Negotiating 'anglicanness' in Rome: A Study of an Anglican Congregation in the Heart of Roman Catholicism

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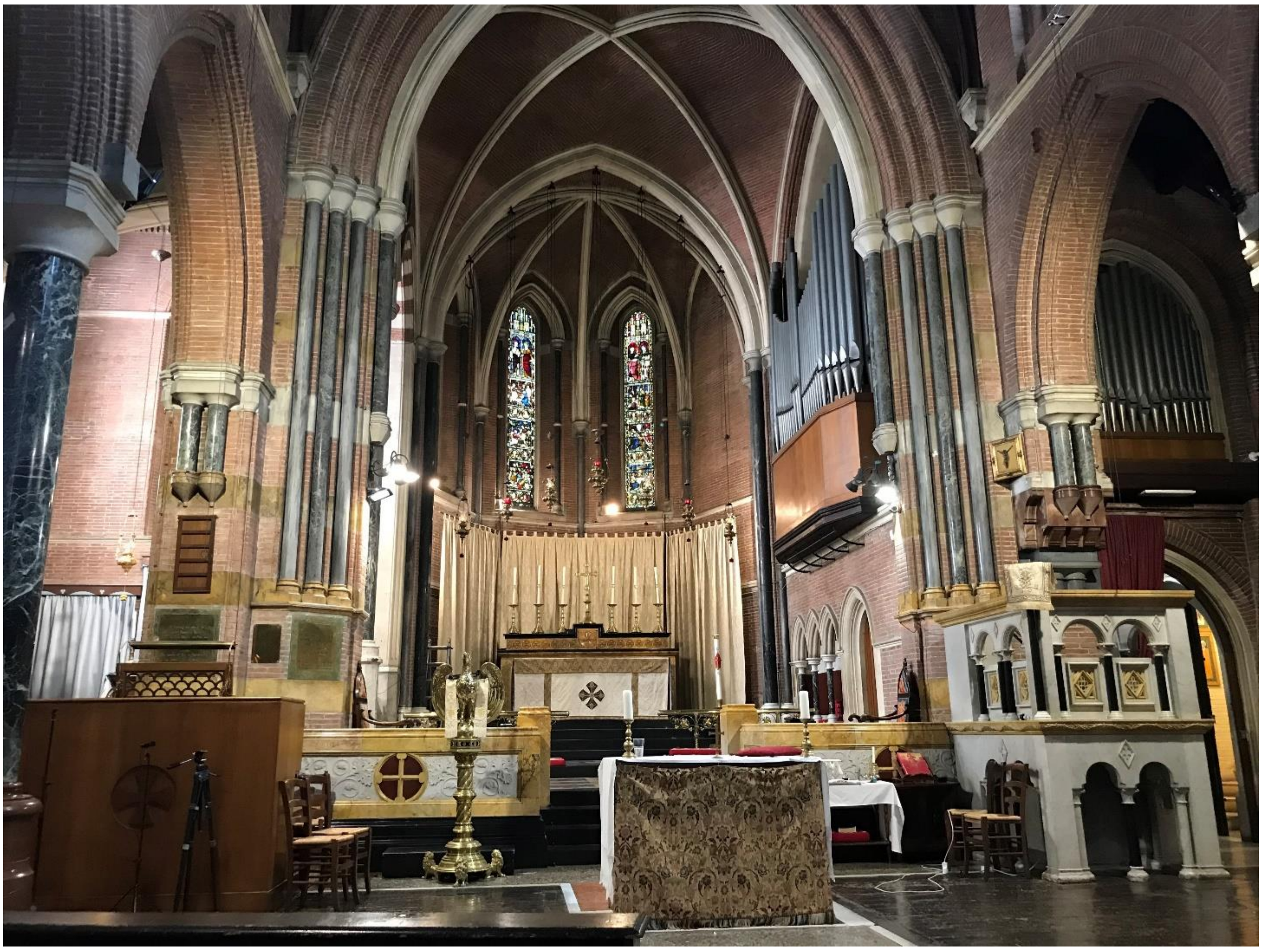

Interior of All Saints' church, as seen from the pews.

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Abstract

This thesis studies a diasporic Anglican congregation in Rome. Specifically, it explores the negotiation of the Anglican congregation's identity and practice – what I dub 'anglicanness' – in relation to its political, cultural, and religious counterparts. The thesis is situated in and draws on both practical theology and lived religion. The theoretical scope is influenced by lived religion which makes out the four focus points of the analysis: materiality, embodiment, narrativity, and spirituality. With this, two goals are present: 1) to integrate theoretical knowledge from lived religion into practical theology, and 2) to expand on the body of empirical theological knowledge. To this end, two qualitative research methods were used, both interview and participant observation. My findings indicate that the congregation's materiality is characterized by *plasticity* due to its material church being a mixture of its own tradition as well as incorporating local influence. Further, a focus on embodiment reveals that the congregation's bodies, as well as other bodies in its church, are *regulated* by an external power, namely the dominant Roman Catholicism. Contrary to this, the congregation's own narrative regarding times of crisis is characterized by *empowerment*. Instead of the pandemic being a time for suffering and survival, the congregation's narrative made it come out ahead, even growing stronger than before the pandemic. Finally, looking at its spirituality through the liturgy and language, my findings indicate that the congregation is *inclusive, diverse,* and *trans-national*. This stems from its inclusivity of other nations and denominations, as well as its diversity of language, which all transcend the limit of national borders.

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This thesis would not be possible without the help of multiple people. First of all, my deepest gratitude goes to my supervisor, Associate Professor Elisabeth Tveito Johnsen for her continuous effort and belief in the project since the beginning. I am grateful for the time and expertise she has given me throughout the duration of this project. I would also like to thank The Norwegian Institute in Rome for their generous research grant which made the fieldwork of this thesis possible. The people of the institute, as well as its gorgeous building, facilitated a successful research trip to Rome, despite pandemical difficulties. Finally, I would like to extend a sincere thanks to the whole congregation of All Saints' Anglican Church in Rome for welcoming me as part of the congregation. A special thanks to the vicar and focus group participants for letting me interview them. It was meaningful both personally and academically. I truly hope you find the funds to renovate the roof of your church.

On a personal note, I am deeply thankful for my beloved wife, Auguste, who along with being my invaluable assistant during the fieldwork, kept assisting me throughout the whole project. I would also like to thank my sister, Sandra, who helped me with advice, thinking aloud, and moral support whenever it was needed. A final thanks to the participants of the conference Sources of Life in Times of Crisis, hosted by the Nordic Network for Practice and Theology, for their feedback on an early presentation of the thesis.

Gloria in excelsis Deo

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1. Introduction

1.1 Theme

Times of crisis are influential in shaping both identity and practice. Whether this be a crisis of identity, as experienced by the Church of England in a context of decline (Avis, 1989, pp. 2-4; Church of England Research and Statistics, 2020), a pandemic-induced worldwide lockdown, or both. The Church of England has met the former crisis with various tactics, such as fresh expression churches (see for example Nelstrop & Percy, 2008).

This thesis explores a different context than the one native to the Church of England; it is centered on a diaspora congregation under the Church of England, located in Rome. How this congregation's 'anglicanness' – its identity as well as its practice – is lived, in unison or contrary to the mother church, will be looked at. Does this congregation draw inspiration from their mother church, despite its decline? Or is it influenced by its diasporic context, despite their differences? These questions will be explored with a wide lens, focusing on the congregation's material church building, as well as the members of the congregation, their bodies, words, liturgy, and language. In short, the congregation's everyday practice will be analyzed, and with that, how it operates in the tension between its mother church and its diasporic context.

My findings from the Anglican diaspora congregation will in chapter five be compared to Scandinavian research on churches abroad. Comparing the Scandinavian context to diasporic Rome, I will argue that the role of nationality is vastly different. This research is done with the help of five informants, the vicar, along with four focus group interview participants whom I call Matteo, Sophie, Kate, and Jenna. Participant observation in the congregation's everyday life was also conducted, during a research stay lasting six weeks.

The relationship between Anglicanism and Roman Catholicism in Italy is complex. It is difficult to establish an exact number of Anglicans residing in Italy, as some statistics refrain from including Anglicans or group them together with other denominations (Pace, 2007, p. 93; 2018, p. 143), but according to Associazione Chiesa d'Inghilterra there is estimated to be over 100,000 Anglicans in Italy. The Roman Catholic Church on the other hand is estimated by a survey in 2011 to encompass over 80% of the Italian population (Pace, 2018, p. 143). It is thus fair to establish Anglicanism as a religious minority, in relation to the majority of Roman Catholicism. In addition to the extraordinary number of Roman Catholics in Italy, Rome itself is commonly known as a city with a strong Roman Catholic presence. Its many churches in the squares or the ones hidden away in alleys, its priests dressed in black robes strolling down the streets, its buildings' integrated icons portraying the Virgin Mary, all point to a large presence of Roman Catholicism. This religious landscape is bound to influence minority denominations such as the Anglican Church.

When undertaking a research project about congregational practice, it is difficult not to mention the trend of secularization. This trend is usually connected with the decline of organized religion, exemplified by a decrease in church attendance. This is also the case in Italy, as shown in a detailed project considering studies on church attendance in Italy during the past 40 years, up to 2010 (Vezzoni & Biolcati-Rinaldi, 2015). The trend shows a clear decrease, but the nuance of this decrease is up for debate. It indicates that the number of non-religious people is growing, but it could also imply a shift in the way people practice religion. Philosopher Charles Taylor recognizes a state of being in an intermediate position, that is, identifying with a religion, yet "[…] [dropping] out of active practice […]" (2007, p. 513). Another intermediate position is that of being an unorthodox follower, that is, belonging to a religion, but not subscribing to all its dogmas. Two points shall be made regarding my project. Firstly, a decrease in church attendance is not without implications, but for the purposes of my study, the Sunday service is but one of many congregational practices. Secondly, taking Taylor's intermediate positions seriously, whether my informants subscribe to certain dogmas or not – or even if they identify with a certain denomination or not – will not be a central point of interest. That is not to say that their religious background is irrelevant, nor that the Roman Catholic presence is beside the point. On the contrary, these are two of multiple factors with major influence on how the congregation acts out their 'anglicanness'.

1.2 Aim

The aim of this thesis is twofold. The first being a prospect to expand on the ever-growing body of knowledge in the field of practical theology after "the practical turn". The focus is shifted from official doctrine, religious texts, and institutes, over to *practice*, that is, a focus on what people *do* (Ganzevoort & Roeland, 2014, p. 93). The main tenant of lived religion, looking at everyday practice and surveying beyond the institutions' and experts' answers (Ammerman, 2014, p. 190), has made its way into practical theology in the figures such as Ganzevoort and Roeland (2014) and Hans-Günter Heimbrock (2011). What seems to be missing in this body of research is reference to and use of the canon of lived religion (Ammerman, 2016, pp. 85-86). While aspects of lived religion have made its way into practical theology, there is still much to be gained from integrating the up-to-date analytical framework of contemporary lived religion research into practical theology with its emphasis on empirical research.

While the first aim is of a theoretical nature, the second aim relates to the empirical aspect of the thesis. By using theoretical and methodological tools, it is the goal of this thesis to give insight into what constitutes the congregational practice of an Anglican congregation in Rome, what shapes its 'anglicanness'. To my knowledge, this is an untouched territory that gives for a unique set of factors. The empirical data of this thesis will give insight into a non-Roman Catholic, yet Christian community in the heart of Rome, a city permeated by Roman Catholicism. It will allow for an exploration of the relationship between the Anglican congregation and Roman Catholicism, as well as the secular Rome and Italy at large. Lived religion pioneer Nancy Ammerman concluded her article *Lived Religion as an Emerging Field* with a hope for future studies of lived religion; she requested a wider geographical scope, and a wider institutional focus (2016, p. 95). This thesis seeks to answer this call, including people in a multicultural landscape in a city where the institution they are affiliated with is a minority. Ammerman had already a few years prior compared her own studies from the United States to quantitative data on Italians' notion of spirituality, but qualitative data was lacking (Ammerman, 2014, pp. 52-54). Expanding the empirical material in the field will increase options to conduct comparative analysis across continents.

The aim is to make this thesis interesting for Anglicans who wish to shed light on their own identity, but also for other religious denominations in a diasporic context. As mentioned, in chapter five, Scandinavian churches abroad will be brought in discussion with my own findings where similarities as well as differences between these contexts are explored.

1.3 Current state of research

The research undertaken in this thesis is part of the disciplines of lived religion and of practical theology, or rather, due to its use of empirical tools, *empirical* theology. Heimbrock identifies practical theology's usage of "[…] scientific models, concepts and methods developed to study religion in order to participate in academic research in general […]", albeit with a different interest than the social sciences (Heimbrock, 2011, p. 153). This thesis will be using concepts originating in other fields, in particular from the developing field of lived religion. The specific parts of my material which will be analyzed are inspired by perspectives from lived religion, especially as formulated by Ammerman (2016, 2020; 2021).

This is partly due to the field's innovative theoretical tools regarding the study of religious practice, especially in relation to qualitative, empirical research. Practical theology, particularly with its focus on congregational studies, has a mutual history with lived religion. Ammerman has a long history with studying congregations, even contributing to a handbook of such studies in the 1990s (1997, 1998).

These two disciplines – practical theology (as empirical theology) and lived religion – will be presented in the following text. First a brief history is in order, followed by a contemporary account of both disciplines. Practical theology will be dealt with first, followed by lived religion. The structuring of these two disciplines as separate are primarily for maintaining a logical structure, there will be no divide between the two in the remainder of this thesis, rather a symbiosis.

Theologian Friedrich Schweitzer dates the birth of practical theology as its own discipline in the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century (2012, p. 467). He further notes that the discipline's development took an institutional turn, where practical theology was integrated into the many universities and the faculties of theology. The discipline maintained a dichotomy in which directions its researchers took, either into the sphere of systematical theology, or more toward the social sciences and religious studies (Schweitzer, 2012, pp. 469-470). The dichotomy between the theology-anchored wing and the more interdisciplinary wing leaves the question whether practical theology has its own disciplinary shape, or whether it functions as an umbrella term for a multitude of subdisciplines, according to Schweitzer (2012, p. 470).

Following the outward-facing wing of practical theology, Heimbrock published the article *Practical Theology as Empirical Theology* (2011). He argues that practice, and subsequently empirical studies of practice is paramount to the field of practical theology. Heimbrock's three axioms of the field follows:

> • First: It has always been and still is essential for Practical Theology to relate to practice and religious life within congregations, though it does not simply affirm or double, what is going on there.
>
> • Second: Practical Theology makes use of scientific models, concepts and methods developed to study religion in order to participate in academic research in general, though it has its own interest in relation to and difference from social sciences.

> • Third: Practical Theology participates in overall theological reflection on faith, culture and life. However, it does so in a bottom-up way, starting with praxis in order to confront the imperialism of idealistic constructs of a "pure faith" with reality and lived life and in order to contribute to responsible practice of religion in the midst of everyday life. (2011, p. 154)

It is worth presenting these points in full due to their compact summary of the understanding of practical theology that is at the basis of this thesis. Practical theology has a close relation to the religious life of congregations. This means that the people who make up the congregation must be subject to research, with a holistic view of the surrounding factors of the congregation, such as culture, class, location, materiality, and style, to name a few. Practical theology does not ignore the institutionalized aspect of people's religiosity, especially when such people identify with a certain congregation.

The second point is vital for the legitimacy of my project, which integrates concepts and methods of other disciplines, namely lived religion, as mentioned above. As Heimbrock points out, using their methods does not mean having the same aim and interests. My role as a student of theology naturally affects my interests in ways that differ from a social science researcher.

The keyword from point three is "praxis", anchored in people's everyday lives. This mirrors a notion from lived religion, that the actual circumstances of the congregation's religious practice and spirituality, may not necessarily coincide with the leadership's ideal. Congregational studies already pointed out in the 1990s that a congregation's theology is not coherent, there is a gap between the pastor and the churchgoers, but also between the individual churchgoers (Schreiter, 1998, p. 32).

Further, it is the overlap of these axioms between practical theology and lived religion that gives prospects of a fruitful sharing of ideas. Heimbrock is fronting similar axioms as that of lived religion, yet with no reference to its main representatives, for example Ammerman, which loses out on theoretical knowledge that could contribute to the future of practical theology. This overlap of disciplines is made explicit in the fact that Ammerman started off as a researcher focusing on congregational studies, as mentioned above.

Moving over to lived religion, which emerged in an interdisciplinary context. Historian David D. Hall credits the name to the French approach called "La religion vécue", and in 1997 claims it is "[…] relatively novel in the American context" (1997, p. vii). *Lived Religion in*

America – which is edited by Hall and contributed to by many others, including Ammerman and historian Robert Orsi – became vital for putting lived religion on the academic map in America (Hall, 1997; Knibbe & Kupari, 2020, p. 160). Orsi spearheaded this movement with his book *The Madonna of 115th street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880-1950* (1985/2010), which in Hall's words: "[…] remains perhaps the single most important example of this way of doing history […]" and this study is presented in Hall's book *Lived Religion in America* (1997, p. x). While the emergence of lived religion studies in America started out as historically oriented, figures such as Ammerman developed the field further in a sociological direction.

Lived religion as a branch of historical studies, as presented in Hall's book, is not hostile to the inclusion of institutional religion and church life in its studies (1997, pp. viii, xii). Taking a leap to more recent lived religion research, Hall's view on institutional religion's role was challenged by American sociologist Meredith McGuire:

> Scholars of religion, especially sociologists, must reexamine their assumptions about individuals' religious lives. What might we discover if, instead of looking at affiliation or organizational participation, we focused first on individuals, the experiences they consider most important, and the concrete practices that make up their personal religious experience and expression? What if we think of religion, at the individual level, as an ever-changing, multifaceted, often messy—even contradictory—amalgam of beliefs and practices that are not necessarily those religious institutions consider important? (2008, p. 4)

McGuire argued that by focusing on people's own stories of religious practice and rituals, their own classifications of what it entails, and their own experiences, sociologists may learn more than they would by simply presenting the informants with a survey of questions. McGuire bases this on her fieldwork, realizing that presenting her informants with questions that ask for religious affiliation would have yielded uninteresting and plain answers, but what she found when taking their individuality seriously was far more interesting (2008, p. 11). In theory this looks sound, but in practice, this has created a methodological individualist bias within the lived religion approach (Repstad, 2019, p. 61), a critique which will be considered below. McGuire further writes that "The term "lived religion" is useful for distinguishing the actual experience of religious persons from the prescribed religion of institutionally defined beliefs and practices" (2008, p. 12).

The polarization between *actual* experiences and the *prescribed* religion is in my opinion not fruitful, which is not a unique stance to have. The individual's religious experience is not limited to whatever happens outside of the institutionalized sphere, on the contrary, depending on the context, institutional instances such as churches can play a large part in people's religious lives. Ammerman uses European "folk" churches as an example of such a context (2016, pp. 88-89).

McGuire later acknowledges the vital role that institutions play in relation to people's religious lives (2016, p. 154). Ammerman also summarizes the counter critique to this individualistic turn as follows: "When lived religion scholars exclude actions that are tied to traditional religious institutions, they not only exclude much of what most people would think of as religious practice, but also much of what people are actually doing" (2016, p. 88). While methods employed in the field of lived religion are meant to widen the scope past religious institutions, they would be committing the very error they criticize if a major arena of religious practice is ignored – the church. Ammerman claims that excluding the institutional religious sphere comes at a cost: "[…] it leaves unexplained the religion that takes organized form, as well as the religion that is located in other cultures, nations, and social settings" (2020, p. 11). Organized religion might be declining, or at least transforming, but it still plays an important role in religious life. As posited by Ammerman elsewhere, an increasing popularity of spirituality does not necessarily mean that "religion" is losing ground (2013, p. 259). It is thus important to include all aspects of life, both inside and outside of the institutional, if one is to study religious practice.

A common denominator between practical theology and lived religion is found in the notion *practice*. Its central position in *practical* theology is hard to miss, and the notion was deemed important already in lived religion's earlier phase (Hall, 1997, p. xi). However, it should not be taken for granted that the semantics of the word "practice" remain unchanged across these two fields. Ammerman employs German sociologist Andreas Reckwitz' definition of practice:

> A 'practice' (praktik) is a routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one another: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, 'things' and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge. (Ammerman, 2020, p. 11; Reckwitz, 2002, p. 249)

Practice is thus a relatively mundane activity. It interconnects bodily activities, the material world, knowledge, and practical wisdom. Religious practice is social practice, says Ammerman, but with the added category of *spirituality* (2020, p. 33). Practice as a notion is thus incorporated into lived religion, merging with it, in a way. The result of this merger is religious practice, i.e., practice with a spiritual/religious addition.

In 2019 Norwegian sociologist Pål Repstad criticized lived religion for being too focused on subjective experiences, and ignorant of other relevant structures.

> There is a risk for all kinds of studies focusing one-sidedly upon interpreting informants' reports of subjective experiences, and that is to ignore the structures that frame people's lives, be they churches, politics or media. (2019, p. 61)

While this may be true for earlier research in lived religion, newer submissions have moved past a one-sided interest, as Repstad phrases it. This tendency is already visible before Repstad's critique. A Swedish lived religion anthology from 2018 can be mentioned, containing a chapter on institutions such as schools and hospitals (Plank & Enstedt, 2018). Ammerman's recent (2020) focus on the influence of macrolevel structures, which will be considered below, may also be mentioned. This thesis responds to Repstad's critique by not ignoring these bigger structures, which can be seen from its focus on the congregation's material, historical, as well as legal aspects.

1.4 Earlier empirical research

There are three main researchers I will draw on in the discussion of churches and congregations in diasporic contexts. The first is Danish sociologist of religion Margit Warburg with her field research on the Danish Seamen's Church in Singapore (2013), the second is Norwegian sociologist of religion Lars Laird Iversen, who did research on the Norwegian Church Abroad in the U.S. (2019, 2021), and the third being Norwegian researcher of Middle East Studies Berit Thorbjørnsrud and her article on churches in the Arabian Peninsula (2020).

Warburg's research regards the Danish Seamen's Church in Singapore. The article is based on her own qualitative data, acquired through participant observation and interviews (Warburg, 2013, p. 171, n1). Her research yields an interesting picture of the Danish church in Singapore. The church's influence reaches beyond the religious sphere, becoming a hub for Danish social life in Singapore, which means that the activities taking place, and the motivation for people to go to the church, are not restricted to religious services (Warburg, 2013, p. 154). Warburg identifies that the church exterior is not made in a Danish style, as is common with other Danish churches abroad, but instead the architecture blends in with the environment (2013, p. 155). However, this is not the case inside the church. Danish designed furniture and accessories, from lamps to the speaker system, photographs of Danish locations, Danish hymn books, and even Danish candy may be found inside the church (Warburg, 2013, p. 156). What Warburg claims in the article is that the Danish church in Singapore functions as the role of "local Danish public sphere", and is thus deeply connected to the Danish state, through various links (2013, p. 159). The national connection between the church abroad and the state back home, is linked through both economy and political influence and presence. Warburg claims that the Danish church abroad, along with other Scandinavian churches, are in various forms catered to their own nationality, with iconic national food items, or national-cultural events such as a royal wedding (2013, pp. 170, 167-168). This Danish example of a church abroad with national focus, which is similar to its Scandinavian neighbors, will be interesting to compare with a non-Scandinavian example of an Anglican congregation in Rome in the final chapter of this thesis.

Moving over to the Norwegian context with the article *Silence and Sameness in the Norwegian Church Abroad* by Iversen (2021). Iversen's methodological approach is similar to that of Warburg, but instead of basing it on one specific church, the selection of churches include all Norwegian churches abroad in the U.S., amounting to six in total (2021, p. 542). The nation-wide scope of Iversen's study strengthens the validity of generalizing the findings, which will be useful in the discussion below.

Iversen observed that in the Norwegian churches abroad, there was a main tenet of not discussing politics. Further, small talk was promoted in informal settings in the church. These two measures had the effects of increasing inclusivity and decreasing exclusivity through the phenomenon of *imagined sameness* (Iversen, 2021, p. 542). This was closely related to the general aim of being an inclusive church, accepting all kinds of Norwegians, not just the elite. Silence and avoidance (of talking about hot topics like politics), Iversen claims, contributed to the people's (imagined) belief that they were likeminded, and thus avoiding conflict (2021, p. 544). Another way for the congregation to show its inclusivity is by making use of national symbols and artifacts, such as flags, a photograph of the monarch of Norway, and like the Danish church in Singapore, national furniture and food items may also be found (Iversen, 2021, p. 546). Iversen's most interesting finding, in my opinion, is that this attempt of inclusivity invites inclusion of "[…] a certain kind of majority Norwegian embodied identity"

(2021, p. 551). To feel homey and cozy in these churches, as Iversen does, one needs to be a Norwegian identifying with the majority culture and tradition. This may lead to an exclusion of those who are not part of the majority. This point is the focus of Iversen's other article on this subject, written in Norwegian (2019). As a final note, Iversen finds that the national aspect of these churches is highlighted by its users' feeling of "Norwegian belonging", contributing to the "[…] sense of Norwegianness abroad" (2021, p. 552). The national aspect, like in its Danish counterpart, is a vital part of the identity of these Scandinavian churches.

In a different part of the world, but still with a Norwegian perspective, Thorbjørnsrud conducted research on churches in the Arabian Peninsula (2020). While she finds that churches have been built in almost every country in the Arabian Peninsula, the topic of church-building is controversial and contested. The churches that are permitted to be built are under heavy restrictions on how they may look. Considering that, Thorbjørnsrud poses the question of how the congregations deal with these restrictions in practice (2020, p. 243). Her empirical data is from her own fieldwork in multiple countries in the Arabian Peninsula over the course of four years, from 2014 to 2018. Thorbjørnsrud conducted around 50 interviews with the clerical leadership of congregations during her fieldwork (2020, p. 244). The consensus was that churches were lacking. The Anglican Church, in solidarity with other denominations, disposed their churches for other congregations to use (Thorbjørnsrud, 2020, p. 245). As we shall see below, the Anglican Church is historically familiar with this way of operating a congregation.

The problem of whether churches should be allowed to exist in the Arabian Peninsula is complex. The pressure to prohibit churches come from both the people and the government. Thorbjørnsrud notes that the real question regards whether non-Muslim religious practice should be allowed. In practice, however, the question comes down to whether church buildings should be permitted or not (Thorbjørnsrud, 2020, p. 247). The church buildings then become symbols of Christian practice. Thorbjørnsrud connects this phenomenon to the concept of "sacred architecture". These sacred buildings communicate outwards, both to its own believers to remind them of God, but also to non-believers, about their presence. Sacred buildings, writes Thorbjørnsrud, thus have agency, they both *say* and *do* something (2020, p. 249). Whether the churches are under heavy restrictions, and not being allowed to present themselves in a traditional manner, or whether the sanctions are less obvious, the national and cultural settings the buildings are placed in affect the churches, and subsequently the congregations. Thorbjørnsrud finds that congregations have to be creative in how they make their churches, that they test the limits imposed on them, but not crossing the line entirely (2020, pp. 260-261). The Anglican congregation that this thesis will focus on has had a similar development, and it is this aspect of church individuality that will be of interest below when considering Thorbjørnsrud's context in relation to the Anglican diasporic congregation in Rome.

1.5 Thesis statement

This thesis operates with one main research question, along with four auxiliary research questions. The main research question is: *How does the Anglican diaspora congregation in Rome negotiate 'anglicanness' in everyday congregational practice?* The scope of their everyday practice will be narrowed down with the use of auxiliary research questions which will be presented below. Rome, being the historical bastion of Roman Catholicism, is perhaps the most suitable place to study the tension between the influence that the diaspora congregation draws from their mother church and nation, and the religiosity embedded in a different religious landscape. How the diaspora congregation negotiates its positions in a foreign space as a religious denominational minority, where it overlaps or where it clashes with the native religion and state, will be points of interest. "Negotiation" will be expanded on below in chapter 1.9, but for now it suffices to say that it denotes a process that takes place in the congregation's everyday practice, especially when routinized or expected behavior is broken. The research question is not only concerned with the process of negotiation, but also its results.

Toward answering the main research question, four auxiliary research questions will be raised: 1) how is the congregation's 'anglicanness' negotiated through the material church and its architectural style? and 2) how is the congregation's 'anglicanness' negotiated through bodies and their actions? further 3) how is the congregation's 'anglicanness' negotiated through its auto-narrative in times of crisis? and finally 4) how is the congregation's 'anglicanness' negotiated through its spirituality?

By answering each of these questions, the aim is to build a bigger picture of how the congregation's position in diaspora is mediated from multiple angles. These questions will be answered when the characteristics of 'anglicanness' are identified in the respective categories. Each of the auxiliary research questions correspond to dimensions of practice from lived religion research (Ammerman, 2016, 2020; 2021; McGuire, 2008). By looking at what *actually* happens in the congregation, as mediated by its visitors, members, clergy, but also its history, its architecture, its church building, and practices corresponding to these, one may be better equipped to answer the question at hand. Each auxiliary research question will use one or more cases from the empirical data I have established. I will not include top-down elements in this analysis, such as official strategy plans for the diocese of Europe or the Church of England at large. Neither will the affiliated bishops' point of view be included, as these are not directly part of the everyday life of the congregation.

1.6 Presenting the data

On a chilly morning in May, my fiancé (for the duration of this stay, also my invaluable assistant) and I left Oslo, a city largely locked down due to the pandemic, for another capital city, albeit a bit larger and warmer one, yet almost equally locked down. Straight out of a five-day quarantine, I showed up for the first service – a midweek mass – in All Saints' Anglican Church in Rome. I was met by two churchgoers and an altar dressed for mass. One of the churchgoers unpromptedly informed me she was a Presbyterian from Romania, but she showed up for service here every now and then because she simply liked it here. The other woman, whom I later found out was the vicar's wife, greeted me and handed me a Book of Common Prayer to be used for service. We celebrated mass together, the vicar treating it as formal as if the room was full, barring the fact that the readings were read from a phone. Later inquiry revealed this to be due to their unfortunate printer situation.

After the mass, while the vicar was freshly out of the room and the Presbyterian woman had run off, the vicar's wife exclaimed, looking at the church: "This church is really Anglican, isn't it?" I inquired as to why, and she answered "well, partly due to the lack of gold". I thought she was joking. Myself coming from a Pentecostal background where the only gold in sight would be around people's fingers or necks, and then after converting to Lutheranism, finding a golden cross or a pair of candlesticks to be exquisite. I turned my gaze toward her field of sight, and I was met with not only a gold-laden high altar, with a golden cross and six golden candlesticks, surrounded by gold fences, but also seven golden lamps hanging from the ceiling, and the lectern being a golden eagle on a golden pedestal. This was "not much gold," *in comparison* to the Roman Catholic churches.

Besides participating in most services during my six weeks stay, both midweek mass and the Eucharist on Sundays, I was invited to a number of other events. Some ecumenical events, such as a service at the Lutheran church, which represented priests and pastors from a dozen or so denominations, and a Unity service for Pentecost taking place in a – more gilded –

Roman Catholic church. I was asked by the vicar to take part in a livestreamed morning prayer, which formally confirmed my observation as participatory. I was not just observing these events taking place from the pew, I became part of the congregation and observed while having a mic strapped to my head and staring down a camera lens. This was in part due to a friendly relationship to the vicar and his wife, and largely due to their hospitality of newcomers such as myself. This also led to multiple informal meetings for lunch, coffee, or a drink and a chat.

The final service I attended deserves its own mention, where both baptism and confirmation took place, joined by the Suffragan Bishop of the Diocese in Europe, the Archbishop and Director of the Anglican Centre, a Roman Catholic priest (who had no visible obligations besides sitting in the choir), and All Saints' own vicar.

Finally, I attended a barbecue one Friday in June 2021, taking place in the yard of the church. This event was specifically put together for the young adults in the congregation which was planned through a WhatsApp group chat. It was here that I conducted my focus group interview with four participants, all trying to fit under the canopy to hide from the rain. On top of that, one extra person was sent the interview questions used in the focus group interview. This was a person who had spent time in Rome and was affiliated with All Saints' but was not in Rome at the time of the interviews. The focus group interview, the digital interview, and an interview with the vicar, along with participatory observations make up the body of the empirical data from my fieldwork.

1.7 Personal interest

This research project is the result of combining two of my interests. The first one being my interest in Rome and its cultural and religious landscape. The second interest is a personal wish to contribute with new knowledge on congregations abroad in a diasporic context, with a special focus on contributing to the Scandinavian body of research, as also mentioned in the aim of this thesis. Lastly, getting to know a congregation from a different denomination was a motivating factor for the research, which turned out to be even more rewarding than initially hoped for.

1.8 Researcher positioning

Researcher positioning is vital to understand oneself in the space that one inhabits during field research, but also to understand how one got there, and how one interprets the established data (Foote & Gau Bartell, 2011, p. 46). It is for this reason I will position myself as a researcher in the specific context of my thesis. The notion of a *third person* in contrast to the insider-outsider divide will also be central, which will discussed below, drawing on Carling et al. (2014).

How one understands researcher positioning depends on the theory at work. With a focus on a practice research approach, Khawaja and Mørck (2009) identify several key aspects of researcher positioning. One of these regards getting access to the group, in their words: "[…] where the various parties experience (peripheral) legitimate participation" (Khawaja & Mørck, 2009, p. 30). Without any normative implications, it is safe to say that the Anglican congregation's practice is not mainstream in Rome, but rather peripheral. Becoming a part of the group, or *"*going native*"*, is called for: "The goal is to expand the understanding of the subjects, their action contexts, and communities from within not only by dialogue but also by becoming a member of a kind in the relevant communities of practice" (Khawaja & Mørck, 2009, p. 30). Such close-up work cannot be done from looking through a one-sided glass, it must be done from within to increase the quality of the findings. In this case it means that I joined the congregation in its activities and conversations, becoming a part of the group and being welcomed as any other traveling seeker.

In order to be categorized as an insider or outsider, Carling et al. proposes three categories for identifying one's position (2014, p. 45). Following an adaption by one of the paper's co-authors, I identify these as "visible", "invisible, but information that is easy to access", and "possible to communicate selectively"[1] (Erdal, 2016, p. 153). Based on these three categories I will reflect on my own position as presented in the field.

My visible traits are that I am male, white, a young adult in my twenties, I wore a dark shirt and dark pants for service, but not always, sometimes I was dressed more casual in a t-shirt (partly due to the heat). I tend to avoid wearing shorts overseas, despite the heat, due to not wanting to be labeled as a tourist. This may have given the impression that I was used to the warm climate, although my lockdown induced paleness testified against this. I have a beard that reaches beyond my solar plexus, which indicates my status as "not local". When my fiancé was with me in the field, we communicated mainly in English just like the rest of the congregation. While this is due to English being her preferred language, it had the added effect of us blending into the English-speaking environment. As All Saints' is familiar with

[1] Translated by myself from the original Norwegian, respectively: "Synlig", "Usynlig, men lett tilgjengelig informasjon", and "Mulig å kommunisere selektivt".

people coming and going, either for vacation or for longer stays, I did not feel like an outsider simply due to being a new face. What the presence of my fiancé also made visible was the fact that I am in a committed relationship with a woman. While it is difficult to trace the effect of this fact, its traditional form is worth mentioning.

The invisible but easily accessed aspects of my positioning are the facts that the vicar knew about me. A curious churchgoer could ask the vicar who I was, and they would find out that I was Norwegian, a student of theology in Oslo, that I was a Lutheran, and that I was there for about a month and a half to conduct research. Because the churchgoers did not know my full name (and thus could not look me up online), their source of information was limited to the local people who knew of me, whom the vicar was the most informed individual.

All of the vicar's information on me also overlaps with the third category, that which can be communicated selectively. Me being there to research the congregational practice of All Saints' church was never my opening line, but if people inquired about the reason for my stay, I told them. It was never my intention to be undercover, which regardless would be difficult because the standard opening questions were "where are you from?" followed by "what brings you here?" My specific theological history and background could also be communicated selectively, which it to some extent was. It rarely got explained further than that I am a Lutheran and a member of the Church of Norway. In relation to this I also brought up the fact that I was currently studying to become a theologian and be ordained as a priest in the Church of Norway. Those I interviewed knew what my project was about and what I was researching, as part of gathering their informed consent.

Before establishing my position as an insider, outsider, or a third position, what it means to be an insider in this specific case must be laid out. In the case of All Saints', my expectation before meeting the congregation was that being an Anglican from England was equal to being an insider and part of the majority. My assumption was swiftly corrected. The vicar's lack of an English accent was a clear sign that I had underestimated the Anglican presence in North America. The amount of people self-identifying with other denominations than Anglicanism made it clear that there were other reasons than being Anglican to come to this particular church, for example due to English being predominantly used. Therefore, "being Anglican" – and especially not "being English" – were not the deciding factors for counting as an insider.

Scholar of education A. G. D. Holmes points out common identifiers of insiders as: being members of the group or occupying a social status in it, having a personal background which grants familiarity on the same level as the insiders (that is, having the same gender, race or class), contrary to the outsider who is not privy to knowledge about the group in question (2020, pp. 5-6).

It is difficult to pinpoint the exact criteria for being an insider in a community I am only briefly familiar with, but in my experience, Holmes's criteria do not suffice. The congregation (i.e., the insiders) consisted of a varied group of people, with differences concerning race, gender, class, and age. Being an insider, then, must be explained by different factors. Having prior knowledge of what it is like to be in an Anglican community could be a golden ticket to becoming an insider, although looking at the group I consider to be insiders, this was not a necessary requirement; there were insiders with a diverse denominational identity. On this basis I define insiders as those who frequent, or have frequented, the church. Whether it was for service or other events, being a familiar face, and being familiar with the customs and culture of the congregation seemed to me to be deciding factors of one's status as an insider. The outsiders are thus those of whom the opposite is true.

I do not consider the insider/outsider divide to be a static, binary one. Following Carling et al. (2014) I identify myself as holding third positions, specifically what is called an *explicit third party* and *insider by proxy*. Third positions are not part of the dichotomous insider-outsider categorization, but rather "[…] positions that deviate from the archetypal insider–outsider divide" (Carling et al., 2014, p. 37). In other words, a third party is someone who is not identified with the minority group in question, nor the majority group around it (Carling et al., 2014, p. 49). This is true in my case, because I was not part of the majority (being neither Italian nor Roman Catholic), nor was I part of the minority of being affiliated with the Anglican congregation, at least at the outset of my research. I was an explicit third party, that is, a Norwegian Lutheran.

Secondly, I will argue that I fit the criteria of the related position *insider by proxy*. Carling et al. brings forth an example of what that entails: "[…] being an immigrant researcher, but from another migrant group than the one being studied" (2014, p. 50). My status as a third party also establishes me as an insider, because like the congregation of All Saints', I too belong to a different denomination and culture than the dominating ones in Rome. They further write that "Such a background can create a sense of commonality with the insider group that transcends ethno-national divides" (Carling et al., 2014, p. 50).

My background as a theology student and having experience as a priest granted me access to being an insider by proxy. One example of this will be presented, which was briefly introduced above in chapter 1.6. The vicar needed to livestream an event online to test their technical capabilities, specifically if they would be able to have two active cameras at the same time. For this he chose to do an unannounced morning prayer livestreamed online, where he needed an extra participant. Instead of choosing one of the altar servers, the vicar asked me if I wanted to participate in morning prayer with him. Had I been a sociologist for example, with little to no church experience, this would likely not have happened. Due to my theological background – which I was open about from the beginning – I was included as an insider by proxy.

In conclusion, it would be wrong to place myself either as an outsider or insider. It is more fruitful to speak of third positions, in my case the relevant positions are *explicit third party* and *insider by proxy*. I did not have the obvious traits to become a natural insider, if one can speak of such a thing, but over time I felt more and more like an insider. This was increased when new people entered the congregation and thus regarded me as some who has been there from the(ir) start. Being a Christian in a Christian congregation also strengthened my position as a (semi-)insider, because I could relate to certain practices and mindsets. Whether my position as a Christian from another denomination was positive, negative, or at all impactful, largely depends on who I was relating to, seeing as researcher positioning is relationally constructed (Carling et al., 2014, p. 41).

1.9 Definition of key terms

This section will expand on the ambiguous terms of the research question formulated above: *How does the Anglican diaspora congregation in Rome negotiate 'anglicanness' in everyday congregational practice?* There are three terms in this definition that deserve further mention which are "'anglicanness'", "negotiate", and "practice". These will be considered below.

For the sake of clarity, I will expand on the remainder of the question as well. By Anglican diaspora, I mean a congregation that identifies itself as Anglican, in this case, under the Church of England, but is not located in its place of origin. This has the benefit of including, for example, local Italians in the definition, because their denomination does not originate from Rome, instead of defining diaspora based on where the people/individuals originate from. The Anglican diaspora congregation in question is All Saints' Anglican Church.

Finally, the everyday congregational practice refers to what the congregation, be it the priest, the churchgoers, the visitors, the church board, or the church building itself does or contributes to, in the day-to-day life, with the discussion of the term “practice” below in mind. The words “church” and “congregation” are sometimes used interchangeably, but while the church denotes the building, the congregation encompasses the building as well as the list mentioned above.

To find out how ‘anglicanness’ is negotiated, the term itself needs further specification. ‘Anglicanness’ is not a word to be found in the dictionary. ‘Anglicanness’ is certainly associated with Anglicanism; however, it is not restricted to it. ‘Anglicanness’ is far removed from a construction of a pure denomination; the denominational borders are vague and do not operate as a perfect binary. This surfaces in my data, especially in the focus group where half of the informants did not identify as an Anglican. In my usage of the word, they still embody a part of the ‘anglicanness’ in question. If dogma and religious identity are not the essential markers, perhaps language can get closer. Most of the people I talked to visited and joined All Saints’ due to the language: they spoke English. This was an important factor for a lot of people, one that overshadowed denomination. As English is a world language, and Rome a capital city of a major country, this effect might have been boosted.

Iversen applies a similar term – Norwegianness – to his own data. As I understand it, Norwegianness is equated to national identity, which then is decided by politics, “[…] appearance, language skills, cultural and bodily competencies and identification” (2021, pp. 548, 551). In this sense, Norwegianness is a noun for something one may fit into or not, depending on if certain criteria are met. ‘Anglicanness’ shares partly its aspect of identity, however, ‘anglicanness’ is also an adjective, one that describes practices. This specific congregation’s ‘anglicanness’ is distinct, and differs from ‘anglicanness’ in England, or other parts of the world. This distinction stems from a number of different factors, including its diasporic element, its connection to Anglicanism and the Church of England, but also its church building with its history and architecture, its people, both lay and clergy, as well as its own story, and their liturgical choices. ‘Anglicanness’ is not only what or who the congregation *is*, but rather, what the congregation *does*.

Schatzki identifies that “A history told in terms of practices and practice-arrangement nexuses reads differently from one told through the concepts of other theoretical schemes” (2010, p. 145). By grounding the congregation’s ‘anglicanness’ in practices, it is my aim to uncover areas of their congregational life otherwise hidden with different theoretical lenses. 'Anglicanness' is then part identity – who they are, how they talk about themselves, how they identify themselves – and part practice – how their bodies act, what they say during the liturgy.

Further, "negotiation" deserves elucidation. The term implies two things about 'anglicanness'; that there are static elements to it, and that there are loose elements at play. For example, a static element is the fact that the congregation in question is anchored in the Church of England. On the other hand, the loose, negotiable dimension is what kind of influence is drawn from this linkage. In negotiations, there are always risks of losing what is at stake. Continuing the example above where the negotiation regards the influence of the Church of England, what is at stake when choosing a liturgy for Sunday Eucharist that includes or excludes the Italian language, is for example the congregation's relationship to the local culture, as well as its own churchgoers' relation to said culture. Balancing its own roots between the local diasporic influences is where one such negotiation takes place.

I identify that negotiations take place in what Reckwitz calls a break/shift of routinized social structures (2002, p. 255). The negotiation happens when there is a change in the expected and routinized practices, or in Reckwitz's words: "For practice theory, then, the 'breaking' and 'shifting' of structures must take place in everyday crises of routines […]" (2002, p. 255). It is in these crises of routines that negotiations happen, whether it be expected routinized behavior during communion, or in an actual crisis such as the pandemic, negotiations of practices, between other instances and oneself, take place. Reckwitz points out that these take place in the *everyday*; it is not a grand negotiation taking place merely as a discursive practice between two power-instances, rather, it happens in the (discursive and otherwise) everyday practices of the whole congregation.

Finally, the term "practice" will be considered. Scholar of religion Helena Kupari claims that "Orsi has interpreted the lived religion approach as considering religion within what existentialists and phenomenological anthropologists have called the life-world" (2020, p. 215). Religion is lived in the sphere of the life-world, it is not expelled to a separate sphere taking place only in what is traditionally regarded as holy or sacred spaces, or even during moments in time considered holy or sacred. Religion takes place in everyday reality in the same space – and time – as the mundane. This "taking place" must be understood as "practiced". Reckwitz acknowledges that the "[…] interest in the 'everyday' and 'life-world'

[…]" is related to the involvement of practice theory (2002, p. 244). Beliefs held are not irrelevant to the ongoing theater of everyday life, but *practice* is what is *going on* in that sphere.

In the words of philosopher and social theorist Theodore R. Schatzki: "This notion denotes the do-ing, the actual activity or energization, at the heart of action" (1996, p. 90). This is indeed the heart of action, the pure action, but it is not the brain of action. The more sophisticated mode of practice is "practice as a temporally unfolding and spatially dispersed nexus of doings and sayings" (Schatzki, 1996, p. 89). In other words, it is practice as deliberate action, carrying with it notions of predefined understandings. Schatzki uses examples such as "[…] cooking practices, voting practices, industrial practices, recreational practices […]" (1996, p. 89), I will contribute my own, more topically related; such as taking communion, praying, walking in procession, and crossing oneself. These are not mere mindless acts of do-ings, but they require background information on how to act. To cook, one requires knowledge of physics, how heat affects the produce. Just as there is knowledge involved in taking communion, as most people who helped celebrate the eucharist has experienced; the individual communion cups are often held upside down by guests.

This is brought together in Reckwitz' definition of practice as presented earlier, practice involves a set of categories such as materiality, embodiment, and knowledge (2002, p. 249). The practice of communion involves material things, such as the chalice and communion cup, the bread and wine. It involves embodiment, the intake of the bread and wine, perhaps opening one's mouth to say "amen" as one receives the sacrament. It involves knowledge, not just of the practicalities of standing in line, receiving the bread first, followed by the wine, but also knowing the narrative and meaning behind the sacrament is consequential for its enactment. This is but one example of congregational practices. The practice of celebrating mass with another congregation, the practice of talking about themselves, the practice of using the Italian language in the liturgy, are further examples which will be considered in the analysis in chapter four.

2. Method

2.1 Research design and methodology

In order to explain the logic of this thesis, along with justifying the usage of its methods and theories, I will employ the vocabulary used by Collins and Stockton (2018, see especially figure 2 on p. 8). What they call "theoretical framework" is a paper's chief principal; from it, both theoretical concepts and methods are drawn. The theoretical concepts, what they call the conceptual framework, will be presented in chapter three. The method, in the sense of 'how-to', is the focus of this chapter.

The theoretical framework of this thesis is a hybrid of both practical theology and lived religion. Practical theology's main influence has been to define the object of study and research question, while lived religion supplies the scope of the conceptual framework. The methods used, focus group interview and participant observation, have been influenced by both practical theology and lived religion. The methods will briefly be introduced here, and then both focus group interview (chapter 2.4) and participant observation (chapter 2.5) will be explored in their own subchapters below.

Qualitative methods are suitable to become informed of "[…] meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols and descriptions of things" (Berg & Lune, 2017, p. 12). Everyday congregational practice cannot be explained by quantitative data alone, thus qualitative methods are required. According to Norwegian psychologist Steinar Kvale, qualitative methods such as the ones employed here, are standard in the field of social research (2007, p. 7), which then has made its way into lived religion through for example Ammerman (2014). Further, pairing methods together are crucial in order to "[…] obtain a better, more substantive picture of reality […]" (Berg & Lune, 2017, p. 14).

Medical sociologist Rosaline Barbour's (wide) definition of what a focus group interview is: "Any group discussion may be called a focus group as long as the researcher is actively encouraging of, and attentive to, the group interaction" (Kitzinger & Barbour (1999), cited in Barbour, 2007, p. 2). The focus group interview that I conducted was done as a group discussion, with a semi-structured interview form. As a result of the group discussion, everyone did not answer all of the questions. The informants also asked each other follow up questions and kept a lively dynamic throughout the interview, or in the words of Wellington and Szczerbinski, they "spark[ed] each other off" (cited in de Roest, 2015, p. 240). This is not uncommon for focus group interviews. According to Kvale, using focus group interviews as a method is suitable to discover multiple viewpoints on a subject, along with setting the scene for discussions among the informants (2007, p. 72). This method was applied to my project largely due to its discussion-based aspect, which helped the informants think together. Practical theologian Henk de Roest characterizes focus group interviews as apt to gain "[…]

knowledge about people's understandings of themselves and life in general", and highly relevant for my own research:

> They provide access to both actual and existentially meaningful or relevant interactional experiences, and the way in which the participants discuss issues in the focus group can provide insight into how these same issues are discussed in everyday life. (2015, p. 239)

It is not given that the people I interviewed have contemplated on their diasporic congregation's practice. For them to not only contemplate, but also formulate their own thoughts and evaluation on this, a focus group interview was deemed helpful and appropriate.

In my project, one focus group interview was conducted with young adults who were connected to the congregation, and the vicar was interviewed individually to provide background information and to include the clergy's point of view. The on-site clergy's perspective is not irrelevant when conducting research on a congregation at large.

Moving over to the second method employed in this thesis. Participant observation is suitable to research everyday religious practice – especially lived religion – according to scholar of religious studies Graham Harvey (2012, p. 217). Following Harvey's understanding of participant observation, it is described as a form of fieldwork that requires the researcher to be in the field, gathering first-hand data, and spending time with the group of people one wants to study (2012, p. 219). Additionally, participant observation requires, as the name implies, participation. That means being where the congregation is and doing what its people do. Participant observation in a church can hardly overlook Sunday services as an important event to participate in, but there are also other events that are important, such as meetings and informal talks.

2.2 Recruitment

Barbour notes the importance of gatekeepers in order to access a community (2007, p. 52). Gatekeepers are those who can provide or withhold access to a given community. Recruitment through the gatekeeper provides legitimacy for the project and secures that the community's leader – the vicar in this case – is accepting of the research being done. This method of recruitment was employed in a congregational study in Norway led by theologian Elisabeth Tveito Johnsen (2020).

Initially I made a phone call to the vicar, briefly explaining who I was, and what my project focused on and required. The proposal was met with a witty remark: “another crazy Norwegian wanting to conduct research on us?” Followed by a request for more information per e-mail. After corresponding over e-mail over the next few weeks, lack of time made it necessary to travel to Rome before all the details were laid out. My original request for informants were Anglican young adults, amounting to around 10. After the initial meeting with the vicar, it was clear that both requirements were unrealistic. There were not too many young Anglicans in the church, but there was, for example, a Pentecostal Bible study in motion, the vicar told me. Additionally, the pandemic-induced lockdown affected the number of students in Rome, which again affected the number of young adults in the congregation. My arrival corresponded with the vitalization of the congregation post-lockdown, which was finally permitted to meet in larger groups, and eventually even allowed to sing hymns. The vicar was still unused to seeing *other people* show up for midweek mass, which had been a grounding couple’s activity for the vicar and his wife during lockdown.

Eventually I was added to an online group chat dedicated for the young adults affiliated with the congregation. This is where I was introduced to more people, whom some I also talked to after service. At the vicar’s suggestion, a barbecue was due, which would be a good opportunity for me to conduct the focus group interview. The barbecue was announced by the vicar only in the group chat for young adults, followed by me briefly explaining my research project and an informational letter for those interested in participating in a group interview during the barbecue. They were given the option to either fill out an online consent form or sign the form in person before the interview. Both options were used, one filling out an online form and three signing the form. During the barbecue I brought up my project again, inviting the young adults to partake in a group interview. Four out of five of the eligible people agreed, the last one being preoccupied with practical affairs. The participants had previously (presumably) seen me in services over the past few weeks and were interested in partaking in the project for various reasons. One of the reasons being sympathy for the difficulty of recruitment for research projects, which is greatly appreciated.

2.3 Sample size and group composition

The practical factors of my project put certain restrictions on the size of both the sample and the group of interviewees. In the focus group interview, there were four participants, all young adults affiliated with All Saints’ Anglican Church. There were three females and one male in total. A group of four participants, which while on the lower side, is deemed reasonable (Barbour, 2007, p. 60). I tried to recruit more participants, but several factors made this difficult; the biggest factor being the global pandemic that had Italy on semi-lockdown for most of my stay. This also led to the group composition consisting of people staying for a longer time, either living there permanently or studying there full time. In addition to the focus group interview, the vicar was interviewed with a similar interview guide (see Appendix C). Finally, one interested affiliate who was not in town at the same time as the research was conducted, asked if they could contribute. The interview guide was slightly modified to make sense in written form and sent online.

According to de Roest's definition of a focus group, the people interviewed must have "[…] certain common features or characteristics […]" (2015, p. 239). There are disagreements on the level of overlap required on factors such as background or opinion of the group's members (Barbour, 2007, p. 59). My group was diverse, with mainly one strong feature in common: their affiliation with the same congregation. Their country of origin, their relation to Anglicanism and Roman Catholicism, and their first language all varied between them. However, the group did not consist of strangers. They all knew each other from church, sharing participation in a youth group connected to it. There are pros and cons to this, but in social sciences, in contrast to for example marketing research, it can be preferred to have a group who knows each other from before (Barbour, 2007, pp. 66-67; Barbour & Kitzinger, 1999 Chapter 1, p. 9). This was an advantage in my project. The time was limited, both in terms of how long the interview could last, and that there was only one scheduled focus group interview. Being able to talk openly from the beginning was helpful, saving the time-consuming part of getting to know each other. The focus group interview was also conducted as part of a social gathering – a barbecue – which gave us time to socialize and eat before the interview. Sharing a meal before talking can also be beneficial to form a communal bond.

2.4 Conducting the focus group interview

The barbecue and the focus group interview took place on church grounds. Originally, the ideal location I had in mind was at a café or public place with a church in sight. I wanted to set the stage in an everyday context, yet with a reminder in the background of Rome's religious presence. The vicar – unbeknownst of this plan – improved it further with his own suggestion. He suggested a barbecue in the yard of the church, thus complementing the everyday action of having a barbecue and socialize with the ecclesiastical and religious aspects of church. Regardless of location, the religious would be looming because of the vicar's role in organizing this barbecue.

The altar server also served us burgers. McGuire writes on the spiritual (and communal) importance of food (2008, pp. 104-109, for communal see p. 107). I am not sure whether the reasons for his role in the food making were spiritual, culinary, or both, but when he was offered help, he kindly declined with the words “I enjoy this”. After the meal, I reminded the group of my message attached to the invitation, that I would love to have an interview with them. Following the reading of the informational letter and signing the consent form, the four participants, my fiancé (and assistant), and myself moved under the canopy to hide from the light showers of rain. Besides us, the vicar, his wife, their two dogs – almost as distracting as they are cute – and one more person was in the yard, talking, working, and cleaning up while the interview was conducted.

The focus group interview was semi-structured, following an interview guide with 13 questions, the last question being an invitation to cover missed ground. The interview guide bears marks of being made early in the process. The aim of the thesis took a different route than initially planned when the questions were made. The interview lasted for just over an hour. As mentioned, the group knew each other from before, and we also had time to socialize before the interview. The first few questions functioned less as an icebreaker, and more like a bridge to the topic at hand.

The first part of the questions had a focus on churches, how the informants related to churches – both Anglican and Roman Catholic – and how they acted inside churches. It was specified that answers should by no means be restricted to church related practice alone, but it was given precedence in the form of mentioning the word “church”, as opposed to “nature”, for example. The reasons for this were firstly to ground the answers in concrete, lived experiences, and secondly to explore their relationship to Roman Catholic churches and practices. The latter part of the questions focused on religious practice in general, touching on subjects such as embodiment, prayer, morality, and minority/majority distinctions. The conversation derailed at times, seeing as I encouraged it to be more of a group conversation than a one-on-one interview with four people in the group. One of these sidetracks led to an evaluation of how their church had handled the pandemic, which reveals a strong sense of fellowship and community as experienced by the churchgoers.

2.5 Conducting the participant observations

Using multiple methods to gather data on a given subject is useful, sometimes even necessary (de Roest, 2015, p. 243; Harvey, 2012, p. 218; Kvale, 2007, p. 46). Harvey argues for the effectiveness of participant observations as a method to study religious practice (2012, p. 217). The option of studying secondary sources on the religious practice of Anglicans residing in Rome was not available to me, which left me no other choice than to conduct the observations myself. Most of the participant observations were done during the services; midweek mass, or Eucharist on Sundays which I attended to five times. Additionally, I attended two ecumenical services, and one livestreamed morning prayer which I presented above.

Apart from the morning prayer, I observed the services from the pews. Pamphlet in hand, I was sitting in a bigger group of people than I had over the past year, which numbered around 50. The pandemic was still ongoing, which was visible in the form of facemasks – no mouths or noses were seen except for the vicar's. The joy of finally being allowed to sing during service was another such sign. Regarding the mass, or the Eucharist as it is commonly called, both the words spoken and the structure of the liturgy were surprisingly familiar elements. Likewise, there were no surprises in terms of how the churchgoers acted during Eucharist. We took part in the Eucharist, by answering the vicar, by confessing our sins, by thanking God after each reading of the Scripture with a special praise to Christ after the Gospel reading, by confessing the creed, by praying the Lord's Prayer and other prayers such as Communion prayer, by singing hymns, and by taking communion together. There was in fact one aspect of participation that surprised me. At the end of the Eucharist, all the children who had been to Sunday school were invited to share with the rest of the congregation what they had talked about, by telling what they have done and showing their various drawings and other artworks.

Fieldwork in religious studies rarely lasts for a long period of time, rather it focuses on specific events, according to Harvey (2012, p. 219). The specific events of this project are the services mentioned above, along with the other events such as the barbecue, as well as informal interactions with various people of the congregation. The 'anglicanness' of the congregation surely surfaces in the Eucharist, for example through the liturgy, but it is also present elsewhere in their practices. Participant observation was used as a method to get to know the congregation in its everyday practice. The selected few that were interviewed did not necessarily show up for service twice a week regularly, but they were also an important part of the congregation's practices. The aim of using these two research methods thus becomes clear: participant observation was used to get to know the congregation at large, especially in relation to the services, while the focus group interview dug deeper into individual people’s contribution and perspective on the congregational practices of All Saints’.

2.6 Practical difficulties

American pastor and author Christian A. B. Scharen, drawing on Pierre Bourdieu, claims that “[…] fieldwork is messy work […]”, partly due to its social nature (2017, pp. 221-222). I was blessed with meeting good people with a good will during my fieldwork. However, even good people have to prioritize what to do with their time, and, understandably so, my fieldwork was not always on the top of their list. This led to the barbecue where the interview took place being set very late in my research stay. In fact, due to a misunderstanding, it was originally set on the day of my departure. A flexible vicar to move the date of the barbecue, and a generous research grant to extend the research stay for another week, made it possible after all.

The global pandemic, as mentioned above, also made its mark on the project. A lack of students studying abroad made the number of young adults considerably fewer. Events were just starting up as I arrived, the barbecue being the first of the season. Italy was still affected by restrictions, facemasks being mandatory outside as well as inside, curfew from as early as 10 in the evening, and mandatory self-isolation upon entering the country. All Saints’ had been lucky, having few members being infected, and no outbreaks in the congregation at all, but of course no one was unaffected by it all. The biggest concrete effect the pandemic had on my research project was the number of informants that were interviewed being around half of what was intended.

Finally, both a practical and an ethical concern was the fact that my fiancé and I travelled abroad when most of the world was in lockdown. While entirely legal, the ethical aspect of this can be questioned. An important factor is thus that we were both immune during the entire duration of our stay due to having had undergone COVID-19 just two months prior to the trip. The health risk for others and ourselves were thus minimal and deemed acceptable.

2.7 Ethical considerations

The main ethical considerations of this project concern informed consent and confidentiality, as required by the Guidelines for Research Ethics in the Social Sciences, Humanities, Law and Theology (Den nasjonale forskningsetiske komite for samfunnsvitenskap og humaniora, 2021, see respectively 15. and 21.). Informed consent is vital to maintain ethical research. According to scholars Bruce Lawrence Berg and Howard Lune: “*Informed consent* means the knowing consent of individuals to participate as an exercise of their choice, free from any element of fraud, deceit, duress, or similar unfair inducement or manipulation" (2017, p. 46, emphasis original). To legitimately gain informed consent it must be, as the name implies, both informed and voluntarily given. Enough information was given to the informants both in writing before the day of the interview, and orally right before the interview. The information given was satisfactory to give an idea of what kind of questions would be asked and that they related to religious practice. I also informed them that it was perfectly acceptable to not join the interview, and that afterward it was possible to access and delete the data collected on them. The information letter and consent form made up one document which was sent digitally and given physically (see Appendix B). This letter was written using the template from the Norwegian centre for research data (NSD) (2021). The consent form was either signed in person, or consent was collected through a secure service called Nettskjema[2].

Research projects in Norway that store personal data on individuals are required to be evaluated by NSD. This project was approved and deemed legal according to NSD, an evaluation concluded before the onset of the empirical aspects of the project. Prior to this evaluation, only the vicar of All Saints' was contacted to make sure the project was practically possible. NSD evaluated multiple aspects of my project, including the recruitment process, questions asked, data gathered, and how the data is processed and stored. Their letter of approval is to be found as Appendix A below. Regarding the storage of data: the audio recordings of the interviews were stored on two encrypted drives (one being a backup), while the anonymized, transcribed material was stored on a different drive. The scrambling key was stored along with the most sensitive data, i.e., the audio recordings.

An issue regarding data storage became relevant when another potential informant wanted to partake in the study, who was not physically on site. The process was largely the same as with the other informants. Informed consent was gathered with the use of the same information letter, followed by an invitation to sign the consent form online through Nettskjema. After this, the informant sent their answers in a document over an encrypted channel with no identifying information in the document itself. The anonymous document was downloaded by me to an encrypted drive, and subsequently deleted from the channel used for the transfer of data. In the end, this only became relevant for one informant.

[2] https://nettskjema.no/?lang=en

The other relevant ethical concern is that of confidentiality. Confidentiality means keeping the private, identifying data that relates to informants secret (Berg & Lune, 2017, p. 48; Kvale, 2007, p. 27). To achieve this, the names of the informants are changed, along with certain identifying information such as place of origin. There are only a limited number of Anglican congregations in Rome, and with the descriptions given here, it would be futile to attempt to keep the congregation itself (along with the vicar) anonymous. The main concern is to keep the focus group interview informants' confidentiality. The common method of changing the name of the informants is thus an important act to keep the informants' identity confidential (Berg & Lune, 2017, p. 48). An advantage is the fact that there is a lot of movement in the congregation, housing temporary visitors for a shorter or longer duration of time. It is thus reasonable to maintain the confidentiality of the individuals who partook in the focus group interview.

Further, according to the guidelines for research ethics referenced above, dissemination of research is an academical responsibility (Den nasjonale forskningsetiske komite for samfunnsvitenskap og humaniora, 2021, see E)). Part of that responsibility is assumed by publishing this thesis to the public. Additionally, the publication will also be sent to the vicar of All Saints' to share my findings back to the congregation. In part, this influenced my decision to write this thesis in English.

A final note regards the role of my fiancé/assistant who accompanied me during the fieldwork. She was present during both interviews, where she played a semi-active role by asking follow-up questions and commenting when appropriate. The informants were aware of her presence before they gave their consent, which was vital for it to be *informed* consent. She is familiar with the ethical standards of research as outlined here. After the interviews, neither her nor anyone else has had access to the audio files, which were on two encrypted drives. Her involvement was therefore deemed acceptable according to the ethical guidelines for research.

2.8 Data reliability

Kvale employs a broad definition of reliability: "*Reliability* pertains to the consistency and trustworthiness of research findings; it is often treated in relation to the issue of whether a finding is reproducible at other times and by other researchers" (2007, p. 122, emphasis original). Reliability thus requires that the data is consistent, trustworthy, and reproducible. Kvale rightly points out that this has a positivistic undertone to it, originating from quantitative studies (2007, p. 122). Instead of speculating whether the findings are reproducible, I would rather consider possible factors affecting the informants' answers, that is, focus on the *trustworthiness* of the data.

The role of *setting* has been brought forward as a possible factor influencing the reliability of data (Barbour & Kitzinger, 1999 Chapter 1, p. 11; Berg & Lune, 2017, p. 209). The setting for the focus group interview was on church grounds, specifically in the garden. As mentioned earlier, this space is partly religious, but also partly mundane. The garden was familiar to some of the informants, who had used it before. The door to inside the church leads directly into the vicar's office, which can be argued also has this dichotomy of religious/mundane, an office, yet an office *for the vicar*. Before the barbecue the vicar, my fiancé, and I cleaned the garden; it had not been used since last barbecue season, except by the dogs. There was evidence of their presence in multiple shapes and forms, their terraforming and hoarding of items difficult to overlook.

The setting was more familiar to the informants than to me. The informants' degree of familiarity also varied; some were more local than others. Matteo, for example, became a host in virtue of cooking the food and knowing where things are. This familiarity may have had the added effect of safety; a space where one can speak their mind. This may not have been the case if the setting was, say, at a café with other guests at the surrounding tables. Speaking their mind about Roman Catholicism benefited from the absence of its representatives. On the other hand, the setting may not have been safe enough. It was familiar, but it was still ecclesiastical, and the vicar was also present. His presence varied, sometimes sitting next to the informants, other times being inside his office out of vocal range. There was no noticeable change related to his presence, although it might have affected the informants.

The setting being in an *Anglican* church garden may also have influenced the informants' denominational spirit. It is possible that them being on Anglican ground increased their sense of Anglicanism, contrasted to the Roman Catholic. It is not unthinkable that changing the setting to a Roman Catholic church garden would influence this. In short, this effect cannot be fully countered, but it is balanced by the additional usage of participant observation as a method for establishing data.

A final note on the reliability of my observations: due to this being in the middle of the pandemic, all Sunday services were filmed and posted online. While relying primarily on fieldnotes and my own observations, I additionally cross-referenced these observations with videos of the services to confirm or disconfirm details and pick up exact wording. This also helped to counter biases I may have had, which I might not even have been aware of. Watching the videos allowed me to make claims more confidently about the events in the services I partook in.

2.9 Data validity

Kvale likewise employs a broad definition of validity: "[…] validity pertains to the degree that a method investigates what it is intended to investigate […]" (2007, p. 122). Validity is the safety mechanism which ensures that the right methods are used for the relevant research questions and aims to produce valid answers. This was explored above in arguing why focus group interview and participant observation were used for this project. Harvey (2012) was drawn on to justify participant observation as a method for studying religious practice, and de Roest (2015) was used to highlight the discussion-based aspects of focus group interviews and its relevancy for ecclesiastical related research. Berg and Lune's (2017, p. 14) account of the triangulation method further strengthens my choice of using multiple methods. It is not necessarily just one singular method that is feasible for a project, it can be fruitful to employ multiple methods. This aims not only to increase the validity of the data, but also the reliability. In practice, cross-referencing what was observed in the congregational life with what was said in the interviews, will not only increase the total quantity of data, but also increase the quality of said data.

As Kvale points out, validating the data is not a task that needs to be done at any certain point in the research process, but rather it should permeate it (2007, p. 123). Making sure the data is being interpretated honestly and analyzed skillfully is part of the validation process. This is a complex process, which requires me to be aware of my own bias, respect ambiguous answers, and have a correct understanding of the theoretical tools being used. Validating data thus happens in many layers, it takes place in analyzing an isolated piece of data, it must be done when comparing data from two sources (interview and observation), and finally at a broader level when engaging with theory and other empirical studies. This will be a continuous process throughout the thesis.

3. Theory

3.1 Overview

The choice of theories employed in this thesis builds on its theoretical framework. As established above, the theoretical framework draws from both practical theology and lived religion. Practical theology affected the object of study, research question, and choice of methods. The other part of the theoretical framework, lived religion, influenced the choice of theories.

Lived religion has a large repertoire of theoretical perspectives to draw from (Knibbe & Kupari, 2020, p. 165). In this thesis, four theoretical perspectives advocated by Ammerman (2020; 2021) are used extensively. These four dimensions, materiality, embodiment, narrativity, and spirituality, provide the schemata that defines which parts of the empirical data that is analyzed, and which theories that are utilized. In other words, these theories also define the scope of my analysis, they narrow down points of consideration to four concrete loci. Each perspective is granted its own subchapter, which will correspond to the similarly named subchapters of the analysis in chapter four. While Ammerman provides the scope, each perspective is considered individually and represented by various theorists. This makes for a broad focus, which has proven difficult due to the nature and formal limits of this work, but it has also proven fruitful. Each of the theoretical concepts below will be considered first broadly, starting from a relevant theorist, then specifically, explaining how this concept will be operationalized in this thesis. The aim is not to prove a complete theoretical account for each concept, but instead present a sound theoretical grounding for the analysis that will follow.

3.2 Materiality

In 1895, French sociologist Émile Durkheim in his book *The Rules of Sociological Method*, wrote these influential words: “We have demonstrated that a social fact cannot be explained except by another social fact […]” (1895/1982, p. 162). Schatzki recognizes these words as being instrumental in disregarding the material in relation to the social (2010, p. 126). Breaking this trend, lived religion research contributed to the material turn (Ammerman, 2016, p. 91; Neitz, 2012, p. 50). Materiality was a central aspect of Orsi’s work *The Madonna of 115th Street*, where he writes: “The material world is not inert background to cultural practice; it is its essential medium” (2010, p. xxxix). Materiality became characteristic of what lived religion studies, along with other perspectives which will be considered below.

Material items, such as candles, rosaries, and jewelry now warrant focus, along with places, such as chapels, churches, streets, or nature (Ammerman, 2016, p. 91; 2020, p. 22). This latter trend relates materiality to theories of sacred space, be it in churches, temples, or nature (Davidsson Bremborg, 2013; Finlayson, 2012), as well as spatial theory (Fuller & Löw, 2017). There are many ways materiality can define the scope of analysis, but in this thesis I will follow the definition of materiality as laid out by Schatzki (2010). This part corresponds to the first auxiliary research question posed above in chapter 1.5: how is the congregation's 'anglicanness' negotiated through the material church and its architectural style? In order to answer this question through the analysis, the theoretical concept of materiality will be defined and explained in the following text.

Schatzki's two main contributions regarding materiality and social studies, as I see it, are 1) breaking down the binary understanding between materiality and sociality, and 2) incorporating practices in the relationship between materiality and sociality. The first contribution also includes his rather broad definition of materiality, which will be considered initially. Schatzki summarizes his threefold understanding of materiality:

> Thus, the issue of how systematically to acknowledge materiality in social theory can be taken as at least three distinct but related issues: how to recognize the role of physical entities and their properties in social life and theory; how to take the stuff, or basic composition, of social phenomena, into account; and how to consider the role of nature, meaning biological and physical phenomena, in social life and thought. (2010, p. 126)

The threefold notion of materiality is physicality, composition, and nature. In other words, it includes the world of matter and life, both untouched nature, as well as man-made objects such as churches. The change from physicality to composition regards the change from matter qua raw material, into a composed artifact. The role of nature – as well as biological creatures – is also included but must not be thought of as something wholly separate from the other aspects of materiality. They are all in the same sphere, there is no binary between material things and living beings, so to speak, they are *interconnected*. The entities affecting social life are, by Schatzki, divided into four groups, that is: "humans, artifacts, organisms, and things of nature" (2010, p. 129). These four are discernable, but not separate: they are all at work in the same sphere. Humans are not made more unique than artifacts, that is, "stuff", or organisms and things of nature. These four groups work together, their *practices* are intertwined.

With that, the second of Schatzki's contributions will be considered: how practices fit in between materiality and sociality. Schatzki defines "practices" as "[…] organized spatial-temporal manifolds of human activity", while sociality denotes human coexistence (2010, p. 129). The aim, as I see it, is to establish a connection between human social life, and materiality, such as artifacts, through engaging in practices. This, Schatzki points out, is lacking in, among others, Latour's actor-network theory (2010, pp. 134-135). The organized human activity – practice – taking place, necessarily relates to things, be it their own bodies, other (non-)human bodies, nature, or artifacts. In other words, materiality mediates practice. This ontological theory of the social establishes materiality as a force to be considered when studying practice. It is Schatzki's broad definition of materiality, along with the practice-oriented focus of materiality, that I will employ in the analysis below.

The Anglican congregation in Rome would not be unthinkable without a church building, as it historically did not have one of its own (Bremner, 2020, p. 267). However, it having one now radically changes the operational dynamic of the congregation. The recognition that it has a church, as well as studying what this church and its architectural style both mean to the congregation, and what precedes its current composition, will be of interest when analyzing the materiality of All Saints' below.

To understand All Saints' current situation in Rome, a historical deep dive will be undertaken as part of the analysis. This is especially relevant to understand the effects of the specific architecture of the church, as well as macrolevel perspectives such as the legal and cultural context, as plead for by Ammerman (2020, p. 33). By focusing on both the material structure, such as the church, as well as immaterial forces, such as political, legislative, and historical factors, the aim is to avoid narrow-minded research, and learn from previous criticism of lived religion as mentioned above in chapter 1.3. Interpreting materiality as embedded in political and legal structures is done to highlight the significance of the church as it stands today. The material objects have history and socio-political reasons for being composed the way they are. To better understand the church today, the preceding events will be considered.

I operationalize the term *materiality* in a specific way relating to – or perhaps embedded in – the physical church, corresponding to what Schatzki dubbed *artifacts*. By focusing on materiality, I intend to place All Saints' church and its architectural style in a larger context of Rome, both historical, legal, and religious. This enables an identification of the church's material aspect in the negotiation of 'anglicanness' with both the Italian state, as well as the Roman Catholic church as negotiating partners. The Italian state regulates the legal ground on which All Saints' stands, both historically and contemporary, while the Roman Catholic church has had influence on the laws regulating their material existence. Roman Catholic churches will also be used to discern the distinctiveness of All Saints' church, and how my informants experience the difference between them.

Through an analysis of my data, both interviews and observations, it is my aim to study the materiality of All Saints', specifically through the church building, its constituents and architecture, and to study how the materiality enables the congregation to live out its 'anglicanness'. How this materiality relates to the congregation's background, as well as how it relates to its local context of diaspora, will be points of interest. Further, I will identify the role of nationality in the architecture and explore what this signifies for its 'anglicanness' today. This will be made possible by a focus on materiality, as laid out by Schatzki.

3.3 Embodiment

Embodiment is another pillar that lived religion stands upon (Ammerman, 2014, p. 190; 2016, pp. 89-90; 2020, pp. 20-22; McGuire, 2008, pp. 97-184; 2016, pp. 154-156; Orsi, 2010, p. xxxix). In her most recent publication, Ammerman asserts the centrality of embodiment: "Not surprisingly, virtually every person who has written about social practices or about lived religion begins with the fact of embodiment" (2021, p. 75). A statement such as this raises the question of what kind of embodiment is researched, and the answer reveals a multitude of perspectives. Drawing on Ammerman's own evaluation, there has been a significant number of studies focusing on gender and sexuality, agency and self-definition, and health and healing (2020, pp. 21-22). The focus in this analysis will be on bodies in certain spatial contexts, in relation to agency and regulation. Who controls which bodies? Why do different bodies have to act in different ways, depending on the space they inhabit? These two questions will lead the way in answering the second auxiliary research question: how is the congregation's 'anglicanness' negotiated through bodies and their actions?

What the term "body" entails deserves further attention. In this thesis, French philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological theory of the body, along with McGuire's interpretation of said theory, will be employed. A central aspect of Merleau-Ponty's theory regards the preeminent position that a *body* holds. As a concrete example of this, Merleau-

Ponty writes that “If my arm is resting on the table, I will never think to say that it is next to the ashtray in the same way that the ashtray is next to the telephone” (1945/2012, p. 100). A concrete body: the organic matter of limbs and organs that make up a human body, the body that feels, that acts, that moves, the world-present conjunction of biological parts, is the body in question.

The ashtray or telephone, in Merleau-Ponty’s terms, have a *positional spatiality*, while a body has a *situational spatiality* (1945/2012, p. 102). While a spatiality that is positional must always be seen in relation to other objects (think of the ashtray next to the telephone), a body is situationally spatial in virtue of being its own “anchor”. The body, Merleau-Ponty claims, “[…] designates the installation of the first coordinates, the anchoring of the active body in an object, and the situation of the body confronted with its tasks” (1945/2012, p. 103). The body is the starting point, relating to the rest of the world and its projects. In McGuire’s words, “[…] in our lived worlds, our bodies are not perceived as objects but are experienced as part of the perceiving subject” (2008, p. 216). The body is seen as more than mere biological matter, being a “perceiving subject” comes with additional status. “The body” in this case is denoted as “my body” in Merleau-Ponty’s book (1945/2012, p. 102). The French term originally used, *le corps propre* (one’s own body), the translator of the work remarks, has often been translated as “the lived body”, which McGuire argues is correct (2008, p. 234). Regardless, it is not just any body that is an object of the world that is considered, but as personal as “[…] the body that is lived *as my own*” (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/2012, p. xlviii, emphasis original).

This implies that the body has a primal position in relation to the world. It is through the body that one can live in the world. “The body is the vehicle of being in the world and, for a living being, having a body means being united with a definite milieu, merging with certain projects, and being perpetually engaged therein” (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/2012, p. 84). Despite being its own anchor, being a living body naturally leads to an encounter of worldly environments and actions, necessarily relating to them. Being embodied, as all humans are, brings with it a relationship to the world and its surroundings. This includes external objects in positional spatiality, as well as other “my-own-body’s”. When two or more of these “my-own-body’s” meet, the social play comes into life, with its upsides of community and its downsides of unequal power relations.

This reading is in line with McGuire’s interpretation: “[…] this "lived" body is the basis of our subjective reality, while simultaneously it is the vehicle for perceiving and engaging others” (2008, p. 234, n2). The interplay of different bodies in different environments will be a focal point in my analysis below. The relevant bodies will be Anglican as well as Roman Catholic, in both Anglican and Roman Catholic environments. It is not, then, a consideration of an individual body, but rather the collective body and its practices. Following Schatzki’s definition of practice as sets of doings, bodies and what they do will be central (1996, p. 89). The meeting point of these various bodies will be the place where the understanding of ‘anglicanness’ can be expanded upon, enabled through a focus on people’s bodies and their agency.

More specifically, the bodies in question will be in the context of Eucharist/mass as celebrated in both an Anglican church, and a Roman Catholic church. In the Anglican Eucharist, the focus will be on the Roman Catholic representative body, and in the Roman Catholic mass, the Anglican group of bodies will be in focus. ‘Anglicanness’ is visible in both how the Anglican congregation’s bodies act, but also how other bodies act in their space. Whether these bodies are autonomous or controlled externally, will be a vital question in identifying the ‘anglicanness’ of the congregation in relation to the Roman Catholic body.

3.4 Narrativity

The preceding theories have focused on material things and bodies, and the focus will now be directed at words and talk in the form of narrativity, specifically, the congregation’s narrative about itself in a time of crisis. The choice of studying narratives is influenced by the “narrative turn”, a turn which took place in a variety of fields (Ammerman, 2014, p. 7; Czarniawska, 2004, pp. 1-14, 33). There is a myriad of ways to study narratives, be they in text or oral accounts. The narrative which will be analyzed below will consist mostly of spoken accounts, albeit with one supporting text document.

The analysis will not be using paralinguistics and study *how* such narratives are told (Riessman, 1994, p. 50), the focus will rather be on the content of the stories. Neither will the analysis rely on literature written about discourse, which is closely related to narrative theory. The reasons are twofold: firstly, the applicability of, for example, Michel Foucault’s work on discourse has been criticized for being far removed from empirical inquires (Wuthnow et al., 2010, p. 141). Secondly, discourse will not be dealt with in order to make the theory as unconvoluted as possible in the space available, in favor of solely focusing on narrativity. To this end, I will draw on theory of narrativity from both structuralist and post-structuralist sources, lending the definition of narrativity from the former, and expanding on it by using the latter. The segment on narrativity parallels the third auxiliary research question: how is the congregation's 'anglicanness' negotiated through its auto-narrative in times of crisis?

Drawing on American sociologist Margaret R. Somers, the definition which is used in this thesis takes narratives as "[…] constellations of relationships (connected parts) embedded in time and space, constituted by causal emplotment" (1994, p. 616). This definition requires unpacking. Somers describes this definition as building on "diverse sources" (1994, p. 616), one of which I identify to be French philosopher Paul Ricoeur. The call for "causal emplotment" within a narrative secures a logical coherency within the story, thus excluding random utterances as being considered a narrative.

Emplotment, as Somers puts it, "[…] turns "events" into *episodes* […]" (1994, p. 616, emphasis original). I understand this as connecting multiple individual events into a whole – a plot – thus making the events into parts, segments, or episodes. There are multiple relationships at play within this narrative "[…] composed of symbolic, institutional, and material practices" (Somers, 1994, p. 616). These two aspects of a narrative – both the practices within the plot, as well as the combination of these different practices which then make a story – are inevitably related.

Finally, this takes place in a spatiotemporal sphere. Ricoeur claims that "The world unfolded by every narrative work is always a temporal world", followed by "[…] narrative, in turn, is meaningful to the extent that it portrays the features of temporal experience" (1984, p. 3). The timespan, how that timespan is measured, and how quickly the story moves through time may vary, but a narrative is essentially a story unfolding in time. The story may be told chronologically, or it may not. Often, the end of the narrative may be presented, which then justifies the telling of the story as a whole. Ricoeur brings up the Aristotelian understanding of plot as having "[…] a beginning, a middle, and an end" (1984, p. 170). This is not to say that stories are always told in this order, exemplified by *in medias res*-stories.

Further, my analysis focuses on narrativity to identify 'anglicanness', which is connected to identity, specifically congregational identity. For a narrative lens to be useful, then, it needs to say something about identity, but not just personal identity, it needs to enlighten collective identity. To this end, the concept of *public narrativity* will be presented. Somers defines public narratives as "[…] those narratives attached to cultural and institutional formations larger than the single individual, to intersubjective networks or institutions, however local or grand […]" (1994, p. 619). While the narratives in my material are presented by individuals, they are told as a collective story about their congregation. The collection of individual narratives from the congregation of All Saints' forms a collective story of what can be identified as part of its 'anglicanness'. This narrative is created for the benefit of the congregation, employing its own interpretation of its current situation.

By forming a positive public narrative of the congregation, the narrative contributes to the congregational identity, as well as motivating the members to act in accordance with this story; it may become influential for future practice in new contexts, in both crises and normality. Ammerman notes that narratives influence what people do (Ammerman, 2020, p. 29). What people talk about, and especially how they talk about it, is bound to affect how people act. In the analysis below, I will study how the people of All Saints' talk about their own situation in the midst of the global pandemic. How they narrate their own story in a time of crisis is telling of who they are as a group. Ammerman writes that "Religious practices of storytelling provide a window on how that narrative trajectory shapes identity and agency" (2020, p. 30). As noted above, narrativity concerns a stretched-out timeline. The past is a great source for identity-shaping stories that can be drawn on in the present, to inspire future action. How one talks of oneself *now*, changes what one *will do* in the future. In the case of All Saints' and the pandemic, the timeline in question is relatively short, about one and a half year. The people of the congregation do not draw from their extended local or global history, but they draw from experiences in their everyday lives during lockdown. They bring forth what they *have* done, and how this narrative motivates future action, as well as how it shapes the 'anglicanness' of the congregation.

Two terms will be used to shed light on All Saints' narrative, the dual terms *achievement* and *ascription* proposed by social anthropologist Ralph Linton. While narrativity is the overarching concept employed in this chapter, achievement and ascription will function as narrow concepts within the theory of narrativity. Building on Linton, sociologist Talcott Parson explains the terms as follows: "Achievement oriented roles are those which place the accent on the performances of the incumbent, ascribed roles, on his qualities or attributes independently of specific expected performances" (1982, p. 111). Linton uses the word "status", while Parson prefers "roles"; either way, it refers to a state of being, specifically of a person, hence the pronoun in the quote above. I will use these two concepts in a different manner, applying it to the congregation at large, instead of individuals. While it was not the intended purpose of the original theory, I find this theory helpful to understand certain aspects of the narrative as told by the congregation. The main understanding of the concepts remain, achievement is something earned, while ascription is something given. I will use these terms to highlight that the narrative formed is not a given, it is not ascribed to the congregation, but rather it is achieved. This achievement is communal, it is not the vicar's nor the churchgoers' alone; it belongs to the whole congregation. Identifying All Saints' narrative as an achieved narrative is vital to understand the negotiation of 'anglicanness' in the dimension of narrativity.

As mentioned above, looking at a constructed narrative is helpful to explore aspects of identity. By analyzing a narrative from All Saints', the aim is to uncover a part of 'anglicanness' related to how the people of the congregation understand themselves. Considering a narrative that is made by the congregation about the congregation, the understanding of 'anglicanness' can be expanded. A crisis such as the pandemic forces the creation of a narrative, albeit it is up to those who are afflicted to shape this narrative. A pandemic also affects everyday practice, especially under the various stages of lockdown. The narrative will be visible in both how they act, and how they talk about past, present, and future actions. Further, the pandemic was a very prominent topic during my fieldwork. The restrictions were still in place, yet they were loosening up. The pandemic was still active and affected the congregation's everyday life. The narrative of how it dealt with the pandemic was not completed when I established my material, but it was actively being shaped in the day-to-day life of the congregation. This narrative of All Saints' everyday life will be analyzed below to better understand how 'anglicanness' is negotiated through how the people of the congregation talk about themselves.

3.5 Spirituality

Moving over to the final dimension which will be analyzed, that is, spirituality. Spirituality will be dealt with, both how it is commonly understood, as well as how it is understood in this thesis. It will be defined with the help of the practical theologian Claire E. Wolfteich. Further, British sociologist Matthew Wood will be drawn from to define its object of study, that is, as religious practice. The religious practice that will be analyzed takes place within the liturgy and its language. While English is the dominant language of the liturgy, Italian is also used. To analyze this phenomenon, French philosopher Michel de Certeau's dual terms *strategy* and *tactics* will be used and defined below. This will pave the way for an answer to the final auxiliary research question that asks: how is the congregation's 'anglicanness' negotiated through its spirituality?

There has been a "spiritual turn" in the interdisciplinary fields studying religion and theology (Ashley, 2005). However, when there is talk of "spirituality", it has often been contrasted to "religion", creating the saying of being "spiritual, but not religious" (Ammerman, 2013; Wolfteich, 2012, p. 328). Wolfteich summarizes the popular understanding as "They may feel that religion confines, while spirituality frees" (Wolfteich, 2012, p. 328; for the same narrative, see Wuthnow, 2001, p. 306). In these narratives, then, religion is understood as institutionalized, relating to dogma and external authority, contrary to spirituality, which is understood as personal, authentic, and drawing on internal authority. Following this narrative, the popular trend is to disregard religion in favor of spirituality. This understanding has been criticized by many, and I agree with those researchers who instead of upholding the dichotomy, rather considers the two notions as a similar phenomenon (Ammerman, 2013; Bender, 2003, pp. 70-71; McGuire, 2008, p. 6).

Spirituality, then, is not defined contra religion, but rather, in the words of Wolfteich, "[…] as a way of life embedded in a tradition and woven together with relationships with God, self, neighbor, community, and the created world" (2012, p. 331). This definition encompasses spirituality within institutional religion, such as liturgy and prayer – which will be the focus of the analysis below – but it is not limited to it. The relationship with God is nurtured inside of a church, with the congregation, as well as beyond those borders, with one's neighbor, or the world.

Further, Wood proposes that these two terms – spirituality and religion – should be studied under the same guise as an analytical category, that is, as "religious practice" (2010, pp. 281-282). This breaks down the artificial divide between the two terms, which in this case is a fruitful deconstruction. The spirituality that will be studied is taken from a congregational context, thus blurring the line between religion and spirituality. The liturgy is practiced by the congregation; it is spoken and acted out in the church. The practice of religion/spirituality is thus central. Ammerman understands religious practice as social practice, with the added category of spirituality (2020, p. 17). In order to define both "social" and "practice", Schatzki's definition of "practice" as "[…] organized spatial-temporal manifolds of human activity", as well as "social" understood as human coexistence (2010, p. 129), is recalled. Spirituality is thus understood as a way of life, that is, a practiced life, relating to, among other things, God, through prayer. The method of studying spirituality analytically is then to study how it surfaces in practice.

The specific form of spirituality that I will analyze in this thesis is one found in liturgy and language. As far as I could tell, the liturgy for midweek mass, Sunday Eucharist, and Morning Prayer were all standardized according to Church of England's praxis. The liturgy for midweek mass and Sunday Eucharist were both from Common Worship, which is the Church of England's repertoire of liturgies, and the Morning Prayer was from The Book of Common Prayer[3]. As a consequence of this, the liturgical language is English. English extends beyond liturgy as well, it being the dominating language used in casual conversation. Both that the liturgy follows the Church of England, and that English is the main language admit to one fellow exemption; after The Lord's Prayer in English follows the Italian version in the liturgy of the Sunday Eucharist. That excerpt from the liturgy will be the central focus of my analysis below. The use of Italian signifies a break from the tradition of the liturgy, as well as from the dominant language within the liturgy and congregation at large. This anomaly marks a distinct feature of the spirituality of 'anglicanness' – it is both tied to its roots in England, as well as the diasporic placement of the congregation: Italy.

In analyzing the Sunday Eucharist liturgy of All Saints', a distinction presented by de Certeau will be used. In his book titled *The Practice of Everyday Life*, de Certeau presents a distinction between two terms: *strategy* and *tactics*. The former is defined thus: "I call a "strategy" the calculus of force-relationships which becomes possible when a subject of will and power (a proprietor, an enterprise, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated from an "environment"" (de Certeau, 1984, p. xix). Strategy is the plan employed by "a subject of will and power". As I read de Certeau, the subject in his analogy is the "city planner" (1984, p. 93), that is, the power-instance strategizing over the environment.

In theologian and historian Philip Sheldrake's short summary of these two terms: "Strategy is linked to structures of power" (2012, p. 211). Indeed, the strategy is employed by the instance possessing power over a place. This place consists of other, weaker actors who use a different method of influence. Instead of employing *strategy*, they employ *tactics*, the latter of which is defined by de Certeau as: "[…] a calculus which cannot count on a "proper" (a spatial or institutional localization), nor thus on a border-line distinguishing the other as a visible

[3] Online version of the Morning Prayer used: https://www.churchofengland.org/prayer-and-worship/join-us-in-daily-prayer/morning-prayer-traditional-wednesday-26-may-2021 (Visited 18.01.22)

totality" (1984, p. xix). Continuing with the analogy of a city, those who employ tactics are not in a position of power such as the city planner, but instead they are the "walkers", the "ordinary practitioners" (de Certeau, 1984, p. 93). Or, in Sheldrake's summary: "Tactics are utilized by individuals to create space for themselves in environments defined by other people's strategies" (2012, p. 211). Tactics are used by the people on the ground, not having the power to decide higher level strategies. It is with these two distinctions I will analyze my material below, but instead of applying them on a city, I apply them on All Saints' and the place of the liturgy of Sunday Eucharist.

4. Analysis

4.1 Macrolevel perspective – materiality and aesthetics through time

The first part of this analysis is twofold, starting with a macrolevel perspective, followed by a microlevel perspective. The theoretical concept employed here is "materiality" as introduced above with the help of Schatzki. The two subchapters differ not in theory, but in perspective. While this subchapter places the church – which is the object of the material analysis – in its historical, legal, and religious contexts, the next subchapter is anchored in the church building as it stands contemporarily. The history of the All Saints' church will be looked at first to clarify its contemporary position, hence the macrolevel analysis will precede the microlevel analysis. This part of the analysis relates to the first auxiliary research question: how is the congregation's 'anglicanness' negotiated through the material church and its architectural style? To answer this question, a historical and contemporary analysis of the church's materiality will be undertaken.

Beginning with the historical analysis, I will draw on my own observations, along with British architectural historian G.A. Bremner, who situated the architecture of two Anglican churches in Rome – All Saints' being one of them – in the political-religious scene at the end of the 19th century.

All Saints' church was built in 1880-7 by the English architect George Edmund Street (Bremner, 2020, pp. 259-261). It is interesting to note that All Saints', along with the other (American) Anglican church, was, and still is, an architectural anomaly in Rome. As Bremner notes:

> For most casual onlookers, these buildings appear as incongruous anomalies: Gothic Revival structures in red brick peering out from among a wider urban fabric that is

> essentially, if not oppressively, classical. The general feeling is that they somehow seem foreign and therefore out of place. (2020, p. 261)

Gothic Revival is not what the city of Rome is known for. The red brick was brought up by the vicar's wife as well, as being "very English". It is indeed foreign in its context, precisely because it should be familiar for a diaspora group.

Based on my own observation of the church, especially its façade, I experienced it more as incognito than an anomaly in the street. Entering it always felt like entering a secret club house rather than a church. Instead of a spectacular façade and wide-open doors as distinctive of the grand Roman Catholic churches, one is met – especially if one is not coming to Sunday Eucharist – by a closed green door and a metal door knocker which also functions as a doorknob. This type of door knocker, categorized as a ringed door knocker, is characteristic of Gothic style, while the typical Italian door knockers are shaped as various figures and animals (Meyer, 1896, p. 408).

One might ask what consequences these architectural peculiarities carry. Another architectural historian, Terry Kirk, writing on the two churches designed by Street, says that: "Saint Paul's is a symbol of the opening of the Roman landscape to freedom of religious observance, and a number of other churches followed, such as All Saints' […]" (2005, p. 252). The Gothic Revival church in Rome is insubordinate to its surroundings; and with that, it marks the acceptance, or at least tolerance, of diversity, architectural, but also religious. A red-bricked Gothic Revival church within the walls of Rome (as the Anglican church was previously placed *just* outside of the walls (Bremner, 2020, p. 267)) marked the beginning of legal and political acknowledgement. Previously, as Bremnes notes, if service was to be held within the city walls, it had to be on embassy ground or in an official foreign legation, which was not feasible for the Anglicans at the time (2020, p. 267). The fact that All Saints' is currently placed inside the city walls is not to be taken for granted, and its cultural, political, and legal background is not without meaning for what goes on there today.

This legal-political process of acknowledgement is still ongoing. Italy's Constitution from 1948 opens up the possibility for religious denominations to make an agreement with the state regarding their rights and benefits (Ervas, 2017, p. 871). Italian PhD student in law Elena Ervas notes that there are two categories of agreements: one for the Roman Catholic church, and one for the remaining religious denominations (2017, pp. 872-873). This agreement is seen as lucrative, Ervas claims it is an ideal for religious denominations to strike such a deal, although in her report, the Anglican Church is not among those who have landed this agreement (2017, pp. 875-876).

I was fortunate enough to attend the Annual General Meeting of All Saints', where they reported that such an agreement was entering its final stage, soon to be implemented. This is a recent development that has not yet shown its significance. The lack of this agreement with the state, however, has refrained the Anglican Church from being a legally recognized religious denomination enjoying particular rights and benefits. While Anglicans in Rome have been able to have service in their own church within the city walls, their congregation has done so under less favorable conditions than other religious denominations who are recognized by the state. At the ground level, this might be noticed financially, but perhaps also socially. This theme was not brought up by any of the people I talked to, and it did not stop them from attending ecumenical events and services. The impact of the lack of such an agreement is therefore uncertain, and it would be interesting to see research being done on this in the future.

Through this analysis situating All Saints' material church and its aesthetical style in various contexts, I have sought to place the first piece of the puzzle that is the negotiation of 'anglicanness'. The church building is a vital part of the congregation due to being its visual, material representation. The church has history which involves legal, cultural, and religious spheres. By pointing out how All Saints' stands out in its environment, I have hoped to identify what is distinct to it, and thus what 'anglicanness' entails and how this came to be through the material church. Gothic Revival brands All Saints' as an English church, which again makes up part of its 'anglicanness'. The architect incorporated elements that made the church stand out, yet also blend in, partly due to the Italian marble that was used. The architecture of All Saints' invites different associations; the connection to its English roots is clearly part of the material and aesthetical dimension of the 'anglicanness', yet still, with a touch of local influence.

4.2 Microlevel perspective – the church as material religion

For the second part of the analysis of materiality, a microlevel perspective will be employed. The church as an artifact as it stands contemporarily will be the object of analysis. While the macrolevel perspective used my own observations and previous research, this segment will bring the congregation's voices to light as well. Descriptions of the church and its surroundings based on my observations will be presented first, followed by excerpts from interviews with affiliates of All Saints'. The material church and its accompanied style – and effects thereof – will then be compared to Roman Catholic churches, as an attempt to highlight how All Saints' negotiates 'anglicanness' with Roman Catholicism, through its materiality.

The overarching aspect of materiality that is relevant for my analysis is the fact that All Saints' affiliates are in a foreign space, they are a diaspora. While this is not true for everyone – I met several Italians in the congregation – the vicar mentioned in the interview that the church's original purpose was to serve expatriates. The church is still, at least in part, true to this cause. The church, then, is meant to be a familiar, homely place for the people now residing away from home, in Rome.

From the main street, it is easy to pass by the green door that leads into All Saints' Anglican Church. However, it is not as easy to miss the red plaque on the wall next to the door with a British World War II poster reading "Keep calm and carry on", accompanied by a more formal metal sign. Apart from when Sunday Eucharist was taking place, the green door was usually closed. One would have to ring the doorbell, either to the vicar or the secretary, to enter. As mentioned above, this stands out in a city like Rome, where most churches are usually open whether someone is present or not. This was the door that functioned as a main entrance, however there was another entrance from a side alley which only functioned as an exit door after service. It is interesting to note that upon entering what functioned as the main entrance, one enters from behind the altar, that is, the hallway leading toward the main church room runs parallel to the altar. While if one used the other entrance, one would enter from the far side of the altar, coming in from the back, as I experienced was more common in the Roman Catholic churches of Rome. The pews were facing the altar, as expected, but this also meant that the pews were facing the entry hallway, thus giving every churchgoer a good view of whoever comes through the door.

Moving on to the main church room, it is clearly formed as a church and equipped accordingly. The pews are not benches, but simple, wooden chairs furnished with a pillow hanging on the back which I never saw in use. Whether it is for an increased comfort when sitting, or to be used when kneeling, remains uncertain. There are about 10 rows of chairs on each side. The baptismal font is placed in the middle, by the wall at the far end of the nave. This is close to the (what I experienced as the) secondary entrance, which speaks in favor of this being the historical main entrance. When one stands at the far end of the nave, the focus of attention is centered upon the high altar on the other side of the room. Despite the free-standing table altar being predominantly used, the focus is directed to the high altar, with its six golden candlesticks, symmetrically being placed on the sides of an elevated golden cross. The remaining visible parts of the high altar are also gold, and the altar cloth varies in color. The lower table altar is equipped with essentially the same items as the high altar, albeit lower in scale. It has one smaller cross in the center front, along with two smaller candlesticks on each end of the table. Additionally, there is a red pillow on the white tablecloth which is used to support the items being put on the altar during service, such as the book containing the liturgy or readings.

When the vicar was asked during the interview to reflect on the difference between entering an Anglican church and Roman Catholic church, he used his own All Saints' as an example:

> I think that for a lot of our folks that walk in who don't know the difference between the two they assume that this is a Roman Catholic church […] If you had an eye for architecture and you were to walk into All Saints', you would say that this is an English church. Even though some of the construction materials are marble, which you wouldn't find in an English church, the architect managed to make marble look English. And so in terms of the physical structure of the church, this could be the church in any mid-sized English city. And really it's one of the only Gothic churches in Rome, so you would, if you were English you would say "this looks like a church back home". But if you were *Italian*, you would likely say this is a Catholic church. (Interview, vicar, 08.06.21)

The vicar notes that the church is considered very English by the English, and like any Roman Catholic church by the Italians. The use of marble is indeed Italian, specifically it was something the architect was fascinated with and inspired by from northern Italy, documented in a book written by the architect himself (Street, 1874). The design and style are thus what make it English, it being designed as a Gothic Revival church made with red bricks. My fiancé/assistant who partook in the interview immediately confirmed the vicar's statement, as a Roman Catholic, she did not notice that much of a difference from any other church she was used to. Additionally, I overheard some Italian tourists who wandered into the church post-service who were surprised to learn it was an Anglican church, not a Roman Catholic church.

While the vicar spoke in more general terms, during the interview with the young adults the experiences of entering churches were expanded upon. There was consensus that entering a Roman Catholic church in Rome entailed graveness and a serious atmosphere. There were some differing opinions on whether this was due to Rome or Roman Catholicism, however. Kate, an American with a Roman Catholic background, mentioned that “I think it's a lot more serious here” (Focus group interview, Kate, 10.06.21) when comparing her experience of church between back home and Rome. For her, there were minor differences between the Anglican and the Roman Catholic churches in Rome: they were both more serious. The common denominator of seriousness was not the denomination, but rather the place: Rome. Sophie on the other hand, a brit raised as an Anglican, found the common denominator to be Roman Catholicism:

> Yeah I definitely agree with the kind of, the *grave*.. like gravity, and I experience that in, well most kind of Catholic churches here, but also the one time that I’ve gone to a Catholic service at home, it definitely struck me as.. just generally it was so much more grave. (Focus group interview, Sophie, 10.06.21)

Whether it was in Rome or back home in Britain, the serious atmosphere lingered in Roman Catholic churches. Sophie mentions the service as well, which is more than just the building, it also includes how they celebrate mass. Matteo, born and raised in Italy, wittingly explains the difference between entering a Roman Catholic and an Anglican church thus:

> You're taught that when you enter a Catholic church you cross yourself and you genuflect, so there's a whole ritual of entering a church. When you enter an Anglican church, you can go in with a glass of Prosecco and nobody cares. (Focus group interview, Matteo, 10.06.21)

I understand this as while there is a ritual upon entering a church as taught by the Roman Catholic catechism (according to Matteo), there is less solemnity when entering an Anglican church. This difference is not entirely due to the material structure of the church at hand. There is hardly something in the English design of the church alone that marks this difference. The social dimension is presumably also at play in this case. While I imagine one would be stared down and possibly escorted out if behaving improperly in a Roman Catholic church (think of the common dress code), the bar is higher for such social sanctions to take place in this Anglican church, judging by the lack of instructions and sanctions enforced.

Materiality, while not being the sole factor, certainly plays a part. What kind of items are present in the church signals what kind of room this is, and how one ought to act in it. An influential material sign observed in All Saints' can be seen on the right side of the nave toward the back: dedicated space for the children to play in. There are books and drawing materials placed on a small blue table, inviting kids to play in the church room. While this space for the kids is nothing out of the ordinary in Protestant churches, I did not observe such space in any of the Roman Catholic churches that I visited in Rome. This is a telling sign of the graveness that Sophie spoke about, and the lack thereof in the Anglican church.

The analysis which follows will focus on the church space and its components as materiality which, in Fuller and Löw's words, "[…] is shaped by and shapes action" (2017, p. 476), the "action" in this context being the living of 'anglicanness'. The material church reveals signs of 'englishness', through the Gothic Revival style in red bricks, which is a part of the 'anglicanness' of the congregation as mediated by its church. However, this does not necessarily correspond with nationality. The vicar himself, not being English, highlighted the English aspects of the church. Due to the church's history and architecture as an English church, 'englishness' cannot be eradicated from 'anglicanness'. As seen above, the vicar noted that an *English* person would assume All Saints' was an *English* church, yet an *Italian* person would assume it was a *Catholic* church, not an *Italian* church. In the latter case, the architecture is connected to religious denomination, while in the former, it is related to nationality. It is possible that the vicar assumed "Anglican" was embedded in the "English", thus ascribing 'englishness' to 'anglicanness'. The cultural aspect of "English" is then incorporated into the religiosity of Anglicanism, in virtue of the *Anglican* church being made in an *English* style.

Yet the church was also made with marble, which was consciously an Italian addition, recalling the architect Street's fascination with Italian marble. The material church presents a duality of English and Italian, or rather a *plasticity*, changing style based on the eyes of the observer. For the English, it is meant to be a homely church, reminding one of the churches back home. For the Italians, it is supposed to blend in with the other Roman Catholic churches, perhaps to gain approval due to familiarity.

This plasticity is found in the architectural dimension of the material church. The *style* of the church will trigger the body's memories, following McGuire (2016, p. 155) who claims that memory is also stored in the body. Without having any knowledge of architecture, the experience will differ based on memories of experienced churches, whether they are English or Italian. The material church plays on an aesthetical ambiguity to engage the observer of the church in different ways. Instead of alienating the Italian style, which it is surrounded by, or alienating the English style, which it is connected to through its denominational roots, the church embodies both styles and thus excludes neither.

Having focused on the architectural style of the church, I will now consider the materiality inside the church, specifically the children's corner, as well as how this connects to the experience of "graveness" experienced by my informants. While the church might blend in on the outside, a churchgoer familiar with Roman Catholic churches will perhaps notice the children's corner. Whether consciously or not, the previous lack of seeing a children's corner in a church will affect their current experience; not having bodily memory of seeing a children's corner may contribute to experiencing the church as more laid-back when such a corner is observed. This is also true regarding genuflection upon passing the altar, the lack of such behavior sends signals that this space is different.

Using my informants' vocabulary, the graveness of the church is considerably less. For Sophie, the deciding factor was Roman Catholicism. Whether in England or Rome, the gravity followed the denomination. For Kate, however, the difference was not found between All Saints' in Rome or any other local, Roman Catholic church, but between Rome and home in the United States. Without inspecting the materiality of Anglican and Roman Catholic churches in her home area, it is difficult to determine why this is so. Either way, this variation in opinion shows that the lines between places (and cultures) and denominations are not clear-cut. Depending on what memories the body has stored, the experience of entering a church from either denomination will vary. Part of this variation, I have argued, stems from both the aesthetics of the church building, along with the material objects found within.

In this analysis, I have considered the contemporary church of All Saints' and its material and architectural dimensions, and how this affects people's experience of the church. I identified a part of 'anglicanness'; the part which originates from its English roots. This was largely due to the aesthetical style of the church, which could be seen as English. Due to its plasticity, the style could also be interpreted as Italian, which was found to counter alienation of both Englishmen as well as Italians. The negotiation of 'anglicanness' focusing on materiality thus reveals a *plasticity*, thanks to both its duality of English and Italian architecture, but also because of its ambiguous experience of graveness, or lack thereof. In the former, the negotiation takes place between All Saints' and England as well as Italy qua their cultures, while in the latter, the negotiation is between All Saints' church and Roman Catholicism qua their churches.

4.3 Present bodies, absent bodies

The next analytical perspective I will employ concentrates on bodies. Two scenarios will be looked at. The first will focus on a Eucharist with baptism and confirmation taking place in All Saints', with a visiting Roman Catholic priest. The Roman Catholic priest partook in the Eucharist in the sense that he was seated with the rest of the (Anglican) clergy, but he did not actively take part in any other noticeable way, such as reading, praying, or blessing. The mere fact that a Roman Catholic priest was present during Eucharist carries ecumenical weight and will be looked at in part one of the analysis below. Following this, with an embodiment perspective, the Roman Catholic priest's *lack* of movement in such a setting will be an object of study.

The second scenario is drawn from an informant in the choir, telling of an instance where the choir was partaking in mass in a Roman Catholic church. When the time for communion came, the choir was asked to leave the room because they were not Roman Catholic. In this scenario, the choir's (involuntary) active use of their bodies will be focused on. The presentation of these two scenarios will culminate into an analysis on the body's role in their respective situations, and how this is part of the negotiation of the congregation's 'anglicanness'. This subchapter corresponds to auxiliary research question two: how is the congregation's 'anglicanness' negotiated through the use of bodies and their actions?

The Sunday of the first scenario was special in multiple ways. Ever since my first meeting with the vicar he had been talking about this day. They had recruited tech-people and bought cameras to have three operational cameras during the livestream of this particular Eucharist. The Sundays prior to this one were trial runs to make sure there would be no technical difficulties. The morning prayer I had assisted the vicar with was an experiment to see whether they were able to use two cameras seamlessly at the same time. The vicar got increasingly tense and unavailable as this Sunday drew closer. There were a lot of moving parts, a lot of factors to consider, and a lot of people involved.

The suffragan bishop of the Diocese in Europe was partaking as a principal celebrant of the Eucharist. Alongside him was the Archbishop of Canterbury's Representative to the Holy See, and the local vicar of All Saints'. Finally, there was one more person who was seated in the choir of the church during the Eucharist. His name was not on the leaflet giving the overview of the Eucharist, but he was introduced in the beginning of the mass as a "very good friend, and an ecumenical colleague" (Fieldnotes, 13.06.21). He was not introduced as a Roman Catholic priest, but his name, which is omitted here, gave me enough information to find out that he was indeed a Roman Catholic priest. This Roman Catholic priest will be in the focus of the following part, specifically with the theoretical lens of embodiment. He first appeared during the procession:

> The Eucharist begins, the procession enters the church from the back, walking up the aisle. They are not cutting through where the choir sits, they are taking a longer route today. The procession: first an altar server with a thurible spreading incense, followed by another alter server carrying the cross, again followed by two laypeople carrying candlesticks, the vicar walks next to a priest I haven't seen before, he is wearing a cassock underneath his alb. Roman Catholic? The archbishop follows them walking alone, the final priest walks alone as well, must be the suffragan bishop. (Fieldnotes, 13.06.21)

The introduction of the participants is then given by the suffragan bishop as part of the introduction to the service. While the congregation sings *gloria in excelsis*, the vicar signals the Roman Catholic priest to switch sides with him; he is in fact standing by the vicar's chair. They switch places so that the vicar is standing by his chair on the right side of the choir, and the Roman Catholic priest is placed on the left, as seen from the pews.

As the service continues, the archbishop is responsible for the baptism, the suffragan bishop is responsible for the confirmation and sermon, the vicar reads from the gospel, and makes sure everything goes smoothly, yet the Roman Catholic priest has no such duties. Apart from the various processions (in, to the baptismal font and back, and out), as well as standing and sitting in unison with the congregation, his body was static. He did not lead a prayer, he did not approach the altar, nor the lectern to read a text. He had no clear role besides being present. In this case, instead of what he did with his body, what he did *not* do with his body is a point of interest.

Before this will be looked upon further, I will present the second scenario. This was a story from Sophie, one of my informants in the focus group interview. As I understand it, she was not with the choir at the time of this event, but she is retelling someone else's story. Initially one might be skeptical of someone telling someone else's story, however, it is the congregational everyday practice that is focused on in this thesis, not necessarily the individuals. I thus take this story to be an example of congregational – in this case, the choir's – everyday practice.

> Not from my own personal experience, but hearing the kind of older members of the congregation and in the choir talk about it.. there have been times when we've been invited to sing with them [Roman Catholics], or you know do something with another church, and the choir, as the kind of group of Anglicans were actually asked to leave.. during communion. (Focus group interview, Sophie, 10.06.21)

Sophie then points out that the Roman Catholics did not mean to offend them, it was just how it had to be. This case differs from the previous one. The Anglican choir is visiting a Roman Catholic church to partake in worship as a choir. They are invited to do this, and they accept. Their bodies are present during worship, presumably enjoying a position somewhere in the front, and they are admired and acknowledged by the Roman Catholic congregation, perhaps even alongside a Roman Catholic choir. When the time comes to gather around the table for comm*union*, however, they are asked to leave. There is no real choice, if they wish to be invited again some time, they cannot refuse. While the Roman Catholic churchgoers walk toward the priest to receive communion, the Anglican choir, who are used to walking toward the altar and take part in communion, must walk to the door instead. The physical act of having to walk out, for the whole congregation to see, when it is time to come together, presumably hurts. It marks a distance. The Anglican bodies walk out, while the other Roman Catholic bodies stay.

Moving over to the analysis, I raise the question: what does the movement of – or lack thereof – bodies signify? Initially, bodily presence whatsoever is worth noting. There was a body of the Roman Catholic clergy present during Eucharist in an Anglican church. This signifies that the Anglican congregation is willing to extend an ecumenical hand to their Roman Catholic friends. It also notes that they accepted this invitation, the Roman Catholic priest was indeed present, this is not without significance. The pope exemplifies this. In 2017, he visited All Saints', being the first pope to do so. Commenting on his visit, he said: "Ecumenical dialogue is carried out as we walk, because ecumenical dialogue is a journey, and theological matters are discussed along the way" (Francis, 2017). In this view, ecumenical work is not something agreed upon in an office, but it happens in everyday life.

This applies to the scenario at hand; the Roman Catholic priest being there, being present in the Eucharist celebration, is part of the walk of ecumenicity. His bodily presence strengthens the ecumenical bond between the Roman Catholic Church and the Anglican Church. What this mean on a local level, how it affects All Saints' 'anglicanness', is the next question. It makes clear that 'anglicanness' is not completely separated from the Roman Catholic body. The congregation's negotiation of 'anglicanness' includes interaction with – negotiation with – the Roman Catholic body, not just the church at large, but in the flesh: a biological body. This negotiation must work out how the bodies act in certain spaces. In this case, it needs to work out what the Roman Catholic priest should do, how he should act, during the Anglican Eucharist. This negotiation is not always explicit; whether it was in this case, I am not sure. However, a negotiation happens either if it is explicit or implicit, the results of which I observed during the Eucharist.

The following part will analyze what his *lack* of movement signifies. When priests take part in a service, they are accustomed to doing things. Priests embody the know-how of celebrating mass (Ammerman, 2020, p. 22). This is done in numerous ways; by standing in front of the altar preparing for communion, by reading from Scripture, or by interacting with the congregation, asking the churchgoers to stand as well. The Roman Catholic priest in question did none of these things. Compared to the other priests taking part in the service, he was a static body. As I see it, his body being static signifies an ecumenical limbo – this far, but not further. How the Roman Catholic priest used his body in this Eucharist is an image of the relationship between the Anglican congregation and Roman Catholicism; they want to be involved with each other, however, there is something in the way, the Roman Catholic priest will not act under Anglican conditions. This event reveals that there is something distinct in the 'anglicanness' of the congregation that separates it from Roman Catholicism. This separation surfaces in how the body acts. In this case, it becomes clear when the Roman Catholic priest in an Anglican Eucharist is static. His lack of movement, movement to be expected of him, reveals a rift. He does not move like the *other*, like the Anglican clergy, moving between lectern and altar, baptismal font and choir. Neither does he move like the congregation: to the altar to receive communion. When the congregation's most visible act of participation and union comes, he sits still. When it is time to come together, he remains seated of his own volition.

Returning to the second scenario, what do the Anglican choir's bodies signify? As noted, the Anglican choir had to walk out the door when they would normally walk to the communion table. The very act of them having to walk out makes it clear that there is no union between the two denominations. There is something in the ‘anglicanness’ that causes them to be asked to leave the room during communion. Their bodies are *absent* when the most vital part of mass is taking place. They *are not* just absent, but they have to *make themselves* absent by walking out. They do this in unison, as a group, those who carry this mark of ‘anglicanness’. This is part of how the Anglican congregation negotiates their ‘anglicanness’ in a foreign context involving a different congregation, such as in a Roman Catholic mass. In this case, the negotiation ended with the Anglicans having to leave during communion. A large factor in this negotiation was the position held by the Roman Catholic congregation which had invited the Anglican choir into its own church. The bodies were part of the Anglican congregation, but who exercised authority in this negotiation?

I will argue that the conditions of the negotiation of ‘anglicanness’ are, in these scenarios, not in the Anglican congregation’s favor. The power relation between the two parties – the Anglican congregation and Roman Catholicism (embodied as a Roman Catholic priest and a Roman Catholic congregation respectively) – are uneven.

In both instances, the Roman Catholic representatives wield the power over the bodies. In the former case, the Roman Catholic priest’s lack of bodily movement asserts power over his own body in Anglican space. He is not forced nor expected to take part any more than he does. He is not, for example, asked by the bishop to walk to the altar and accept communion. His involvement, his enactment, is on his own accord. In the latter case the power relations are made explicit when the power is used to make the Anglican bodies walk out of the room. The Anglican choir does not choose to leave unprompted. Neither do they choose to refuse the request, or approach the altar insisting on receiving communion. They heed the request of the host, which is the most reasonable choice, but it is most reasonable precisely due to the power relations. This is made clear with an alteration of scenario one: if the Anglican bishop were to ask the Roman Catholic priest to accept communion, the Roman Catholic priest would presumably not only deny it, but he would be offended, and it would affect their relationship. This request would be unreasonable from the bishop’s side. While when the opposite happens, when the Anglican choir is asked to leave during communion, it is not seen as unreasonable in the same manner.

Reflecting on macrolevel influence, everyday practice, and power, Ammerman writes: “The shared knowledge that structures everyday practice includes larger cultural expectations about where and how religious practices can and should be enacted. That shared knowledge is also conditioned by intersecting systems of power" (2020, pp. 13-14). The shared knowledge affecting everyday practice in the material presented above is the knowledge that Anglicans and Roman Catholics do not take part in communion together. This shapes the congregation's everyday practice, both when a Roman Catholic priest is visiting an Anglican Eucharist, and when an Anglican choir visits a Roman Catholic mass. This shared knowledge, Ammerman continues, is shaped by power balances (2020, p. 14). As noted above, there is an imbalance of power which surfaces in how the bodies – from both parties – act.

This power imbalance affects the negotiation of 'anglicanness'. How the Anglican congregation negotiates their 'anglicanness', at least in the scenarios analyzed above, is partly controlled by the Roman Catholic forces. This power imbalance reflects the outcome of the negotiation. In my understanding, the Anglican congregation wanted a closer bond with the Roman Catholic congregations. Sophie makes this point clear:

> […] there's a distinct separation. I think in the most basic of things, that we cannot take communion with them, and that feels painfully obvious sometimes. And in many ways that should be the most important thing.. that we share... and we don't. Or not even don't; are not allowed to. (Focus group interview, Sophie, 10.06.21)

There is a wish for union in her statement. She phrases the lack of union as a "separation", which in her view stems from not taking communion together. Sophie also touches upon the power dimension. It is not that they "don't" take communion together, they "are not allowed to". I observed that All Saints' extended the invitation to the communion table to Christians from different dominations, including Roman Catholics. However, they cannot choose in a vacuum. The negotiation is between two parties – the congregation of All Saints' and the Roman Catholics – and the latter has the final word in this matter. The negotiation is happening on Roman Catholic terms, they hold the power over who take – or do not take – communion, whether this be in an Anglican church or a Roman Catholic one.

This is not to say that it is always the case that the Roman Catholic side has the power over bodies. This is but one instance where the power relations are imbalanced in this way, it is not a complete analysis of the power relations between the two parties. In other domains, such as sexuality or gender, this power balance can be challenged. However, in the context of communion – both qua celebration of the sacrament and qua fellowship – the power sways toward the Roman Catholic side.

The nature of this power imbalance comes down to, as I see it, two basic things: who wants something, and who has it. The Anglican congregation wants fellowship – as seen from the invitation of a Roman Catholic clergy and my informant's testament above – yet the Roman Catholic church, holding the power to grant this wish, withholds it. While this is a fairly simple analysis of the power relations, it aims to point out that there is an imbalance of power, which further implies that the negotiation of 'anglicanness' in terms of embodiment is not done without the influence of Roman Catholicism. On the contrary, due to this power imbalance, the Anglican congregation has to accept the limitations set by the Roman Catholic representatives.

The conclusion from this analysis of the role of embodiment in the negotiation of 'anglicanness' will now be drawn. The research question steering this subchapter is the second auxiliary question: how is the congregation's 'anglicanness' negotiated through the use of bodies and their actions? This is a broad question, which was narrowed down to two corresponding cases circling around communion. The first case was an observed Eucharist in All Saints' church, where a Roman Catholic priest was present, but was very restricted in his bodily involvement. The second case was a story told by a woman in the choir during the focus group interview, where the Anglican choir was invited to join a Roman Catholic congregation for mass, but when communion took place, they were asked to leave the room.

The power relations in these cases were given a closer look, and I argued that there was a power imbalance in favor of the Roman Catholic side. This surfaced in how both the Roman Catholic bodies and the Anglican bodies acted, and especially when looking at who controlled them. In both instances, the Roman Catholic side was identified as being in control; the Roman Catholic priest did not partake in communion in the Anglican Eucharist on his own (whether personal or institutional is uncertain) accord, and the Anglican choir did not partake in – or even stayed in the room during – communion, which was decided by the Roman Catholic congregation housing them. This speaks of Anglican bodies being *regulated* by the majority Roman Catholic power, whose bodies are self-regulated. This affects the negotiation that takes place regarding what 'anglicanness' is; 'anglicanness' is something apart from the Roman Catholic church to the extent that they *cannot* take communion together. This "separation" from the other, is part of what 'anglicanness' is. What this does *not* do, is to affect the hospitality of 'anglicanness'; it does not remove the Anglican wish to be in communion with Roman Catholic people. This wish – despite being unfulfilled – reveals characteristics of 'anglicanness' as seen in All Saints', it communicates that 'anglicanness' entails openness and inclusion across denominational lines. These characteristics are only visible when looking at their interactions with other denominations, such as the Roman Catholic Church, of which two specific scenarios from my material were examined.

4.4 Narrativity in times of crisis

The way All Saints' affiliates spoke about its congregation's practice during the COVID-19 pandemic is part of the narrative constructed about themselves. This third negotiation of 'anglicanness' is then the negotiation of what 'anglicanness' is between themselves, in the face of the global pandemic. This negotiation very much depends on the people in the congregation and how they talk about themselves.

Two terms will be used to shed light on All Saints' narrative, the dual terms *achievement* and *ascription* proposed by Linton (1936, p. 128). The ability of the vicar to be a shepherd, the willingness of the churchgoers to follow, and their overall attitude are vital in forming a positive narrative in times of crisis. How this narrative is formed is seen through how they speak about themselves during the pandemic, as well as how they narrate their actions. Writing on responses to pandemic and other crises, sociologist of religion Robert Wuthnow notes that:

> What has to be understood is that our responses to peril are fundamentally driven by the need to make sense of our very humanity. They are not just about solving the next crisis but about who we are as a people and as persons. How we respond tells us that we have courage, that we can overcome vulnerability, and that we can go ahead with our lives in the midst of adversity. (2010, p. 2)

Indeed, dealing with the pandemic was more than just to survive until it was over. It was a situation in which All Saints' could either flourish or accept the inevitable losses that the pandemic induced. The way they handled this crisis could also very well affect how they take on future crises. The auto-narrative that was formed thus became part of the 'anglicanness', and their negotiation of this narrative will be looked at in this subchapter with the third auxiliary research question in mind: how is the congregation's 'anglicanness' negotiated through its auto-narrative in times of crisis?

The pandemic was a trying, difficult time. Theologian Philip Sheldrake opens his article reflecting on the pandemic with these words: “My experience of living in the middle of the COVID-19 pandemic is deeply uncomfortable” (2021, p. 50). The narrative from All Saints' however, was rather different. One informant portrays the congregation as a strong, fearless, and determined group:

> [S]o many, not just churches but kinda everything is obviously closed and been like, “oh well, next year, maybe, we'll see” but I really love the vicar and his wife's attitude towards it very much being you know “well, we **must**, we **must** have services, you know if people can then by God they will! […] as long as it's not breaking the law then absolutely we are doing **everything** that we can because this is.. our worship. (Focus group interview, Sophie, 10.06.21)

This narrative emerges from a situational context, specifically the COVID-19 pandemic. While others are closed, *we* stand strong. This narrative puts their own congregation apart from others, even above it, thus creating a sense of unity within the congregation. This is a we-story, it is a communal story. Going to church on Sunday morning is not a solitary act, it is not owned by the individual, but it is “our” worship. As a community they were doing what was within legal boundaries in order to meet and to worship together.

Narratives, Ammerman says, “[…] often have powerful effects on how people act” (2020, p. 29). The narrative thus becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. A story that is retold will be believed and integrated into one's identity. The narrative of “our church” being strong thus becomes a source of strength to *continue* being strong; the narrative will influence the congregation's self-understanding and affect its conduct in times to come. While it is hard to verify how unique its unwavering approach to doing church during the pandemic was, the informant mentions that she sought out this specific church due to it having an operational choir, which was low in supply during the pandemic. This shows how the congregation's narrative of itself attracted church seekers, and it influenced the congregational practice in a way that made it retain a working choir, and with it, remain strong in times of crisis.

Traces of this narrative is also found in the “Report from the wardens for 2020-2021”, where they reflect on the situation of the congregation during the pandemic. The report is introduced by acknowledging the trials of the pandemic, but goes on to transform this time of hardship into something more positive:

> In the Wardens' report last year, there is repeated reference to "when life returns to normal". We would like to suggest discontinuing use of that phrase. Far from being a note of pessimism, rather we consider that, regardless of the development of the pandemic, the community of All Saints Rome has developed through the experience and changes in our community life. Much of this development will remain and expand. (Paper document, report from the wardens for 2020-2021, 12.05.21)

This narrative is found both at the grassroot level and within the leadership. The focus on the blessings of the pandemic, rather than its negative inflictions, helps the congregation at large to stay strong and united. This also leads to the church being a source of strength which might not be found in other areas of life such as work or free time activities that might be cancelled or impaired due to restrictions. The church as a social arena during the pandemic was explicitly mentioned by people I talked to, both in the interview and informal talk.

The vicar also supported this narrative by proclaiming that their donations had increased during lockdown, not decreased as one might expect. Reflecting on his own congregation and the way ahead, he also said:

> There was a time, when I first came here, where I was very fearful.. for what the future would bring. I find myself being absolutely freaking fearless at this point in time, because I know that the community will somehow manage. (Interview, vicar, 08.06.21)

From this statement it can be deduced that the congregation's narrative about it staying strong in times of crisis was not necessarily already in place, inherited from the past. It was not a given that this congregation in particular would prevail in difficult times. Further, the vicar credits "the community" for this strength, because "the community will somehow manage". As I understand it, this refers to the congregation in an extended term, that is, anyone who contributes and upholds the congregation. This statement reinforces the narrative that *the community, our congregation,* will prevail in the times to come, with a "come hell or high-water attitude" (Focus group interview, Sophie, 10.06.21), as Sophie phrased it.

This narrative of how "our church" is strong during times of hardship, is itself a source of strength in everyday life. It is not just a narrative that is activated once a week for high mass, but it is always present, sometimes in the background and other times more prevalent. The story of how All Saints' evolves from hardship and have people show up for mass despite being in a time of crisis, is itself motivation and encouragement for its people.

For the congregation to live up to this narrative in everyday life, it needs to put in effort. It does not come automatically; it is *achieved* rather than *ascribed*. Linton uses these two terms to differentiate what statuses people enjoy and how that came to be. Parson explains the difference between achievement and ascription based on the level of performance, that is, achievement requires performance of the actor, while ascription does not (1982, p. 111). The status in question for All Saints' is that of an operational, resourceful, and strong congregation. If circumstances were different and All Saints' came to existence by the will of an influential organization, granting it financial support and experienced staff, as well as securing a core of members, it would be correct to classify their status as a strong congregation as ascribed.

However, this is not the case. There are certain aspects that are ascribed to the present congregation, such as the church building itself. This is in virtue of it being a fixed part of the congregation, it does not drastically change from generation to generation. This is different from the congregation's narrative about itself, not only does it change over time, but it is not ascribed, it must be achieved. This achievement is built up over time and from different angles. Resilience requires stability, not just a thrust of strength, which would in this case mean organizing a spectacular Christmas Eucharist but fade out after the year's end. In virtue of this, building a positive narrative takes time. Further, it is not enough that only one part of the congregation fronts this narrative. As identified in my material, the narrative was reinforced from different sources: from Sophie, a member of the congregation who sings in the choir, the Warden's report, written by laypeople involved in the congregation, and the vicar, being "absolutely freaking fearless" of times to come.

The way the congregation forms its own narrative of how it conducts itself during times of crisis is a part of how it negotiates its 'anglicanness'. The narrative produced is part of the narrative of what it is like to be an Anglican congregation in Rome, and it is a narrative of *empowerment*. While the material aspects of the church and how the bodies act are two important ways of negotiating 'anglicanness', the way the congregation talks about itself, the way it narrates its own identity, is also of key importance.

In their telling of their own narrative, they have more power than when it comes to embodiment, which tells a different story than one of empowerment. Ammerman notes that while bodily and material dimensions should be considered, words should not be ignored (2020, p. 28). In an attempt to "take talk seriously" (Wuthnow, 2011), I have analyzed how the congregation of All Saints' negotiates its own narrative in a foreign context in times of crisis. This narrative is part of what encompasses 'anglicanness' for this diaspora congregation.

4.5 Liturgy and language – a locus of trans-national, inclusive spirituality

In any given congregation there are many arenas where one could identify spirituality. In the following section, spirituality in relation to liturgy and language in All Saints' will be the object of study. In the case of language, English was almost exclusively used, both within and outside of the liturgy. The one exception takes place during Sunday Eucharist, after reciting the Lord's Prayer in English, the Italian version follows. This instance will be the object of analysis in the following subchapter. The relation between the Church of England as the provider of the liturgical resources, and All Saints' congregation on the ground, will be explored by the help of the de Certeau's dual terms *strategy* and *tactic* as introduced above. The analysis is preceded by a presentation of the relevant data relating to the practice of the liturgy in All Saints'. This section corresponds to the final auxiliary research question: how is the congregation's 'anglicanness' negotiated through its spirituality?

The liturgy of the Sunday Eucharist was in line with the liturgical structure of Holy Communion from the Church of England[4]. The prayers, the placement and number of readings, even some hymn melodies were all familiar elements to me as well:

> Sunday. Sung Eucharist. The liturgy is very similar to what I'm used to, except the language, which is English. The service is divided in two, first the Word, then the Communion. People seem eager to sing, despite having to wear face masks. Most people take part in both the hymns and responses. The churchgoers are actively participating. (Fieldnotes, 16.05.21)

Barring the language difference, it was indeed a familiar way to celebrate the Eucharist. Perhaps the most unique element was the active participation by the people in the pews. They gave their response when appropriate, and they followed the liturgy diligently. The hymns were clearly familiar to most of them, as well. Evidently, the people who went to service were familiar with the liturgy; whether it was from All Saints' in Rome, or from a

[4] https://www.churchofengland.org/prayer-and-worship/worship-texts-and-resources/common-worship/churchs-year/holy-week-and-easter-2#mm048 (Visited 25.01.22)

congregation back in England, is uncertain. There was an element in the liturgy that certainly was not an influence from the mother church, instead it was one born from local conditions:

> After saying the Lord’s Prayer in English, it followed in Italian. The text was in the pamphlet, but I could not follow as quickly as the rest of the congregation. It was not just a few reciting it, but a majority, and with good volume. Almost louder, even, than the English version. The vicar has clearly practiced, he said it like he was a native speaker. Looking around, there are not many native Italians, but a lot of them are saying the Italian prayer. Do they know Italian? Do they just know this prayer? (Fieldnotes, 16.05.21)

Comparing the liturgy of Holy Communion as presented on the Church of England’s website and the one used in All Saints’, the only deviation I could find was the usage of the Lord’s Prayer in Italian. My fieldnotes on this reveal a surprise regarding the high volume and active participation of the congregation. Praying in Italian was as natural for the congregation as it was in English, despite the rest of the liturgy being in English. English was the predominant language, as small talk after the service also revealed. The vicar normally spoke English, except when talking to tourists (Italian tourists from outside of Rome were booming post-lockdown), or when ordering coffee or lunch.

Having this in mind, a strong participation in the Italian prayer was indeed surprising. In my notes, I raised the question whether this was because the churchgoers spoke Italian, or whether they just knew this prayer. Reflecting on it now, I believe the answer lies somewhere in between. There were multiple people who did not speak any Italian, who perhaps were only in town for a limited amount of time. Then there were Italians who had Italian as their first language, but also English and American people who had stayed in Rome for a considerable period of time. These could be, if not fluent, at least decent at speaking Italian. Regardless, the presence of the Lord’s Prayer in Italian was popular and cherished.

The English language certainly plays a role in what ‘anglicanness’ entails. Toward the end of the interview with the vicar I raised the question of what brings such a diverse crowd to All Saints’, what makes All Saints’ different from the other English-speaking congregations in Rome. After listing a number of congregations that are largely constituted of one nationality, he goes on to say about All Saints’ that: “This is still a congregation that has its original constituency, now, that initial constituency is *not* just national, it's not just British, but it is Britain, it is Australia, it's Ghana, it's South Africa […]” (Interview, vicar, 08.06.21). The

English language does not make All Saints' stand out, but its national diversity does. The norm, according to the vicar's observations, seems to be congregations consisting of one or few nationalities, or at least geographical areas, whereas this is not the case for All Saints'. The *trans-nationality* of All Saints' is backed up by my own observation as well:

> There are two flags hanging from the wall on each side of the baptismal font. Far left is the flag of United Kingdom, next to it is a variation of St. George's cross with the Union Jack in the corner[5], and on the opposite side, a flag with the Union Jack in the corner, the rest being light blue with a circle on it[6], and finally, the Canadian flag. (Fieldnotes, 26.05.21)

The Union flags come as no surprise, it is after all a congregation under the Church of England, however, the Canadian flag breaks the national hegemony. The presence of which I first thought to be due to the vicar being Canadian, but when looking at older pictures of the church, there was a smaller Canadian flag hanging in the very same spot years before the current vicar arrived. Either way, the vicar not being British may itself be an important factor when creating a trans-national congregation.

Moving on, the distinction between strategy and tactics, as presented by de Certeau, will be applied to the liturgical phenomenon. What does the presence of the Lord's Prayer in Italian entail? How did it come to be included in the Anglican service? What does it signify? These questions will lead the way to answer how the congregation's 'anglicanness' is negotiated through its spirituality as seen in the liturgy.

The first step in applying de Certeau's terms on my data is to identify the relevant agents, and what they correspond to in de Certeau's own analogy. It was noted above that the city planner is the subject wielding power, employing *strategy* upon the city (the place), which affects the "walkers" who make use of the city, who further employ *tactics*. Transferring this language over to All Saints' and their liturgy yields the following table:

Terms	Uses strategy – the power instance	The place where events unfold	Uses tactics – "ordinary practitioners"
de Certeau	City planner	The city	"Walkers"

[5] Known as the "White Ensign", it is used by the British Royal Navy.
[6] Known as the "Royal Air Force Ensign", it is used by the British Royal Air force. The flags were accompanied by plaques in memory of soldiers from World War Two who fought to liberate Rome.

All Saints'	Church of England	The liturgy	The congregation

Table 1

The city planner corresponds to the Church of England at large, them being in power and applying strategies upon the place of the liturgy. Further, the congregation of All Saints' interacts with and makes use of the liturgy, which then employs tactics in its relation to it. The Church of England is considered the user of strategy because they control both the liturgy and determine that All Saints' will use this liturgy. The strategy in this context is applied to the liturgy, it being the object in question and a place where spirituality is practiced through language and fellowship. Those who relate spirituality to the liturgy are the "ordinary practitioners", that is, the people who make up the congregation and go to service. This includes the people in the pews, but also the people who frequent the altar – both the vicar and the altar servers. They too take part in the liturgy, both as individual people celebrating the Eucharist, as well as, in the case of the vicar, having a leading role in the celebration.

These "ordinary practitioners" do not possess the power to radically change the liturgy beyond the framework given by the overarching strategy, neither is it in their power to discard *this* liturgy, in favor of others. The congregation's power in relation to the liturgy is indeed limited. In virtue of being in a subordinate position of power, it is able to employ *tactics*. In de Certeau's analogy, the "walkers" use tactics which includes taking shortcuts in the city, something not intended by the city planners (1984, p. 98). The exact details of the events leading up to having the Italian version of the Lord's Prayer in the liturgy are unbeknownst to me; and so therefore I will be careful with claiming too much. Whether it was approved by the Church of England, or just naturally implemented, I do not know. Regardless, it is an element foreign to the standard liturgy as presented by the Church of England itself and is obviously affected by its local surroundings. If the city in question was Paris instead of Rome, the additional version of the Lord's Prayer would hardly be Italian, but rather French, if anything. In other words, it is a change to the liturgy that happened from the factors on the ground, in the congregation and its everyday practice, which in this context is surrounded by the Italian language.

The significance of a change in language should not be underestimated. When the liturgy is said in a uniform language, in this case English, it strengthens the idea of unity. Regardless of how much the people in the congregation have in common, focusing on the common factor – language – highlights similarities. I recognize this to be what Norwegian anthropologist Marianne Gullestad phrases as "imagined sameness".

Gullestad sees “imagined sameness” as denoting a group of people’s self-perception that they are indeed similar as individuals, thus gaining approval and value (2002, pp. 46-47). This includes downplaying differences, focusing instead on what makes them similar and excluding the people who possess prominent differences (Gullestad, 2002, p. 47). The difference in question is one of language. While English is the dominant language in All Saints’, it is not so outside of the church grounds. This leads to tension between two dominant languages in different, yet geographically close spheres. The solution to this tension is found in the liturgy, a place laden with spirituality, and thus perhaps bears greater influence. To break the division created by the difference in language, the congregation has made space for a segment where the imagined sameness shifts. Instead of the English language being the unifying factor which gives a sense of imagined sameness, space is made for the Italian language in the liturgy, thus resolving the tension, and instead invites trans-nationality and an inclusive spirituality.

A consequence of a group having “imagined sameness”, as another Norwegian anthropologist Ingvill Bjørnstad Åberg points out, is that the “Other” is in opposition to them (2022, p. 184). Bringing this insight back to the liturgy of All Saints’, this implies that an all-English liturgy may function as alienating from the “Other”, that is, the Italian people, some of which may be actively participating in the liturgy. Toward countering this effect, the all-English liturgy is broken in favor of an inclusive prayer, thus including (and perhaps breaking down the conception of) the “Other”.

In addition to being a positive development for the “Other” who then may feel more welcome, it has the added effect of relating the English-speaking congregation to the Italians at large. By acknowledging that there is another language – Italian – that is relevant in their context, and thus integrating it into the liturgy, a bridge from the congregation to the Italian society is formed. Further, the part of the liturgy said in Italian is held in high regard, it is *the* prayer taught by Jesus, certainly present in Christians from all over the world’s spiritual lives. It possibly being the most used prayer, and perhaps the one learned first, it carries with it emotions and memories, safety and comfort. By reciting the Lord’s Prayer in another person’s native language, a positive bond may form, perhaps more so than with other prayers.

The spirituality of ‘anglicanness’, then, is not just expressed in the English language. Indeed, the English language is dominant, and it creates an imagined sameness when used by all in the liturgy; however, when Italian is used, it too creates an imagined sameness, yet on different grounds. Language is thus used as a key element in the negotiation of spirituality. Language that relates to home, that relates to the mother church who employs the strategy, is important. Yet language that relates *not* to the mother church, but instead relates to the congregation's everyday lives in Rome is also important. All Saints' does not isolate itself in its dome of Anglicanism, but instead integrates the local language in its own liturgy.

The liturgical expression of the Lord's Prayer is not just Anglican, neither is it simply "Italian", it is something new and diverse. This negotiation characterizes the spirituality of 'anglicanness' as an *inclusive* and *diverse* one. By making space for the expected "Other" in its own liturgy, thus including the "Other" in "Us", 'anglicanness' is branded as inclusive when it comes to spirituality as experienced through the liturgy. Recalling that this move was a tactic from the congregation, it is right to prescribe this keyword of inclusion to the congregation itself, and not the overarching strategy-giving agent. The main finding from this segment is that spirituality, as it surfaces in the liturgy, classifies as *inclusive, diverse*, and *trans-national*. This makes up the fourth and final part of the congregation's 'anglicanness' that this thesis discusses.

5. Discussion

5.1 Findings and conclusion

Let us recall the questions that have steered this thesis. The main research question is: *How does the Anglican diaspora congregation in Rome negotiate 'anglicanness' in everyday congregational practice?* The answer to this question is complex and can be divided into four parts, which further amounts to the four auxiliary research questions. In short, the Anglican diaspora congregation in question negotiates its 'anglicanness' in everyday practice through materiality, embodiment, narrativity, and spirituality. These are domains where the negotiations take place, and an answer to the main question requires an answer to how the negotiations are played out in these loci. I will present my findings in a table below, which yield keywords of the negotiations, corresponding to the four dimensions of practice analyzed in chapter four.

Materiality	Embodiment	Narrativity	Spirituality
Plasticity	Regulated	Empowerment	Inclusive, diverse, trans-national

Table 2

These are the key findings that characterize the negotiations of ‘anglicanness’ in All Saints’ Anglican Church. While this is not the whole picture, other dimensions of its congregational practice could be considered (Ammerman, 2020; 2021), the aim is to map out parts of what these negotiations of ‘anglicanness’ entail. And what this ‘anglicanness’ entails depends on where one looks.

When looking at the negotiation of materiality, my findings indicate that the church building is characterized by the word *plasticity*; it negotiates between its own tradition as English and Anglican, while also being formed by political and legal sanctions by the Italian government, as well as cultural and religious trajectories laid out by Roman Catholicism.

If one turns to the embodiment – the literal bodies – of both members of the congregation as well as guests, my findings suggest that the bodies are *regulated*; in the two cases presented above, the Anglican party was not in power of how the bodies – their own as well as their guests – could act, rather the Roman Catholic counterpart was. Whether it means them not receiving communion, despite wanting to, or the Roman Catholic church’s representative deciding not to take communion, despite being welcome to, the bodies involved are regulated by someone other than themselves, namely the Roman Catholic power.

This may be juxtaposed to the finding yielded from listening to the congregation’s own narrative, which I identified to be one of *empowerment*. Unlike the other congregations, this particular congregation excelled during hardship, instead of its churchgoers staying at home (when it was legal to go to service), they showed up *en masse*. While other congregations struggled financially, this congregation experienced an increase in donations during lockdown. In this narrative, the future also looks bright, because having weathered the storm that was, the congregation knows that it has what it takes to survive and even come out on top. This auto-narrative, in contrast to the case of embodiment, was one of empowerment, not regulation.

Finally, the spirituality of the congregation, as it surfaced in its liturgy and language, I found to be *inclusive, diverse,* and *trans-national*; they all describe the same phenomenon. The liturgy with its use of Italian language and the presence of multiple nation’s flags speak of an *inclusive, diverse,* and *trans-national* congregation. All Saints’, instead of focusing on national unity, focuses on the acceptance and inclusivity of diversity. All these key findings amount to describing a complex congregational identity and its practices, which I will argue remain distinctive when compared to other diasporic contexts.

5.2 Discussion with Scandinavian research

To argue for the distinctiveness of All Saints', I will situate my findings in a larger body of research, with a special focus on Scandinavian churches abroad and Scandinavian research. Warburg's field research in the Danish Seamen's Church in Singapore, Iversen's study of Norwegian churches abroad in the U.S., and finally, Thorbjørnsrud's study of churches in the Arabian Peninsula will be considered in relation to my findings. These three studies were selected due to their context being different than the one studied here, but also for its thematic similarity. These two factors make for a fruitful comparison of studies which will shed light on the diasporic context in Rome. The main findings from chapter four as summarized above will be brought into this discussion.

Warburg uses the term "national-religious space", which she claims characterizes "immigrant religious institutions" such as the Danish Seamen's Church (2013, p. 152). The national presence, be it cultural like the interior and candy, or more obvious signs such as the Danish flag, is undeniable (Warburg, 2013, pp. 154-156). Iversen identifies a similar, yet not identical trend in the Norwegian Church Abroad. Commenting on Warburg's findings in the Danish context discussed above, he says it also holds true for the Norwegian context, but that "This happens not in a strident, aggressive sense, but in a taken-for-granted way characterized by ease, lightness, and lack of social friction" (2021, p. 546). The Norwegian national signs were less assertive, but rather used to create an atmosphere reminding one of home. While not a focus of this thesis, it is interesting to note that according to Warburg, a Swedish sociologist of religion has drawn similar conclusions regarding the Swedish church in London (Bäckström, 1995; Warburg, 2013, p. 170).

The description of the Scandinavian context of churches abroad as presented by Warburg and Iversen, characterized by Warburg's term "national-religious space" (2013, p. 152), is an unfamiliar one to All Saints'. There were in general fewer national symbols and artifacts in All Saints' than what is reported from Warburg's and Iversen's accounts of Scandinavian churches abroad. The common denominator in the Scandinavian context was a national flag (Iversen, 2021, p. 546; Warburg, 2013, p. 155). However, in the case of All Saints', along with three flags representing the United Kingdom and its military, the internationality of this congregation was illustrated by the addition of a Canadian flag. Recalling the vicar's statement above, this national diversity made All Saints' distinct, even in Rome.

The congregation was *trans-national*, meaning that it consisted of – and welcomed – people from many different nations. This is related to another characteristic of All Saints': its *inclusivity*. The people who made up the congregation were not only British, but they were African, American, Canadian, Italian, and Romanian, to name a few. This is despite being under the Church of England, and contrary to the Scandinavian churches who were very nationalistic in their self-presentation. While the Norwegian Church Abroad aims for inclusion (Iversen, 2019), it does so with only one nationality in mind, unlike All Saints', which embodies an ambition for trans-national inclusion. The congregation does not necessarily tone down its linkage to Britain, – exemplified by the Union Jack flag, as well as the British World War II poster outside the church – but its space is open to include other nations as well.

This inclusivity can also be seen in the liturgy; English is the dominant language, but Italian is also present. The presence of a Canadian flag in the church, and of an Italian prayer in the liturgy, both signify a breach with their roots, be it nation or language. This breach makes All Saints' distinctive; it stands out from its mother church, as well as other English-speaking congregations in Rome. It speaks of inclusivity, in their culture as a congregation, as well as in their spirituality. Opening up for using a "foreign" language in the liturgy carries consequences for people's spirituality, both the Italian-speaking part, as well as those who do not speak Italian. The negotiation of 'anglicanness' in the sphere of spirituality, as seen in the locus of the liturgy, were thus characterized as *inclusive, diverse,* and *trans-national*.

This is contrary to the Norwegian context, in which the problem lies in including both types of Norwegianness, which translates to Norwegians on both ends of the political spectrum (Iversen, 2021, p. 548). While the different notions of Norwegianness is a source of conflict, a topic to be avoided, diversity and difference is embraced in All Saints'. Diversity is an expected part of the congregation, both on a national and religious level. This may have something to do with the difference in branding. The Norwegian Church Abroad, as well as the Danish Seamen's Church are just that, churches abroad *for Norwegians* and *for Danes*.

All Saints' is not merely the English Church Abroad, instead it has its own identity of an Anglican church in Rome, the object of which I identify as 'anglicanness'. All Saints' approach to being a diasporic congregation, then, is different than the Scandinavian examples considered here. Iversen's notion of Norwegianness reveals a national focus, while 'anglicanness' goes beyond the national. This difference of focus and branding can perhaps be traced back to their different roots; while both contexts have a history of national churches, the Scandinavian context is unique in their having "folk churches". Not only is this a national tie, but it is also a tie between the people and the church, which is reflected by the mundane national objects found in Scandinavian churches abroad such as candy and newspapers (Iversen, 2021, p. 546; Warburg, 2013, p. 156). The goal is to make them feel at home, to make a national space in diaspora.

All Saints', instead of making a distinct English national space, pivots and makes a new and diverse space, which surfaces in identity and practices as the congregation's 'anglicanness'. This 'anglicanness' is partly – but not only – English; it is also Anglican. Additionally, it is affected by its diasporic Italian context; in short, it is something different than an English congregation back home. It is difficult to establish why this is so. One possible answer is that the Church of England is currently in a context of decline and in the midst of an identity problem, as established in chapter 1.1. Drawing on a source which is currently undergoing a crisis is risky and could potentially lead the congregation down the same path. Part of its success then lies in finding its own path of plasticity, standing out from their mother church as well as other churches abroad.

Thorbjørnsrud studies a very different context, both legally, culturally, and geographically, but the pattern is similar. Thorbjørnsrud makes an interesting remark when reflecting on the different denominations' architectural wants and writes that "A Catholic church may for example have different architectural distinctions in India and in Italy. The important thing is of course that members recognize their own church – even in a new place"[7] (2020, p. 253). Different cultures and geographical settings certainly brand the buildings that are raised there, the influence ranging from political restrictions to availability of materials. In the case of All Saints' church, I learned from an informant that when the church was built, the main entrance to non-Roman Catholic churches was not allowed to be on the main street, making it awkwardly placed in the back alley instead. Such political sanctions leave marks on the buildings, but it does not entirely restrict its individuality. In Thorbjørnsrud's work, a Roman Catholic cathedral in Kuwait with its church tower, albeit void of bells due to legal restrictions, may be mentioned (2020, p. 258).

[7] Translated by myself from the original Norwegian: "En katolsk kirke kan for eksempel ha ulike arkitektoniske særpreg i India og i Italia. Det som er viktig, er selvsagt at medlemmer gjenkjenner egen kirke – selv på et nytt sted."

In the case of All Saints', the "very English" red-bricked Gothic Revival architectural style, or the ringed door knocker, serve as examples of the material and aesthetical individuality. The goal of expressing its own individuality through the architecture is perhaps to be recognized as Anglican, at least by its own members. However, there is more to it than that. The keyword that was derived from the findings on the church's materiality above was *plasticity*. This plasticity is also to be found, albeit in a different form, in the churches Thorbjørnsrud studied. The most striking example being a Roman Catholic church in Muscat, of which its priest said the following: "Beautiful, isn't it? It looks like the dome of a mosque" (Thorbjørnsrud, 2020, p. 257). The Roman Catholic church would scarcely be made to look like a mosque in a non-Muslim context, but due to its geo-political placement in a Muslim majority country, it does.

The plasticity of All Saints' is subtler, and the differences between Anglicanism and Roman Catholicism are less than between Roman Catholicism and Islam. However, the phenomenon remains the same; All Saints' is shaped by its surrounding context, but also by its roots. It blends in with its Italian marble, but it stands out with its oddly placed front door, and its red-bricked Gothic Revival style, not to mention the ringed door knocker.

5.3 Concluding remarks

When my findings are situated in the larger body of research on diasporic congregations, it marks a break with other contexts. This contributes to nuancing the studies conducted on (national) churches abroad, and how these congregations operate. While the research on Scandinavian churches abroad identifies a strong national role in the congregations, this is not always the case, as revealed when studying a diasporic Anglican congregation. My findings partly agree with Thorbjørnsrud's work which identifies that churches in diaspora adapt to local conditions, but also pass on their architectural roots.

For further studies, this finding should motivate to look for plasticity in church buildings, as well as other practices, in diasporic congregations. This is relevant for congregations with a strong national focus, such as in the Scandinavian context, as well as trans-national contexts such as All Saints'. Despite the Scandinavian constituency not being trans-national, its practices in other dimensions such as embodiment or spirituality may very well be diverse and laden with plasticity.

With this thesis, I hope to expand on the scope of congregational studies in practical theology, with the help of lived religion. This has been one possible way to study congregational practice with an in-depth microlevel focus, taking materiality, embodiment, narrativity, and spirituality into consideration, but while not ignoring macrolevel factors such as legislative, cultural, religious, and historical ones. Empirical theology is wise in taking practice, with its many dimensions, into consideration when studying congregations. This study is not exhaustive, different dimensions of practice such as emotions, aesthetics, and morality (Ammerman, 2020; Ammerman, 2021) could and should be a focus of future studies, as well as other macrolevel conditions such as media and popular conceptions.

Regarding the methodology, employing multiple qualitative methods is vital to catch not just what the people of the congregation say they do, but also what they actually do. A focus on, for example, embodiment in data from both the interviews and the observations helps to paint a more complete picture of the practices that take place. In order to study congregations in depth, their practices must be studied thoroughly. It would be advantageous for practical theology to expand its theoretical and methodological repertoire, and as I have argued, these instruments are to be found in the discipline of lived religion. Further studies of practical theology which incorporates approaches from lived religion would benefit and be relevant for multiple research topics, such as minority studies, diasporic congregations, different manners of "doing church", congregational identity, and the church's role in times of crisis.

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Appendices

Appendix A. Project assessment by NSD

Reference number 597883

Det er vår vurdering at behandlingen vil være i samsvar med personvernlovgivningen, så fremt den gjennomføres i tråd med det som er dokumentert i meldeskjemaet den 07.05.21 med vedlegg, samt i meldingsdialogen mellom innmelder og NSD. Behandlingen kan starte.

TYPE OPPLYSNINGER OG VARIGHET
Prosjektet vil behandle alminnelige personopplysninger og særlige kategorier av personopplysninger om religion frem til 20.06.22.

LOVLIG GRUNNLAG
Prosjektet vil innhente samtykke fra de registrerte til behandlingen av personopplysninger. Vår vurdering er at prosjektet legger opp til et samtykke i samsvar med kravene i art. 4 nr. 11 og 7, ved at det er en frivillig, spesifikk, informert og utvetydig bekreftelse, som kan dokumenteres, og som den registrerte kan trekke tilbake.

For alminnelige personopplysninger vil lovlig grunnlag for behandlingen være den registrertes samtykke, jf. personvernforordningen art. 6 nr. 1 a.

For særlige kategorier av personopplysninger vil lovlig grunnlag for behandlingen være den registrertes uttrykkelige samtykke, jf. personvernforordningen art. 9 nr. 2 bokstav a, jf. personopplysningsloven § 10, jf. § 9 (2).

PERSONVERNPRINSIPPER
NSD vurderer at den planlagte behandlingen av personopplysninger vil følge prinsippene i personvernforordningen:

- om lovlighet, rettferdighet og åpenhet (art. 5.1 a), ved at de registrerte får tilfredsstillende informasjon om og samtykker til behandlingen
- formålsbegrensning (art. 5.1 b), ved at personopplysninger samles inn for spesifikke, uttrykkelig angitte og berettigede formål, og ikke viderebehandles til nye uforenlige formål

- dataminimering (art. 5.1 c), ved at det kun behandles opplysninger som er adekvate, relevante og nødvendige for formålet med prosjektet
- lagringsbegrensning (art. 5.1 e), ved at personopplysningene ikke lagres lengre enn nødvendig for å oppfylle formålet.

DE REGISTRERTES RETTIGHETER

NSD vurderer at informasjonen om behandlingen som de registrerte vil motta oppfyller lovens krav til form og innhold, jf. art. 12.1 og art. 13.

Så lenge de registrerte kan identifiseres i datamaterialet vil de ha følgende rettigheter: innsyn (art. 15), retting (art. 16), sletting (art. 17), begrensning (art. 18) og dataportabilitet (art. 20).

Vi minner om at hvis en registrert tar kontakt om sine rettigheter, har behandlingsansvarlig institusjon plikt til å svare innen en måned.

FØLG DIN INSTITUSJONS RETNINGSLINJER

NSD legger til grunn at behandlingen oppfyller kravene i personvernforordningen om riktighet (art. 5.1 d), integritet og konfidensialitet (art. 5.1. f) og sikkerhet (art. 32).

For å forsikre dere om at kravene oppfylles, må prosjektansvarlig følge interne retningslinjer/rådføre dere med behandlingsansvarlig institusjon.

MELD VESENTLIGE ENDRINGER

Dersom det skjer vesentlige endringer i behandlingen av personopplysninger, kan det være nødvendig å melde dette til NSD ved å oppdatere meldeskjemaet. Før du melder inn en endring, oppfordrer vi deg til å lese om hvilken type endringer det er nødvendig å melde: https://www.nsd.no/personverntjenester/fylle-ut-meldeskjema-for-personopplysninger/melde-endringer-i-meldeskjema

Du må vente på svar fra NSD før endringen gjennomføres.

OPPFØLGING AV PROSJEKTET

NSD vil følge opp ved planlagt avslutning for å avklare om behandlingen av personopplysningene er avsluttet.

Kontaktperson hos NSD: Line Raknes Hjellvik

Lykke til med prosjektet!

Appendix B. Information letter

Are you interested in taking part in the research project

”Religious Practice: Roman Catholic Influence on Practices and Experiences of the Anglican Minority”?

This is an inquiry about participation in a research project where the main purpose is to research Roman Catholic influence on people affiliated with All Saints’ Anglican Church, and their religious practice in Rome. In this letter we will give you information about the purpose of the project and what your participation will involve.

Purpose of the project

The project will look at young adults’ religious practice in Rome, and if it has been affected by the dominant Catholic surroundings. Churches will be central for this study, but it is not restricted to the religious practice that occurs inside churches; all aspects of life related to religious practice, both mental and physical, will be looked at with interest. This will be researched by looking at changes to your religious practice since your arrival in Rome, or your religious practice in general. The project’s scope is limited to a small selection of people affiliated with All Saints’ church in Rome and is based on qualitative, individual data collection.

This interview will be part of a data collection for a master’s thesis in theology, as a form of practical theology.

Who is responsible for the research project?

The faculty of theology in the University of Oslo is the institution responsible for the project.

The research project has been granted funding from the Norwegian institute in Rome (DNIR).

Why are you being asked to participate?

You have been chosen because you are affiliated with the All Saints’ Anglican church in Rome. You have also been chosen because you are a student or a young adult, which is the group the project will focus on.

What does participation involve for you?

If you choose to take part in the project, this will involve joining a physical group interview in Rome with a few other participants. The interview will contain questions about your religious practice, and how it has been affected by your time in Rome. In this relation, your name, contact information, and what will be said in the interview will be stored for the duration of the research project. The interview will be recorded.

Participation is voluntary

Participation in the project is voluntary. If you chose to participate, you can withdraw your consent at any time without giving a reason. All information about you will then be made anonymous. There will be no negative consequences for you if you choose not to participate or later decide to withdraw.

Your personal privacy – how we will store and use your personal data

We will only use your personal data for the purpose(s) specified in this information letter. We will process your personal data confidentially and in accordance with data protection legislation (the General Data Protection Regulation and Personal Data Act).

- Only the student researcher and their supervisor will store and have access to your personal data
- The recording of the interview will be stored only on encrypted drives. The anonymized data will be stored encrypted in a cloud server maintained by the University of Oslo.
- Your personal data such as names, study/work and place of origin will be changed for publication.

What will happen to your personal data at the end of the research project?

The project is scheduled to end 20.06.22. The recording of the interviews will be deleted at this time. The transcriptions will be anonymized and any data that can be connected to your person will be deleted.

Your rights

So long as you can be identified in the collected data, you have the right to:

- access the personal data that is being processed about you

- request that your personal data is deleted
- request that incorrect personal data about you is corrected/rectified
- receive a copy of your personal data (data portability), and
- send a complaint to the Data Protection Officer or The Norwegian Data Protection Authority regarding the processing of your personal data

What gives us the right to process your personal data?

We will process your personal data based on your consent.

You will be invited to give your consent through a secure digital form called “Nettskjema”.

Based on an agreement with the University of Oslo, NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS has assessed that the processing of personal data in this project is in accordance with data protection legislation.

Where can I find out more?

If you have questions about the project, or want to exercise your rights, contact:

- The University of Oslo via Elisabeth Tveito Johnsen at e.t.johnsen@teologi.uio.no.
- Our Data Protection Officer: Roger Markgraf-Bye at personvernombud@uio.no
- NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS, by email: (personverntjenester@nsd.no) or by telephone: +47 55 58 21 17.

Yours sincerely,

Project Leader (Supervisor) Elisabeth Tveito Johnsen	Student researcher Peter Lund Bullen

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I have received and understood information about the project *Religious Practice: Roman Catholic Influence on Practices and Experiences of the Anglican Minority* and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I give consent:

- ☐ to participate in a (group)interview
- ☐ to having my personal data be processed until the end of the project, approximately 20.06.22

(Signed by participant, date)

Appendix C. Interview guide

Introduction of the project and researcher:

My project is to look at people affiliated with All Saints' Anglican Church and their religious practice in Rome, and if it has been affected by the dominant Catholic surroundings. Churches will be central for this study, but it is not restricted to the religious practice that occurs inside churches, all aspects of life, mental and physical, will be looked at with interest. You all have been selected because of your affiliation with the Anglican Church here in Rome. You are also all students or young adults, which is because I wanted to focus on young peoples' experiences to limit the scope of my project.

There are no right or wrong answers, you may skip answering or refrain from talking at any point without providing any reason. As this interview will be recorded, it would be much appreciated if we limit ourselves to one speaker at a time, so no information becomes inaudible. You are free to excuse yourself at any time if you feel the need for a break for any reason.

Besides my supervisor, I am the only person who will access the data that is collected, and you have the right to ask me about any information I have on you, and have it accessed, deleted, or corrected. In my paper's final form, you will be anonymized, for example by changing your names and places of origin.

Start recording. Introduce myself and invite them to do the same. Name, place of origin, how long you have resided in Rome, and a couple of sentences about yourself. What religion do you identify with?

Introduction:

1. What brings you to the Anglican church in Rome?

2. Do you ever visit Catholic churches here in Rome, if so, can you describe an episode that comes to mind?[8]

[8] Questions 1 and 2 were not included in the interview with the vicar.

3. In addition to churches, what places do you regard as sacred or holy?

Main part:

1. What do you experience as the differences between entering an Anglican church and a Catholic church?

2. Think of art, like paintings in, or outside of churches, architecture, or religious art like icons or pictures. How would you say art or architecture affect your religious practice?

3. Can you describe your relationship to physical objects when practicing religion, both inside and outside of churches?

4. What role does your body play in your religious practices?

5. If you pray, what is your preferred setting, and where do you prefer to pray?

6. Have you changed your views on any moral questions since your arrival in Rome?

7. Has anything changed in how you practice religion since you arrived in Rome?

8. Do you feel like you are part of the religious majority or minority, and why?

Conclusion:

1. Do you think your religious practice has been affected in any way by the dominant Catholic surroundings in Rome?

2. Is there anything I have missed, or anything you would like to add?