	0
function			
42. Inner peace/bliss -	1	1	100
calming/soothing			
43.Empowering/stimulating	1	1	100
44. Inner peace/bliss -	1	1	100
calming/soothing			
45. Functions as or complements	1	1	100
prayer			
46. Honesty versus artistry	1	1	100
47. Words superior to music	1	1	100
48. Worship and pray	1	1	100
49. Thanksgiving	1	1	100
50. Honesty versus artistry	0	1	0
51. Adequate music leadership and	1	1	100
choice			
52. Words superior to music	1	1	100
53. Functions as or complements prayer	1	1	100
54. Relation with God helps to sing	1	1	100
55. Induces glossolalic singing	1	1	100
56. Community building	1	0	0
57. Honesty versus artistry	1	1	100
58. Function of aesthetic experience	0	1	0
59. Not too emotionally inducive	0	1	0
60. Induction of the subjective	1	1	100
mystical experience			

61. Brings closer to God	1	1	100
62. Functions as or complements	1	0	0
prayer			
63. Connects in Communal Prayer	1	1	100
64. Inspires/Fills with God/the Holy	1	1	100
Spirit			
65. Being moved and crying	1	1	100
66. Increased joy	1	1	100
67. Increased hope	1	1	100
68. God-inspired emotions	1	0	0
69. Closeness to God	1	1	100
70. Stronger than in secular contexts	1	1	100
71. Positive effect of secular music	1	0	0
72. Positive effect of secular music	1	1	100
73. Words superior to music	1	1	100
74. Positive effect of secular music	1	1	100
75. Stronger than in secular contexts	1	1	100
76. Polish carols particular in Liturgical Calendar	1	1	100
77. Polish carols particular in Liturgical Calendar	1	0	0
78. Lenten hymns specific in liturgy	1	1	100
79. Being moved and crying	1	1	100
80. Advent hymns	1	1	100
81. Lenten hymns specific in liturgy	1	1	100
82. Eucharistic hymns	1	1	100

83. Polish carols particular in	1	1	100
Liturgical Calendar			
84. Praise and worship services	1	1	100
85. Connects in communal prayer	1	1	100
86. Catharsis	1	1	100
87. Resurrection time	1	1	100
88. Deep spiritual experience	1	1	100
89. Induces glossolalic singing	1	1	100
90. Encourages conversion	1	1	100
91. Induces prophesy	1	1	100
92. Relation with God helps to sing	1	1	100
93. Inspires/fills with God/Spirit	1	1	100
94. Relation with God helps to sing	1	0	0
95. Deep spiritual experience	1	1	100
96. Encourages conversion	1	1	100
97. Polish Language as the first choice of worship	1	1	100
98. Greater accessibility of English hymns/songs	1	1	100
99. More expressive/greater language depth	1	1	100
100. More depth in Polish language	1	1	100
101. More depth in Polish language	1	1	100
102. No language barrier or difference	1	1	100
103. Polish language - preferred choice for worship	1	1	100
104. English less associated with church contexts	1	1	100

105. Many Polish hymns are translations	1	1	100
106. Other languages	1	1	100
107. Polish language as the first	1	1	100
choice of worship			
108. More natural and less	1	0	0
distracting			
109. Other languages	1	1	100
110. Prayer Facilitation – meditative	1	1	100
functions			
111. Deepens faith	1	1	100
112. Encourage people in the church	1	1	100
113. Adequate music leader or music choice	1	1	100
114. Spiritual dimension of secular	1	1	100
music	-	-	100
115. Interplay between music and	1	1	100
text			
116. Power of (scriptural) words	1	1	100
117. Power of (scriptural) words	1	1	100
118. Interplay between music and text	1	1	100
119. Interplay between music and text	1	0	0

Appendix G Working code book with examples of explanation of categories, themes, and codes (subject to minor changes)

Categories, codes and subcodes	Number of coded segments
1 Various aspects of sacred/liturgical music	0
1.1 Music is not necessary for liturgy/prayer	2
1.2 Historical importance	4
1.3 Cultural/racial differences in experiencing music (in liturgy)	6
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Explanation of the categories, themes, codes and subcodes

- 1 Various aspects of sacred/liturgical music
- 1.1 Music is not necessary for liturgy/prayer
- 1.2 Historical importance
- 1.3 Cultural/racial differences in experiencing music (in liturgy)
- 1.4 Spiritual/ritualistic character of music/art

1.5 Relation between classical and sacred music

There is a link between classical and sacred music. A lot of Western classical music comprised church music and classical music tradition often builds on the heritage of previous centuries of church music. Respondents often report similar affective responses between the two.

1.6 Defocused from sheer attractiveness and emotional impact

Church music might not to be too emotionally inducive. Especially in the Catholic Church, the main role of music is not to stir up emotion but rather calm the senses down and prepare for prayer, something that one respondent also suggested.

1.7 Silence versus music

2 Music life stories

Music is a considerable part of people's lives. It is some sort of a narrative that is embedded in many people's life stories. Here for one respondent, for example, it is important that music education is already well-focussed and that children have musical education already in the primary school. According to the respondent it is the most important period in the child's musical formation. A lot of children need proper support and encouragement - which she lacked, for example.

3 Cliches

Quite a few respondents quoted or actually misquoted a sequence attributed to Saint Augustin who claimed that 'he who sings prays twice'. In fact, this quote doesn't appear in St Augustin's writings.

4 Community building - integration of the society

This role or function of music comprises all the aspects and interactions which are communal or contribute to social bonding. In fact most of the church actions are communal. This categorical theme considers actions which are situated in communal contexts. The significance or meaning of the music in religious contexts is considered throughout.

4.1 Deepens faith

In fact all functions of music mentioned in the context of the church are closely related to or refer to either the kerygmatic (instructing about the faith) function or the function of deepening the faith.

4.2 Encourages conversion/change of thinking

Music during peak experiences in the church might induce glossolalia and be the source of certain 'catharses' which open people's heart to God and encourage conversion.

4.3 Connects in communal singing prayer

This code relates to the fact that music gets people together in prayer: in this context the focus is often on music - singing which becomes prayer itself.

4.4 Encourages people in the church

One of the functions of music is community building, and in order to encourage people and to make the service more attractive, music needs to encourage people. It needs to be attractive and should create the right, prayerful atmosphere. It should be adequate and adequately performed.

4.5 Integrates and bonds people

Being with people in the church, at the workshop or choir was a very positive experience for those who took part. These contexts not only provide the context to learn and practise music but also to integrate and socialise with other people. The integratory character of music is well attested and is evidenced throughout different contexts in this research.

4.6 Encourages some action and inspires creativity

Music is very much connected with some kind of physical response. In the case of music in the church or other 'spiritual' contexts it might be passive but might also encourage some movement of the body or some action, immediate or delayed, perhaps inspired by music. Music itself in such contexts can inspire some improvisatory reactions, singing or improvising some notes on an instrument. It was also suggested by one respondent that different rhythms might induce different states. Similarly, one might talk about war music or music that is triumphant, for example.

5 Prayer facilitation - meditative function

For some respondents, music helps participants to pray and get away from life problems. The general theme is to facilitate prayer. This is also broken down into codes which directly relate to prayer facilitation. The codes usually further describe how the function is fulfilled, e.g. by helping to distract from life problems.

5.1 Well performed music is conducive to prayer

Several respondents point out that the quality of music indeed affects the experience of music as well as the experience of prayer.

Well performed music might certainly enable people to focus on prayer.

5.2 Poor/inadequate music disturbs prayer

The nature of music means that it needs to have some aesthetic qualities. If such elements as tonality or melody are distorted, music might be very destructive of prayer, or even annoying.

5.3 Provides antidote to life problems/situations

When adequately chosen and well performed, music can have such an effect on some faithful that it helps them to forget about their life problems as they pray and focus their attention on God but also on the music itself. Some respondents might find some relief in a tune or a song – it might literally bring some

understanding or clarification of their life situations, most likely through the lyrics heard but not exclusively.

5.4 Praises and worships God

Music in the church acquires a great significance as it serves as a tool or vehicle to give glory and praise to God. This form of prayer is very powerful for some people and music itself seems to have this abstract, almost otherworldly quality that is fitting for and helps worship God. This is perhaps better achieved than through mere speech or spoken prayer.

5.5 Functions as or complements prayer

This is one of the key codes and appears throughout the whole data set. In fact, many other codes are very much related to it as prayer as such is ever-present in worship and appears naturally in various forms, music or hymns simply being one form of it.

5.5.1 The most efficient prayer

5.5.2 Dialogue with God

5.5.3 Aids, prepares for prayer

6 Function of aesthetic experience

One of the social functions of music, also operational and very important in the church contexts. Musical aesthetics is a question of preference, as is the quality and relevance of music in the church. There is no doubt that for church music to be aesthetically fulfilling it needs to be performed at some level of professionalism and it needs to be adequately chosen, meaning that some music (tunes, genres and hymns) will not be appropriate in certain liturgical occasions.

6.1 Embellishes the liturgy and services

Respondents often say how important music is in the liturgy and in the service, that without music the time spent in the church could be more mundane. Music is an integral part of the service, although there are services without it.

6.2 Serves liturgy, people and God

According to quite a few respondents this function is one of the key roles of music in the church. Music is not the aim in itself, it's not just entertaining or aesthetically pleasing although it might as well be. Music is subordinate to the liturgy in much the same way as any other art, be it painting, sculpture or architecture. It is a part of it; a very important one though.

7 Induction of subjective experiences of the Ineffable (God)

Music brings people to God mostly because it is a form of a prayer, but the music element helps it as it might touch people in a very special and different way from simply words. One person described it this way: The way it was presented during the workshop was very helpful as the words 'flowing up as prayer which is sung' in 'a lofty manner'.

7.1 Through the sheer beauty of music/musical prayer

Music can bring worshippers closer to God in as much as any other honest prayer can somehow bring them closer to God, but it might additionally be an experience of beauty that creates an impression of being close to a deity.

7.2 Affects our imagination and sensitivity to harmony

One respondent points out the aesthetics of European as well as African music traditions and the role of churches in developing various styles of tonal music. Most European and Western listeners are culturally sensitive to and appreciate music which is harmonious and generally notice the discord in music. This explains the "harmony and order of the creation and the Creator itself."

7.3 Helps approach/focus on God

Quite a few respondents feel that because music can touch their hearts or psyche, something deep inside, it also opens them up more to God and helps them to pray or worship. Music, for most respondents, touches them 'spiritually' and is 'spiritual' to them.

7.4 Helps express/stirs up various emotions/feelings

Music, through the involvement of the whole body as well as its emotions, brings us closer to God, "perhaps because we react like He is a living person for us."

7.5 Opens up to/induces mystical/transcendent experiences

This code is a little bit vague and enigmatic, based usually on subjective experiences. The words spiritual or transcendent (used by some respondents) refer to subjective experiences which are supposedly otherworldly and are characterised by a subjective experience of the presence of the divine. Music helps people bring down their defences and open up to God, where they can come to praise and worship, stand face to face with God as they are, 'naked', confess to him and get connected.

7.5.1 Inspires/fills with the Spirit/God

Some respondents feel they are filled with or inspired by the Holy Spirit which in this research, any theological clarifications aside, is synonymous with God. In fact, it might manifest itself differently as reported and coded in some of the other subcodes related to the induction of subjective mystical experiences.

7.5.2 Induces deliverance/healing

Induction of various states testifies about the strong emotional impact of music during worship. For one respondent music, became a channel of subjective deliverance. Especially in Protestant traditions, people with very strong faith and conversion music often induces subjective healing. These examples mostly refer to subjective improvements of a psychological nature.

7.5.3 Induces hallucinations

A few respondents report some hallucinatory states, for example, someone appearing in front of their eyes suddenly while singing during a worship service.

7.5.4 Induces prophecy

A few respondents report induction of prophecy, which in this context might refer to some subjective knowledge related to another person or event. An example from the Bible is also suggested by one respondent (2 Kings, 3:15).

7.5.5 Induces glossolalic/invented language singing

One example of a mystical experience is related to a type of speaking or singing in an 'unintelligible language' referred to as 'glossolalia'. A few respondents report such experiences or related experiences, which usually happen in trance-like, deeply emotional communal worship experiences. Such phenomena are not exclusive to Christian or religious settings, however.

7.6 God/faith helps to open to music and vice versa

On one hand, music has the power to open up or transport a listener/performer to a subjective state of transcendence so that one feels close to God. On the other hand, if one does not have the close relation with God, it might be an obstacle. It might be difficult to sing honestly and open up to God if there is no subjective 'personal relation'.

8 Motives for using music

This code follows one of the interview questions. There are different motives which may explain why people sing in the church. The motives identified here also describe how respondents use the music in the church.

8.1 Join the choir/workshop

The positive effects of the music workshop encourage some respondents to see the liturgical music differently and to join the choir.

8.2 Connect with other people/musicians

This code relates to the fact that music gets people together in prayer: in this context the focus is often on music - singing which becomes prayer itself.

8.3 Music in general vs worship music - fine line

8.4 Take part in liturgy

This motive seems to be the most obvious, but many more motives also follow or spring from this obvious one as people indeed sing for many other reasons.

8.5 Use talents for God's glory

One important role in church communities is serving or using talents and abilities, and singing is one way to do so, which also appears to motivate some respondents.

8.6 Artistically enrich the Mass

This is related to the previous motive. A few respondents report that the Mass should be artistically enriched as it makes it more solemn.

8.7 Enjoyment and familiarity

Some respondents sing because they can sing and they enjoy singing. Others might simply sing because they know the hymns. 'I know the songs therefore I sing them' as one respondent reports.

8.8 Worship/glorify and pray

This is one of the key motives for the respondents, with one reporting that during singing she can worship God directly and consciously as well as pray and say something to God. Examples of worshipping might include thanksgiving or making a petition to God when singing.

8.9 Music as spiritual experience or way

Some respondents often from non-Catholic backgrounds, but not exclusively, expect an inner experience related to meeting God in a song, a mystical experience of being close to God.

9 Interplay between music and words

There is a relation between music in words. They interact with one another in a unique way. This is visible in songs and hymns. Words often are more meaningful with music and music often acquires its meaning through the words.

9.1 Creating meaning between music and words

It is very important what words are chosen to be sung. There is a strong, often very conscious, relation between words and music which is also manifested powerfully on an individual experiential level. One respondent mentions that she had a subjective feeling that 'God approves of or admits to the words I was singing'. After workshops, another respondent realised how important were the words sung during the liturgy and how both can be blended together.

9.2 Power/significance of words

Words are powerful in themselves. With music they might be even more powerful. One example is that certain words or phrases are magnified through repetition so that they are noticeable and consciously remembered.

9.3 Importance of understanding sung texts

Music and words will have an impact when the texts are understood. If the text is too complex or if listeners do not understand the words of the hymn, the hymn will not be meaningful.

9.4 Words superior to music

In most cases and particularly in the context of the church it is the word that gives the meaning to the faithful. Consequently, music is in the service of the word, so to speak.

9.5 Music more prominent/expressive than text

Many times, music is the first element that attracts the listener. Words are often not fully understood or are partly overlooked. It's important in the churches to make sure that the words are clear to understand, and the music is only the carrier of the words.

10 Meaning and contexts

There is evidence, which is also apparent in this research, that the meaning of music arises in specific contexts. In this case, the church is the context. The meaning arises in those experiencing the music in this particular place and with these particular people taking part in very specific musical events.

10.1 Different contexts provide different meaning and experience

Every musical performance is different, with all its circumstances and unique contexts.

10.2 Deeper experiences of sacred music/contexts

Music in the church has the quality to evoke stronger emotions and experiences for some people than in secular contexts.

11 Emotional expression

This is an umbrella code under which various positive effects of music on emotions are specified in separate codes.

11.1 Strong physical responses, e.g.,

thrills, crying, etc.

A very rich code with many respondents reporting their physical reactions. Some are often moved so much that crying is induced, so it might be difficult to continue to sing on. Such reactions are also reported during listening to secular music.

11.2 Neutral/Negative affective responses

Although not the majority, church music might also induce some negative emotions or might not have any impact on church attendees. This is an umbrella code which is broken up into different codes in more detail.

11.2.1 Sad or dramatic effect

Music might bring sad, dramatic associations, perhaps connected with dramatic, distressing events like war.

11.2.2 Sedative effect - classical

Some music might have a sedative effect on people. However, the effect might be a positive one like during dozing off, for example. One respondent reported dozing off during a classical music concert reporting that she felt extremely relaxed, unstressed and in such a blissful state that she fell asleep for a while.

11.2.3 Irritating effect - jazz

This respondent did not like jazzy rhythms which made her feel irritated.

11.2.4 Negative effect of amateurish music/inadequate texts

According to many respondents, church music which is of a low quality in the church might be disturbing and has a negative, often discouraging effect on the faithful.

11.3 Strong/positive affective responses, e.g., heart expanding

Examples include feeling of warmth/lightness - this is usually a subjective manifestation, testified by many, of the Holy Spirit, reminiscent of 'the weakness at the knees', catharsis/cleansing - this represents a subjective feeling of inner cleansing that a few people experienced during listening to church music.

11.3.1 Inner peace/bliss - calming/soothing

There are many reports of religious music having a very calming effect on people in this data set, which evidence the mood-regulating role of music. It has been attested that people use music to effectively regulate their mood, e.g. listening to calm down, to relax or to boost their mood

11.3.2 Ineffability/awe

Some musical experiences, especially in the church context, are difficult to describe or produce a feeling of awe which represent almost a sublime and ineffable emotion.

11.3.3 Joy/upliftment/hope

Singing in the church might bring a lot of joy as well as hope.

11.3.4 Empowering/Stimulating

Music, both in the church and outside of it (secular music), is reported as being stimulating. There is a subcode for the secular music.

11.3.5 Closeness to God

A few people reported subjective closeness to God as though He was present in some mysterious way.

11.3.6 Feeling of elation/ecstasy

11.3.7 Evocation of positive energy/emotions

11.4 Emotional impact of secular music

Most experiences of emotions are related to music in the church context, but a quite few respondents also talk about positive emotions related to secular music. They usually stress that church music brings different, perhaps loftier emotions.

12 Significance and signification - symbolic representation

Significance and signification comprise rich data in the reports which are coded in this section. This refers to the extrinsic meaning of music constructed in church contexts.

12.1 Evocation of memories and associations

As other research indicates, music brings many associations and so this might be the case with church music when particular words, tunes or hymns might mean something special to a listener or a performer (e.g., in a choir). Music also carries the spirit of the times. All types of music will be contextual and characteristic for the period, culture or context in which they are created.

12.2 Solemnity, significance and symbolism of liturgical music

There is a lot of symbolism and significance in the Mass and liturgy. The moment one steps into a church one sees this in pictures, images, crosses and so on. The same applies to liturgical music. It is not accidental and should be chosen accordingly, representing a particular day in the calendar, a feast or celebration.

12.3 Reflection of emotional state or mood

This might relate to mood regulation but also to the meaning of music. Perhaps signification or emotional expression.

12.4 God's glory and presence

One of the respondents answered that the music in the church has 'the glorious, lofty meaning'. Also, through music people express their emotions towards God (e.g. loftiness). However, the interview question might have been misunderstood, implying that music might signify something - God's glory in this case.

12.5 Symbol/language of God and love

This concept is interesting and is worth researching a bit more. Give more detail

13 Musical expectations and preferences

This follows one of the interview questions about what type of music people want or expect in the church, which is related to musical preferences. Music often becomes more meaningful when it fulfils people's expectations.

13.1 Expectations disappointed

Most people have some expectation when it comes to music in the church but for some these expectations are often not met. They expect music to be unique or at least good and pleasing but they do not get it which is disappointing.

13.2 Expectations fulfilled/exceeded

In some cases, respondents did not expect that the participation in the workshop would make such a big, also religious, impact on them.

13.3 Various more contemporary music genres

Some respondents expect that music in worship should be more related to today's contemporary context and not only use old, traditionally defined church musical styles. Another respondent expects freedom of expression – something which is more likely in Evangelical than in Catholic churches.

13.4 Adequate music leadership and choice

This is quite a rich code with many respondents stressing the importance of a good leader and good music. Certain genres like Rap, for example, might not be appropriate but that might depend on a particular church occasion or event as well as on personal preference. Christian rap would be adequate outside of liturgy (Mass) for example at a church event for younger people.

13.5 Honesty versus artistry

Two respondents agreed that the honest attitude in singing prayer is more important than the artistic level yet one stresses the importance of the leader, someone like an organist who can lead people in prayer. This usually requires musical competence.

13.6 Traditional church music genres

There is depth in the old traditional hymns such as Gregorian Chants, which can be rediscovered in the contemporary context.

13.7 No specific expectation

Some respondents did not have any particular musical expectations as long as the music was honestly and competently performed, e.g., without being out of tune.

14 Church music identity - continuity and stability of culture

Musical meaning is closely related to and dependent upon linguistic meaning. Both are closely related and contribute to the stability of a culture.

14.1 Identification with Polish language and culture (in worship)

The majority of the Polish faithful will choose Polish services rather than English ones. One reason is that some respondents might not have been long enough in the UK to identify with English language and to worship in English. They would naturally identify with Polish culture and the way of worship.

14.1.1 Polish liturgy/Polish hymns - more natural/authentic

One respondent mentions that when attending the English Mass there is a tendency to focus on the form, and such aspects as English pronunciation rather than the content when singing in English. Hence, Polish

language is more natural. One respondent reports that there is more depth in Polish, whereas some others report more expressiveness in English language.

14.1.2 A different nature of Polish migrant church

It seems like the nature and the tapestry of the churches in the UK is different from the ones in Poland. First, the English Catholicism is yet different as historically it had a different trajectory. Second, the Polish Catholic Church in London is made up of different, usually younger people. They are migrants so both their identity and that of the Polish migrant church have been shaped by the migrant, British reality.

14.1.3 Evocation of patriotic sentiments

People usually identify with Polish culture through Polish church music which often brings lots of association with Poland, the past, the memories and experience from the homeland.

14.2 Different character and tradition of English music

Some respondents notice a vast and very diverse English Contemporary Christian Music market but also a different character of English hymns. English is less appealing in the church context for some people. For one respondent, English is less natural in the church context, which might be explained by the choice or personal preference as she mentions Italian as an example of a liturgically fitting and beautiful language.

14.2.1 More expressive/greater language depth

A few respondents feel that some phrases or words sound better in English when sung or spoken and they are more expressive.

14.2.2 Motivating to learn English

A few respondents feel that some phrases or words sound better in English when sung or spoken and they are more expressive.

Many Polish hymns are translations

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To some respondents' surprise quite a few songs they knew from Poland were translations from English. Taking part in English speaking liturgy can stretch the language skills of the faithful. Furthermore, to some respondents' surprise, quite a few songs they knew from Poland were translations from English. Change font of first bit

14.3 Authenticity - not the language questions

Praying in a different language is not a question of whether or not the prayer is authentic but is a question of individual self-expression. People who know the language well enough to take part in liturgy will find it equally authentic or natural. Perhaps the word authentic was not the best choice but it might have provoked some interesting conversations.

14.4 Language barrier or difference in experiencing music

For some respondents, 'language is only a language' and it doesn't matter which language in which you worship as long as there is no big barrier.

14.5 Singing in Latin or other language

Some respondents mention other languages as examples of liturgy, for example Italian, which they report as a beautiful experience

15 Liturgy - validating religious rituals

15.1 The importance of the liturgical canon

Liturgical music is very important and there are certain canons, ie. laws that should be followed in order to keep the solemnity of the Mass. Music should be carefully chosen so that it reflects the readings and helps to experience the celebration.

15.1.1 The uniqueness of the Mass experience

Some respondents stress the importance of music during Mass experience and the atmosphere of sacrum, especially during a Catholic Mass as opposed to a service. The Catholic Mass often uses multisensory elements to create the atmosphere of piety. Furthermore, the Mass itself is a recreation of the Sacrifice of Jesus Christ and a time and place where this re-enactment takes place in the Eucharist or communion.

15.1.2 Liturgical barriers and limitations

A few examples of these were reported by the respondents. One respondent gives change font a very interesting account of an attempt to use Polish rock'n'roll (bigbeat) at Masses back in the 1960s. The controversy is not as much liturgical as political and is quite exceptional historically.

15.2 Identification with sacred/familiar music

Some respondents identified with religious music even though they might not be familiar with a piece. Others identified with familiar music, not necessarily religious.

15.2.1 Specific (patriotic) character of Polish Christmas and carols

Many respondents think that carols are very specific and special as they express a lot of joy and carry some family and patriotic sentiments.

15.2.2 Lenten hymns specific in liturgy

Lent is a specific period when hymns assume very deep meaning.

15.2.3 Eastertide/resurrection time

For one respondent there is only one liturgical time: that of resurrection. Others stress the importance of Easter as a liturgical time.

15.2.4 Other liturgical hymns

Various other liturgical occasions or types of music are mentioned by some respondents. For example, praise and worship does not depend on the time of the year for some, and there is no specific time frame in the calendar. Advent, for example, is a period of waiting for Christ coming, either his birth retrospectively or his second coming prospectively. There are also some advent hymns which are favoured by some respondents. For a few respondents there is no specific liturgical time, but specific hymns are used during communion, for example.

16 Musical communities of practice

These codes focus on the experiences of the respondents who have taken part in liturgical music workshops or have been members of a church choir.

16.1 The challenges and effects of choir engagement

Singing in a choir seems to be some kind of a journey, and might have an enormous, varied impact on the choir members.

16.2 Focus on the people not on the place - inclusion

16.3 Liturgical workshop and choir as spiritual experience

16.4 Feeling of belonging to a community

The positive effect of the music workshop encourages some respondents to see the liturgical music differently and to join the choir.

- 16.5 Learning new skills e.g., new songs
- 16.6 Performer vs listener experience differences
- 16.7 Prejudiced attitude towards workshops
- 16.8 Patriotic music in choir repertoire

Appendix H

Recruitment materials



Rola i znaczenie muzyki wśród polskich społeczności kościelnych w Londynie

CZY CHCESZ WZIĄĆ UDZIAŁ W BADANIU NAUKOWYM?

- * muzyka w kontekście duchowym
 - * wpływ muzyki i modlitwy na stan ducha
 - * kwestionariusz
 - * wywiady indywidualne i grupowe
 - * doświadczanie muzyki w czasie modlitwy



English translation:

The role and the meaning of music in the Polish church communities in London

Would you like to participate in the research?

- *music in the spiritual context
- *the effect of music and prayer on the state of mind
- *group and individual interviews
- *experience of music during prayer

 $\label{eq:Appendix I} \textbf{A table summarising the different stages and components of the research design.}$

Academic Year	Stage	Method	Details
	Quantitative Part		
		Sampling	 both convenience and purposive, sample chosen from the population of Polish immigrants in the UK, 18 respondents from Polish churches in North London for pilot studies 78 respondents (30 males and 48 females) for the main study.
2014/2015 June 2015	1. Pilot survey	Questionnaire	 20 questions related to the role of music in the lives of church attendees, useful in determining the survey's effectiveness and resolving certain inconsistencies and difficulties.
2015/2016 15th October 2015 - 30th June 2016 – data collection	2. Study 1. Survey.	Questionnaire	 an improved version of a pilot questionnaire created and opened online (www.onlinesurveys.ac.uk), also available on paper, delivered in the Polish language.
2017/2018	3. Analysis	Statistical analysis of the survey data	 the data analysis was carried out using the SPSS statistics package, seven hypotheses were formulated to explore the quantitative elements of each research question.

			 approximately 30 statistical tests performed, such as Spearman's correlations, Friedman's ANOVAs, Mann-Whitney tests and others, to answer the qualitative parts of three research questions.
	Qualitative Part		
		Sampling	 both convenience and purposive, chosen from the population of Polish immigrants in the UK, several participants (three group and two individual interviews) for pilot studies, 31 participants in focus groups and interviews (16 males and 14 females) for the main studies.
2015/2016	1. Pilot studies.	Focus groups Audio recordings Field notes	 conducted to assess the effectiveness of the qualitative tools, included several questions (5 to 7) related to musical expectations, experience and meaning in church, conducted to assess the effectiveness of the qualitative tools, took place in communal rooms in two Polish parishes, produced 100 minutes of audio recordings and about 800 words of

			field notes.
2014/2015, 2015/2016	2. Study 2 a.	Participant observations	
December 2014, February 2015, June to July 2015, January 2016 and Lent in April 2016	Part 1.	Choir observations.	 ethnographic in nature, participant observations of the church choir,
		Audio recordings	 more than 10 hours of audio recordings.
six weekend workshops between March 2014 and March 2016	Part 2.	Liturgical music workshops observation	 ethnographic in nature, participant observation of liturgical music workshops.
		Field notes	about 4000 words of field notes were written
		Audio recordings	 more than 20 hours of audio recordings.
2015/2016 March to July 2016	3. Study 2b.	Individual interviews Joint interviews Group interviews (Focus groups)	 included several questions (5 to 7) related to musical expectations, experience and meaning in church, individual, joint and group interviews (focus groups), semi-structured, took place in communal rooms in church, at homes and in a café.

2019/2020, 2020/2021	Analysis	Reflective thematic analysis	 organising interview data into themes,
			 finding repeated patterns related to all
			research questions,
			 generating the list of codes from the
			interview data,
			 grouping codes under broader themes,
			 searching observation data for
			patterns related to identity themes.

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