

PILGRIMS IN THE PORT:
Migrant Christian communities in Rotterdam

Pelgrims in de haven:
Christelijke migrantengemeenschappen in Rotterdam

(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

Proefschrift

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ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---------------|--|
| AMEN | Alliance Messianique pour l'Evangelisation des Nation |
| COS | Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek |
| GCI | Glorious Chapel International |
| GCW | Gereformeerde Centrum voor Welzijn |
| GKN | Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland |
| GKPB | Gereja Kristen Protestan di Bali |
| ICHMA | International Christian Maritime Association |
| IKV | Interkerkelijk Vredesberaad |
| KSA | Kerkelijk Sociale Arbeid |
| LMBC | Landelijke Hindustanie Begeleidings Commissie |
| LOS | Landelijk Ongedocumenteerden Steunpunt |
| MCC | Migrant Christian community |
| MEB | Moravian Evangelical Church |
| MEFA | Mission Evangelique de Foi en Action |
| NZR | Nederlands Zendingsraad |
| OBR | Ontwikkelingsbedrijf Rotterdam |
| PCVRC | Portuguese-Speaking Cape Verdean Roman Catholic Church |
| RADAR | Gelijke Behandeling tegen discriminatie |
| RCCG | Redeemed Christian Church of God |
| ROS | Rotterdams Ongedocumenteerden Steunpunt |
| SKIN | Samen Kerk in Nederland |
| SKUT | Svenska Krykan I Utlandet |
| SoZaWe | Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid |
| SPIOR | Stichting Platform Islamitische Organisaties Rijnmond |

| | |
|-------------|---|
| UPCR | Urdu-speaking Protestant Church Rotterdam |
| VOI | Victory Outreach International |
| VOR | Victory Outreach Rotterdam |
| VPE | Verenigde Pinkster- en Evangeliegemeenten |

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH

The port of Rotterdam is full of churches that represent the interests of people who were not born in the Netherlands. If you take a metro on a Sunday morning through the city, you are likely to come across people of different national backgrounds on their way to church services. When I was pastor of the *Scots International Church*, I found many churches in the city with people who understood the Dutch language and had settled here from other countries. However, I also knew of other immigrants who attended ‘migrant’ rather than traditional churches and did not speak Dutch confidently or use it as their first language.

Some of these so-called ‘migrant churches’ in Rotterdam came into the limelight in 2004 on the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Dutch Missionary Council (*De Nederlandse Zendingsraad*). Their jubilee was celebrated in the *Scots International Church* that is situated in the city-centre district of ‘Cool Zuid.’ During a series of workshops migrant leaders and members of their churches related how, within this small inner-city neighbourhood, migrants from Asia, Africa, Southern America as well as countries across Europe attended churches where the main languages were French, English, Russian, Mandarin and Portuguese. The six churches that presented themselves that day are located in an area of no more than a square kilometre. The conference became a window into the world church. The city’s alderman for integration summed up the wider situation in the port city.

There are about ninety immigrant churches in Rotterdam. Scotland, Norway, China, Russia – almost every country is represented by its own house of prayer in our city. For

the 160 nationalities in the multicultural society of Rotterdam, they constitute an indispensable place for reflection, rest and meeting with others.¹

Migrant Christian communities in Rotterdam were only recently ‘discovered’ as a new phenomenon. The jubilee book about the NZR on Rotterdam’s migrant Christian communities states that “thirty years ago few people were aware of any Christian presence in this area” but “today non-Western religious communities flourish here.”² As the pastor of a church that caters for migrants, I noticed a wide variety of these churches whose styles of worship and music were as varied as their leadership and backgrounds. I began to realise that from the end of the twentieth century Rotterdam had become a prime location for new expressions of Christian community and identity. I was also aware of the insecurities of people in the inner-city area towards some immigrants. Tensions and fears associated with the urban process of gentrification were magnified on the arrival of new visitors. Jack Sier, the community pastor (*wijkpastor*), involved with the local residents’ association (*Bewoners-organisatie*) observed that, “with so many people coming from outside, the differences in standards and values have become so large that many people have lost hope that we can still live together.”³

As a migrant pastor from another country, it seemed also ironic that the same port city which had received Huguenots and Scots with respect in the seventeenth century could allow these new churches to go largely unappreciated at the beginning of the twenty-first. Migrant Christians, once in the mainstream of urban centres in Western Europe, now found themselves in the margins of the same cities.⁴ The Yale missiologist Lamin Sanneh said in a recent

¹ Alle Hoekema and Wout van Laar, eds, *The world church on one square kilometre*, Utrecht, 2004, preface.

² Hoekema and Laar, *The World Church on One Square Kilometre*, backcover.

³ Ed de Meyer, ed, *Cool 1986-1999 Hart van Rotterdam*, Rotterdam, 2001, 45; quotation translated by Anneke Pot.

⁴ A particular example is in the research in England of Roswith Gerloff who investigated and reflected on patterns of behaviour in mission churches from the Southern hemisphere. From 1978 based in Birmingham, Gerloff was the founding director of the Centre for Black and White Christian Partnership which she described as “a turntable between the historic and the charismatic traditions, between the ‘third’ and ‘first’ worlds on our

publication that in Europe “immigrant churches have been subject to cultural hostility as illegitimate cults.”⁵ Similarly Afe Adogame has noted that in Europe the prevailing attitude to African new religious movements has been that which “simply noted them in the passing, completely ignores them or consciously excludes them from the umbrella.”⁶

In the Netherlands, the picture was slightly more positive than depicted by Sanneh and Adogame. The Protestant churches had begun to recognise migrant Christians in the early 1990s with plans to relate positively to them. The Roman Catholic Church provided support for non-Western Christians to worship in their own language though it depended on a voluntary organization that lay outside the structure of the local dioceses. The history of the Roman Catholic ‘Care for Migrants’ (Cura Migratorum) has been recorded by Berry van Oers.⁷

Today there are churches in Rotterdam in the Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Protestant traditions which use different languages and worship in ways that cater for people who were not born in the Netherlands. Other people who not born in the Netherlands are attracted by Evangelical and Pentecostal churches. Some of these are branches of churches elsewhere while others were initiated in the Netherlands. If migrants come from a country that is connected with the historic interests of the Netherland, they may speak Dutch and attend services led by a Dutch-speaking pastor. Many migrant persons, however, who do not understand or speak Dutch, find support in MCCs that started up in Rotterdam from the end of the twentieth century. This has led to a colourful diversity of churches that are frequented by migrant Christians which I shall group under the umbrella-term “migrant Christian communities.” The purpose of this

doorstep, between the oral and literary cultures, the poor and the rich, between Black and White. Roswith Gerloff, *Learning in Partnership: Third Report of the Joint Working Party between the Black-led and White-led Churches*, London, 1980, backcover.

⁵ Lanneh Sanneh, “Can Europe be saved? A Review Essay”, *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 31: 3 (July 2007), 125.

⁶ Afe Adogame, “A Home Away from Home: The Proliferation of Celestial Church of Christ (CCC) in Diaspora – Europe”, *Exchange, Journal of Missiological and Ecumenical Research*, 27.2 (1998), 141.

⁷ Berry van Oers, *25 Jaar Cura Migratorum: Uit de Kronieken van de Landelijke Katholieke Instelling voor Allochtonenpastoraat en Interreligieuze Dialoog*, Rotterdam, 2001.

research is to try to understand and describe the identity of these migrant Christian communities (henceforth: MCCs).

1.2 THE RESEARCH QUESTION

This research seeks to discern and develop appropriate analytical tools and categories to interpret the nature of what I describe as migrant Christian communities (MCCs). The thesis is based upon an examination of six case studies in Rotterdam that each have different backgrounds regarding their understanding of the Christian tradition, composition of membership, use of language and migration history. Various expressions of Christian community have developed in the city amid the ongoing process of global migration. I am interested to find out the basis for the observed differences between these MCCs and what categories that are helpful in understanding their identities. This research is required because current analytical categories have proven to be inadequate for understanding the dynamics of their identity.

MCCs have often been described in ‘ethnic’ terms where the leader’s race or ethnicity becomes the chief ‘identifier’. Ethnic group categories are thought to exist for or bind together people of one ethnicity. The perception that MCCs form as ethnic groups in reaction to the ‘other’ is challenged where they embrace people of different origins. As an identifier, ethnicity is problematic where leaders of MCCs seek to dissolve all notions of colour, ethnicity and race.⁸ They understand themselves as belonging to a global Christian community. Perceptions of simply being ethnic, foreign or ‘allochtone’ detract from what MCCs have in common with other Christians and citizens in the city. Similarly, as Dorottya Nagy has pointed out, national

⁸ Jan van Butselaar, “An Uneasy Relationship: ‘Old’ and ‘New’ Churches in Western Europe” in Bediako et al., eds, *A New Day Dawning*, Zoetermeer, 2004, 189.

labels are also problematic and applied too easily, as the application of these identifiers ignores cultural or ethnic diversity within nation states or creates inequalities.⁹

Older denominational or ecclesial categories rooted in history can also be problematic. Traditional categories of Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Protestant do not represent the outlook of many MCCs formed in Rotterdam over recent decades. ‘Evangelical’ and ‘Pentecostal’ styles make up the majority of MCCs. From the outset, I assumed that there was a distinction between ‘historical’ and ‘renewalist’ churches, though while conducting the research I discovered that this distinction was not entirely helpful where ‘Evangelicals’ and ‘Pentecostals’ have developed from and come out of historical Protestant denominations. I have, nevertheless, continued to use the terms ‘historical’ and ‘renewalist’ but have redefined them (see chapter three). In this thesis, I suggest that the application of analytical categories drawn from nationality, ethnicity and ecclesiology need to be reviewed.

The oft-used container term ‘migrant churches’ has also increasingly become problematic. The term ‘migrant’ which was used in the Netherlands for the purpose of reflecting on multicultural society¹⁰, continues to be employed as an adjective by researchers and observers of migration studies. Since the beginning of the twenty-first century in the Netherlands, however, the term ‘migrant’ along with another term ‘allochtone’ (meaning ‘foreign, other, non-indigenous’) acquired a negative value. This is largely because of fears and anxieties of indigenous people in the Netherlands. The fear of migrant workers or refugees taking jobs and changing the economic, political and religious landscape has affected social attitudes. This anxiety has altered the context for MCCs in Rotterdam. With concerns about increasing immigration, ‘migrant’ categories have become pejorative in the Netherlands¹¹ as

⁹ Dorottya Nagy, “Minding Methodology”, *Mission Studies* 32, 2 (2015) 212-213.

¹⁰ Sjaak van’t Kruis, *Geboren in Sion*, Utrecht, MDO-Binnenland, Samen op Weg-Kerken, 2001, 26.

¹¹ “The fact that... the word ‘migrant’ is used perhaps says more about the attitude of white Dutch people than it does about the churches themselves.” Kruis, *Geboren in Sion*, 29. “As far as the relationship to Dutch society is concerned, the people do not wish to be treated as ‘African’ or – even less – as ‘foreigners’, but

well as more widely across Western Europe.¹² The term is also problematic because there is no widely accepted definition and set of criteria to govern its use. ‘Migrant’ is predominantly a social science term that has been broken down into sub-categories by various users, whether governments, policy-makers or researchers, to serve their own interests.¹³ MCCs rarely use the term ‘migrant’ or describe themselves as a ‘migrant church’. The pastoral leader of the *Holland Methodist Church* in Rotterdam, for example, said “to speak of a migrant church is to engage in redundancy of language (because) the Church was never intended to be stagnant, but on the move, reaching new places and new heights of witness.”¹⁴ There is an increasing tendency among MCCs to describe themselves as ‘international’ churches in terms of the mixture of peoples they represent (as a description of ‘mixedness’), or where they desire to be (as a vision of ‘mixedness’) or the intercultural space they occupy (as a representative of other nations in the Netherlands). Since neither national, ethnic, traditional ecclesiological terms nor the concept ‘migrant’ churches do justice to MCCs, this research takes an emic rather than etic approach and attempts to listen to how these migrant leaders and groups express themselves.

The purpose of this research is to look at the variety of Christian communities that have developed for and by migrants in Rotterdam. The study will take into account how these MCCs construct a positive identity for migrants that sustains them in a foreign land. While the research recognizes different migratory movements throughout history, the recent increase in the numbers of MCCs suggests that faith continues to play a key role in process of migration. It is a process, not a moment, that begins before they set out on their journey and continues long

primarily as (fellow) Christians. Irene M. Pluim and Elza Kuyk, *Relationships with Migrant Churches: Experiences and Perspectives*, Utrecht, 2002, 16.

¹² This ambivalence is traced in Jan van Butselaar, “An Uneasy Relationship: ‘Old’ and ‘New’ Churches in Western Europe”, 179-192.

¹³ Martha T. Frederiks and Dorottya Nagy, “Religion, Migration and Identity: Methodological and Theological Explorations”, Leiden, 2 (2016).

¹⁴ Myrna Lake, “Christianity in the 21st Century: Migrant Churches: A Mission or a Regression?”, S.H.E.B.A. (South Hope in a Europe without Barriers) Report 10-12, November 2006, Utrecht, 5.

after they have begun to settle in Rotterdam. One aspect that many migrants have in common is their adherence to faith and religion.

For the purposes of this research, the terms ‘migrant’ and ‘immigrant’ refer to people who moved across one national or cultural boundary to another. Based upon a United Nations definition, ‘migrant’ people are those who stay in the new country for at least one year.¹⁵ In 2017 the *International Organization for Migration* defined a migrant as “any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a state away from his/her habitual place of residence, regardless of the person’s legal status; whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; what the causes for the movement are; or what the length of the stay is.”¹⁶

I prefer the term ‘migrant’ over ‘immigrant’ as the term ‘immigrant’ describes a unidirectional movement from one country to another whereas ‘migrant’ suggests a movement between countries without indicating how lasting it may be. While desiring to reject the epistemological approach that divides the world’s population into categories of migrant and non-migrant, I continue to use the terminology in order to draw insights from migration studies and sociology on the identity of MCCs. Transnational studies, for instance, indicate that contemporary migration is less about settling in one place and more about investment of lives in three or four places. There is a growing awareness of migrants maintaining identities in more than one city and nation.¹⁷

For this research, I prefer the use of ‘Christian community’ over ‘church’ because it better expresses the solidarity to be found in MCCs while also avoiding some historic theological contentions over what constitutes a church. MCCs are intentional communities which were founded either by a church organization or movement from outside the Netherlands,

¹⁵ *World Migration 2003: Managing Migration. Challenges and Responses for People on the Move*, Geneva, International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2003, 295.

¹⁶ “Key Migration Terms”, International Organization for Migration, accessed on 16 January 2017, <http://www.iom.int/key-migration-terms>

¹⁷ Steven Vertovec, *Transnationalism*, Abingdon, 2009, 6.

by individuals migrating to the Netherlands or by local indigenous churches which have interest in catering for migrants. MCCs present a challenge for empirical researchers because ‘migrant’ is imprecise both as an adjective and a noun. Can ‘migrant’ still be used when members have naturalized in their new host country? I consider a MCC to be where there is a Christian community where there is majority of migrants¹⁸, where they employ a language other than Dutch or where the headquarters are located outside of the country.

Another key issue is about how MCCs should be defined. For the purpose of this research, a MCC is defined as a group with at least twelve persons who adhere to the Christian faith, a group with migrant Christian leadership or a community of at least 50% Christian migrants¹⁹ and the group needs to meet on a regular basis. The principal reason for opting for this number is social and practical. More prosaically, twelve is more than an average size of family that would normally share a house in Rotterdam. The smallest MCCs recorded in Rotterdam²⁰ have an average attendance of between ten and twenty persons.

From a sociological perspective, community as a concept refers to a set of social relationships based upon something that all members have in common.²¹ Community is a notoriously difficult concept to define and to identify empirically. The term has been used to describe types of human settlements, ideal ways of life and of social networks. Nagy has summarized the development of social concepts of community based upon those of Tonnies, Durkheim and Weber.²² From a religious studies perspective, a Christian community relates not

¹⁸ Intergenerational mobility accounts for how members of different generations can share the same lifestyle and be members of the same MCC. In large MCCs it would be interesting to undertake cohort analysis to differentiate the views and values of members of different age, cohort and period effects.

¹⁹ Werner Kahl, “A Theological Perspective: The Common Missionary Vocation of Mainline and Migrant Churches”, *International Review of Mission*, 91, 362 (2002), 328-341

²⁰ In 2007, I documented and described all MCCs present in Rotterdam. For details, see: Robert Calvert, *Gids voor Christelijke Migranten Gemeenschappen in Rotterdam*, Rotterdam, 2007.

²¹ Dorottya Nagy, *Migration and Theology - The Case of Chinese Christian Communities in Hungary and Romania in the Globalisation-Context*, Zoetermeer, 2009, 61; James F. Hopewell, *Congregation: Stories and Structures*, Philadelphia, 1987, 27.

²² Emile Durkheim defined community by means of the categories of mechanical and organic solidarity. The individual personality is completely enveloped to the point that it disappears in the mechanical category whereas in the organic category it can develop through one’s sphere of action. Ferdinand Tonnies reflected on the apparent loss of community in industrialized society and Max Weber developed his earlier definitions into

only to a local congregation but also to a wider ecclesiological reality. MCCs are connected with the universal and catholic identity of the church in the world and with the missional challenge to translate into its different cultures and to adopt different cultural shapes. The MCCs that I have selected as case-studies are predominantly non-Western. They reflect the distinctive cultural backgrounds of Africa, Asia and Latin America and their expressions are representative of the majority of the field (for details see 3.4). The question for this research seeks to find categories to enable observers understand them better.

1.3 METHODS

1.3.1 Qualitative Research

This research, which involved qualitative investigation of MCCs in the wider metropolitan area of Rotterdam, employs a historical, systematic, sociological and comparative approach. The methodology is systematic and comparative in its approach while also being historical and sociological in its interests. The information was first organised in a chronological manner according to the periods when MCCs became established in the city. Chapter three employs a chronological approach and ecclesial methodology in describing these MCCs. Initially I tried to study primary and secondary literature (elaborated on in 1.4) but, as much of this was hard to find, I chose to adopt an ethnographic approach where over a period of four years I visited a wide range of MCCs and interviewed their leaders. In this way, I was able to map the field through visitation of MCCs and through reading their literature and websites. With contact information on the MCCs and photographs together with a summary of their vision and activities, I published the information in a guide of one hundred and thirteen MCCs in Rotterdam. This mapping of the field of MCCs in Rotterdam was obtained from one hundred and thirteen MCCs in Rotterdam and from pastoral leaders of more than sixty MCCs who were

the twin concepts of communal and associative social relationships and gave emphasis to the dynamic nature of community. Nagy, *Migration and Theology*, 60-63.

interviewed in the period between the autumn of 2003 to the summer of 2007. Comparative observations suggested that the sample of pastoral leaders which represented 50% of the field was typical of the wider field in the Rotterdam area (discussed in chapter 3).²³

Informants in MCCs were chosen because of their key role in leadership. The pastoral leaders were asked for open-structured or semi-structured interviews. The empirical method behind this study on identity relied upon both the interviews with pastoral leaders and upon participant observation when I visited the pastoral leader and the MCC for Sunday worship. For this comparative study I selected six contrasting models that would serve as case studies for further analysis and evaluation. The case studies (which will be introduced in 3.4) approximated to the size and denominational range that was encountered in the wider field.²⁴

1.3.2 Case-study approach

This research opts for a case-study approach to understanding MCCs in Rotterdam. Leaders identify with their communities, and in keeping with the practice of congregational studies, they are “treated as an organism, a living entity given not to mechanical production but to sensitivity and maturation.”²⁵ The case-study approach arose from a need to seek common patterns between a wide variety of MCCs that were of different backgrounds, sizes and style of ministries. The case-study enabled an in-depth analysis to be undertaken from a sample of those pastoral leaders (10%) who had been interviewed.²⁶

As the researcher, I identified a number of features that related to issues of identity. These included their age, location, principal language(s), ethnic groups and size, and their mission/vision and main activities.²⁷ It was necessary for the sample to select MCCs that were

²³ Helen Cameron et al, eds, *Studying Local Churches: A Handbook*, London, 2005, 20-21.

²⁴ Nancy Tatom Ammerman, *Congregation and Community*, New Brunswick, 1997, 40.

²⁵ Hopewell, *Congregation: Stories and Structures*, 26.

²⁶ Judith Bell, *Doing Your Research Project*, Buckingham, 1999, 10.

²⁷ Bell, *Doing Your Research Project*, 11.

both representative of the total field and demonstrated certain differences from one another. The selection of case-studies sought to represent the variety within the field of MCCs and the regions of the world from which they drew members. The selection process also sought to strike a balance between migration histories and ecclesiastical models. Other factors, such the location of their worship sites in the city, in the generational ages contained and in the principal languages spoken, were also taken into account. Further details on how the choice of case-studies was made are provided in chapter three.

Based upon congregational studies (see 1.5.3), six case studies were analysed and different aspects of their identity clarified. They were framed through traditional and long-accepted ways of theological understanding of the church, and within these frames, I viewed their life through sociological aspects of their identity (lenses).

1.3.3 Frames of Analysis

There are many ways to analyse MCCs but I chose to ‘frame’ three aspects of what it means to be ‘church’. Frames offer a way “of engaging with the other respectfully”²⁸ and offer an angle or perspective on the object to be studied whereas the lenses allow us to look deeper into specific aspects. “From an interpretive perspective, we may think of frames as structures of language, cognition, and emotion that allow us to determine meaning and significance and how we accord recognition to others.”²⁹ The action of framing permits engagement with the MCC whereas the lens exposes and opens them up. The construction of group identity and the analytical approach of employing frames and lenses are theorised in 4.2.4 and 4.2.5 respectively. The three frames for this research come from theological studies and tie in with key concepts from the New Testament (the Bible). They are *koinonia* (Greek for ‘fellowship’), *kerygma* (Greek for

²⁸ Dalene Swanson, “Frames of Ubuntu”, in Hans Smit, Rahat Naqvi, eds, *Framing Peace: Thinking About and Enacting Curriculum as Radical Hope*, New York, 2015, 61.

²⁹ Smit and Naqvi, eds, “Introduction. Framing Peace”, in Smit and Naqvi, *Framing Peace*, 5.

‘proclamation’) and *diakonia* (Greek for ‘service’). The focus on *koinonia* is on mutual relations between members of MCCs whereas *kerygma* gives insights on how they proclaim and perceive their core message and *diakonia* focusses on how on their public service to people in need.³⁰ While these frames may not be exhaustive for describing MCCs and other frames such as gender or civic participation might have been applied, I have opted for these three frames as a window into how MCCs understand themselves.

The analysis begins in chapter five with the frame of *koinonia* because it emphasises the purpose of the church in “the being of the community” – something which Karl Barth described as the community of reconciled persons.³¹ The chapter on the *koinonia* of MCCs examines features of *koinonia* through the lenses of their context and development. Their context indicates the influences that led to the composition of the MCC while their development indicates the manner in which the MCC and its members responded. These are two aspects of their identity in fellowship. The chapter on the *kerygma* of MCCs looks at two aspects of how they portray their identity: their leader and public titles/statements. The leadership and its style bear an influence on the proclamation of the MCC and its title and other public statements indicate how they want to be identified. The chapter on the *diakonia* of these MCCs looks at their role of serving those in need, whether inside or outside of their community. This lens simultaneously gives insight into their relationships as well as activities and indicates how their identity involves relationships as well as acts of service. These are two aspects of their identity in diaconal service.

I reflect on identity in MCCs from the essence of being community, to proclaiming their community and to serving those in need whether outside of their community. The concept of *koinonia* is the basis for looking at MCCs through the two lenses of their context and

³⁰ Charles van Engen notes biblical references to *koinonia* in John 13: 34-35, Romans 13: 8 and 1 Peter 1: 22, to *kerygma* in Romans 10: 9 and 1 Corinthians 12: 3, and to *diakonia* in Matthew 25: 30, 45. Charles van Engen, *God’s Missionary People*, Grand Rapids, 1991, 89.

³¹ Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, Edinburgh, 1958, 4.1, 650-651.

development. The frame of *kerygma* is the basis for using the lenses of leadership and public statements whereas the frame of *diakonia* employs public service as its lens. In reflecting on the role of the church, the missiologist Johannes Hoekendijk described the communication of the Christian message as *kerygma*, *koinonia* and *diakonia*.³² He understood that the Christian message must be proclaimed (*kerygma*), lived out in community (*koinonia*) and demonstrated in service (*diakonia*). I chose to start with *koinonia* because, although it was created by *kerygma*, it also sustains the act of proclamation and leads to the practical service of *diakonia*. Other aspects have been proposed as belonging to the essence of the church. Jan Jongeneel called for prayer (*proseuche*) as essential for communication and mission³³ and Charles van Engen has argued for the addition of witness (*martyria*).³⁴

Without depreciating these, I prefer to employ *koinonia*, *kerygma*, and *diakonia* which relate to the inter-relational states of ‘being’, ‘proclaiming’ and ‘doing’ connected to Christian identity.³⁵ In terms of mission, *koinonia* reflects the oneness and holiness of the church, *kerygma* reflects its apostolicity through proclamation and *diakonia* reflects its catholicity in the reconciling work of service. In thinking about mission, the church has struggled theologically with how the terms ‘God’, ‘Church’ and ‘World’ relate to each other.³⁶ In applying them, I suggest *koinonia* points to the Church created by God in the World, *kerygma* points to God’s message in the World through the Church and *diakonia* points to the World that God sent the Church to serve. There are other terms but I consider these to be the best options to represent God’s relationship to the World through the Church. There is an ontological logic (in moving from being to action) and theological logic (concerning God and the world) for the

³² Johannes C. Hoekendijk, “The Call to Evangelism”, *International Review of Mission*, 39 (April 1950), 162-175.

³³ Jan A.B. Jongeneel, “The Challenge of a Multicultural and Multireligious Europe”, in Frans Wijzen, Peter Nissen, eds, *Mission is a Must*, Amsterdam, 2002, 181.

³⁴ Engen, *God’s Missionary People*, 97.

³⁵ “Diaconal ministry is an evitable and necessary expression of the Church’s essential nature as the fellowship of the disciples of Jesus.” Engen, *God’s Missionary People*, 96.

³⁶ Engen, *God’s Missionary People*, 114.

use of these frames. In using these frames, I propose to compare and contrast similarities and differences between historical and renewal case studies.

1.3.4 Literature Study

Historical and contemporary information about MCCs in Rotterdam was obtained principally from primary source materials such as bulletins, brochures and websites. Where these were lacking, I sought persons who had deep knowledge or significant memories of their migrant community. There was a general lack of published primary material available. I obtained leaflets and guides that had been created for regular participants in MCCs and read the websites. I found that the celebration of significant birthdays of MCCs became an occasion for some written reflections. The methodology of action research involved reading many documents concerning their current activities, their history and vision for the future.³⁷

With the lack of published primary material, secondary literature by other observers and commentators became increasingly important. Until recently, there have been more general studies on MCCs in the Netherlands and studies on MCCs in Amsterdam than studies on MCCs in Rotterdam. I found that most of the initial research up to 2010 on MCCs in Rotterdam has been largely quantitative in its approach. I consulted more qualitative research literature on MCCs in the Netherlands, which as general secondary material, assisted my aim to understand theoretical aspects of identity formation. I also read studies on migrant worship religious communities in North America, but understood that care needed to be taken in drawing from and extrapolating theory that developed in the North American context and from where there has been a longer and different experience of religious migrants to the Dutch context. There are different migration histories and societal structures in the United States and, to a lesser extent,

³⁷ Bell, *Doing Your Research Project*, 28-31.

in the United Kingdom. Besides these narratives, I was able to find a literature concerning the role of migrant religious traditions and on how to study them.

1.3.5 Interviews

As part of the qualitative research, interviews with pastoral leaders were conducted and generally took between forty-five and sixty minutes. My pastoral colleagues spoke different languages and I faced the challenge of discontinuity in communication, a difficulty that was largely overcome by translation and recording. Translation was obtained through pastoral colleagues and the assistance of an academic editor in my own congregation. Sometimes it was better to communicate in the Dutch language but, where there was any doubt about the meaning of certain phrases, I sought a second opinion. Interviews were written up and retained the terms that had been used by those interviewed. Those interviewed were made aware of the general questions and given the opportunity to correct or add to the narrative. The semi or open-structured interviews were sometimes followed up with further questions and telephone checks.

The research question and interviews were divided into two sections: “What is the expressed identity of the MCC and its pastoral leader?” and “How is the MCC involved publicly in civic life (as expressed in the instance of people in poverty)?” In this sense, the interview was semi-structured and these were my focus questions but I asked further questions about changes experienced concerning leadership, the use of buildings and languages. I would also follow the line of thought of those being interviewed. The frequency of reported disruptive experiences suggested that it would be useful to ask about the kind of changes experienced by their community. As suggested by Cameron and others, I discovered the during the research “new insights emerge that broaden or deepen the previous understanding.”³⁸ Afterwards the transcriptions of interviews were analysed comparatively for points of correlation and

³⁸ Cameron et al, *Studying Local Churches: A Handbook*, 25; see also Robert Beckford, *God and the Gangs: An Urban Toolkit for those who won't be Sold Out, Brought Out or Scared Out*, London, 2004.

difference with other accounts. The comparative analysis was carried out by using the same template for writing up the interviews and listing points of similarity and difference. These interviews were to lead to information about MCCs in Rotterdam becoming more widely available in a publication.³⁹

1.3.6 Locus of the Researcher

As the researcher, I sought to be aware of my position as a migrant pastor who was making frequent observations of religious groups in Rotterdam. The pastor and the researcher have different toolkits and come to the subject with complementary but differing objectives. The pastor is committed to building up a church community whereas the researcher seeks to observe, compare and contrast without commitment. As pastor of a migrant community that was established in Rotterdam in 1643 I could understand and empathise with those involved with other historical MCCs. The Scots International Church was transformed through the arrival of people from a variety of denominational as well as other national backgrounds. I was becoming acutely aware of the new migrant communities in Rotterdam and sought to build positive relationships and assisted some to find places where they could meet for worship. I had to consider how my position as a pastor might influence the themes for conversation and analysis. I sought to read widely on sociological methodology and congregational studies. The ‘emic’ approach of being an insider as the migrant pastor needed to be balanced with the ‘etic’ approach of being an outsider as the academic researcher.⁴⁰ In conducting interviews, I spoke of how the interview was a part of a wider research project on MCCs. I described how it would contribute to the data and was careful to identify myself as

³⁹ Calvert, *Gids voor Christelijke Migranten Gemeenschappen in Rotterdam*, 2007.

⁴⁰ This distinction has been used by anthropologists. The ‘emic’ approach views the intrinsic cultural characteristics and rituals that are meaningful to the members of a group and analyses them by using categories taken from within. The ‘etic’ approach is where observers/researchers look in from outside in order to gather and organize data. The categories used are determined by answers to the questions posed by these outside observers.

the researcher in pursuit of academic understanding. In undertaking analysis of interviews and observations, I sought for patterns and trends that related to the wider field of MCCs rather than any personal perspective as a pastor. Simultaneously however, my position as a fellow pastor, my familiarity with the religious landscape in Rotterdam and my personal acquainted with a significant number of MCCs and their leaders, facilitated easy access.

1.3.7 Locus of the Research

The locus for this research (discussed in more depth in chapter 2) is the port city of Rotterdam, one of the most culturally diverse cities in Europe and the largest port in Europe.⁴¹ The large hinterland of the Rhine Delta or *Rijnmond* (mouth of the Rhine) contains approximately one hundred and sixty million people and an essential linkage in the European urban network. The urban agglomeration of Rotterdam where one million people live (according to the United Nations analysis)⁴² has gained a distinctive reputation of being a working city responsible to the wider world. Shetter writes: “Its inhabitants tend to be impatient with the past, pragmatic and business-like.”⁴³ Following earlier commercial success,⁴⁴ Rotterdam developed into becoming the sea-gate for industrial Europe, through its three-fold advantage of commercial enterprise across Western Europe, access to the Rhine and immediate vicinity to the North Sea.⁴⁵ As the second largest city in the Netherlands with some six hundred thousand inhabitants, Rotterdam sits on the southern edge of a planned urban conurbation known as the Randstad

⁴¹ At the beginning of the twentieth century Europe not only experienced large-scale internal migration but was a continent of emigration. The German Ruhr had attracted large numbers of agricultural and industrial labourers from Poland, Prussia, Ukraine, Italy, Belgium as well as the Netherlands. Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration*, New York, 1998, fourth edition, 61-62.

⁴² *World Urbanization Prospects: The 2007 Revision – Highlights*, New York, 2008, 175.

⁴³ William Z. Shetter, *The Netherlands in Perspective*, Leiden, 1987, 75.

⁴⁴ Its growing commercial enterprise can be seen in that “from a modest sized port of 10,000 souls in about 1580, the city on the Maas had emerged as a bustling Atlantic entrepot of 53,000 by the later 1690s.” Doug Catterall, *Community Without Borders: Scots Migrants and the Changing Face of Power in the Dutch Republic*, Leiden, Brill, 2002, project page online, www.cameron.edu/~dougc/borders.htm. Moreover, when Amsterdam was viewed as favouring the Spanish throne in the sixteenth century, Rotterdam was regarded as the more reliable location for a shipping and port development. Hans Meyer, *City and Port*, Rotterdam, 1999, 290.

⁴⁵ Ton Kreukels and Egbert Weaver, “Dealing with Competition: The Port of Rotterdam”, *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 87:4 (July 1996), 295.

(‘edge’ or ‘rim’ city), “one the world’s large urban complexes when its size and differentiated functions are considered.”⁴⁶

The inner-city neighbourhood of *Cool* illustrates the way in which the city acts as a place of interaction and not of containment. In the heart of the city, it serves as a place to live, work, play and worship. It not only serves the local residents but the twenty thousand people who come to work in the area and many more who come for shopping and recreation. People use the area for car parking, employment advice centres and crèche facilities. The prominent worship centres in *Cool* are two oldest MCCs in the city and are both situated on *Schiedamse Vest*. The *Wallonian Church* and the *Scots International Church* stand opposite one another while the comparatively new structure *Russian Orthodox Church* is a prominent feature with its Byzantine dome at the top of the street on the *Westzeedijk*. There are no mosques or Hindu temples in *Cool* and several MCCs remain largely invisible as they do not have their own premises. It has been perceived that in *South Cool* in Rotterdam that in comparison to the post-war years “the church played a greater role in the daily life of the community residents.”⁴⁷ In the last century, with the demolition of churches (e.g. the *German Lutheran church* in *Cool South*) and decline in church attendance, a variety of MCCs have started up in existing church premises, residential homes and commercial units across the city.

1.4 SOURCES

1.4.1 Primary Sources by MCCs in Rotterdam

Primary literature written by members of MCCs in Rotterdam is in short supply. A history of the Scots Church in Rotterdam, *Scots on the Dijk*, was compiled by the wife of the late Rev.

⁴⁶ Report of the Provisional Programme Committee, *Urban Networks: Growth, Stagnation and Segmentation in the Randstad*, translated by Angela Needham, The Hague, Dutch Ministry of Education and Science, 1987, 1.

⁴⁷ Bos et al, eds., *Ooit Weleens van Cool Gehoord?*, Rotterdam, 1978, 8.

Jim Morrison.⁴⁸ Several historical publications about the Seamen's churches in Rotterdam are also available but are mostly accessible only in their native languages. The book *Kirke og hjem i Nederland* was published⁴⁹ in Norwegian on the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Norwegian Seamen's Mission and *Matkalaisten Missuuna* published⁵⁰ in Finnish on the eightieth anniversary of the Finnish Seamen's Mission. The Anglican Mission to Seamen published *Angels over the Maas* in Dutch (as *In Rijnmond vliegt een engel*) with an English commentary.⁵¹ The jubilee of the Netherlands Missionary Council (*Nederlandse Zendings Raad*) became the occasion in 2004 for a national symposium on migrant churches in the Cool area in the heart of Rotterdam. Alle Hoekema and Wout van Laar produced a book for the Dutch Missionary Council containing interviews and reflections about the jubilee symposium when workshops were led by leaders of six MCCs (The Wallonian Church, Scots International Church, Russian Orthodox Church, Chinese Evangelical Mission in Europe, Igreja Mana or Manna Church, Hope International Baptist Church and the Universal Church of Christ Mission) in the local area.⁵² The background to the development of the emerging Thugz Church is told in *Jesus in de Millinx* by Daniel de Wolf.⁵³ Websites provided an uneven array of information about the current programme and activities of most MCCs. Websites were often not kept up-to-date but there is a good source of historical information about MCCs in Rotterdam on the websites of the Wallonian Church and St. Mary's Episcopal Church.⁵⁴ As a result of interviews made in the process of mapping the field of the MCCs in Rotterdam and the financial support of Rotterdam's Social Work department (*Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid* or *SoZaWe*), I was

⁴⁸ Jean Morrison, *Scots on the Dijk*, Castle Douglas, 1981.

⁴⁹ Brit Bell, Harald Daasvand and Anders Baerheim Svendsen, eds, *Kirke og Hjem i Nederland*, Rotterdam, 1989.

⁵⁰ Paula Raitis, *Matkalaisten Missuuna – Rotterdamin merimieskirkko 80 vuotta*, Rotterdam, 2007.

⁵¹ Dirk H. Docter and Michael Sparrow, *Angels over the Maas: A History of The Missions to Seamen in Rotterdam, Schiedam and Pernis 1893-1997*, Rotterdam, 1997.

⁵² Hoekema and van Laar, eds, *The World Church on one square kilometre*.

⁵³ Daniel de Wolf, *Jesus in de Millinx*, Kampen, 2006.

⁵⁴ The website of the Wallonian Church in Rotterdam is very informative: www.waalsekerk.com.

in a position to publish a directory of MCCs in Rotterdam in 2007⁵⁵ and the guide was revised and updated in a new edition in 2015.⁵⁶

1.4.2 Secondary Sources on MCCs in Rotterdam

The secondary source literature where observers make their comments upon MCCs in Rotterdam is limited but it is developing. Most research on MCCs in Rotterdam was not published until the first decade of the twenty-first century because most attention had been focussed on MCCs in Amsterdam. Qualitative reflections by researchers on MCCs and their pastoral leaders in Rotterdam began to be produced.⁵⁷ The Scots Church in the seventeenth century was reflected upon in Gardiner⁵⁸ and more recently as the Scots International Church in Ferrier⁵⁹ and Arnts.⁶⁰ The Pakistani Urdu Protestant Congregation of Rotterdam is examined in the Beukema, Pluim and Kuyk, and Koning. The Amharic-speaking Mehaber Christian Church is a focus for Gwanmesia and Koning. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church and the Chinese Evangelical Mission in Europe are also described in Ferrier while the Russian Orthodox Church, Wallonian Church and Hope Baptist Church are reflected upon in the Hoekema & van

⁵⁵ The guide provides an outline description of each MCC within the metropolis of Rotterdam together with appropriate contact details, photographs of meeting-place and/or pastoral leader, name of the pastoral leader, times of main weekly service, principal languages, the year of establishment, the main ethnicities contained in its community and average attendance as from July 2007. The MCCs are organised according to their city district (Dutch: *deelgemeente*) and are indexed according to ecclesial groupings/denominations, city districts, principal languages used, year of foundation and average attendances.

⁵⁶ Madelon Grant, *Gids voor Christelijke Internationale Gemeenschappen in Rotterdam*, Rotterdam, 2015.

⁵⁷ Publications by Kathleen Ferrier, Jaap Beukema and Irene Pluim contained reflections from pastoral leaders in the Scots, Chinese, Ethiopian, Moluccan and Urdu MCCs: Kathleen Ferrier, *Migrantenkerken*, Kampen, 2002; Jaap Beukema, *Een kerk bekennt kleur*, Zoetermeer, 2002; Irene M. Pluim and Elza Kuyk, *Relationships with Migrant Churches – Experiences and Perspectives*, Utrecht, 2002. Also see Linda Arnts, *Migrant Churches*, Erasmus University, Masters thesis, 2005; Alle Hoekema and Wout van Laar, *Immigrant Churches in the Netherlands*, 2004; Barbara T. Gwanmesia, *Blessings under pressure*, Rotterdam, 2009; Danielle T. Koning, *Importing God: The Mission of the Ghanaian Adventist Church and Other Immigrant Churches in the Netherlands*, Ede, 2011 (Free University Amsterdam, Ph.D. thesis).

⁵⁸ An academic historical study on Scots exiles in seventeenth century Netherlands (and principally in Rotterdam) provides an analysis of the relationship of the city to the Scots Church. Ginny Gardner, *The Scottish Exile community in the Netherlands 1660-1690*, East Linton, 2004.

⁵⁹ Ferrier, *Migrantenkerken*, 67-74.

⁶⁰ Linda Arnts, *Migrantenkerken: Een Studie naar de Rol van Religie bij Sociale Inbedding*, Masters doctoral thesis, Erasmus University Rotterdam, Tilburg, August 2005.

Laar. Potter's Hand New Covenant International Ministries, Thugz Church, Redeemed Christian Church of God, Moravian Evangelical Brethren, Abundant Grace Ministries, Alliance Messianique pour l'Evangelisation des Nations, Claypot Community Church and Holy Fire Revival International Ministries are discussed in Barbara T. Gwanmesia's study on poverty which was commissioned by SKIN-Rotterdam. Reflections are available by Herman Noordergraaf on Onze Lieve Vrouwe van de Vrede (Roman Catholic Portuguese-speaking Cape Verdean Church), the Wesley Methodist Church and Seventh Day Adventist Churches in Rotterdam and their commitment to diaconal service.⁶¹ There are introductions to the Gereja Kristen Pejanjian Baru (GKPB or Indonesian Evangelical) Church, the Serbian Orthodox Church of the Holy Trinity, Church of the Nazarene Rotterdam-Emmaus, the Urdu Church, Korean Reformed Church, Sagrada Familia (Roman Catholic) and the International Christian Fellowship in Danielle Koning's Ph.D. thesis *Importing God*.⁶² The history of Chinese churches in Rotterdam has been well documented⁶³ and two Portuguese-speaking churches in Rotterdam have been researched in a study of MCCs as expressions of 'mobile' Christianity.⁶⁴ Gerrit Noort drew upon the stories of the Urdu Protestant Church and Thugz Church when he reflected on the emerging nature of MCCs.⁶⁵ *Victory Outreach International* is researched in a study of religious communities and the new immigrants with a chapter by Luis Leon.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Herman Noordergraaf, *Armoede in Nederland 2010: Migrantenkerken en Armoede in Nederland, Een Verkennend Onderzoek*, Utrecht, 2010.

⁶² Koning, *Importing God*, 2011.

⁶³ Frederik van Heek, *Chineesche Immigranten in Nederlands*, Amsterdam, 1936, and Henk Hazenbosch, *De Bouwers van het Rijk*, Free University Amsterdam, Masters dissertation, 2006.

⁶⁴ Linda van de Kamp, Miranda Klaver, Regien Smit, *De Mobiliteit van de Mondiale Pinksterweging* (translated: *The Mobility of the Global Pentecostal Movement*), Conference paper, Free University Amsterdam, 11 June 2008.

⁶⁵ Gerrit Noort, "Emerging Migrant churches in the Netherlands. Missiological Challenges and Mission Frontiers", *International Review of Mission*, 100, 1 (2011) 1, 4-16.

⁶⁶ Luis Leon, "Born Again in East L.A.: The Congregation as Border Space", in Warner, S., Wittner, G., eds, *Gatherings in Diaspora: Religious Communities and the New Immigration*, 1998, 163-196.

1.4.3 Secondary Sources on MCCs in General

There has been an increasing interest and amount of studies on MCCs in the Netherlands. I do not seek to be comprehensive but to simply reflect on the work that was important for my own research. Secondary sources on MCCs in the Netherlands, in general, and in Amsterdam, in particular, have inspired research on specific MCCs and in Rotterdam. Missiological studies of MCCs in the Netherlands received an impetus in 1996 through the publication of *Gemeenschapvorming van Aziatische, Afrikaanse en Midden- en Zuidamerikaanse Christenen in Nederland*, a study of non-Western Christian communities through Utrecht University.⁶⁷ Subtitled *A History in the Making*, it became the most comprehensive guide on MCCs in the Netherlands. In 1998 Gerrie ter Haar raised academic attention to the wider significance of MCCs through sociological observations of African-initiated churches in Amsterdam.⁶⁸ As models of modern religious diaspora, she noted that “few people have studied in depth the religious life of African communities in Europe, and even fewer have regarded this as a phenomenon of contemporary European society.”⁶⁹ In *Halfway to Paradise* the author showed that African MCCs primarily interact through and out of their religious convictions.

The brochure *Geboren in Sion (Born in Zion)* in 2001 became a significant stimulus to reforming the relationship of the uniting Reformed Churches in the Netherlands to MCCs in general. It concluded that there is an opportunity for the perspective of reciprocity where churches may “proceed together on a voyage of discovery in search for the meaning of the Gospel.”⁷⁰ This policy framework spawned internal publications and reviews⁷¹ and gave rise to

⁶⁷ Jan A.B. Jongeneel, Rudi Budiman and J.J. (Hans) Visser, *Gemeenschapvorming van Aziatische, Afrikaanse en Midden- en Zuidamerikaanse Christenen in Nederland*, Zoetermeer, 1996.

⁶⁸ G. ter Haar, *Halfway to Paradise*, Cardiff, 1998; G. ter Haar, ed, *Strangers and Sojourners: Religious Communities in the Diaspora*, Leuven, 1998.

⁶⁹ Haar, *Halfway to Paradise*, iii.

⁷⁰ Kruis, *Geboren in Sion*, 39.

⁷¹ Pluim and Kuyk, *Relations with Migrant churches*, 2002.

further debate among the churches in annual Gospel and Culture conferences in the Moluccan Churches' Centre.⁷²

The need to understand MCCs in their own terms is argued cogently in the World Council of Churches' booklet on *African Initiatives in Christianity*.⁷³ *Moravian Identity in Different Contexts* was published as a contribution as part of an international theological dialogue for the Moravian Evangelical Brethren.⁷⁴ *Religion and the New Immigrants* by Foley and Hoge is a study of migrant churches in Washington, D.C., and is an important handbook on how faith communities create new citizens. This volume highlights the impact of the social capital and civic skills deployed by a wide range of religious communities in the public square.⁷⁵ Another volume with same title, but written by Ebaugh and Chafetz, describes the continuities and adaptations of faith communities in the city of Houston, Texas.⁷⁶ Stories of MCCs from downtown Boston are analysed around the nature of their religious convictions and public initiatives in *Streets of Glory* and concludes with the need for more co-operative networks.⁷⁷ Historical, gender, religious and diaspora perspectives on MCCs with an African heritage is offered in *Christianity in Africa and the African Diaspora*⁷⁸ and *The African Christian*

⁷² In 1991 the commission for building relationships between the Dutch and the Moluccan Churches (Contactcommissie Molukse en Nederlandse Kerken) started with the so called 'Moluks Theologisch Beraad' (Counsel for Theological Reflection). This 'beraad' was intended to reflect on the issues of culture and identity. A few years later, Dr. Nico Koopman (at that time director of 'The Beyers Naudé Centre for Public Theology' (created by the Faculty of Theology at the University of Stellenbosch) asked for a joint programme because of the shared interests. A joint venture of the 'Moluks Theologisch Beraad' with the Free University in Amsterdam, the Hendrik Kraemer Institute and the Faculty of Theology in Stellenbosch came thereupon into being to organize annual conferences on topics related to the Gospel and Culture debate. Sjaak van't Kruis, e-mail message, Commissie Contact Molukse en Nederlandse Kerken, Beleidsnota 1999-2002, Driebergen 1998 (unpublished).

⁷³ John S. Pobee and Gabriel Ositelu II, *African Initiatives in Christianity*, Geneva, 1998.

⁷⁴ "Internationaler Theologischer Dialog in der Bruder-Unitat", Journal for the Transatlantic Moravian Dialogue/Correspondence, Basel, 15 (Winter 2010).

⁷⁵ Michael W. Foley and Dean R. Hoge, *Religion and the New Immigrants: How Faith Communities Form our Newest Citizens*, New York, 2007.

⁷⁶ Helen R. Ebaugh, Janet S. Chafetz, *Religion and the New Immigrants: Continuities and Adaptations in Immigrant Congregations*, Oxford, 2000.

⁷⁷ Omar M. McRoberts, *Streets of Glory*, Chicago, 2003.

⁷⁸ Afe Adogame, Roswith Gerloff and Klaus Hock, eds, *Christianity in Africa and the African Diaspora*, London, 2008.

Diaspora.⁷⁹ A searching approach is offered in *Migration and Theology*⁸⁰ where after conceptualising globalization and migration the situation of Chinese Christian communities in Hungary and Romania is reflected upon. A wide-ranging collection of recent articles on migration, religion and identity have been published in the journals of *Exchange* and *Mission Studies*.⁸¹

1.4.4 Other material

A range of other material was consulted on a number of topics and I began with Rotterdam and its history. The historic effects of migration upon Rotterdam are examined in the two volumes of *Vier Eeuwen Migratie*⁸² which covers the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries and *Naar Rotterdam*⁸³ which concentrates on the nineteenth century. The degree to which historic patterns are reflected in modern developments is treated in Paul van de Laar's history of Rotterdam in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁸⁴ Literature on churches destroyed in the war bombardment of Rotterdam is available⁸⁵ and the development of the city and migrants within it are analysed in several publications connected with the Rotterdam's Erasmus University. Migration as a social process for sociological study is recognised in two publications in a series on *De Ongekende Stad (The Hidden City)* offer further insights into poverty and uprooted peoples in Rotterdam.⁸⁶ *De Verborgene Stad*, which provides seven

⁷⁹ Afe Adogame, *The African Christian Diaspora: New Currents and Emerging Trends in World Christianity*, London, 2013.

⁸⁰ Nagy, *Migration and Theology*, 2009.

⁸¹ The issues of journals *Exchange* 43.1 (2014) and *Mission Studies* 32.2 (2015) were dedicated to missiological and theoretical issues concerning religion, migration and identity and contained editorials by Martha Frederiks and Dorottya Nagy.

⁸² Paul T. van der Laar et al, *Vier Eeuwen Migratie: Bestemming Rotterdam*, Rotterdam, 1998.

⁸³ Paul T. van der Laar, Leo Lucassen and Kees Mandemakers, eds, *Naar Rotterdam: Immigratie van Levensloop in Rotterdam vanaf het einde van de Negentiende Eeuw*, Amsterdam, 2006.

⁸⁴ Paul T. van der Laar, *Stad van Formaat: Geschiedenis van Rotterdam in de Negentiende en Twintigste Eeuw*, Zwolle, 2000; Paul T. van der Laar, *Historical Atlas of Rotterdam*, Amsterdam, 2007.

⁸⁵ J. van Bommel, *Daar Kerke Rotterdam*, Leiden, 1965; Kees Hazelet, *Rotterdam zoals wij het kenden* (translated as *Rotterdam as we knew it*), Amsterdam, 1940.

⁸⁶ Jack Burgers and Godfried Engbersen, eds, *Illegale Vreemdelingen in Rotterdam*, Amsterdam, 1999; G. Engbersen et al, *In Bedding en Uitsluiting van Illegale Vreemdelingen*, Amsterdam, 1999.

anthropological views of the city, reflects on the relationship between transnational migrants, informal institutions and macro-structures in Rotterdam.⁸⁷ Quantitative data on Rotterdam was obtained from the city's centre for municipal research and statistics (*Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek*) and their annual guides containing statistical information (*Kerncijfers*).⁸⁸

Sociological literature on migration and religious studies was consulted. Stephen Castles and Mark Miller's *The Age of Migration* provided an overview of international population movements while *Gatherings in Diaspora* edited by R. Stephen Warner and Judith G. Wittner portrayed how religious communities across the world adapt.⁸⁹ Empirical data on how groups behave provided a useful reference to understanding differences between MCCs. Foley and Hoge introduced the 'interactive model' of immigration that is associated with the studies of Alejandro Portes on immigration into the United States where he examined the interaction between the characteristics of the immigrant group and the structure of opportunities.⁹⁰ Another major study with Ruben Rumbaut drew upon stories in the United States and looked at the identity of the second generation.⁹¹ David Martin⁹² and Anton C. Zijderveld⁹³ helped me to interpret how religious communities operate as institutions or networks or networks. The complexity of the local church in public life was highlighted in research projects on congregations and provided relevant sociological and anthropological tools.⁹⁴ Distinctive approaches to discovering their stories and worldviews recognise local congregations as having personalities and not only structurally as organizations. Maykel

⁸⁷ Godfried Engbersen and Jack Burgers, eds, *De Verborgene Stad: De Zeven Gezichten van Rotterdam*, Amsterdam, 2001.

⁸⁸ A prognosis on population statistics in Rotterdam into the future is available (COS, Prognose Bevolkings-Groepen Rotterdam 2017, 2003) as well as a computer print-out service of current information.

⁸⁹ Stephen Castles and Mark Miller, *The Age of Migration*, New York, 2009, Fourth edition; R. Stephen Warner and Judith G. Wittner eds, *Gatherings in Diaspora*, Philadelphia, 1998.

⁹⁰ Alejandro Portes and Ruben G. Rumbaut, *Immigrant America: A Portrait*, Berkeley, 1996.

⁹¹ Alejandro Portes and Ruben G. Rumbaut, *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation*, New York, 2001.

⁹² David Martin, *The Dilemmas of Contemporary Religion*, Oxford, 1978.

⁹³ Anton C. Zijderveld, *The Institutional Imperative: The Interface of Institutions and Networks*, Amsterdam, 2000.

⁹⁴ Hopewell, *Congregation: Stories and Structures*; Cameron et al, *Studying Local Churches*.

Verkuyten's *The Social Psychology of Ethnic Identity*⁹⁵ offered a fresh analysis of identity, context and ethnicity. From this read, I discovered Kerry Ann Rockquemore's study of biracial identity in the United States⁹⁶ to be relevant to issues of identity in MCCs in Rotterdam and offered a model by which I could evaluate them. Her study of people whom others referred to as 'coloured' or 'black' led to the creation of new categories.

For this study, sociological material needed to be balanced by missiological and intercultural reflections. The secularisation and changes in the religious landscape of the Netherlands since 1950 are recalled in a volume *The Dutch and their gods*⁹⁷ that concludes with Dutch Evangelical movements and the New Age movement but it remarkably fails to recognise the 'renewalist' movement of MCCs. The thesis of Hans Visser, former minister of the *Pauluskerk* in Rotterdam offers theological reflections on religion in Rotterdam around a creation paradigm.⁹⁸ Though he engages with urban evangelicals, the study fails to relate to renewalist MCCs emerging in Europe's post-industrial cities and their Pentecostal styles which according to one Dutch study are interacting with immanent and transcendent realities.⁹⁹ Theological reflections on the globalization and the church by Robert Schreiter¹⁰⁰ and the missiological reflections by Wilbert Schenk¹⁰¹ engage the increasing dominance of non-Western forms of Christianity. David J. Bosch's missiological text *Transforming Mission*¹⁰² expands on the inter-cultural challenge facing the churches and is complemented by texts that examine the global task and the story of African churches by Andrew F. Walls.¹⁰³ The volume

⁹⁵ Maykel Verkuyten, *The Social Psychology of Ethnic Identity*, East Sussex, 2005.

⁹⁶ Kerry Ann Rockquemore and David L. Brunson, *Beyond Black: Biracial Identity in America*, Plymouth, 2008.

⁹⁷ Erik Sengers, ed, *The Dutch and their Gods*, Hilversum, 2005.

⁹⁸ Hans Visser, *Creativiteit, Wegwijzing en Dienstverlening: De Rol van de Kerk in de Postindustriële Stad*, Zoetermeer, 2000.

⁹⁹ Anton van Harskamp et al, eds, *Playful Religion*, Delft, 2006.

¹⁰⁰ Robert J. Schreiter, *The New Catholicity: Theology between the Global and the Local*, New York, 2004.

¹⁰¹ Wilbert R. Schenk, *Changing Frontiers of Mission*, Maryknoll, 1999.

¹⁰² David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, New York, 1991.

¹⁰³ Andrew F. Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History*, Maryknoll, 1996; Andrew F. Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History*, Maryknoll, 2002.

by Charles van Engen on *God's Missionary People*¹⁰⁴ stimulated my choice of frames of analysis for this research.

1.5 THE RESEARCH PROBLEM IN WIDER ACADEMIC DISCUSSION

1.5.1 Sociological Studies

Different reasons for migration led to descriptions of migrants as colonial migrants, guest-workers, political refugees or economic migrants. Researchers have described their patterns of movement as local, circular, chain, coerced or return migration.¹⁰⁵ The term 'migrant' covers all these categories without specific reference to the intention or pattern behind the relocation from one country to another, something which has been problematized by Steven Vertovec.¹⁰⁶ Migration is concerned with movement across or over national or state borders and any estimate of migrants includes an unknown proportion who did not want to move permanently but instead intended to move temporarily for a specific period or temporarily for an unknown period. When people migrate, they not only change their location but their social worlds are transformed. In 2017 the International Organization for Migration defined a migrant as "any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a state away from his/her habitual place of residence, regardless of the person's legal status; whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; what the causes for the movement are; or what the length of the stay is."¹⁰⁷ Upon this definition the United Nations in 2015 estimated that there are two hundred and fifty million migrants in the world, nineteen and a half million of which were refugees.¹⁰⁸ People who are not registered as migrants (e.g. the undocumented) are not included in these estimates.

¹⁰⁴ Engen, *God's Missionary People*.

¹⁰⁵ Castles and Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 7-9.

¹⁰⁶ Steven Vertovec, *Transnationalism*, Abingdon, 6.

¹⁰⁷ International Organization for Migration, accessed on 5 December 2017, <https://www.iom.int/who-is-a-migrant>

¹⁰⁸ A refugee is a person who, "owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such

The most discussed models of international migration have been the ‘neo-classical economic’, ‘historic-structural’, ‘migration systems’ and ‘transnational’ approaches.¹⁰⁹ The individualistic ‘push-pull’ concept of migration has been largely replaced by collective expressions of movements, flows or streams.¹¹⁰ The study of structural features has given way to a systems approach which recognises the interaction of social, economic and political forces. Owing to these insights, this thesis works with Alejandro Portes’ interactive model of migration. Utilising the power of communications technology, the movement of people operates more “by network rather than hierarchy, and is characterised by the compression of time and space.”¹¹¹ Contemporary global migration patterns are mostly network-driven and tend to diversify or weaken national, ethnic and cultural identities. Even where nation-states remain strong, migration patterns tend to undermine the sense of belonging that host nations would like to promote. Jehu Hanciles wrote: “Identity formation and cultural distinctiveness are no longer bounded by geographical location or social space.”¹¹² Migrants themselves are more interactive in the way they are able to maintain relationships and commitments in several different urban centres. The case study chapters explore these multifaceted relationships in relation to the identity of MCCs.

events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.” UNHCR, article 1(A)(2) of the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol, accessed 10 October 2017, <https://unhcr.org/uk/1951-refugee-convention.html>. Castles and Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 188. For data, see: <http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/data/estimates2/estimates15.shtml>, accessed 11 November 2017. This definition is to be distinguished from that of a short-term migrant for whom the UN definition is “a person who moves to a country other than that of his or her usual residence for a period of at least 3 months but less than a year (12 months), except in cases where the movement to that country is for purposes of recreation, holiday, visits to friends and relatives, business, medical treatment or religious pilgrimage.” “United Nations definition on short term international migration, accessed 10 October 2017. <https://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/sconcerns/migration/migrmethods.htm>

¹⁰⁹ Castles and Miller, *Age of Migration*; Saskia Sassen, *The Mobility of Labour and Capital*, Cambridge, 1988; Doug Massey and F. Garcia Espana, “The Social Process of International Migration, in *Sciences* 237, 4816 (1987), 733-738; Doug Massey et al, “Theories of International Migration: a review and an appraisal” in *Population and Development Review*, 19, 3 (September 1993), 431-466.

¹¹⁰ The paths that many take to come to a new country are interrupted and complex and do not resemble the simplicity of a modern highway. The passage of transition can be risky and the precise point of destination unclear. The terminology of ‘flows’ should be used sparingly since in the Netherlands the management of migrants is experienced as much more difficult than the control of water levels.

¹¹¹ Schreiter, *The New Catholicity*, 127.

¹¹² Jehu J. Hanciles, *Beyond Christendom: Globalization, African Migration and the Transformation of the West*, New York, 2008, 203.

Trans-national migration theory has led to the concept of ‘de-territorialised nation-states’ and the recognition of trans-nationalism both ‘from below’ and ‘from above.’ Trans-national people are able to live and act in two or more countries, one of which is their country of origin. Where migrant people belong to several places, “trans-national activities are a central part of a person’s life.”¹¹³ Trans-nationalism has become a key field of study in migration research¹¹⁴ and its application in missiology may help to explain how some MCCs in Rotterdam are able to maintain material, social and spiritual links with their country of origin. The sociologist Thomas Faist differentiated ‘trans-nationalism’ into kinship groups, circuits and communities.¹¹⁵ Migrant communities have also been described by Peggy Levitt as trans-national religious corporations, national religious groups, flexible networks and trans-national supply chains.¹¹⁶ There is much overlap in the practical application of categories and Dorottya Nagy has taken sociologists to task for theorising almost exclusively on the adjective ‘trans-national and failing to adequately conceptualise on the term ‘community.’¹¹⁷

Levitt researched the role of religion in people between the Dominican Republic and the United States.¹¹⁸ She discussed trans-national religious communities as being extended, recreated or negotiated.¹¹⁹ These terms help us understand how they came into existence and how they perceive themselves and, with the help of Levitt’s terminology, chapter seven explores the way MCCs in Rotterdam forge their transnational relationships. From a

¹¹³ Hanciles, *Beyond Christendom*, 30.

¹¹⁴ Verkuyten, *The Social Psychology of Ethnic Identity*, 117.

¹¹⁵ Thomas Faist, “Transnationalization in International Migration: Implications for the Study of Citizenship and Culture”, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 23:2 (2000), 197; Thomas Faist, *The Volume and Dynamic of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces*, Oxford, 2000, 202-210.

¹¹⁶ Peggy Levitt and B. Nadya Jaworsky, “Transnational Migration Studies: Past Developments and Future Trends”, *Annual Review of Sociology*, 33:1 (2007), 129-156. In the same article, Ebaugh and Chafetz are cited for describing them as network ties and international religious bodies while Yang referred to them as individuals, churches and para-church groups.

¹¹⁷ Nagy, *Migration and Theology*, 62-63.

¹¹⁸ Nagy, *Migration and Theology*, 52, 58. Similarly Stephen Vertovec has drawn attention to Levitt’s concern about a lack of research into “the links maintained between post-migration communities and their origins.” S. Vertovec, ‘Religion in Migration, Diasporas and Transnationalism’, *Research on Immigration and Integration in Metropolis*, Working Paper Series, 02-07, Vancouver, Vancouver Centre of Excellence, 2002, 18.

¹¹⁹ Peggy Levitt, ‘You know that Abraham was really the first migrant’: Religion and Transnational Migration”, *Religion and Transnational Migration Review*, 37:3 (2003), 847-873.

missiological perspective, Nagy applied 'extended' communities to Roman Catholic parishes, 'recreated' communities to international churches and 'negotiated' communities to new immigrants in a bonded ethnic group.¹²⁰ 'Trans-national communities' offer an alternative term to 'diaspora' though some aspects of the latter are retained.¹²¹ The term 'diaspora' brings together both their roots and routes in order to create "public spheres, forms of community consciousness and solidarity that maintain identifications outside the national time/space in order to live inside, with a difference."¹²² From a sociological perspective, there has been much debate about identity as the human capacity to reflect on one's world.¹²³ In the creation of social meaning, Ferdinand de Saussure established the role of language and its systems while Michael Foucault drew attention to the role of discourse. Social identity came to be seen as something that was bestowed on a person and in which language had a central naming role.¹²⁴ Individuals, not born with an instinctive identity, are socialised into specific social, cultural and national identities.¹²⁵ In the modernist era the establishment of identity can be thought of variously as the awakening of self, the process of socialization or the self-construction project. The 'self' is not regarded as a distinctive trait or possession but becomes a reflexive project in its urban context and the era of globalization.¹²⁶ Despite its legacy of greater religious diversity, multiple

¹²⁰ Nagy, *Migration and Theology*, 65.

¹²¹ "Individuals or groups of people who live and/or work in networks that transcend political borders. These networks allow people to live dual lives. They may be bilingual, trans-cultural, have homes in more than one country, and pursue economic, political and cultural interests in more than one place. This creates networks that view state membership in an instrumental way rather than emotional way." 9-10. Contemporary diasporas, a word which carries an association with the religious identity of Jews in Babylon, may offer a type of trans-national community "if the members also develop some significant social and symbolic ties to the receiving country. If they do not we can speak of exile." Darrell Jackson and Alessia Passarelli, *Mapping Migration – Mapping Churches' Responses: Europe Study*, Brussels, Churches Commission for Migrants in Europe, World Council of Churches, 2008, 9-12.

¹²² Paul Gilroy, *There ain't no Black in the Union Jack: The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation*, London, 1987, in Montserrat Guibernau and John Rex, eds, *The Ethnicity Reader*, Cambridge, Polity, 1997, 287.

¹²³ Gordon Marshall, "There is no clear concept of identity in modern sociology" in *Oxford Dictionary of Sociology* (Second edition), Oxford, 1998, 296.

¹²⁴ Marshall, ed, *Oxford Dictionary*, 294; Peter L. Berger, *Invitation to Sociology*, New York, 1966; Ferdinand de Saussure, *The Course in General Linguistics*, New York, 1966.

¹²⁵ Verkuyten, *The Social Psychology of Ethnic Identity*, 119.

¹²⁶ Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and Self-identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*, Cambridge, 1991, 14.

identities and trans-national belonging, globalization permits greater pluralism and intensifies the search for identity.¹²⁷

Globalization, which is an essentially urban process, plays an ambiguous role and has many definitions.¹²⁸ Manuel Castells has written about the ability of capitalism to use information and knowledge to create winners and losers.¹²⁹ Elsewhere Castells argued that the “production of meaning is an essential component of cities... constructed through a conflictive process between the interests and values of opposing social actors.”¹³⁰ This insight may be relevant in reflecting the behaviour of MCCs and their constructed identity of MCCs and in Rotterdam.

¹²⁷ Mittelmann noted that the most useful ones affirm the recognition of the world as a single place and the effects of the compression of time and space. Hanciles, *Beyond Christendom*, 15; James H. Mittelmann, *The Globalization Syndrome: Transformation and Resistance*, Princeton, 2000. Globalization is theoretically understood as changing the relations of space and time and compressing them in the creation of a new world. “Global space is a space of flows, an electronic space, a decentred space, a space which in which frontiers and boundaries have become permeable.” David Morley and Kevin Robins, *Spaces of Identity*, London, 1995, 115. Though a new global interconnectedness is achieved through an increase in international migration, the migration of resources and use of new technology, the world experiences the twin processes of fragmentation and integration to be at work. Its advocates regard globalization as a liberating process or phenomenon while its critics fear for its effects of homogenizing the world and destroying identity. Hanciles, *Beyond Christendom*, 48. The same diversity that globalization gives rise to also undermines social cohesion through increased cultural differences. ‘De-territorialisation’ or the ‘end of geography’ has the effect of polarising rather homogenising local actors. “For some people it augurs an unprecedented freedom from physical obstacles and un-heard of ability to move and act from a distance. For others it portends the impossibility of appropriating and domesticating the locality from which they have little chance of cutting themselves free in order to move elsewhere.” Zygmunt Bauman, 1998, *Globalization*, Columbia, 1998, 12, 18.

¹²⁸ Giddens defined globalization as “the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant global localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa.” Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity*, Stanford, 1990, 64. He does not accept the postmodern thesis of identity but rather talks of reflexive modernity which is in continuity with past institutions though replaced and ‘disimbedded’ in a dislocation between space and time relations. Robertson does not connect globalization with institutions and modernity but instead approaches globalization from objective and subjective perspectives and he focuses on its dualism between the particular and the universal. As a process, globalization leads “to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole.” See: Roland Robertson, *Globalization, Social Theory and Global Culture*, London, 1992, 8. The more exaggerated views of globalization maintain that it is driven by an emerging single global market and economic competition whereas more sceptical views consider cultural homogenization as a myth and question *whether* as a social-economic phenomenon it is truly global. Scholars from the global south tend to articulate a ‘globalization from below’ which offers other globalizations. Robertson, *Globalization, Social Theory and Global Culture*, 2, 47, 254.; Peter L. Berger, “The Cultural Dynamics of Globalization,” in Peter L. Berger and Samuel P. Huntington eds, *Many Globalizations Cultural Diversity in the Contemporary World*, New York/Oxford, 2002, 12.

¹²⁹ Manuel Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society*, Oxford, 1996.

¹³⁰ Manuel Castells, *The Power of Identity*, Oxford, 2004, 61.

1.5.2 Migration and Religious Studies

Though sociologists and anthropologists have led the way in researching migration and religion, they have been followed by those involved in religious studies and missiology.¹³¹ This thesis is concerned with the religious aspects of migration rather than migration in general.¹³² Within the spectrum of religious aspects of migration, I focus on the religious life of migrants rather than on religious reasons leading to migration and on the collective rather than individual religious lives of migrants. There have been attempts to define migrants by adding adjectives, such as economic migrants, colonial migranys, etc.¹³³ but, not only has there been little consensus on these sub-divisions, for our research these categories may be less relevant. Any migrant can have a religious experience and join a MCC. The role of religion is multi-dimensional and can shape the migration experience and lifestyle of migrants.¹³⁴ Religious factors may lie behind the formation of transnational communities as well as ‘diasporas’. The religious life of migrants affects decision-making and people movements in similar ways that economic or political commitments do.¹³⁵ As well as affecting the conditions of the journey itself, religious convictions of migrants can play a large part both in their how they deal with the conditions of their departure and arrival. Concerning the role of the Roman Catholic Church for migrant groups in Europe, Dick Hoerder reflected

¹³¹ Martha Th. Frederiks, “Religion, Migration and Identity: A Conceptual and Theoretical Explanation”, *Mission Studies*, 32: 2 (2015), 182.

¹³² Religious faith can be the cause for, the motive behind as well as the goal of migration. A decision to migrate for religious reasons (e.g. flee from religious persecution or as a missionary) is compounded by socio-economic factors (e.g. family needs, financial expediency). Most migration studies highlight economic factors in creating patterns to the neglect of the role of religion. Perhaps because of the old secularization thesis, sociologists have tended to dismiss the importance of faith in migration but the role of religion in forming identity should not be neglected. The low profile of religion in migration studies may be due to the concept of ‘diaspora.’ Perhaps because of its source in Jewish history, researchers have “marginalized the factor of religion and relegated (it) to second place in favour of ethnicity and nationality.” M. Baumann, “Conceptualizing diaspora: the preservation of religious identity in foreign parts”, in ter Haar, ed, *Strangers and Sojourners*, 95.

¹³³ Castles and Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 4; Frederiks, “Religion, Migration and Identity”, 184.

¹³⁴ Vertovec, *Transnationalism*, 128.

¹³⁵ Vertovec, *Transnationalism*, 141-142.

Within the community, the church played a particularly important role. While the spiritual role was similar to what it was in the old culture, the organizational setting and social meaning were different... Sunday services and parish meetings became centers for social activities for both sexes, but predominantly of women, just as the saloon was the male communication centre. The rituals of the church were indispensable for the structuring of individual and family life-courses.¹³⁶

In the field of transnational studies, Levitt has repeatedly stated that the religion of migrants has been overlooked.¹³⁷ Religious motives and ideas have played a part in the decision of whether, where and how to migrate. Religious communities are among the oldest of transnationals as “many Scots in Rotterdam knew just as much about happenings on St. Christopher in the Caribbean as they did about life in nearby Edinburgh or their own Scots Dike.”¹³⁸ In social life, religion also has a role in reinforcing individual and community identity. Gerrie ter Haar has observed in the Netherlands that for African Christians “their adherence to Christianity constitutes the most important element of their social identity.”¹³⁹ Religion has an important role in creating and maintaining identity in what is often regarded as an emerging global culture.¹⁴⁰ Religion has more than a functional significance as it offers a basis for forming personal values and identity in an era when social-economic forces lead to loss of roots, indifference to local space and loss of community.¹⁴¹ Despite this onset of secularization,

¹³⁶ Dirk Hoerder, “From Migrants to Ethnics: Acculturation in a Societal Framework”, in Dirk Hoerder, Leslie Page Moch, eds, *European Migrants: Global and Local Perspectives*, Boston, 1996, 247-248.

¹³⁷ Levitt, “You Know, Abraham Was Really the First Immigrant”, 847

¹³⁸ Doug Catterall, “Scots Migrant Identity” in Paul T. van Laar et al, *Vier Eeuwen Migratie: Bestemming Rotterdam*, Rotterdam, 1998, 38-39.

¹³⁹ Gerrie ter Haar, “The African Diaspora in Europe: Some Important Themes and Issues”, in Gerrie ter Haar, ed, *Strangers and Sojourners: Religious Communities in the Diaspora*, Leuven, 1998, 45.

¹⁴⁰ Martin Baumann, “Sustaining ‘Little Indias’: Hindu Diasporas in Europe” in ter Haar, ed, *Strangers and Sojourners*, 119.

¹⁴¹ At the beginning of the twentieth century, the French sociologist, Emile Durkheim, predicted the demise of religion within the modernization process but suggested that it would continue in altered forms (*The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, 1976).

religious factors in the formation of MCCs may be influential in how individuals relate to the emerging world order.¹⁴² Religion links people through time, through religious leaders¹⁴³ and enables connections to be made with the past, present and future. Though religion can have negative social effects, it remains a strong purveyor of tradition, meaning and power. The rituals and rites of the religious community provide both social control and the pastoral tools to activate memory in the past, solidarity in the present and imagination for the future.

Research into MCCs is significant for studies of identity because religious faith has become a vehicle for their cohesion and connectivity. Identity involves “a sense of belonging that helps people to understand and categorise the world around them.”¹⁴⁴

1.5.3 Congregational Studies

The approach taken to interpret their constructed identities of MCCs draws upon insights and methodologies from congregational studies. Migrant congregations are dynamic and changing communities and in order to understand the identity of MCCs, congregational studies are needed to complement the fields of religious, sociological and trans-national studies. The study of congregations involves ethnography where a group of people are observed through action research, the study of documents and through interviews. I prefer to use the term ‘community’ to ‘congregation’ but the study of congregations is a highly developed field. Since the 1980s congregational identity (or culture) has been recognised as the shared perceptions of members concerning the religious style of their congregation and its mission in the world. In the United

¹⁴² The sociologist of globalization, Robert Robertson suggests that “religious factors will almost certainly be intimately involved in those variegated strategies for relating individuals and national societies to the emerging global order.” William R. Garrett, as in *A Global Faith: Essays on Evangelicalism and Globalization*, Mark Hutchinson and Ogbu Kalu, eds, Sydney, 1998, 30-31.

¹⁴³ Levitt and Jaworsky, ‘Transnational Migration Studies: Past Developments and Future Trends’, 141.

¹⁴⁴ Roberta Guerrina, *Europe: History, Ideas, Ideologies*, London, 2002, 137-138

States, Nancy Ammermann¹⁴⁵, David Roozen, William McKinney and Jackson Carroll¹⁴⁶, Jackson Carroll, Carl Dudley and William McKinney¹⁴⁷, James Hopewell¹⁴⁸ and Stephen Warner¹⁴⁹ have compared and contrasted the beliefs, values and mission orientations of Christian congregations. They explored the relationship between the religious self-perception of congregations and the way they perceive their orientations to the secular world. Roozen, McKinney, and Carroll, in particular explored how other-worldly and this-worldly religious perspectives interacted with approaches to society that were either centred around the membership or pro-active around the leader. They created a fourfold typology of congregations as sanctuary, evangelistic, civic or activist.¹⁵⁰ More recently Penny Becker developed a fourfold typology or set of models for understanding them as house of worship, family, community or leader congregations.¹⁵¹ These typologies became difficult to apply as I found that MCCs were young communities in development. They were in a dynamic process of change and adaptation to their context. They could be highly mixed and, for the most part, represented people in their first to third generations in the Netherlands. Typologies are useful in presenting ideal-types but tend to oversimplify the relationship between identities of religious groups. Congregational studies need to begin with a basic typology that separates out the members of the field. Nancy Ammerman's magisterial *Congregation and Community* reflected on how congregations in the

¹⁴⁵ Nancy T. Ammerman, *Congregation and Community*, New Brunswick, 1997; Nancy T. Ammermann, Jackson W. Carroll, Carl S. Dudley, William McKinney, *Studying Congregations: A New Handbook*, Nashville, 1998.

¹⁴⁶ David A. Roozen, William McKinney and Jackson W. Carroll, *Varieties of Religious Presence: Mission in Public Life*, Hartford, 1984.

¹⁴⁷ Jackson W. Carroll, Carl Dudley and William McKinney, eds, *Handbook for Congregational Studies*, Nashville, 1986.

¹⁴⁸ James F. Hopewell, *Congregation: Stories and Structures*, Philadelphia, 1987.

¹⁴⁹ R. Stephen Warner and Judith G. Wittner, *Gatherings in Diaspora*, Philadelphia, 1988.

¹⁵⁰ While sanctuary congregations are largely uninvolved with secular society, civic and activist groups share great interest in public life. Activist groups believed that "achievement of a more just and humane society is a high priority" but they could engage in acts of civil disobedience whereas the civic orientation is "more comfortable with, even affirming of dominant social, political, and economic structures." Roozen et al., *Varieties of Religious Presence*, 35. Evangelistic congregations could be "active in public life, not for the purpose of social reform or change, but to share the message of salvation with those outside the fellowship." Roozen et al., *Varieties of Religious Presence*, 36.

¹⁵¹ Penny E. Becker, *Congregations in Conflict: Cultural Models of Local Religious Life*, Cambridge, 1999.

United States struggle to adapt to their context and wider environment. Her approach was to select two ‘focus’ congregations in each of nine communities together with some smaller struggling congregations.¹⁵² This study will reflect on how similar migrant communities in Rotterdam shape and adapt their identities. While sociological factors are important, I felt attention should be given to the relationship between the pastoral leader and the organizational structure around them. I chose to divide the field between those where there a relationship with a traditional denomination and those where new patterns are being created. Historical MCCs have strong denominational identity and structures of accountability. Renewalist MCCs form around charismatic leaders whose authority is not based upon traditional or structural identities.

1.6 STRUCTURE

There are two sections in this study about the identity of MCCs in Rotterdam. The first section, in chapters two, three and four, focusses on the context of Rotterdam, the field of MCCs and theoretical considerations behind the research problem. The second section, in chapters five, six and seven, provides observations and evaluations on the six case studies.

The thesis is organised in a progressive manner by addressing the historical, religious, economic and political context of MCCs in the city of Rotterdam in chapter two. Chapter three attempts to categorise MCCS according to traditional ecclesial terminology. The fourth chapter outlines the theoretical aspects involved in the construction of identity. Identity is not so much something that is given but rather that which is constructed through interaction with others. Ethnicity, language and generation are reviewed as a basis of ascribing identity. The five, sixth and seventh chapters compare and contrast the case-studies through the lenses of their context and development, through their leadership and public statements, and through their social capital.

¹⁵² Ammerman, *Congregation and Community*, 40.

National labels can be applied too easily without considering how the application of these identifiers create inequalities. Where group identity is under revision in the new host society, ethnic identifications are regularly given to the leader, the members or the movement it originated from. A more elaborate discussion on perspectives of religious identity can be found in 4.2. In this thesis, I suggest that the application of analytical categories drawn from ethnicity and ecclesiology needs to be reviewed. Since neither ethnic nor traditional ecclesiological terms do justice to MCCs, this research attempts to listen to how these migrant leaders and groups express themselves.

(Repeat this...) Since neither national, ethnic, traditional ecclesiological terms nor the concept 'migrant churches' do justice to MCCs, this research takes an emic rather than an etic approach and attempts to listen to how these migrant leaders and groups express themselves.

CHAPTER TWO: ROTTERDAM

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the background of Rotterdam as a city ‘for’ and a city ‘of’ migrants. The history of the Netherlands and of migratory movements has given rise to Rotterdam’s multicultural religious identity. For it was only relatively recently, in the nineteenth century, that Rotterdam became a major port city. A certain amount of background information on Rotterdam’s economy and politics is important in order to describe the context that MCCs have to interact with today (2.2). The economic and political aspects of the city for migrants in recent years lead into a historical overview of how Rotterdam has become a city of migrants (2.3). The first MCC, which is still extant today, settled in the city at the end of the sixteenth century. This chapter provides an overview of Rotterdam’s religious history and maps the story of Christianity and other faith traditions before giving way to an account of how migrant Christians and migrants of other faiths settled in the city (2.4). The final section on Rotterdam as a city of worship highlights the relative strength and numbers of MCCs and other faith communities (2.5).

2.2 ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF ROTTERDAM

Rotterdam is a social and economic success story in its cosmopolitan character and as a major world port. It serves as the industrial harbour to the sixth largest metropolitan area in Europe¹ which has a population of 7.5 million. In 2007 it was situated in a “region that is the proud host of the largest transfer and container harbour in the world.”² Late twentieth century French

¹ Only the urban conurbations of Moscow, London, the Ruhr, Istanbul and Paris are larger.

² Anton C. Zijdeveld, “Urban Regions in a Field of Globalized Forces”, Civic Hall Lecture, 4 November 1998, Rotterdam. In terms of tonnage of container units, Rotterdam in 2007 lay seventh behind the new shipping centres in China and Malaysia. Eric van Hooydonk and Patrick Verhoeven, *Ports Portable: A Cultural Travel Guide to the Port Cities of Antwerp, Hamburg and Rotterdam*, Merksem, 2007, 336. Even as while it invested in development, it dropped in 2015 to eleventh in the world.

economic studies which set out to identify competitive international cities in Europe, ranked Rotterdam as a successful city within a regional metropolis with a strong international orientation and a diversified economic base.³ Rotterdam continues to grow in the 21st century.⁴ International companies that relocated their industrial premises away from the expensive and congested areas in Rotterdam are still attracted to the greater urban region.⁵ As an industrial city and world port it has provided unparalleled opportunities to those from the rural and poor economies. The city population grew almost five-fold (by 79%) between 1890 and 1910 and with this growth “the presence of large groups of migrants had a multiplier effect.”⁶ In the 1930s Rotterdam attracted the largest Chinatown in Europe with the need of low paid Chinese sailors and labourers.⁷ In the 1930s a growing number of Jews sought to escape the sinister sounds of fascist uprising in Germany and Austria, and through the offices of the Holland America line in Rotterdam, some were able to start a new life in the United States of America. In the 1970s things began to change: “The local economy flourished in the 1950s and 1960s, but came under heavy pressure because of the two oil crises, which hit Rotterdam particularly hard because the economic structure of the city concentrated on transport, trade and petrochemical industries.”⁸ Following the decline in the national economy during the 1970s there was a surplus of low-skilled workers and, as a result, Rotterdam from the 1980s⁹ endured the effects of de-

³ The studies of Roger Brunet, 1989; Alain Salles and Pierre Verot, 1991 and Equipe P.A.R.I.S. 1993 are detailed in Loic Grasland and Chris Jensen-Butler, “The set of cities” in Jensen-Butler, Chris, Arie Shachar and Jan van Weesep, eds, *European Cities in Competition*, Aldershot, 1997, 43-75.

⁴ “In 2013, Rotterdam is the electricity hub of Northwest Europe and the largest petrochemical industrial complex in Europe. In order to maintain this position, to ensure that the production volume increases and to compete successfully with industrial clusters in other parts of the world, the Rotterdam complex will have to change in a number of areas by 2030.” Port of Rotterdam: Europe’s Industrial Cluster, accessed on 26 December 2017; <https://www.portofrotterdam.com/en/the-port/port-vision.../europes-industrial-cluster>.

⁵ Ton Kruekels and Egbert Wever, “Dealing with Competition: The Port of Rotterdam”, *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 87:4 (1996), 303-304.

⁶ Jack Burgers, “Kleine sociaal-economische geschiedenis van een havenstad”, in Engbersen and Burgers, *De Verborgene Stad*, 13.

⁷ Van Hooydonk and Verhoeven, *The Ports Portable*, 399.

⁸ Valerie Symes, *Unemployment in Europe: Problems and Policies*, London, 1995, 100.

⁹ The so-called ‘polder-model’ of Dutch economic policy had been created around the negotiated consensus between government, employers and employees to keep the rising cost of wages down in exchange for the creation of jobs and achieved relative success compared to other European countries. The difficulty has been

industrialisation and unemployment in the manufacturing sector.¹⁰ Large numbers of immigrant workers are in big cities¹¹ where their perspective on the economy is based upon experience of unemployment and living on welfare.¹² As they made up the main force of manual labour, it was the so-called 'guest workers' who have had to bear the brunt of the current economic restructuring. The jobs they came to fill have largely disappeared and their qualifications did not fit the employment opportunities available in the new economy. In a city where shipbuilding used to offer as many opportunities as regular port jobs for migrants, the demand for low-income work in the service sector dropped. The effects of economic reforms mostly affected first generation migrants who did not have the required skills or qualifications.¹³

In 1993 when more than 10 per cent of the population aged between 15 and 65 years in Rotterdam was registered as looking for a job, ethnic divisions opened up and in the 1990s unemployment rose to over 25 per cent for certain ethnic minorities. At this time unemployment among Suriname and Antillean young adults rose to twice as high as the levels for indigenous Dutch people while among Turks and Moroccans it was four times as great. Nine per cent of the indigenous Dutch unemployed in Rotterdam were out of work for longer than a year in 1993, but the proportion of long term unemployed for the minority groups mentioned above amounted to more than 30 per cent.¹⁴ Unemployment in these ethnic minority groups grew to disproportionately high levels and is higher than among corresponding categories in the

that the jobs realized were not taken up by the traditional 'blue collar' workers and young people with low educational qualifications.

¹⁰ Robert C. Kloosterman, "Double Dutch: Polarization trends in Amsterdam and Rotterdam after 1980", *Regional Studies* 30:5, 471.

¹¹ Erik Snel, Bram Steijn, Lambert van der Laan, "Veranderende klassen in stedelijke economieën: Rotterdam en Amsterdam vergeleken", in Engbersen and Burgers, *De Verborgene Stad*, 42.

¹² "The social status of migrants is mainly determined by the niche they occupy in the labour market." Jan van Weesp, "Urban policies to promote equity", *European Cities in Competition*, 400.

¹³ The educational attainment levels in 1993 reveal that 10 per cent of the indigenous Dutch youths between 15 and 25 years old in Rotterdam left the different forms of secondary education without a certificate whereas for the minority groups whereas the proportion of drop-outs increased to 21 per cent (Turks) and 38 per cent (Antilleans). Jack Burgers, "No polarisation in Dutch Cities? Inequality in a Corporatist Country", *Urban Studies*, 33:1 (1996), 102.

¹⁴ In July 1996, 44% of unemployed were 'non-indigenous' compared to 22% of the whole working population. Jack Burgers, "No polarisation in Dutch Cities? Inequality in a Corporatist Country", 101.

indigenous population. One reason given for their low level of assimilation into the host society “is related to their poor language skills and low level of formal education.”¹⁵ In 1999 the foreign-born population in the Netherlands was 1.6 million (10 % of the total population) and 58 % had acquired Dutch citizenship¹⁶ through basic education, language courses, vocational training and anti-discrimination legislation. Despite a decline in overall levels, around the turn of the century unemployment continued to be much higher for workers of immigrant origin (9%) than for non-immigrants (3%).¹⁷ “While the labour force participation for immigrants and non-immigrants rose prior to 2008, the economic crisis marked a drop in immigrant employment. The gap between immigrants and non-immigrants has widened over the years.”¹⁸

These differences were exacerbated in Rotterdam where unemployment was on average four times higher compared to the whole of the Netherlands.¹⁹ In global terms Rotterdam was not a poor city but a survey of large European cities revealed that it had the highest percentage of householders in receipt of welfare payments (17.9% compared to an average of 12.4%).²⁰ “In the Netherlands “in 1994, from the thirty neighbourhoods in the large cities with the highest concentration of people living on welfare, fifteen were situated in Rotterdam.”²¹ Urban poverty for non-Western migrant people in Rotterdam is related to what they have experienced in their land of origin and elsewhere. In the era of globalization poverty as a concept has changed from subsistence poverty to that level of income where those concerned cannot participate properly in the society that they are part of. The concept of ‘exclusion’²² provides the best framework

¹⁵ Weesp, *European Cities in Competition*, 400.

¹⁶ In 2007 Rotterdam population figures from COS (Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek, Geemente Rotterdam) indicated that 46% were foreigners or ‘allochtones’ (who had been born or had a parent born outside of the Netherlands), an increase from 41% in 2001. *Kerncijfers Rotterdam 2007*, Rotterdam, May 2007.

¹⁷ Symes, *Unemployment in Europe*, 121.

¹⁸ Huijnk, Willem, Merove Gijsberts and Jaco Dagevos, *Jaarrapport Integratie 2013* (Sociale en Culturele Planbureau, Netherlands Institute for Social Research), The Hague, 2014, 39.

¹⁹ Symes, *Unemployment in Europe*, 102.

²⁰ *Feitenkaart Rotterdam in Europees Perspectief*, Urban Audit, Eurostat, November 2004.

²¹ The four highest scoring neighbourhoods Afrikaanderwijk, Wielewaal, Schiemond and Katendrecht were in Rotterdam. Burgers and Engbersen, *Illegale Vreemdelingen*, translated by Anneke Pot, 42.

²² Tania Burchard, “Social Exclusion: Concepts and Evidence”, in *Breadline Europe: The Measurement of Poverty*, Bristol, Polity, 2000, 385; Pierre Bourdieu, *La Misere du Monde*, Paris, Seuil, 1993; Godfried

for research into social inequality whether it is exclusion from economic participation or exclusion from citizenship. The exclusion of migrant citizens in Rotterdam from the formal labour market and their need to depend upon social security, whether unemployment or disabled welfare benefit, demonstrate that “not everyone is sharing in the increased prosperity and economic activity” in the Netherlands.²³ Some areas of Rotterdam have much higher proportions of the population living on social security and “the vulnerable categories are the ethnic minorities who are having such a hard time securing jobs despite the improved employment situation in the Netherlands.”²⁴ Godfried Engbersen demonstrated that ethnic minorities are over-represented in the inner city ‘social assistance’ neighbourhoods of the Netherlands.²⁵ Where social exclusion threatens to become chronic, one of the social functions of MCCs in these areas may be to contain and connect new migrants who live on low incomes.

With the enlargement of the European Union in 2004 and 2007, more labour migrants arrived in Rotterdam from across Europe. In 2007 a local newspaper headline “Foreigners soon to be in the majority”²⁶ highlighted the municipality’s own research that predicted half of the city’s population would soon have at least one parent born outside of the Netherlands.²⁷ “In 2010, 27% of Rotterdam’s population was born outside the Netherlands, far more than the 11% average across the country as a whole; a further 21% had at least one immigrant parent. As a result, 48% or almost half of all Rotterdammers had an immigrant background. This share is

Engbersen, “Who are you calling poor?”, *Le Monde Diplomatique* (September 1999), English edition, accessed on 30 May 2016, <http://mondediplo.com/1999/09/06poverty>.

²³ Erik Snel and Serafim Karyotis, “Does Poverty Last Forever? Dynamics of being on social assistance in the Netherlands”, *The Netherlands Journal of Social Sciences*, 34:1, Assen, 1998, 44. Godfried Engbersen and Erik Snel, “Arm Nederland: Schaduwen over de Polder” (The Poor Netherlands: Clouds over the Polder), Amsterdam, 1997, Jan Vranken, Dirk Geldof, Gerard van Menxel, eds, *Armoede en sociale uitsluiting. Jaarboek 1997*, Leuven/Amersfoort, 1997, 287-301;

²⁴ Snel and Karyotis, “Does Poverty Last Forever?”, 56.

²⁵ Snel and Karyotis, “Does Poverty Last Forever?”, 56; Godfried Engbersen, *In de schaduw van morgen. Stedelijke marginaliteiten in Nederland* (In the shadow of tomorrow. Urban marginality in the Netherlands), Amsterdam, 1997.

²⁶ ‘Allochtonen straks in de meerderheid’, *Rotterdams Dagblad*, 11 October 2001.

²⁷ Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek (COS), *Bevolking van Rotterdam naar Etniciteit 2008*, Gemeente Rotterdam; also statistics for 2001-2007 in ‘Bevolking Rotterdam naar culturele achtergrond’ in COS, *Kerncijfers Rotterdam 2007*, Rotterdam, 2007, 13.

growing and is expected to reach 56% by 2025.”²⁸ The high level of immigrants becomes a difficult challenge for a city that has been known for its low education achievement and high employment.²⁹

The largest port of Europe is a city of migration. Migrants settle in the city in search of political and religious security, employment and trade. Ports are well known for their strong multi-ethnic character. Rotterdam is the industrial heart of a growing metropolitan area whose environs³⁰ are in constant flux. The Rotterdam newspaper *Rotterdams Dagblad* reported on 16 April 2003 that “every twenty-four hours twenty-five foreigners, fifty-seven inhabitants from other Dutch cities and five with unknown origin establish themselves in the city. In the same twenty four hours, eight residents leave for another country and sixty-eight for another city in the Netherlands.” The twin-forces of economy and migration have enable Rotterdam to be host to a population of more than one hundred and seventy-four nationalities³¹ and contain a level of diversity that is proportionately comparable to Amsterdam, London and New York. The term ‘super-diversity’ was not simply coined as another way of talking about ‘more ethnicities.’ Steven Vertovec created it to recognize the multi-dimensional shifts in migration patterns that are bringing about a worldwide diversification of identity – whether it is seen in terms of legal status, wealth, age or gender.³²

²⁸ Data collected by COS in Han Entzinger, “Amsterdam-Rotterdam, Diverse yet Different”, *The State of Integration: Rotterdam-Amsterdam*, (2012) 11-33.

²⁹ Cadell, Christopher, Nicholas Falk and Francesca King, *Regeneration in European Cities: Making Connections*, York, 2008, 49.

³⁰ A morphological definition of the city as the field of research is preferred to that of a functional or an administrative one. In keeping with United Nations’ criteria for assessment of urban agglomeration, the urban contours are determined by the contiguous built-up of housing where there is a maximum separation of no more than two hundred metres between structures. “The term ‘urban agglomeration’ refers to the population contained within the contours of a contiguous territory inhabited at urban density levels without regard to administrative boundaries. It usually incorporates the population in a city or town plus that in the suburban areas lying outside the city proper but being adjacent to the city boundaries.” *World Urbanization Prospects: The 2007 Revision*, United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs / Population Division, New York, 2008, 13.

³¹ Floris Muller, “Mayor Ahmed Aboutaleb: Rotterdam’s Finest – Q & A”, *The International Correspondent*, 14 (December 2013 - February 2014), 32. 32-36

³² Steven Vertovec, “Super-diversity and its implications”, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30.6 (November 2007), 1024-1054.

2.3 POLITICAL ASPECTS OF ROTTERDAM

It has been said that the principal ports of nations are where their core identity begins to fall apart.³³ Over the years the port city Rotterdam has been open to the influence of outsiders and ideas of foreigners in ways that land-locked capitals are not. Rotterdam benefitted from migrant labour but its economy has struggled to sustain jobs for everyone. Difficulties arose in urban areas where competition for low-paid jobs and housing was high. The result was racist tensions spilling out between people who were culturally different – such as in street riots against Turkish people in Rotterdam in 1972 and in Schiedam in 1976.³⁴ From 1979 to 1981 government policy recognised that guest workers and their families had become permanent minorities and should be given rights to full participation in society. The long standing challenge for politicians in Rotterdam has been about how to unite its parts and integrate its peoples. Rotterdam has had an ambiguous relationship with its south-side for a long time and as late as 1986 the city's unofficial poet said that on 'the Other side' that "if you were born there, you had a heavy cross to bear."³⁵

The area on the south side of the river in its early days had been used as a dump for household refuse and a gallows' field for the Admiralty. In 1716 a plague house was opened on the south side at Feijenoord while Rotterdam was still situated on the north bank of the 'Nieuwe Maas' in the nineteenth century. The first attempt to leap across the river towards 'the stigmatized farmers' side of town'³⁶ was made by Lodewijk Pincoff.³⁷ The south of Rotterdam has traditionally provided opportunities for migrants to find a room to rent, for example, in the 'old' Chinese quarter in Katendrecht or what became officially named as 'Afrikaanderwijk.'³⁸

³³ This may be "why Peter the Great's successors shifted the capital of Russia from St. Petersburg to Moscow." Robert Hughes, *Barcelona*, New York, 1992, 8-9.

³⁴ Stephen Castles, *Here for Good: Western Europe's New Ethnic Minorities*, London and Sydney, 1984, 60-61.

³⁵ Jules A. Deelder, *Gemengde Gevoelens* (translated as "Mixed Feelings"), Amsterdam, 1986, 379.

³⁶ Han Meyer, *City and Port*, Rotterdam, 1999, 360.

³⁷ This controversial figure and child of a Jewish trader with family roots in Eastern Europe, who established Africa and Rotterdam Trading Companies, expended much time and energy to extend the port.

³⁸ Laar, Lucassen and Mandemakers, *Naar Rotterdam*, 131.

More than a century after Pincoff, the 'Kop van Zuid' project envisaged the integration of the south side through new and attractive housing, office space, shops and recreation with the construction of the Erasmus Bridge in 1996.³⁹ Compared with other Dutch cities, the challenge to integrate lay in the fact that lower classes were in competition with each other and the city lacked a healthy middle-class sector. Residential options did not attract people seeking well-paid employment in the post-industrial economy to live in the city. Economic regeneration required new housing to attract people from the more highly skilled educated sector. New suburbs were created alongside the old towns and villages.⁴⁰ While new suburbs were built within the municipality, there was a need to attract people to live in the inner-city and high quality apartments were built in the city centre. Rotterdam City Development Corporation (*Ontwikkelings Bedrijf Rotterdam* or OBR) sought to attract companies to move or settle in Rotterdam and visited Hong Kong to find new clients.⁴¹ A major problem in the 1980s was identified as need of qualifications by the unemployed in order to access the job market. It became apparent that the regular market would not create new opportunities for thousands of long-term unemployed. Training programmes were created through a municipal foundation. In 1991 the City Development Corporation funded a major initiative called 'Mutual Benefit' that sought to match job-seekers with employment opportunities.⁴²

The Rotterdam City Council advocated in 1991 that "people who receive benefits should be used productively."⁴³ As a result, Rotterdam "was the first city to offer lifetime contracts to

³⁹ Meyer, *City and Port*, 308-309.

⁴⁰ Rotterdam began to expand beyond and away from the river as its municipal laws became accepted by the councils in outlying areas of Portugaal and Rhoon in 1933 and Overschie, Hillegersberg and IJsselmonde in 1941. Though these outlying districts tended in time to be 'eaten up' as natural urban growth, the final choice of what represents the city boundaries of governance is always a political matter. There was a proposal to create a regional metropolitan area but the enterprising 'Rijnmond' project was eventually voted out by the electorate after only a few years of operation as it "proved to be difficult to cultivate real cooperation between among the local authorities." Joan-Eugeni Sanchez, "Competitive political and administrative systems" in Jensen-Butler et al, eds, *European Cities in Competition*, 451.

⁴¹ They visited Hong Kong to reach potential new clients. "OBR 'verkoopt' Kop van Zuid in Hong Kong", *Rotterdams Dagblad*, 29 September 1993, 15.

⁴² Cadell, Falk and King, *Regeneration in European Cities: Making Connections*, 61.

⁴³ Symes, *Unemployment in Europe*, 116.

the very long-term unemployed, recognising both the waste of resources that unemployment represents and the contribution that community work can make to social welfare in the area.”⁴⁴ Despite concern about high levels of crime and stigmatisation of coloured schools in the 1970s and 1980s, Rotterdam gave shelter to small groups of political refugees (from Chile, Iran, Somalia, Afghanistan and former Yugoslavia). There were fears about the formation of a dual society where “spatial concentration in the older and less desirable neighbourhoods suggested the development of dual cities.”⁴⁵ Though Rotterdam developed the North American characteristic of greater competition between people in the lower-income sectors (in distinction from other Dutch cities), its chief socio-economic problem became a shortage of housing for those in the higher income bracket. “Because many people who are employed in high and mid-level jobs in Rotterdam live elsewhere, the social structure of Rotterdam should be characterised as unilaterally socially weak, rather than polarised.”⁴⁶ The threat of polarization was increasing competition between low-income unemployed⁴⁷ and that problems would accumulate in the neighbourhoods where the poorest and highest ethnic populations reside. Unemployment fell from 17% in 1991 to 6% in 2005 with the largest number of jobs created in the areas most at risk.⁴⁸ Fears about unchecked immigration, rising crime and the propagation of Islamic values have captured banner headlines in Rotterdam’s daily newspaper. In June 2002 a report on “The state of Rotterdam”⁴⁹ indicated that its residents were becoming increasingly ‘young, black and poor’ and in 2005 the *Rotterdams Dagblad* reported that 60% of neighbourhoods most likely to give rise to violent death were in low income immigrant communities of the city. In 2002, 80% of those jailed for street crimes in Rotterdam were from the ethnic minorities of Turks,

⁴⁴ Symes, *Unemployment in Rotterdam*, 121.

⁴⁵ Kloosterman, “Double Dutch: Polarization trends in Amsterdam and Rotterdam after 1980”, 474.

⁴⁶ Burgers and Engbersen, *Illegale vreemdelingen*, 44.

⁴⁷ Though twelve thousand jobs were created through these job creation programmes, it had only a small effect on the 58,000 people who were looking for work in 1998.

⁴⁸ Cadell, Falk and F. King, *Regeneration in European Cities: Making Connections*, 59.

⁴⁹ “The State of Rotterdam”, *Migration News Sheet*, Migration Policy Group, Brussels, 2005.

Moroccans, Surinamese, Antilleans.⁵⁰ “Virtually everywhere, clashes in lifestyles between the indigenous population and the newcomers have kept the newcomers from integrating.”⁵¹ The City Council of Rotterdam adopted a policy on 1 December 2003 in which it said that it would ban poor and unemployed immigrants. In December 2003, the *Rotterdams Dagblad* put up the headline: “Rotterdam to keep out poorer immigrants”⁵² and the *Guardian* newspaper reported that Rotterdam planned to ban poor immigrants from moving in.⁵³

At the end of the twentieth century a new political party sprang into prominence and a popular politician from Rotterdam, Pim Fortuyn, openly promoted his concerns about increased levels of immigration and criminality. After his assassination at the hands of a left-wing activist concerned for animal liberation, his party *Leefbaar Rotterdam* (‘Livable Rotterdam’)⁵⁴ triumphed in the local elections in March 2002 and called the country to face up to fears of declining welfare, safety and rising immigration. Issues concerning migration, crime and security became high on the political agenda. With growing dissatisfaction over the political establishment and the politics of consensus embodied by the mainstream parties, Fortuyn called for the closing of the country’s borders to all immigrants and who described Islam as a ‘backward’ religion. Though *Leefbaar Rotterdam* lost its coalition government platform, the legacy was to open up a debate around a new realism where Islam was said to be a hindrance to modernization and integration. Rotterdam recognised the need for full reflection on what constitutes civil society and promoted a variety of city conferences to further inter-cultural dialogue.

⁵⁰ In 2000 Dutch young people under the age of twenty-five had become a minority (less than 50%) to Moroccan, Turkish, Cape Verdean and Suriname people in Rotterdam.

⁵¹ Weesp, *European Cities in Competition*, 400.

⁵² “Netherlands: Rotterdam to keep out poorer immigrants”, *Rotterdams Dagblad*, 1 December 2003; accessed on 10 October 2017; <http://www.workpermit.com/news/netherlands-rotterdam-keep-out-poorer-immigrants-20031201>

⁵³ Andrew Osborn, “Rotterdam plans to ban poor immigrants from moving in”, *Guardian*, 2 December 2003, accessed on 6 June 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/dec/02/andrewosborn>.

⁵⁴ This made *Leefbaar Rotterdam* the city’s largest political party which had previously been the PvdA or Labour Party for thirty years.

Since 2004 a series of internal debates (between Muslims) and public debates (for all citizens) led to the development of a ‘social charter’ for Rotterdam and basis for a more active citizenship. The discussion tended to focus on perceived differences between Muslims and non-Muslims rather than the needs of migrants from predominantly Christian cultures. A multi-ethnic civil society requires the active citizenship of all its people groups. The city council made a comprehensive report on the active citizenship of immigrants and made recommendations for the participation of citizens in civil society. The report was put aside when the city’s centre for research and statistics (*Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistieken Rotterdam*) showed that immigrants are actually more participatory than their Dutch counterparts. In 2006 new immigrants were required to be conversant in the Dutch language and also to be familiar with Dutch history, law, values, norms and behaviour, but Rotterdam’s plan for integration, entitled “Push On”, was described as being more in line with the integration policy on a national level.⁵⁵ In an effort to combat criminality, a two-day conference on how to deal with offenders among Antillean young people led to a new rigorous approach that required all Antilleans in Rotterdam aged thirty-six or less⁵⁶ to attend school or find a job.⁵⁷ In the city “economic revitalization and social marginalization are two sides of the same coin.”⁵⁸ On 9 April 2008, a Forum of Ideological and Religious organisations in Rotterdam (in Dutch: *Platform van Levensbeschouwelijke en Religieuze organisaties in Rotterdam*) was officially established by the municipality and its objectives include the “stimulation of mutual dialogue on the need to

⁵⁵ Wim Veugels, a former programme coordinator in the municipality, said that the integration policy in Rotterdam obtained a more “oppressive character; a ‘do this, do that’ mentality.” Anouk Eigenraam, Jeffrey Hochstetler, Karima Yabari, *The Dutch Know Best? Paternalism in the Netherlands Past and Present*, Humanity in Action report 2005, <https://www.humanityinaction.org/knowledgebase/218-the-dutch-know-best-paternalism-in-the-netherlands-past-and-present>, Humanity in Action, Amsterdam.

⁵⁶ 19,341 people from the Antilles lived in Rotterdam in 2007, COS Gemeente Rotterdam, population print out 1 January 2008.

⁵⁷ Mayor Ivo Opstelten made it clear that the only alternative would be into a ‘judicial route.’ On 10 January 2006 the mayor announced that by the end of the year the city would be in control of the “streets and violence, and the problems of criminal and nuisance-causing Antilleans.” Police figures show that this relatively small group (3-4% of the city population) is responsible for 11% of violent crimes and for 25-33% of murders and robberies. *Migrant News Sheet*, Brussels, February 2006, 26.

⁵⁸ Engbersen and Burgers, *De Verborgene Stad*, 44.

participate in society.”⁵⁹ This initiative was led by Ahmed Aboutaleb, the Moroccan mayor of Rotterdam, whose conviction is that dialogue and participation creates a more integrated urban society.⁶⁰

2.4 HISTORICAL AND RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF ROTTERDAM

2.4.1 A Religious History of the City

Rotterdam was once known as a fishing village⁶¹ and having a religious heritage dating back to 1300 with several small chapels⁶² and the ‘Great Church’ (*Grote Kerk*) which was constructed in 1409. Politics outside of the Netherlands took a hand when a hundred and fifty years later Calvinism became linked with the fight for independence. King Philip of Spain sent military forces to occupy territory and subdue the anti-Roman Catholic riots that had spread across the country from 1566. The city’s ruling elite confiscated the Roman Catholic church in the centre. The last mass was held there on 12 November 1572 and was followed three days later by the first Protestant service.⁶³

The identity of Rotterdam became Reformed Protestant in the wider context of the Reformation and European politics. Benjamin Kaplan writes: “For most Netherlanders, the Revolt was a struggle for freedom, both political and religious... For Calvinists, though, the

⁵⁹ “Uitnodiging Oprichtingsbijeenkomst”, *Platform van Levensbeschouwelijke en Religieuze Organisaties in Rotterdam*, 9 April 2008, Stadhuis Rotterdam.

⁶⁰ “What makes a city more resilient, what makes you become stronger, is if you dare to open a debate about really sensitive issues.” EUObserver, 12 January 2016, accessed on 12 May 2016, <https://euobserver.com/justice/131790> and https://www.europa-nu.nl/id/vk0ndu7lszzg/nieuws/rotterdam_mayor_muslim_migrants_must?ctx=vgaxlcr1jzlc&tab=0&start_tab0=20 Ahmed Aboutaleb, *Driving social innovation at a city level*, European commission, accessed 30 May 2016, <http://webgate.ec.europa.eu/socialinnovationeurope/en/magazine.governance/interviews/driving-social-innovation-city-level-mayor-aboutaleb-rotterdam>

⁶¹ It was situated on the river Rotte around a dam built to resist tidal waves that had ravaged the low-lying country.

⁶² Rien Vroegindeweyj, *Geloven in Rotterdam: Spirituele Stromingen in een Wereldhaven*, Rotterdam, 2001, 22.

⁶³ The names of St. Laurens and St. Laurentius associated with the ‘Grote Kerk’ serve to remind Rotterdam of its Roman Catholic heritage but Calvinism soon became the established urban faith through its ability to organize communities and maintain discipline.

Revolt was something far grander and more desperate: a struggle of good against evil.”⁶⁴ The Netherlands received new immigrants from the rebellion of the Huguenots following the Edict of Nantes in 1685. As a result the French Huguenots⁶⁵ were exiled across Europe in like manner to the Jews of the ‘diaspora.’ It is estimated that between 1685 and 1703 approximately seventy-five thousand Huguenots from France arrived in the Republic of the United Provinces.⁶⁶ Reformed clergy and lay people travelled north to escape the territories occupied by the Spanish army to present-day Belgium.⁶⁷ They settled in Vlaanderen, Henegouwen and Brabant and then to the region around Rotterdam and in the cities of Antwerp, Utrecht and Amsterdam. In 1622 the population of Rotterdam was one quarter that of Amsterdam and smaller than Leiden, Haarlem and Middelburg.⁶⁸

The Remonstrants or Permissive Protestants became the majority but a legacy of openness in Rotterdam grew up to people of different traditions and backgrounds. Despite the synod of Dordt in 1618⁶⁹, Rotterdam together with other cities (rather than the smaller towns) resisted the tendency of the orthodox Calvinists to take control of the municipality.⁷⁰ Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam⁷¹ contributed to this by propagating a tolerant humanist spiritual legacy.

⁶⁴ Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe*, London, 2007, 108.

⁶⁵ This name for French Protestants may have been derived from ‘eyguenot’, a term in German dialect for an opponent of Geneva’s annexation by the Roman Catholic Duke of Savoy. *Economist*, 20 December 2003, European edition, 43.

⁶⁶ About 200,000 Huguenots were scattered across Europe in this period. 50,000 – 60,000 Huguenots arrived between 1680 and 1703. J. Luttik and J.J. (Hans) Visser, “Historisch Perspectief” in Jongeneel, Budiman and Visser, eds, *Gemeenschapsvorming van Aziatische, Afrikaanse en Midden- en Zuidamerikaanse christenen in Nederland*, 19.

⁶⁷ Hans Knippenberg, *De Religieuze Kaart van Nederland*, Assen/Maastricht, 1992, 13.

⁶⁸ Knippenberg, *De Religieuze Kaart van Nederland*, 19.

⁶⁹ At the Synod of Dordt (or Dordrecht) near to Rotterdam with an attempt to silence the Remonstrants. The Reformed leaders exercised influence on who should occupy the highest social positions and Reformed piety was not always seen in its best light. Church courts tended to dictate to civic authorities and internal theological disputes spilled out between the Calvinists and Remonstrants.

⁷⁰ Amsterdam even allowed Roman Catholics to continue to sit as members of the corporation.

⁷¹ Erasmus, who would later be regarded as the city’s most famous son, created a new identity for himself and adopted the city’s name within his personal title. The humanist Reformer dared to ask: “What is the state but a great monastery?” This rhetorical question was agreeable to the civic leaders because it called upon every resident to be an active citizen in much the same way as monks had a duty to perform certain tasks under the monastic rule. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, 71. Erasmus had very little personal interaction with the town or the Netherlands. Cornelis Augustijn, *Erasmus: His Life, Works, and Influence*, translated by J. C. Grayson, Toronto,

His ideas “flowed down to the class of regent-magistrates who steadily began to rule the cities of the new Dutch Republic.⁷² The city fathers in Rotterdam encouraged trade and education and with an open tolerant spirituality enabled merchants to settle down and pursue their trades.⁷³ Though religious observance was officially Reformed, most of Rotterdam’s city fathers were Protestants of wider sympathies. Rotterdam’s sailors and merchants who were generally well known for their support of the Remonstrant cause⁷⁴ amounted to about 15% of the population in 1630. Roman Catholic as well as Jewish traders became an important part of Rotterdam’s middle-class. The city maintained religious pluralism and toleration of dissenters.

Those who were not Calvinists met in hidden places but the secrecy in which Lutherans⁷⁵, Remonstrants and Mennonites met for worship was not strict. Kaplan writes: “Neighbours and even strangers knew about their existence, and magistrates often had a significant, if informal, say in the appointment of their pastors.”⁷⁶ These hidden churches consisted mainly of foreign migrants and descendants. Knippenberg comments: “By containing religious dissent within spaces demarcated as private, ‘schuilkerken’ ... preserved the monopoly of a community’s official church in the public sphere.”⁷⁷ Unlike other dissenters, “Dutch

1991, 31-32, 200. Though he did not inspire a popular movement, his contribution was to “serve as a corrective rather than an alternative.” Augustijn, *Erasmus*, 196, 199, 200.

⁷² Charles Wilson, *The Dutch Republic*, London, 1968, 17. Johan van Oldebarnevelt was a supporter of the Remonstrant cause in Rotterdam and, though most regents were discrete about their religious views, he forbade preachers to talk about disputed issues. He held the political office of pensionary of Rotterdam (1576-1584) and exercised wide influence within the provinces of Holland.

⁷³ This was exemplified, after the Synod of Dordt, in the Collegiants – so-called from their practice of describing their communities as ‘colleges.’ These gatherings recognised the divine inspiration of the bible and its guidance but fell short of adopting any confession of faith. Liberty of opinion was permitted in their twice-weekly prayer meetings for those who wished to shelter from the Calvinist and Arminian controversies. The more optimistic view of human nature embodied in Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609) was later enshrined in the Remonstrant party. In the seventeenth century, the rationalist philosopher Benedict Spinoza influenced the Collegiants. Though their main centre was in Leiden, it was a merchant from Rotterdam, John Bredenburg, who became an eloquent spokesman for the Spinozist party attracted public rebuttals from a bookseller in Amsterdam. Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe’s House Divided*, London, 2004, 697; J. Leslie Price, *Culture and Society in the Dutch Republic during the Seventeenth Century*, London, 1974, 70-71.

⁷⁴ Knippenberg, *De Religieuze Kaart van Nederland*, 37; Price, *Culture and Society in the Dutch Republic during the Seventeenth Century*, 71.

⁷⁵ Lutheran churches fed by German immigrants formed around the Augsburg confession of 1530.

⁷⁶ Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, 174.

⁷⁷ Knippenberg, *De Religieuze Kaart van Nederland*, 176.

Republic Lutherans and Jews... had very public, resplendent places of worship.”⁷⁸ Roman Catholics were able to worship in most Dutch cities even though it was a Calvinist society.⁷⁹ Police officials levied an official tax on them in return for more freedom of religion. In 1658 a complaint was made by Rotterdam City Council that Roman Catholics were ‘employing’ police to guard their churches.⁸⁰ They gathered in hidden or clandestine churches (*schuilkerken*). The Old Catholic Church, which was the result of a split over authority in the Roman Catholic Church, was given permission to build in the shadow of the imposing St. Laurence Church but only on condition that it could not be seen from the street. As a result it was hidden by houses and a proper front door was not erected until 1882. Despite the outward appearance, however, the interior of such churches could be lavishly ornate.⁸¹

From the eighteenth century Christian pluralism developed into a proliferation of new identities in the Netherlands. With the ‘*Afscheiding*’ in 1834 and the ‘*Doleantie*’ in 1886 various splits from the *Nederlands Hervormde Kerk* (as well as fusions) led to a variety of new denominational identities. In reaction to modernism, different streams of Reformed churchmanship came into being and the religious landscape of Rotterdam reflects this diversification. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Christianity in Rotterdam was still the province of the historic and traditional churches but this changed later in the century. In 1909 when the population of Rotterdam was 418,000, 52% interviewed in a survey reported that they were associated with the Reformed (*Hervormde*) church, 25% with the Roman Catholic Church and 6% with the Re-Reformed (*Gereformeerde*) church.⁸² From the second half of the twentieth century, however, these churches experienced change and decline. It

⁷⁸ Knippenberg, *De Religieuze Kaart van Nederland*, 248.

⁷⁹ In the seventeenth century, the Roman Catholic community in Rotterdam declined from 16% of the population in 1656 down to 12% in 1726 only to grow to as many as 35% in 1809. Knippenberg, *De Religieuze Kaart van Nederland*, 24.

⁸⁰ Price, *Culture and Society in the Dutch Republic during the Seventeenth Century*, 33.

⁸¹ On the site of an old chapel in 1777, an Italian architect from Antwerp influenced the interior of the Saint Rosaliakerk. Hazelet, *Rotterdam zoals wij het kenden*, 56, 63.

⁸² Vroegindeweyj, *Geloven in Rotterdam*, 17.

appears that more city churches were demolished in the post-war period, than the thirty four places of religious worship that were destroyed during the bombardment in May 1940. The legacy of this is also an architectural/landscape one that contrasts Rotterdam with many other European cities. Calvert concludes: “As a result of post-war *municipal* policy to reduce the number of church towers, the profile of Rotterdam today has relatively fewer church spires compared to other European cities.”⁸³ This trend of decline of the historic churches continues in the 21st century. In 2008 thirty-eight church buildings in Rotterdam that were associated with the Protestant Church in the Netherlands were expected to reduce to twenty-eight over a period of ten years.

2.4.2 A History of Migrant Christianity in the City

The first migrant church in Rotterdam was the Reformed Wallonian church established by Huguenots in 1590 following the same in Middelburg (1574) and Amsterdam (1578).⁸⁴ The arrival of German and Scots immigrant workers in the seventeenth century led to the establishment of the Evangelical Lutheran Church and the Scots Church.⁸⁵ A significant social and economic impact was made at that time through the migration of Protestant and Dutch Calvinists from France and the Spanish provinces.⁸⁶ The population of Rotterdam further increased with Calvinist merchants and ship-owners following the occupation of Antwerp in 1585. German Protestant merchants came to Rotterdam from Flanders during the Thirty Years’ War between 1618 and 1648.⁸⁷ They were followed by labourers from Germany and Belgium

⁸³ Calvert, *Gids voor Christelijke Migranten Gemeenschappen in Rotterdam*, 12.

⁸⁴ Knippenberg, *De Religieuze Kaart van Nederland*, 42.

⁸⁵ Vroegindeweyj, *Geloven in Rotterdam*, 45; Knippenberg, *De Religieuze Kaart van Nederland*, 45-47.

⁸⁶ Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, 159. Most of the 150,000 Huguenots who were uprooted from Antwerp and the southern provinces of the Netherlands in the 1580s arrived in the Dutch Republic.

⁸⁷ After the ransacking of churches and convents in 1566, seven out of the seventeen provinces in the Low Countries revolted in 1568 against the Spanish and Roman Catholic military presence. The revolt was stimulated by the difficult economic conditions faced by ordinary people and the oppression of the new Calvinist faith. In 1585 when Antwerp fell, the Eighty Years’ War finished for the Southern areas of the Netherlands. During the last thirty years of the Eighty Years’ War, the Thirty Years’ War was fought German Protestants and the Republic of the United Provinces against the German royal troops and Spaniards who supported the

and Jews from Southern and Eastern Europe. It is estimated that in 1622 as many as 31% of Rotterdam's population were Protestant migrants from the southern provinces (today, is mostly Belgium)⁸⁸ though not all stayed.

In the seventeenth century two Wallonian and Scots migrant groups who were in political and religious exile, settled in Rotterdam and indulged in apologetic activities. Commercial interests between the city and the English Merchant Adventurers from 1635 to 1656 led to the provision for an Episcopal Church before the latter relocated to Dordrecht.⁸⁹ Following the earlier Scots traders and soldiers, a second wave of exiled Scots merchants and landowners enjoyed security through "the continuing flow of income from Scotland."⁹⁰ The Scots church increased to about one thousand members with as many as forty baptisms every year.⁹¹ In some ways the Scots had more political standing than the Huguenots who were seen as refugees⁹² but both historic 'diaspora' were able to adapt well to new environments and found a welcome in Dutch cities. The Huguenots "were often artisans and were more dependent on relief provided through their own churches." Though several Wallonian ministers gave notable

Hapsburg Empire. The war ended at Munster in 1648 with an agreement known as the 'Peace of Westphalia' and led to independence of the Republic from the Spanish and the German Empires.

⁸⁸ Knippenberg, *De Religieuze Kaart van Nederland*, 19.

⁸⁹ G. J. Mentink and A.M. van der Woude, *De Demografische Ontwikkeling te Rotterdam in de 17^e en 18^e eeuw*, Rotterdam (Gemeentearchief), 1985, 20.

⁹⁰ The first wave of Scots migrated to the Netherlands in the fifteenth century following a royal marriage. Ginny Gardiner, *The Scottish Exile Community in the Netherlands 1660 – 1690*, East Linton, 2004, 95.

⁹¹ Mentink and Woude, *De demografische ontwikkeling te Rotterdam in de 17^e en 18^e eeuw*, 19-20.

⁹² Jongeneel, Budiman and Visser, *Gemeenschapsvorming van Aziatische, Afrikaanse en Midden- en Zuidamerikaanse christenen in Nederland*, 102

service to the city and wider world,⁹³ their thirty-two churches in the Netherlands reduced to twenty-one in 1705 and thirteen by 1755.⁹⁴

People from different Christian traditions experienced a wider pluralism with emigration to Great Britain and the United States. There were increasing Protestant interests in ‘foreign’ missions on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.⁹⁵ New vision and relationships led to new missionary structures. From the end of the eighteenth century and the nineteenth century a mission to the Jews became established in Rotterdam together and in the twentieth century was followed by two missionary movements from the United States. *The Elim Society* and its Mission to Jews that was established in Rotterdam in 1845 developed out of a missionary movement in London, England.⁹⁶

⁹³ Pierre Bayle, although born in France and educated at Toulouse and Geneva, spent most of his life in Rotterdam up to his death in 1706. Previously in Sedan where he held the university chair of philosophy, Bayle fled for the Republic of the Netherlands. He was almost immediately appointed professor of philosophy and history at Rotterdam’s *Ecole Illustre*. It was there, as the leading member of the city’s active intellectual community that he enabled a friend from Sedan to join him. As a French Protestant who pleaded for broad toleration of divergent religious opinions, it became something of a double irony that his friend, Pierre Jurieu, turned against him and they engaged in long bitter polemical arguments. Pierre Jurieu “the theologian of Rotterdam” became the enemy of Bayle “the Philosopher of Rotterdam” and Jurieu mobilized the Consistory of the Wallonian Church in Rotterdam against him. Despite a serious breakdown in his health in 1687, Bayle continued his publishing and editing of scholarly works culminating in his *magnum opus*, the *Historical and Critical Dictionary* (*Dictionnaire historique et critique*) in 1697 and eventually died in 1706. Bayle’s influence may be summed up popularly as the pioneer of the encyclopedia but, as a student of Descartes, his lasting legacy was to contribute to the development of Enlightenment.

⁹⁴ H.H.M. van Lieshout, “Huguenot in Grave”, in *Jaarboek Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie*, deel 46, ’s-Gravenhage, 1992, 147. Their rapid decline is partly explained by the mobility of the Huguenots and availability of preachers.

⁹⁵ In 1847 10% of the emigrants departing from Rotterdam’s South Holland region to the United States were Calvinists or ‘non-conformers’. Knippenberg, *De Religieuze Kaart van Nederland*, 74.

⁹⁶ *The London Society for promoting Christianity amongst the Jews* itself began in 1817. The London Society extended its influence to Dutch port through Paulus Bloch, a converted Jew, who between 1845 and 1899 served as its Rotterdam missionary. After Bloch died, Joseph Zalman became his successor as a missionary for the London Society and through him *Elim* established its national headquarters between 1901 and 1907 in the centre of Rotterdam. Situated in Tulpstraat on the Noordereiland, Zalman was able to give hospitality to more than 200.000 Jewish migrants between 1901 and 1918 with clothes, food and the story of their own Messiah. Before the Second World War, John Rottenberg, the son of a Chassidic Rabbi and a disciple of Zalman, led the *Elim* mission work among Jews from 1929. In 1940 and 1941 *Elim*’s two houses in Rotterdam and the Hague were closed by the German occupying forces and Rottenberg died in Mauthausen, a German concentration camp, in 1942. The *Elim* ministry was taken over by the Reformed Council for Church and Israel (*Hervormde Raad voor Kerk en Israël*), but opened again in 2005 as a House of Prayer in the same location as the former *Elim* ministry. In 2007 *Elim* started a Jewish-Messianic community with Paul Daniels, a Jewish pastor, in the Seventh Day Adventist Church. Wim Duivenbode, interview by author, written notes, Rotterdam, 31 August 2008.

Two global Christian sects which have their origins in the United States of America are vital expressions of migrant faith communities in Rotterdam.⁹⁷ *Jehovah's Witnesses* began in the city in 1910 only forty years after their inception through Charles Taylor in Pittsburg, United States, in 1870. The first copy of the church's "Watchtower" magazine was published in the Netherlands in 1908 and during the First World War two small groups met in Rotterdam and Amsterdam.⁹⁸ The *Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints* (also known as *the Community of Christ* or *the Mormon Church*), was properly established in Rotterdam in 1958. The cities of Rotterdam and Amsterdam were the first venues in 1869 for a missionary from the Mormon Church in the U.S.A. In 1923 conversions and baptisms followed in the Maas river. Following further meetings in Rotterdam from 1928 onwards resulted in the fact that the Mormon Church was officially established in the Netherlands by 1937.⁹⁹ The heavy bombardment of Rotterdam and its subsequent rebuilding and its port character provided the reason for new migrants to come to the city in the form of guest-workers and later their families. The colonial interests of the Netherlands have also played their part. A resurgence of migrant Christians in Rotterdam took place in the last thirty years of the twentieth century with migration from Suriname (all denominations), the Cape Verdean islands (mostly Roman Catholics) and from Africa, Asia and Latin America (mostly Pentecostal). The historic and indigenous churches in the city are generally in decline while new forms of MCC are seeking to establish themselves.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ An Oxford sociologist describes the Jehovah's Witnesses and the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints as 'established' sects on account of their worldwide support and in not being accepted by historic churches as orthodox. Bryan Wilson, *Religious Sects*, London, 1970, 7.

⁹⁸ The Jehovah's Witnesses estimate to have 30,000 members in the Netherlands and to have 4,000 members in Rotterdam. There are meetings for different language-groups in Rotterdam and the metropolis, namely in English, Romanian, Russian, French, Turkish, Yugoslav, Italian, Amharic, Arabic and Dutch.

⁹⁹ In 1946 the 'Mormons', who follow the teaching of Joseph Smith, had meetings in Rotterdam. A church was established followed by another in Zwaagwesteinde in 1966 with an estimated 330 members in 2007 in the Netherlands.

¹⁰⁰ The date of establishment of MCCs was determined for more than 75% of the one hundred and thirteen who were visited in preparation of the *Gids* publication. Some MCCs have either moved or disappeared after their initial establishment but of those that are still in existence there appears to be an increase and indications of exponential development. In the following, the number of newly established MCCs is rising but

2.4.3 A History of Migrants of Other Religions in Rotterdam

The first Portuguese Jewish immigrants who arrived in Rotterdam in 1610 were known as Iberian Jews or ‘conversos’, Christianized Jews who had converted under duress and been expelled from Spain and Portugal.¹⁰¹ The Jewish community in Rotterdam which numbered 2500 at the end of the eighteenth century was second only to the one in Amsterdam and was very active in civic life.¹⁰² The nineteenth century saw a four-fold increase in the Jewish community in Rotterdam and its growth was one of the reasons why from 1797 there was growth in Christian missionary movements to Jews in the city.¹⁰³ As the economic conditions improved, many Jews found employment in education, medicine, journalism and the law, and in 1865 Jews represented 3.2% of the religious population in Rotterdam.¹⁰⁴ In 1930 there were more than 10000 Jews in Rotterdam who sustained a Jewish hospital, school, orphanage and home for the elderly in the area around *Mathenesserlaan*. After the immigration of Jews from Germany in the 1930s, there were about 13,000 Jews in Rotterdam in 1939 and two Jewish newspapers but the Second World War brought terrible humiliation. Children were prevented from having normal education and deportation to Auschwitz and Bergen Belzen began in July 1942 and was ‘completed’ in twelve months. In 1942-43 most Jews were deported to Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen; only 1000 returned to Rotterdam. The official Jewish population in Rotterdam was 10,515 at that time. They had been responsible for a hospital, an orphanage and a home for the elderly, but their number tragically decimated to 780 in 1951.

their size and the number of public services is not stated. 16^e Century 1, 17^e Century 1, 18^e Century 1, 19^e Century 2, 1900 – 1925 2, 1926 – 1950 6, 1951 – 1975 10, 1976 – 2000 41, 2000 – 2007 23. Calvert, *Gids*, 11.

¹⁰¹ Vroegindewij, *Geloven in Rotterdam*, 71; Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, 317.

¹⁰² From Amsterdam they spread out to settle in other parts of the Netherlands. Knippenberg, *De Religieuze Kaart van Nederland*, 56. In 1796 they were allowed to join guilds and in the following year, unique in European history, two Jews were chosen for political representation. It was during the Napoleonic era that Jews were counted as Dutch citizens for the first time.

¹⁰³ F. van Lieburg, “Joden en Christenen in Rotterdam in de zeventiende, achttiende en negentiende eeuw”, Laar et al, *Vier Eeuwen Migraties: Bestemming Rotterdam*, 168.

¹⁰⁴ P.A.C. Douwes, *Armenkerk, De Hervormde Diaconie to Rotterdam in de Negentiende Eeuw*, Schiedam, 1977, cited as in Laar et al, *Vier Eeuwen Migraties*, 168.

Hindus¹⁰⁵ arrived in the Netherlands since the 1970s and recent estimates of the number of Hindus¹⁰⁶ in the Netherlands range between 80,000¹⁰⁷ and 160,000.¹⁰⁸ While Hinduism originates from India, most Hindus came to the Netherlands from Suriname. In order to provide cheap labour in the colonies, approximately 35,000 Indian indentured labourers relocated to Suriname in Latin America between 1873 and 1916. It is estimated that 76% of these were Hindu compared to 20% who were Muslim and 4% Christian.¹⁰⁹ Since Suriname became independent, many Hindus came to the Netherlands. In 1971 73% of all Hindus (2520) in the Netherlands had been born in Suriname.¹¹⁰ Relationships with the Sikh community go back to World War II when Sikh soldiers (on request of the Dutch government and together with the Ghurkas) defended Indonesia against the Japanese invasion in Indonesia. In 1970 twenty five Sikh families who originated from India were living in the Netherlands. They included people from all levels of society: businessmen, doctors, engineers with Phillips and guest-workers. Recent figures on the number of Sikh are difficult to find. Most Buddhists¹¹¹ in Rotterdam are of Chinese or Tibetan origin and follow the Mahayana tradition.¹¹²

Records of Muslim migrants go back to the seventeenth century interacting with Dutch Christians in the Netherlands.¹¹³ In the nineteenth century, reverse colonial migration from the

¹⁰⁵ Hinduism does not have one founder or set of holy scriptures that are binding on all followers. The Census Commission of 1910 in India has defined 'a Hindu' as "being served by the Brahmins as priests whose authority is accepted, worshipping Hindu gods, having access to Hindu temple worship, recognizing the authority of the Vedas, maintaining caste distinctions, cremating the dead and not eating beef." E. Sunday Raj, *The Confusion called Conversion*, Chennai, 1998, 130.

¹⁰⁶ In India, there are about eight hundred million Hindus and a further ten million in other lands who have their own distinctive identity as a minority group.

¹⁰⁷ *Religieus Rotterdam en route*, Rotterdam, 2001, 14.

¹⁰⁸ C.E.S. Choenni and K.S. Adhin, eds., *Hindostanen*, The Hague, 2003.

¹⁰⁹ Martin Baumann, "Sustaining 'Little Indias': Hindu Diasporas in Europe" in Ter Haar, *Strangers and Sojourners*, 107.

¹¹⁰ Knippenberg, *De Religieuze Kaart van Nederland*, 224.

¹¹¹ Buddhism is the fourth largest world religion with more than 270 million followers.

¹¹² Vroegindeweyj, *Geloven in Rotterdam*, 118-121.

¹¹³ In Dutch cities, a Moroccan emissary was welcomed in 1613 and a Turkish visitor a year later. Muslim envoys appeared to have sympathy to Calvinist Christians and a shared antipathy towards representatives of Roman Catholicism. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, 306-307.

Dutch East Indies brought a small number of Muslims to the Netherlands.¹¹⁴ They increased to fourteen hundred in 1960 partly as a result of the arrival of former Moluccan soldiers and their families.¹¹⁵ Most present-day Muslims in Rotterdam came from Turkey and Morocco as migrant labourers and belong to the ‘Sunni’ tradition. Coming from Turkey, Morocco, Suriname and Indonesia, Sunnis emphasize the continuity of the tradition and follow the spirit of the Koran as well as its letter. Though large communities of ‘Shia’ Muslims live in Iran and Iraq, in the Netherlands the majority of Shia Muslims came from Eastern Turkey and Pakistan. The Ahmadiyya Muslim group is small, often from Surinamese background, and their first centre was established in Rotterdam South in 1998. The ethnic background that is most represented by Muslims in the Netherlands is Turks and numbers almost 320,000 followed by Moroccans who are more than 285,000.¹¹⁶ The other main ethnic groups in Islam comprise 34,000 who are of Surinamese origin, 31,000 from Afghanistan and 27,000 from Iraq.¹¹⁷

In the mid-1960s an urgent demand for foreign labour led to the signing of national treaties with Turkey in 1964 and Morocco in 1969 and, as a consequence, large numbers of Muslims migrated to the Netherlands. In 1980 the Netherlands became home to about 122,000 Turks and 73,000 Moroccans together with 40,000 Muslims from Suriname and 7,000 from Indonesia.¹¹⁸ Differences in defining Muslims has been difficult to calculate the present number living in the Netherlands.¹¹⁹ Recently estimated population of Muslims living in the

¹¹⁴ In 1879 there were thirteen Muslim men and thirty-six Muslim women. Knippenberg, *De Religieuze Kaart van Nederland*, 213.

¹¹⁵ They were “Ambonese ex-servicemen of the Royal Netherlands Indian Army”, Jørgen S. Nielsen, *Muslims in Europe: An Overview*, Research Papers, No. 12, Birmingham (Centre for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations), 1981, 19. Knippenberg, *De Religieuze Kaart van Nederland*. 213.

¹¹⁶ Projectbureau Sociale Integratie, *Sociale integratie... en de Islam in Rotterdam*, Rotterdam, Gemeente Rotterdam, 2004, 34-35. This publication cites COS, Factsheet bevolkingsontwikkeling Rotterdam 2003-2017 a forecast that between 2002 and 2017 Turkish immigrants will rise from 7.1 % to 8.0 % and Moroccans from 5.5 % to 7.6 %.

¹¹⁷ *Migrant News Sheet*, Brussels, November 2007.

¹¹⁸ Jørgen S. Nielsen, *Muslims in Western Europe*, Edinburgh, 2004, 19.

¹¹⁹ Previously the Central Bureau of Statistics based its estimates on external research and the country of origin but it now uses data from its “Ongoing Survey into Living Conditions” in which the people themselves indicate their religious affiliations. According to this new method of calculation, almost half the number of people originating from a non-Western country are regarded as followers of Islam. According to official Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) in the Netherlands, the population of Muslims in the country rose from 4% in 1995 to

Netherlands have varied from 405,000¹²⁰, 533,000¹²¹, 800,000¹²², 920,000¹²³ and 1,000,000.¹²⁴

The City Council estimated that in 2004 about 6% of the population of the Netherlands who are 18 years or older are Muslims.¹²⁵ For many who were not born in the Netherlands, the number of naturalizations in the country is proportionately high.

2.5 ROTTERDAM AS A CITY OF WORSHIP

The economic and political context together with its religious history provides the setting for understanding the presence of religious migrants. The historical survey indicates that the presence of migrant Christians and migrants of other world faiths has increased. In this section, I refer to the worship communities attended by these migrants. It appears that the numbers of people who regularly attend MCCs in Rotterdam amount to 14,500 but many more are in active relationship with them.¹²⁶ In an article “Christenen vormen helft van alle nieuwkomers” by Pieter de Lange in the *Rotterdams Dagblad* on 4 October 2003, I estimated that Christians

5% in 2003. The Muslim population rose from 626,000 in 1995 to 920,000 in 2003. According to Philip Jenkins it doubled from 3% to 6% between 1990 and 2005. Project Social Integratie, *Sociale integratie... en de Islam in Rotterdam*, 34. Philip Jenkins draws Muslim populations from Shireen T. Hunter, ed., *Islam, Europe's Second Religion*, Westport, 2002; Brigitte Marechal, S. Allievi, F. Dassetto, J. Nielsen, eds.; *Muslims in the Enlarged Europe*, Leiden, 2003 and Nielsen, *Muslims in Western Europe*. Philip Jenkins, *God's Continent*, Oxford, 2007, 118.

¹²⁰ In the mid-1990s this amounted to 2.6% of the population compared with 1.0 million or 1.7% living in the U.K. or 2.5 million or 3% living in Germany. G. Nonneman, T. Niblock and B. Szajkowski, eds., *Muslim Communities in the New Europe*, Reading, 1997 and the following Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development surveys: *Economic Surveys 1998*, United Kingdom/The Netherlands/Germany/Sweden/Spain, Paris, OECD, 1998; *Economic Surveys 1999*, Belgium/France/Denmark/Italy, Paris, 1999.

¹²¹ David B. Barrett, George T. Kurian, and Todd M. Johnson, *World Christian Encyclopedia*, New York, 2001 is cited for the year 2000 by Philip Jenkins, *God's Continent*, 117.

¹²² Beukema, *Een Kerk Bekent Kleur*, 32.

¹²³ Project Social Integratie, *Sociale integratie... en de Islam in Rotterdam*, 34.

¹²⁴ CIA Factbook, cited by P. Jenkins, *God's Continent*, 16.

¹²⁵ Projectbureau Sociale Integratie, *Sociale integratie... en de Islam in Rotterdam*, Rotterdam, Gemeente Rotterdam, 2004, 34. This research by CBS on populations of eighteen years and over was contrasted with 31% Roman Catholic, 14 & *Hervormde* (Reformed) and 7% *Gereformeerde* (Re-Reformed) churches.

¹²⁶ This figure includes indigenous (*autochtoon*) people just as churches that are not described as ‘migrant’ contain some non-indigenous (*allochtoon*) people. Since many more attend these communities than is counted in the ‘average attendance’ a conservative prediction would be that some 29,000 people attend and between 50,000 and 100,000 are in active relationship. On the basis that 14,500 people visit a MCC once a week but the number of contacts in a relationship to that community is much larger. This does not represent those who would attend on other weeks of the year and experience suggests that the number of active worshippers who regularly visit these MCCs should be doubled. This figure remains a conservative estimate and it should be recognised that many more are in active relationship through youth or social activities or in receipt of food or counselling support.

represented as many as half of all newcomers. Many of these new arrivals are from Africa and Latin America. Rotterdam also has a population of “52,000 Surinamers residents, more than 20,000 Antilleans and 15,000 Cape Verdeans.”¹²⁷ The largest MCCs in Rotterdam are in the indigenous-led Roman Catholic parishes and Evangelical-Pentecostal churches who welcome these peoples. Through the creation of informal networks, MCCs operate as multicultural entities and act as informal circuits of help and support.

The largest concentration of MCCs is to be found within the city-centre district (*Centrumraad*) which has 25% of all those listed within Rotterdam.¹²⁸ It is notable that the second largest concentration of MCCs is to be found in the socially challenging area of Tarwewijk in the district of Charlois and where there is mutuality and co-operation between them. The faith and religious interests of many migrants in their first or second generation and who live on low-incomes are represented in these MCCs for which they have a representative role and function. They are amongst the largest and most stable organisations in which new migrant people of different cultures participate in the city.¹²⁹

Numbers of worshippers in other world faiths in Rotterdam have also increased with modern migration. The first Portuguese Jewish immigrants received permission to build a synagogue and in 1647 they were able to have similar rights as the Jews in Amsterdam.¹³⁰ The first German Jewish synagogue was built in 1674 on the *Glashaven* and then a larger one was erected on *De Boompjes*. During the Second World War the synagogues on *De Boompjes* and *De Botersloot* were bombed. After the mass emigration to Israel and the United States in 1945 a new synagogue was built at *ABN Davidsplein* for the Orthodox Jewish congregation. A

¹²⁷ COS, *Kerncijfers Rotterdam 2007*, 13.

¹²⁸ There were fourteen MCCs in the Cool area. Of other districts in Rotterdam about 20% are situated in Charlois in the south and 15% each in Noord and Delfshaven in the west.

¹²⁹ Foley and Hoge, *Religion and the New Immigrants*, 129.

¹³⁰ Though restricted from undertaking certain work and regularly persecuted throughout Europe, they were free to live in the Netherlands but were still forbidden to disagree with Christians or marry outside of their religion.

progressive Jewish congregation¹³¹ started up in the 1970s and when a modern synagogue was constructed in *Hillegersberg* in 1995 to serve about 1100 families

Mohan Paltoe¹³² estimated that about 25,000 Hindus are living in Rotterdam of which the two main streams are 'Arya Samaj' and 'Sanatana Dharma.' Tensions between them continue to dominate their life in the Netherlands. Arya Samaj has been active since 1968 and attracts about 35% of Suriname Hindus whereas Sanatana Dharma attracts mostly Suriname, Indian and Ugandan Hindus and have their own primary school in Rotterdam.¹³³ Most Hindus live in the big cities in spite of the dispersal of Hindustanis across the country under the government's decentralization policy.¹³⁴ Though mostly concentrated in Amsterdam and the Hague, the Hare Krishna movement, which is a Hindu movement or sect¹³⁵, started in Rotterdam in 1988. It established its own spiritual academy and therapeutic centres within the metropolis. The popularity of Hindu sects has declined through the secularization of the 1970s but Hinduism continues to expand by subtle adaptation to the New Age movement.

As many as seven Sikh temples or prayer houses (*gurdwaras*) are located in the cities of Rotterdam, the Hague, Almere and Amsterdam and it has been estimated that there are twelve thousand Sikhs living in the Netherlands.¹³⁶ The first Sikh *gurdwara* was established in the 1980s in Rotterdam South out of a house with three floors. Previously they gathered in homes and rent halls for feasts. At the end of 1981 the Sikh community in Rotterdam established a new *gurdwara* which was eventually completed in April 1988 at De la Reystraat in Rotterdam South. In 2002 the leadership (*sangat*) in Rotterdam bought a school building in *Rotterdam Alexander* which will become the biggest *gurdwara* in the Netherlands. About one hundred

¹³¹ The synagogue is affiliated to the *World Union for Progressive Judaism*.

¹³² Pastor of the Evangelical Mission Jiewan Jyotie, Rotterdam.

¹³³ Vroegindeweyj, *Geloven in Rotterdam*, 117-118.

¹³⁴ Vroegindeweyj, *Geloven in Rotterdam*, 109.

¹³⁵ Maurice Burrell, *The Challenge of the Cults*, Leicester, 1981, 108.

¹³⁶ Sikhs in Nederland, homepage accessed on 1 September 2009, www.sikhs.nl

families (approximately four hundred people) regularly attend the temple. 80% of this community originate from Afghanistan and the remainder are from India.

The Buddhist Shambhala Meditation Centre in Rotterdam at *A. Dujklaan* was founded by a late Tibetan meditation master and Buddhist teacher and belongs to a global community of Buddhist meditation centres. The Losel Yarge Centre has for many years organised lectures in Rotterdam by Lama Geshe Konchoc Lhundup. Born in Tibet in 1929, this teacher is held high status within the Gelupa tradition. At the Buddhist Ghantapa Centre in *De Graeffstraat*, the essence of Buddha's teaching is offered as more suitable for people in the Western lifestyle. At the Tibetan Buddhist Centre or *Phuntsok Chö Ling* Centre in Rodenrijseelaan in Rotterdam, the objective to create peace in one's heart is offered to all without respect to differences for religion or philosophy. Phuntsok Chö Ling¹³⁷ offers methods to find peace and is the spiritual leader of two Buddhist centres in Rotterdam and Luxemburg. He also gives monthly seminars in the World Museum in Rotterdam.¹³⁸

The growth of Islam in Rotterdam can be gauged by the development from 1988 of an organization known as SPIOR (*Stichting Platform Islamitische Organisaties Rijnmond*) which was established with forty-five member organizations. In 1997 the Islamic University of Rotterdam was opened by representatives of the Muslim community. The civic context has been sympathetic to the creation of mosques in Rotterdam¹³⁹ and the first opened in 1974 through the efforts of a Turkish organization.¹⁴⁰ Shortly afterwards a mosque for Moroccans was

¹³⁷ In 2001, he taught at a centre in Tibet that housed over 8000 monks and which the American magazine *Globe* called the world's largest Buddhist institute.

¹³⁸ Vroegindeweyj, *Geloven in Rotterdam*, 119-121. Websites accessed on 31 May 2009, <www.shambhala-europe.org/details_program.php?id=11290> and <www.phuntsokcholing.org/boeddhatrip.en.php?PHPSESSID> (no longer accessible)

¹³⁹ "Since August 1992, the municipality of Rotterdam has been conducting a policy aimed at reducing the disadvantage Muslims (and Hindus) suffer in comparison with other religions when it comes to practicing their faith in prayer houses and conducting the associated social and cultural activities." Richard Andriess at al., "Migration and major cities policy in Rotterdam", background paper for the Second Metropolis Conference, Copenhagen, 25-27 September 1997, 3.2.3.

¹⁴⁰ Thijl Sunier, *Islam in Beweging, Turkse Jongeren en Islamitische Organisaties*, Amsterdam, 1996, 87.

established in the district of *Feijenoord* and from 1994 the same Turkish organization planned a new one that was opened in 2001. The three factors that lay behind the sudden increase in new mosques between 1980 and 1992 were the settlement of Muslim workers, family reunion and internal differences. As these migrant people settled and decided to remain in the Netherlands they sought a place of religious worship. As their families began to join them, there was an extra demand for their religious and cultural education. Internal differences, for example between Turkish groups, also necessitated the building of more mosques.¹⁴¹ After 1992 the number of mosques in the city actually reduced from forty to thirty.¹⁴² The explanation for the reduction of mosques lay in social-cultural organizations giving up the function of offering such a facility and Islamic organizations coming together to create larger ones. The ethnic diversity of Muslims in Rotterdam is reflected in the type of mosque. In 2004 there were thirteen Turkish and six Moroccan mosques as well as four Suriname, three Pakistani, two Indonesian and one Bosnian and Somalian.¹⁴³ There are different religious and cultural streams between the Turkish and Moroccan mosque communities. Of the thirty mosques in 2004 in Rotterdam, the biggest concentrations were in the south of the city¹⁴⁴ where more than half of Muslims live.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴¹ Sunier, *Islam in Beweging*, 87.

¹⁴² Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek (COS), *Sociale Integratie... en de Islam in Rotterdam: Feiten, Teksten en Publicaties over de Islam en Moslims in Rotterdam*, Projectbureau Sociale Integratie, Rotterdam, 2004, 28.

¹⁴³ Sunier, *Islam in Beweging*, 87; Vroegindeweyj, *Geloven in Rotterdam*, 86-98; Gemeente Rotterdam, *Sociale Integratie... en de Islam in Rotterdam – Feiten, Teksten en Publicaties over de Islam en Moslims in Rotterdam*, Rotterdam, June 2004, 31-33 (also provides a loose-leaf chart providing an overview of Islamic organisations and centres).

¹⁴⁴ There were nine mosques in Feijenoord and seven in Charlois in Rotterdam South and six in Delfshaven in Rotterdam West.

¹⁴⁵ 29% live in Feijenoord and 29% live in Delfshaven. According to research carried out by COS / Boom 2002, 50 % of Moslems are Turkish and 24 % are Moroccan. Project Social Integratie, *Sociale Integratie... en de Islam in Rotterdam*, 29-33.

2.6 CONCLUSION

Port cities like Rotterdam attract migrants. Rotterdam gained a kaleidoscopic image as an “arrival city”¹⁴⁶ and an inter-cultural renaissance took place on its streets. The districts in the south and west of Rotterdam became the most ethnically mixed areas of the city where various migrant ethnic minority peoples live on low incomes. The challenge facing Rotterdam in embracing these new arrivals was to enable their participation in the economic and political fabric of everyday life. From its outset Rotterdam found creative ways to accept religious difference when it welcomed them as exiles or traders. Guest-workers and people from former Dutch colonies were readily received after the Second World War but the tradition of tolerance in the city of Erasmus has come under threat in the city of Fortuyn. Political conflicts and economic extremes began to give rise to new patterns of interaction. People in the lower classes became competitors in the labour and housing markets. For the many migrants on low incomes, this led to further experience of social tensions and an increasing divide. As the service-sector of Rotterdam developed, it became more difficult for first generation migrants to re-train. This is the new context of MCCs in Rotterdam (see chapter 5).

Many migrants are people of religious conviction. Their arrival has signalled a diversification of the religious landscape, resulting in a wider spectre of Christian churches, as well as the emergence of a diversity of Muslim communities, Hindus, Sikhs, Biddhist and other groups. The growth of MCCs became an urban phenomenon from the late twentieth century. While secularization affects church participation in the traditional Dutch churches, the number of MCCs compares well with those of traditional Dutch churches. Mosques in the city also proliferate. The districts in the south and west of Rotterdam are the most ethnically mixed areas of the city and are host to a variety of MCCs and houses of worship of other faith communities.

¹⁴⁶ An arrival city serves to create and maintain networks of these MCCs together with enhancing their entry into urban society, providing informal resources and pathway of social mobility. Doug Saunders, *Arrival City*, London, 2010, 20.

The religious and ethnic diversity in the city has at times led to tensions. The city of Rotterdam recognized this when it responded with inter-cultural dialogues and created a platform for religious organizations. From looking at different forms of how faith is expressed by migrants in the urban context, I will proceed in the next chapter to focus on migrant Christian communities, in particular, and describe them in more detail, according to ecclesial terms and as historical or renewalist forms.

CHAPTER THREE: CLASSIFICATION

3:1 INTRODUCTION

Dramatic changes in the world church are taking place with the growth of Christianity in Africa, Asia and Latin America.¹ New African, Asian or Latin American expressions of Christian faith are appearing in cities of Europe through global migration. Some of these communities were started by mega-church and missionary movements that emanate out of Africa, Asia and Latin America while others exist because of enterprising initiatives being undertaken by indigenous church leaders to receive new migrants. In this way, migrant Christians have given rise to the phenomenon of MCCs.

However, as Mechteld Jansen has stated, “it is almost impossible to classify these churches along denominational lines.”² Though traditional “ecclesiastical megablocs”³ have a long pedigree, their ecclesial categories and denominational descriptions, so regularly propagated as normative, are not adequate to describe these new movements. MCCs do not easily match such ecclesial categories as Orthodox, Roman Catholic or Protestant. Neither are they all ‘independent’ or to be classed as ‘marginal’.

This research recognises the MCC phenomenon as a widening of the Christian tradition. It attempts to describe the field of MCCs in Rotterdam that I engaged with from 2003. I begin this chapter by discussing the attempts of various observers and researchers to analyse and classify MCCs in Europe (3.2) and explain my basic categories of ‘historical’ and ‘renewalist’. Then I introduce the principal ecclesial communities and survey the field of MCCs in Rotterdam

¹ “A striking feature of the world’s religious demography over the past century has been the geographical spread of the Christian faith.” Todd M. Johnson and Kenneth R. Ross, eds, *Atlas of Global Christianity, 1910-2010*, Edinburgh, 2009, preface, X.

² Mechteld Jansen and Hijme Stoffels, eds, *A Moving God: Immigrant Churches in the Netherlands*, Berlin, 2008, 19.

³ This phrase is used in the missiometrics of David B. Barrett in www.WorldChristianDatabase.org. “Ecclesiastical Megablocs”, according to David Barrett, are Orthodox, Roman Catholics, Protestants, Anglicans and Independents. David Barrett is author of the *World Christian Encyclopedia* and regular contributor to the *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*.

(3.3) before explaining my choice of historical and renewalist case studies for this research (3.4).

3.2 TERMINOLOGY FOR THE TASK OF CLASSIFICATION

3.2.1 Terminology in Recent Studies of MCCs

Human migration lies behind these new expressions of Christian community in Rotterdam and other port cities. As explained in chapter 2, the reconstruction of Europe after the Second World War, the arrival of people-groups from former colonies and the European Union's acceptance of economic migrants and political refugees are some of the common migration histories that have become major themes in various European nations.

Expressions of migrant faith, most notably in Islam, attracted scholarly attention quite early on. Migrant Christianity first attracted considerable interest in the churches of the Netherlands, Germany and England in its African expressions of Christianity. In 1998 a workshop on African religious diaspora organised by the Mission Academy of Hamburg University was described as the first of its kind in the country by Roswith Gerloff⁴ who became director of the Black and White Centre for Missiological Study in Birmingham. In 1998 Gerrie ter Haar offered a seminal study of African churches in the Netherlands and in 2000 Afe Adogame produced a similar one in Germany. They were primarily concerned with the churches' ethnic origins, international connections and organization. Ethnicity was one of the earliest classifying categories for migrant Christianity in Europe. A number of general studies of migrant Christianity which categorize on the basis of ethnic origins have been published. An example is the study on Dutch MCCs that appeared in 1996, where Jan Jongeneel, Rudi Budiman and J. (Hans) Visser used church traditions or denominations together with ethnic

⁴ Roswith Gerloff, "The Significance of the African Christian Diaspora in Europe", *International Review of Mission*, 89, 354 (July 2000), 288.

origins to classify what came to be known as *migrantenkerken* or migrant churches in the Netherlands.

In 2000 Claudia Währisch-Oblau studied ‘immigrant’ congregations in Germany with the interest of developing co-operation with German churches. She employed a variety of criteria, such as their church denominations, connection with Europe and type of mission but advocated being open to revise the criteria.⁵ In 2002 Kathleen Ferrier studied migrant churches in the Netherlands employing historicity, ethnic origin and international identity along with church denominations as classifying criteria. In 2006 Cornelis van der Laan in writing about migrant churches used similar criteria to Währisch-Oblau but he emphasised differences between ‘established’ or ‘ecumenical’ churches and ‘reverse mission’ churches⁶, and between denominational and independent or non-denominational churches.⁷ In trying to describe migrant Christian communities, it appears that scholars frequently resort to ethnic expressions together with ecclesiological terms (including their ‘denomination’) as well as to indications if they belong to an association or are independent.

In recent years, scholars have tried to use categories which have missiological significance. Kathleen Ferrier distinguished between new forms of migrant churches with a worldwide ecumenical identity, local initiatives by Dutch citizens and independent ones by new migrants. Cornelis van der Laan distinguished between ecumenical forms, reverse mission, denominational and independent MCCs. Claudia Währisch-Oblau, in her later work, described

⁵ “It may well be that the ecclesiological categories we have been schooled to think in are a hindrance rather than a help in understanding the changes in the European church scene today. So the typologies and descriptions found below should be understood as preliminary and open to change” Andre Droogers, Cornelis van der Laan and Wout van Laar, *Fruitful in this Land*, Zoetermeer, 2006, 34.

⁶ Paul Freston, “Reverse Mission: A discourse in Search of Reality?”, *Pentecostudies: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Research on the Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, 9.2 (2010), 157. Freston points to the lack of precision in the definition of ‘reverse mission’ and distinguishes between ‘diasporic’ and ‘non-diasporic’ attempts. Matthews Ojo describes ‘reverse mission’ as where churches in Africa, Asia and Latin America reverse the direction of mission from Europe and North America. Ojo, Matthews, “Reverse Mission” in Jonathan Bonk, ed, *Encyclopedia of Missions and Missionaries*, New York and London, 2007, 380-382. Freston suggests that missions has a long history (especially from Africa) and should not be primarily thought of as a reaction to the era of colonization.

⁷ Cornelis van der Laan “Knocking on Heaven’s Door: Non-Western Pentecostal Migrant Churches in the Netherlands” in Droogers, Laan and Laar, *Fruitful in this Land*, 47-60.

the Charismatic and Pentecostal migrant churches that she studied as “new mission churches”⁸ but employed the term ‘new’ to refer to a change of substance and style. Compared to most indigenous forms, they represent a new and specific direction in their pastoral care for migrants. Her use of ‘old’ referred to missionaries and churches associated with colonial powers in Europe and North America whereas ‘new’ pointed to charismatic missionaries and movements from Africa, Asia and Latin America. Within the concept of ‘reverse mission’, Afe Adogame distinguished new forms of community in African-initiated MCCs in Europe on a more organizational and structural basis⁹ and defined them in terms of whether they either grew up in Africa and were branches of mother churches with headquarters there, developed in Europe and established headquarters in Africa and further afield, or formed inter-denominational groups or para-church organizations.

Congregational studies in Europe and the United States have tended to differentiate religious and worshipping communities variously as ‘immigrant’/‘migrant’, ‘ethnic’ or ‘international.’¹⁰ In distinction to studies on suburban Christian congregations¹¹, there is a body of literature in the United States that addresses ‘worship communities’ of different faiths¹² and Christian congregations in urban areas.¹³ These studies of ‘immigrant’ worship communities, though not exclusively Christian, interestingly also focus upon African-American churches. Caution may be advised in drawing upon analyses from the United States of America because

⁸ Claudia Wahrisch-Oblau, “We shall be fruitful in this land’ – Pentecostal and Charismatic New Mission Churches in Europe” in Droogers, Laan and Laar, *Fruitful in this Land*, 32-44.

⁹ Afe Adogame, “The Quest for Space in the Global Spiritual Marketplace”, in *International Review of Mission*, 89, 354 (July 2000), 400-409.

¹⁰ Paul Freston, “Evangelisation and Globalisation: General Observations and some Latin American dimensions” in Hutchison and Kalu, *A Global Faith*, 69-88 argues for further work on diaspora studies beyond British and North American contexts. He suggests that European Protestantism has had a flattening effect on universal de-territorialised (Catholic) identities, 75, 80.

¹¹ Roozen, McKinney and Carroll, *Varieties of Religious Presence*; Becker, *Congregations in Conflict*.

¹² Ebaugh and Chafetz, *Religion and the New Immigrants*.

¹³ McRoberts, *Streets of Glory*.

of significant cultural and academic differences in religion¹⁴ and differences about the onset of secularization.¹⁵

Though Rotterdam is more segregated than Amsterdam or Utrecht¹⁶ it has some similarities to American cities in its distribution pattern of minority populations. The religious context for migrants in Rotterdam, however, is a distinctly European one where there is a latent memory of religious community, of ‘vicariousness’¹⁷ and a strong sense of holding to a Christian heritage even among people who no longer attend churches. This is one of the contextual challenges that MCCs experience and need to relate to in the Netherlands. Also, social pillarization created a peculiar context for the formation and development of renewalist MCCs. Social ‘de-pillarization’ began in the 1960s when doctrinal orthodoxy gave way to ‘ethicalism.’ The waning legacy of both religious and non-religious pillars created psychological space for renewal and led to a search for spirituality in the mid-1980s.¹⁸ The historic churches appeared to be mainly concerned with keeping rituals and renewal projects over and against the individual spirituality of evangelical groups in the United States. David Martin observed: “For the younger generation churches appeared as service stations acting as the staid bulwarks of declining establishments.”¹⁹

In the process of scientific enquiry and comparative analysis researchers have been criticised for their desire to classify groups upon criteria of similarity and difference.²⁰ We have also noted that there has been little consensus in the categorisation of MCCs and that there are

¹⁴ Cameron et al., eds, *Studying Local Congregations*, 5-9.

¹⁵ R. Stephen Warner, *A Church of Our Own – Disestablishment and Diversity in American Religion*, 14-15.

¹⁶ Jack Burgers “De huisvesting van illegalen” in Burgers and Engbersen, *Illegale vreemdelingen in Rotterdam*, 111.

¹⁷ Grace Davie, *Europe: The Exceptional Case: Parameters of Faith in the Modern World*, London, 2002, 19.

¹⁸ This is the position of Gerard Decker on the *Gereformeerde Kerk in Nederland*. See Anton van Harskamp, “Simply Astounding: Ongoing Secularization in the Netherlands?”, Sengers, ed, *The Dutch and Their Gods*, 49-50.

¹⁹ David Martin, *Pentecostalism: Their World Their Parish*, Oxford, 2002, 59.

²⁰ Stephen Hayes is cited on this point in Euser, Hans, Karlijn Goossen, Matthias de Vries and Sjoukje Wartena, *Migranten in Mokum*, Amsterdam, 2006, 19.

few common terms or frameworks among researchers. The majority of MCCs do not fit within traditional denominational narratives. I propose that the present ecclesial terminology needs to be reconstructed upon observations of their life and community. My research question addresses this issue and focusses on how MCCs create and express their identity. I want to focus on aspects of the life of MCCs that clearly bear upon their behaviour and outlook.

I begin by contrasting new forms of migrant Christianity with older or more traditional expressions. Two books on this subject have recently been published in the United States with exactly the same title: “*Religion and the New Immigrants*” suggests that recent immigrants belong to a very different world than those who migrated before them. This is true for Rotterdam. The majority of MCCs in Rotterdam are unlike those who came in the sixteenth or nineteenth centuries in three aspects. They appear different from historical MCCs in their origins, their beliefs and behaviour and their organizational structures. I describe them as ‘renewalist’ because they are products of renewal. They have more congruence with other Evangelical, Pentecostal or Charismatic forms rather than with Orthodox, Roman Catholic or Protestant forms.

3.2.2 Historical and Renewalist MCCs

Before mapping the field of MCCs in Rotterdam, I begin with my approach to terminology. My use of ‘MCCs’ is explained in 1.2 and since migration is not a new phenomenon I made a distinction between old and new forms or between ‘historical’ and ‘renewalist’ MCCs. ‘Historical’ refers to the longevity of ecclesial communities that have arisen from a theological tradition lasting at least one hundred years. The theological character of ‘renewalist’ MCCs is ‘evangelical’, ‘pentecostal’ and ‘charismatic’. Renewalist forms began to establish themselves from the beginning of the twentieth century in a period that embraced the Azusa Street revival in 1907, the World Mission Conference in 1910 and the onset of First World War in 1914. The

narrative of historical forms was established in or before the long nineteenth century up to 1914. In this making this categorisation, I concur with Kathleen Ferrier and Cornelis van der Laan²¹ who applied the term ‘historical’ MCC not only to the *Wallonian Church* and the *Scots Church* who came to the Netherlands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries but also to those MCCs that arrived from former Dutch colonies during the latter part of the twentieth century but whose forms were established before the twentieth century. The identity of MCCs cannot be adequately understood without reflecting on the influence of historical development in the Christian church. Ecclesial traditions and denominations²² have had great influence upon the norms and values of their members – an aspect which has been neglected in congregational studies.²³

Ecclesial traditions and denominations indicate the dogma (such as what they believe and how they behave) together with the character of organization. The historical churches (Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Protestant) were formed around ancient creedal statements unlike ‘Renewalist’ which is used for the Evangelicals and Pentecostals who do not attach themselves to Protestant denominations or use such Protestant creedal identities.²⁴ ‘Renewalist’ is preferred because of complex hyphenated usages of ‘Evangelical’ and ‘Pentecostal’ that are peculiar to the Netherlands.²⁵ ‘Renewalist’ presents an image that connects to the post-modern enquiry where, in the words of David Martin, “evangelical experience shades into experimentation and the Spirit melts into spirits and spirituality.”²⁶ ‘Renewalist’ has roots in

²¹ Ferrier, *Migrantenkerken*, 43; Droogers, Laan and Laar, *Fruitful in this Land*, 51.

²² Becker, *Congregations in Conflict*, 19.

²³ Philip Richter, “Denominational Cultures: The Cinderella of Congregational Studies?” in Guest, Mathew, Karin Trusting and Linda Woodhead, eds, *Congregational Studies in the U.K.: Christianity in a post-Christian context*, Farnham, 2004.

²⁴ I am extending the definition from being a “shorthand term for followers of Pentecostal/Charismatic/Neocharismatic Renewal in the Holy Spirit”. Todd M. Johnson and Kenneth R. Ross, eds, *Atlas of Global Christianity*, 1910-2010, Edinburgh, 2009, 328.

²⁵ These categories are used by Johnson and Ross, *The World Atlas of Christianity*, 98-103 but only Pentecostals are described as ‘Renewalist.’ For a full discussion on the complexities of Pentecostalism on global and Dutch dimensions, see Allan Anderson, “The Proliferation and Varieties of Pentecostalism in the Majority World” in Droogers, Laan and Laar, *Fruitful in this Land*, 19-31, and Huibert Zegwaard, “Pentecost behind the Dykes” in Droogers, Laan and Laar, *Fruitful in this Land*, 61-73.

²⁶ Martin, *Pentecostalism: Their World Their Parish*, 173.

the historic ecclesial traditions (especially Protestant) and its spirituality can sometimes be found within the historic churches.²⁷ Evangelical Christians have sometimes been understood as a subdivision of Protestants.²⁸ There can be considerable overlap between historic ecclesiastical tradition and being ‘evangelical’ (or ‘pentecostal’) Christian. It is for this reason that I cannot separate evangelical leaders and place them only in the ‘renewalist’ category. I define ‘renewalist’ differently from David Barrett and his magisterial *World Christian Encyclopedia* to include independent evangelical but not those that have developed within ‘historical’ ones. Where renewalists project themselves as independent ‘non-denominational’²⁹ or ‘post-denominational’³⁰ they regularly form associations, national or international organizations. Historical and renewalist forms appear to differ significantly in organizational structure. In the next section I introduce historical and renewalist MCCs through an outline of their ecclesial traditions and overview of MCCs in Rotterdam. They are either historical MCCs (Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Protestant) or renewalist MCCs (independent Evangelical and Pentecostal).

²⁷ The Lord’s Army is a bible-reading movement within the Romanian Orthodox Church; see John Binns, *An Introduction to the Christian Orthodox Churches*, Cambridge, 2002, 139. The Charismatic Renewal movement within the Roman Catholic Church has been recognised by successive popes since Pope Paul VI in 1975. International Catholic Charismatic Renewal Services has an office in Rome near to the Vatican. “The Catholic Church has granted acceptability to charismatic Christians... only providing that denominational boundaries are re-emphasized together with... a reassertion of the historically effective ‘notes’ of Catholicism.” Martin, *Pentecostalism*, 20.

²⁸ In world terms the largest Evangelical tradition is Baptist though in the Netherlands it is Reformed and Presbyterian. See Rosemary Dowsett and Samuel Escobar, “Evangelicals 1910-2010” in Johnson and Ross, *The World Atlas of Christianity*, 96.

²⁹ Non-denominationalism is usually described as the initial phase where the MCC begins in independence, is prone to divisions but increasingly seeks for affiliations. Claudia Wahrlich-Oblau, “We shall be Fruitful in this Land: Pentecostal and Charismatic New Mission Churches in Europe”, Droogers, Laan and Laar, *Fruitful in this Land*, 40.

³⁰ “Contemporary postdenominationalism is a movement sweeping through the churches worldwide.” David Barrett and Todd M. Johnson, “Annual Statistical table on Global Mission: 2001”, *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 25.1 (January 2001), 24.

3.3 ECCLESIAL IDENTITIES

3.3.1 Historical Churches

The historical traditions of Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Anglican and Protestant Churches seek in their different ways to be faithful to the Nicene Creed formula that states the church is ‘one, holy, catholic and apostolic.’ In the following sections, I describe three broad historical traditions and provide a chronological introduction to the MCCs in Rotterdam that developed from them.

3.3.1.1 The Orthodox tradition

The Orthodox Church which traces its ancient heritage from the traditions of right (‘ortho’) worship (‘doxa’) connected with Basil the Great and John Chrysostom in the fourth century, understands itself to be the continuation of the original Christian church established by Jesus Christ and his apostles.³¹ A theological as well as political division took place at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 between what are now known as the Eastern Orthodox (Chalcedonian) which accepted the ancient Ecumenical Councils and the Oriental Orthodox (non-Chalcedonian) which only accepted the first three ecumenical councils.³²

The Chalcedonian Orthodox (or Eastern) churches represent the churches of the Eastern Roman Empire, predominantly from Greece, Russia and Eastern Europe as a result of its Byzantine missions. The non-Chalcedonian Orthodox churches originate mostly from North and East Africa, Syria, Armenia and South India. As one body, in governance and administration, the Chalcedonian Orthodox Churches are grouped into self-governing

³¹ The Assyrian Church of the East, for example, belongs to the Oriental Orthodox Communion and traces its origins back to the apostle Thomas.

³² Nicea in 325, Constantinople in 381, Ephesus in 431 but not Chalcedon in 451 where a division erupted in the early Church over how the divinity and humanity interacted in the person of Christ. The Oriental Orthodox Church held to one single unique nature of Christ in opposition to the two natures of Christ (unmixed, separated divine and human natures) as was perceived to be taught by the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches. John Binns, *An Introduction to the Christian Orthodox Churches*, Cambridge, 2002, 62-65.

‘autocephalous’³³ or sixteen Patriarchates or Churches.³⁴ Theoretically they have equal status but the Patriarch of Constantinople (who has no more power than other bishops) is recognized as the ‘Ecumenical Patriarch’ and holder of the title “first among equals.” Not all of the autocephalous churches (e.g. Orthodox Church in America) and self-governing ones (e.g. Macedonian Orthodox Church) are recognised by the Orthodox Church family.³⁵ This state of affairs is under revision as “the shape of world orthodoxy is constantly shifting as the central organisation of the Churches develops to accommodate new political and social realities.”³⁶ The Russian Orthodox has the largest number of members, estimated at over one hundred million, followed by the Romanian Orthodox with over nineteen million.³⁷

To Western Christians and the Chalcedonian Orthodox churches, the non-Chalcedonian Churches appear quite different, though according to John Binns, “they represent an old and authentic tradition of Christianity.”³⁸ Their heartlands are the Middle East and North Africa as well as in South India, Ethiopia and Eritrea and they are often referred to as the Oriental Orthodox Churches. They are organized in a similar manner to the Chalcedonian or Eastern Orthodox with six national autocephalous groups and two autonomous bodies. The Coptic Orthodox Churches in Ethiopia and Eritrea which have a strong monastic tradition became autocephalous in 1963 and 1998 respectively. The word ‘Coptic’ is derived from ‘Egyptian’ which has remained as a minority church of seven million in what became an Islamic nation. The largest of the non-Chalcedonian Orthodox Churches is the Ethiopian Orthodox Church with forty million members. The Ethiopian Orthodox also uses the title ‘Tewahado’, a Ge’ez word meaning ‘being made one.’

³³ They do not recognize any single bishop as universal church leader, but rather each bishop governs only his own district or diocese.

³⁴ Johnson and Ross, *The World Atlas of Christianity*, 84.

³⁵ Binns, *An Introduction to the Christian Orthodox Churches*, 9-37

³⁶ Binns, *An Introduction to the Christian Orthodox Churches*, 10.

³⁷ “Orthodox, 1910-2010” in Johnson and Ross, *The World Atlas of Christianity*, 86.

³⁸ Binns, *An Introduction to the Christian Orthodox Churches*, 28.

Four of the six Orthodox Churches in the Rotterdam urban area are Eastern Orthodox and have their roots in the East of Europe (Russian, Romanian, Serbian and Greek) whereas the two Oriental are from the Horn of Africa (Ethiopian and Eritrean). Russian émigrés came to Western Europe following the Bolshevik revolution in 1919 but Eastern Orthodox churches did not become established in Rotterdam until after 1945. This was the beginning of the reconstruction period after the Second World War. It is perhaps because the Byzantine identity of Eastern Orthodox churches is a minority one that the *Russian Orthodox Church* was “welcomed by the city as an enrichment which is not the case with the still contested construction of mosques for the growing Muslim community.”³⁹

3.3.1.2 Orthodox MCCs in Rotterdam

The Russian Orthodox Church⁴⁰ began in Rotterdam in 1947 in a ballet school and for two years on a ship called the ‘Northern Light’ and from 1958 onward the *Russian Orthodox Church of the Mother of God the Quick-hearing* offered the liturgy in an apartment house in Persijnstraat for forty-five years. The new church opened at Schiedamse Singel in 2004 is governed under the Hague-Netherlands diocese of the Patriarchate of Moscow. The Greek Orthodox church was established in 1954 around Greek merchants who originally settled in Western Europe following the Greek revolution in 1821. The *Greek Orthodox Church in Rotterdam* was built by Greek seamen and is supported by the commercial community. It is owned by the “Union of Greeks in the Netherlands” and is independent of and not officially recognized by the Orthodox Patriarchate.⁴¹ The current priest is based in Belgium where he is Archbishop and

³⁹ Paul Groenendijk and Piet Vollard, *Architectural Guide to Rotterdam*, Rotterdam, 2007, 79.

⁴⁰ The Russian Orthodox Church Abroad has dioceses in Western Europe, North and South America and the former Soviet Union and operates out of New York after its initial establishment in Europe after the First World War.

⁴¹ The Patriarch of Constantinople was given wide responsibilities for other lands by decree of Emperor Theodosius from the fifth century and named as Ecumenical (meaning ‘Universal’) Patriarch since the sixth century. See ‘Ecumenical Patriarch’ in F.L. Cross, ed, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, New York & Oxford, 2005, 1182-1183. His authority is not universally agreed but, among other matters, claims to

serves as Exarchate of the Netherlands and Luxemburg. The *Serbian Orthodox Holy Trinity Parish Church* was founded in Rotterdam in 1978 and, supervised under the West European diocese created in 1969, is known for humanitarian support of all people in the Balkans.⁴² The most recent Eastern Orthodox community to become established in the Rotterdam area is the Romanian Orthodox *St. Grigorie Teologul* (Netherlands) parish. First established in Utrecht in 1980 and later in the Hague, the parish centre was moved to Schiedam in 2001 and is located in a former Roman Catholic chapel.

The two Oriental or non-Chalcedonian Orthodox churches in Rotterdam are Ethiopian and Eritrean. The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo is the largest of the Oriental Orthodox Churches and the second largest Orthodox Church after the Russian Orthodox Church. The Ethiopian Orthodox priest in Rotterdam also has responsibility for Amsterdam and Brussels.⁴³ It is often difficult for Orthodox churches to obtain appropriate space for worship where the altar may remain untouched. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church first gathered in a Roman Catholic Church in South Cool in 1997 and now meets in former Roman Catholic premises which they purchased through a mortgage arrangement in Pernis, a suburb on the southern side of the southern edge of the ring-road.

The first Eritrean Orthodox Diocese for Europe was recently established (on 3 December 2011) when Bishop Mekarios of the North American Archdiocese appointed a board of clergy to oversee the work of its thirteen churches across the continent. The Eritrean Orthodox Church first met in the Protestant *Pauluskerk* diaconal centre, receiving their first

have jurisdiction over Orthodox who live outside the territory of national churches and to be able to give consent to the setting up of new independent churches.

⁴² “The Serbian Orthodox Church has been the soul of the Serbian Kingdom in its resistance to regimes in the Second World War and Communism.” Lluís Oviedo, “Christianity in Southern Europe, 1910-2010” in Johnson and Ross, *The World Atlas of Christianity*, 167.

⁴³ A letter offering a priest in the United Arab Emirates this position detailed “giving religious services for the Ethiopians in Diaspora so that they live in harmony with their faith and noble culture.” The letter shared with the author was written to Melake Selam Abba Tesfa Mariam Lake in Abudabi from Abba Paulos, the Patriarch of Ethiopia on 14 January 2005. See Appendix 1.

priest in 2002, and currently meets in a Roman Catholic Church in Schiebroek, a suburb on the north side of Rotterdam's ring-road.

3.3.1.3 The Roman Catholic tradition

The Roman Catholic Church is the world's largest ecclesial tradition and had a major influence upon many civilizations (and in particular the so-called Western civilization). After the schism between the church in the Byzantine East and Latin West of Europe in 1054, the churches that remained in communion with the diocese and bishop of Rome became known as 'Roman Catholic.' The word 'Catholic', derived from the Greek word *katholikos*, was first used to describe the Church in the early 2nd century to signify 'universal' or 'general.' The Roman Catholic Church has understood itself as universal and authentic, the 'One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic' Church, continuous from the apostles of the New Testament and the universal Christian communion in time and space, and "the primary identification element is always that of being a Roman Catholic and ethnicity is a secondary identifier."⁴⁴

Papal authority and apostolic succession is traced directly to the apostle Peter. The hierarchy of the church became centered in the Vatican City, a distinct municipality within the city of Rome. Though represented in every continent, the Roman Catholic Church did not permit translations of the Vulgate (Latin version of the Bible) until 1752. This hierarchical approach is in tension today as divisions and new movements have arisen within over its beliefs and practices. "The Vatican... used a series of papal documents in the 1990's to reaffirm the centrality of belief, hierarchy, and ritual in Catholic identity, as well as its claim to represent the only full embodiment of Christian identity."⁴⁵ Significant historical divisions from the Roman Catholic Church have been the Anglican and Episcopal Church which declared

⁴⁴ Nagy, *Migration and Theology*, 223.

⁴⁵ Robert Hunt, "Christian identity in a Pluralistic World", *Missiology: An International Review*, XXXVI, 2 (April, 2009), 183.

independence at the time of Queen Elizabeth I of England and the Old Catholic Church which separated over papal infallibility in the 1870s.⁴⁶ The Anglican Communion, after the Roman Catholic Church and Chalcedonian Orthodox Church, is the third largest church tradition in the world with over seventy-seven million members.⁴⁷ Beginning in the colonial era and from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries when there were voluntary migrations to the Americas, Anglicanism developed a worldwide identity and polity. In the twentieth century, however, many churches in communion with the Archbishop of Canterbury separated themselves over ethical issues and leadership polity.⁴⁸ Moreover there are tensions within where ‘high’ Anglicans recognise the role of apostolic succession by which they emanated from St. Peter whereas ‘low’ Anglicans identify with the Protestant tradition emanating from the Reformation. Following conversations with their clergy in Rotterdam, I describe the local Anglican and Episcopal Church in section 3.3.1.6.

The country with the largest number of Roman Catholic Christians is Brazil though throughout Latin America there is the phenomenon of double affiliation where people are members of the Roman Catholic Church as well as of Protestant or Renewalist groups.⁴⁹ Since MCCs within the Roman Catholic tradition operate under a hierarchical pattern of authority and the diocesan pattern of ministry is organised around a specific language, there is no proliferation of new MCCs around the same language (as tends to take place in the Protestant and Renewalist traditions). As a result, there are fewer MCCs in the Roman Catholic tradition but the services attract higher attendances (compared to the Renewalists). There is the possibility of members

⁴⁶ This doctrine was promoted by the First Vatican Council of 1869–1870. The term ‘Old Catholic’ was first used in 1853 to describe the members of the See of Utrecht that were not under Papal authority. The Old Catholic Church is Episcopalian and since 1931 has been in communion with the Church of England.

⁴⁷ This estimate for mid-2007 contrasts with 1,142 million Roman Catholics and 220 million Orthodox believers. David B. Barrett, Todd M. Johnson and Peter F. Crossing, “Missiometrics 2007: Creating Your Own Analysis of Global Data” in *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 31, 1 (January 2007), 32.

⁴⁸ Ian T. Douglas and James Tengatenga, “Anglicans, 1910-2010” in Johnson and Ross, *The World Atlas of Christianity*, 72-73.

⁴⁹ “Roman Catholics, 1910-2010” in Johnson and Ross, *The World Atlas of Christianity*, 94.

attach themselves to Renewalist MCCs and having a double affiliation without formally leaving the Catholic Church in which they were baptized.⁵⁰

3.3.1.4 Roman Catholic MCCs in Rotterdam

Roman Catholic ministry to migrants in Rotterdam first arose in 1910 when a Polish priest served exiles from a chapel in the port and the ‘Society for Deep Sea-Fishing’ known as “The Seagull.” In 1924 a wider ministry was started up to all seafarers. The *Apostolatus Maris* (*Apostleship of the Sea*) was established in the port city for the pastoral and social care of seafarers. After the Second World War, Hungarian and Italian Roman Catholics were among the guest-workers who came to Rotterdam in the post-War years to assist in the reconstruction of the country. Pastoral care was first organized for them in 1948 but in 1956 three thousand Hungarians arrived in the Netherlands fleeing from the Communist uprising.⁵¹ Today pastoral care is provided through services in Dutch and Hungarian languages once a month in Rotterdam are attended by up to twenty people. In 1945 refugees from Russia and the Ukraine met with priests and they followed a liturgy with its traditions in the ancient Cappadocian Fathers. They began in an attic of Roman Catholic school in 1947 and at the end of the twentieth century a monthly Byzantine liturgy continued in the *Eendrachts* Chapel. This *Slavic Byzantine Rite* was supported by ‘Missionaries of the Holy Heart’ who lived nearby and, though seventy years later the community is largely Dutch, it contains Slavic-speaking minorities.

In 1932 the “Society of Christ to Polish migrants” was founded and in 1947 a succession of immigrant priests served in the Polish language in the four main cities on a monthly basis.⁵² In 1966 this chaplaincy was made into a migrant parish (*Missio cum cura animarum*) or

⁵⁰ In the Orthodox and Roman Catholic traditions, membership is based upon baptism rather than confession of faith.

⁵¹ Oers, *25 Jaar Cura Migratorum*, 11.

⁵² In 1932, following permission from Pope Pius XI, the Religious Order of the Society of Christ to Polish Migrants was formed. Up to 1956 it was not possible for the priests to leave the country until a new political situation in Poland arose. Oers, *25 Jaar Cura Migratorum*, 11.

‘Mission for caring of souls’) by the bishop. In an area where there is an estimated one hundred thousand Polish immigrants, the resources of the society for Polish migrants became stretched and the weekly congregation of the *Polish Parish Sterre der Zee* numbers well over six hundred.⁵³

After the Polish parish, the Spanish-speaking *Sagrada Familie* (*Sacred Family Roman Catholic Spanish-speaking Parish Church*) forms the third largest migrant parish.⁵⁴ It began in 1962 through a strong identity with the old Spanish residents’ organisation in the city⁵⁵ and in 1963 Don Bodestaff was appointed as a Spanish-speaking priest for Rotterdam. As the result of new migration from Latin America this multi-cultural community now contains twenty-eight different nationalities where only 62% speak Spanish as a first language and 75% understand it. Initially it was regarded by the diocese as a ‘quasi’ parish ‘without status’ but in 1995 was given the status of parish.

Also in 1963 the first English-speaking migrant parish *The Church of our Redeemer* was formed and is today located in Schiedam. The best attended migrant parish today started up in 1971. The *Cape Verdean and Portuguese-speaking Roman Catholic Parish Church* is located in a western area of the city that is home to the largest population of Cape Verdeans⁵⁶ in the Netherlands.⁵⁷ Also in 1971 the *Croatian Roman Catholic Mission in the Netherlands*

⁵³ Polish Roman Catholic Church, accessed on 14 December 2014, <http://www.parafia.nl/?q=pl/node/8>

⁵⁴ In 2004 it was estimated that there were 4885 Spanish-speakers in Rotterdam and in 2005 an analysis of 427 worshippers indicated that the main countries of origin were Spain, Columbia and the Netherlands.

⁵⁵ It is called ‘Ola Gelago’ after the poor region of Galicia where many of the people first came from in the mid-1950s.

⁵⁶ There are more Cape Verdeans (some 650,000) who live abroad than in Cape Verde itself. The eighteen Cape Verdean islands lie off the coast of West Africa in Atlantic Ocean. In the fifteenth century Portugal colonized the islands and they became a stopping place for ships connected with the slave trade. The most significant emigrant Cape Verdean communities are estimated to be in the United States (400,000), Europe (160,000) and Africa (80,000). In Europe most Cape Verdeans live in Portugal (80,000), the Netherlands (20,000) and Italy (10,000)⁵⁶ while the remaining are distributed across other European states. About 90% are Roman Catholic but there are several thousand people in Pentecostal churches such as the Assemblies of God and the United Church of the Kingdom of God. The Church of the Nazarene and Mormon church (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day saints).

⁵⁷ Cape Verdeans in Rotterdam have been estimated at over 15000 compared to 2000 in Zaanstad and 1000 in Amsterdam. Henny Strooij-Sterken, “Kaapverdianen: Hoe lang nog de ‘stille migranten’ van Rotterdam?” in Paul T. van der Laar, *Vier Eeuwen Migratie: Bestemming Rotterdam*, Rotterdam, 1998, 266, 273.

began (partly as a result of the Balkans wars) and priests were recruited from the Franciscan province of Bosnia Srebena.⁵⁸ This is the largest of the five Roman Catholic services in Croatian in the Netherlands. Having started as a ‘mission’, it is now regarded by the diocese as a ‘migrant parish’.

Other migrant parishes followed. When, in 1972 the *Petrus Donders Suriname* parish had quasi status, it was officially described in 1996 in a letter from the bishop as a non-indigenous (allochtone) mission for Surinamers.⁵⁹ It became a model for structuring of ‘allochtone’ parishes/congregations. In 1974 the Antillean/Aruban Roman Catholic parish *Paz-Pa-Nos-Tur* began in the Feijenoord area through the services of a nun from the Antilles. The recent Roman Catholic migrant chaplaincy was founded in 1997 after groups of Filipinos had begun to seek a priest from 1995. The priest from the Philippines serves the Filipino community on a part-time basis.

Between 1975 and 2001 migrant parishes received support from *Cura Migratorum*⁶⁰ when Fr. Ben Vocking was its pastoral co-ordinator.⁶¹ They did not fit the mould of local parish churches and over the last century we can detect at least three distinct types of ministry to migrants. I discern three approaches undertaken at different times by the Roman Catholic diocese in Rotterdam to receiving migrant Catholics. The ‘migrant parish’ is one that serves a dominant people group in their own language and operates as a widely gathered community for

⁵⁸ The Mission was named after Saint Nikola Tavelic, a Croatian Franciscan monk, who was martyred after serving for twelve years’ in Bosnia.

⁵⁹ The Suriname community in Rotterdam is approximately one-third Roman Catholic, one third ‘Moravian Evangelical Brethren’ and one-third Muslim or Hindu. Black Suriname peoples were otherwise known as Creole fos. Because of personal connections, most Hindu-Creoles went to the Hague while Moroccan-Creoles went to Tilburg.

⁶⁰ In 1969 Pope Paul VI issued in Latin a pastoral letter *Pastoralis Migratorum Cura* which called for the creating of parochial structures for foreigners and their families. While in 1975 the special needs of migrant Roman Catholics called for the setting up of *Cura Migratorum* it was considered a temporary structure to look after the pastoral needs of migrant communities that had not fully integrated. *Cura Migratorum* was founded in 1976 to establish pastoral facilities for Catholic immigrants including the setting up of special parishes. In 1986 the term ‘migrant’ rather than foreigner or allochtone (‘buitenlander’ or ‘allochtoon’) was firmly fixed in Roman Catholic usage – as evidenced in the first ‘Migrantenweek’, an initiative of *Cura Migratorum*. Oers, *25 Jaar Cura Migratorum*, 33-35.

⁶¹ When priest of the Suriname parish in 2000, he encouraged leaders from Suriname parishes in the big cities of the Netherlands to come together to share their experiences.

people who share an ethnic identity and/or common language. The ‘integrated parish’ enables different people groups to come together in their own as well as the Dutch language while the ‘chaplaincy’ caters for long-standing people groups are in decline either by emigration or by marriage and integration. In 2008 the bishopric’s list of parishes included six migrant ones (Spanish, Polish, Cape Verdean/Portuguese, Suriname, Antillean/Aruban and English-speaking). ‘Migrant’ parishes become large and extend across the country where the language has a cultural function in drawing people of different ages and regions. The use of diverse languages by priests, many of whom returned from lands where these languages were spoken, has been a key feature of these migrant communities, which like the Orthodox Church, were established only after the Second World War. In time a new ‘integrated’ approach in some local parishes was aided with the introduction of priests from other cultures and by preparing lay people to conduct some sacraments. The ‘integrated parish’ models involve both Dutch and migrant priests. *Holy Trinity Parish Church*, which was first established as a parish in 1928, responded to the challenges of one of the most demographically diverse areas of the city by forming a pastoral team supported by a Dutch priest who had significant experience of Africa. This parish became linked with the adjoining integrated parish *Our Dear Lady of Lourdes Roman Catholic Parish Church*⁶² where more than twenty nationalities are in evidence in the Sunday liturgy. The ‘chaplaincy’ or ‘pastorate’ (*pastoraat*) serves smaller migrant groups such as the *Apostolatus Maris (Apostleship of the Sea)* continues to do for sea-farers. In the chaplaincy model, a migrant- or Dutch priest provides part-time support for what has become a dispersed or declining community which use both the Dutch language and their mother tongue. The chaplaincies face critical times as they try to find appropriate people among their relatively small numbers to dispense the sacraments. The formation of *Cura Migratorum* and

⁶² The two parishes of *Holy Trinity Roman Catholic Parish Church* and *Our Dear Lady of Lourdes Roman Catholic Parish Church* share the same pastoral team as well as many volunteers and represent a missionary model for the church in the city. The pastoral team is made up of four priests, two with long missionary experience and two young priests from Cameroon, a deacon and a part-time pastoral secretariat.

the use of other languages by returning priests from the mission fields have been essential to the support of Catholic migrants. The concept of ‘migrant’ parishes had an uncertain existence⁶³ until 1969 when the Pope called for a pastoral care for migrant people to be established. Roman Catholic parishes in the city sought to embrace people of other ethnic backgrounds through priests who had cross-cultural training/experience. In 2016 the Bishopric of Rotterdam website listed only six migrant ‘parish’ churches.⁶⁴ Though not given the title of parishes, other communities listed are English-speaking and French-speaking African communities, one German-speaking and one English-speaking and the Filipino chaplaincy in Rotterdam. A Dutch priest continues to come down from Wassenaar or the Hague to conduct services in Hungarian and Italian. The future appears to be in the ‘integrated parish’ model where migrant Catholics engage in Dutch parishes where distinctive backgrounds are recognised and respected. The integrated parish has been described as a missionary church⁶⁵ aided by the priests from other cultures. They are built upon regional teams and co-operative relationships between priests and lay people who conduct some of the sacraments.⁶⁶ With diminishing resources future developments are likely to focus on integrated as much as migrant parishes.

3.3.1.5 The Protestant tradition

Protestant churches are named following the action of protest over the practices of the Roman Catholic Church in the sixteenth century. Over and against the claim of catholicity to unity and reconciliation, urgent voices of dissent were articulated in the sixteenth century from within the church’s ranks (for example, by Martin Luther) and without it (for example, by John Calvin). The Lutheran and Reformed churches gave rise to confessional standards and to theological

⁶³ Droogers, Laan and Laar, *Fruitful in this Land*, 2; Kruis, *Geboren in Sion*, 9; Ferrier, *Migrantenkerken*, 30-31.

⁶⁴ A PDF on migranten communities or *migrantengemeenschappen* can be downloaded from the Bishopric’s website, accessed 30 July 2016, <http://www.bisdomrotterdam.nl>.

⁶⁵ *Missionaire kerk op Rotterdam-Zuid*, Bisdom Rotterdam, website accessed 27 August 2008.

⁶⁶ *Parochiegids 2005-2006*, R.K. Parochie Heilige Drie-Eenheid.

commitments concerning the primacy of the Holy Scriptures (*Sola Scriptura*), grace (*Sola Gratia*) and faith (*Sola Fide*). In practice, they tended to promote an individualist spirituality concerning personal faith and interpretation of the sacred scriptures.

The creation of denominations appears to be largely a phenomenon of Western Protestantism where the church identity was organized around the voluntary principle. Some Protestant churches sought an established position in their respective countries and created the historic religious and denominational tracks that we largely operate with in the world today such as the contemporary forms of Lutheran, Reformed, Anglican⁶⁷, Moravian, Mennonite, Baptist, Anabaptist, Methodist, Brethren, Congregational and Seventh Day Adventist churches. Though Orthodox and Roman Catholic need to recognize schismatic groups as belonging to their family, Protestantism gave rise to the largest number of denominations.⁶⁸ Richard Pierard has commented: “A dubious legacy of the Protestant Reformation is denominationalism.”⁶⁹ Its social- as well as the religious milieu is also recognized to be an important contextual determinant of denominationalism.⁷⁰ In his study of the origin of North American religion H. Richard Niebuhr⁷¹ demonstrated that denominational diversity was the product of wider social divisions. Denominations had become a distinguishing mark of American religious life and were rooted in historical differences of social class, wealth, national origin, and race.⁷² The division and proliferation of different branches of the Christian church into distinctive denominations was considered by Leslie Newbigin to be “the religious aspect of secularization”

⁶⁷ The Anglican Communion embraces both Roman Catholic and Protestant traditions and is given its own category.

⁶⁸ Christian denominational groups have been quantified as 1,880 in 1900 and 33,800 in 2000 with the greatest fragmentation as taking place within Protestantism. Barrett and Johnson, “Annual Statistical Table on Global Mission: 2000”, *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, “24:1 (January 2000), 24.

⁶⁹ Richard V. Pierard, “Viewing Denominational Histories in Global Terms”, Mark Hutchinson and Ogbu Kalu, eds., “A Global Faith: Essays on Evangelicalism and Globalization”, 140.

⁷⁰ Denominationalism can be considered an ideology in which all Christian groups are regarded as belonging together despite their cultural and distinguishing traits.

⁷¹ H. Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*, New York, 1929.

⁷² Alister McGrath, *Christianity’s Dangerous Idea*, London, 2007, 402.

and “the social form in which the privatization of religion is expressed.”⁷³ In the twentieth century, Lutheran, Reformed, Baptist and Methodist groups created denominational families which “form alliances, confederations, and other joint groups for consultation and the sharing of resources.”⁷⁴

3.3.1.6 Protestant MCCs in Rotterdam

The Protestant tradition produced the earliest narratives of MCCs in Rotterdam with the French-speaking *Wallonian Church* (in Dutch *Waalse Kerk*) established in 1591. They negotiated and shared properties with the Dutch Remonstrants Church, the English *Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers* and the *Scots Church*.⁷⁵ French-speaking Reformed Huguenots were actively involved with refugees. In 1752, for example, the minister informed the elders that they were expecting a new wave of refugees, and on being informed of a ship bound for Ireland with more than one hundred who had to leave everything behind, the Consistory set up a commission to address the City Council on the matter and began to raise charitable aid.⁷⁶

The Scots Church began in a merchant’s warehouse but, after sharing the St. Sebastian Chapel with the French-speaking Wallonian Church⁷⁷, was granted exclusive use in 1662. The community was initially small but Scots exiles began to increase and reached a peak in the mid-1680s.⁷⁸ “Only in Rotterdam could the large and ever-increasing merchant community sustain

⁷³ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 329.

⁷⁴ McGrath, *Christianity’s Dangerous Idea*, 281.

⁷⁵ Wallonian Church, accessed 23 July 2016, <<http://www.engelfriet.net/Alie/Hans/waalsekerk.htm>>

⁷⁶ Wallonian Church, accessed 23 July 2016, <<http://www.engelfriet.net/Alie/Hans/waalsekerk.htm>>

⁷⁷ “At the time of the early 17th century, when the Wallonian Church was located in the St. Sebastian Church Chapel on Lommard Street, the Scots who had been displaced by persecution from their homeland found their first refuge. For years, the Wallonians and Scots shared the same chapel for their church services. Now it was the turn of the Scots to provide the Wallonians a temporary shelter for their worship. A ‘prix d’amis’ of fl500 per year included all costs of light, heating and cleaning.” Translated by author from “Destijds, begin 17^e eeuw, toen de Eglise Wallone in de St. Sebastiaansekapel aan de Lombardstraat gevestigd was, hadden de door vervolgingen uit hun vaderland verdreven Schotten daar hun eerste toevluchtsoord gevonden. Jarenlang hadden Walen en Schotten dezelfde kapel voor hun kerkdiensten gedeeld. Nu waren de Schotten aan de beurt om de Walen een tijdelijk onderdak voor hun erediensten te bieden. En dat voor en ‘prix d’amis’ van fl5000 per jaar, alle kosten als licht, verwarming en schoonhouden in begrepen.” Wallonian Church, accessed 23 July 2016, <<http://www.engelfriet.net/Alie/Hans/waalsekerk.htm>>

⁷⁸ Gardiner, *The Scottish Exile Community*, 27.

both English and Scottish Presbyterian congregations.”⁷⁹ All indications are the congregation was numerous and that membership in 1700 was around one thousand (compared to only one hundred and fifty in Amsterdam).⁸⁰

The Anglican Church in Rotterdam traces its origins in 1635 when St. Peter’s Church (at the north end of the Hoogstraat) was given over to the British traders known as the “Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers.” With French Protestants who were already worshipping there, the church became known as the “French and English Court Church.” In 1701 the mayor provided a site on the *Haringvliet* and with further gifts from the English monarch and Archbishop of Canterbury “the English Church of St. Mary’s” was consecrated in 1708. The English government helped it through financial difficulties and a new organ was built paid for by captains in the seafaring community.

The *German Evangelical Protestant Church (Deutsche Evangelische Gemeinde)* began in Rotterdam in 1862 when, with the development of the Rhine-Maas connection, there was need of a minister for its seamen and labourers. Between the First and Second World Wars, Lutheran Churches from Nordic Europe set up four Seamen’s Missions in Rotterdam for their seafaring communities and are a historic feature of pastoral care of migrants in Rotterdam. These seaman’s missions belong to national Lutheran denominations and work closely with government organisations and businesses.⁸¹

The *Finnish Lutheran Seaman’s Church* was founded in 1875 and established in Rotterdam in 1926 works in close co-operation with the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland and it is served by Finnish Lutheran clergy. The *Swedish Lutheran Seamen’s Church*

⁷⁹ Gardiner, *The Scottish Exile Community*, 30.

⁸⁰ Gardiner, *The Scottish Exile Community*, 30.

⁸¹ The Norwegian Lutheran Seaman’s Church co-operated with the Norwegian Government’s Seaman’s service, the Swedish Lutheran Seaman’s Church serves under *Svenska krykan I utlandet* (S.K.U.T. or the Swedish Church Abroad) and the Danish Lutheran Seaman’s Church co-operates with *Maersk*, the international Danish company. Together with the Finnish Lutheran Seaman’s Church, they are members of the International Christian Maritime Association (ICHMA) and relate closely to their embassies in the Netherlands.

which began in 1909 belongs to “Swedish Church Abroad.” As access to seamen became more difficult, they sought to serve other visitors through a culture centre. These communities are drawn from a wide area and in 2005 the community at *Swedish Lutheran Seamen’s Church* was made up of 80% Swedish and 10% Dutch. Though the *Danish Seamen’s Church* has operated in Rotterdam since 1954, it shared the same property as the Swedish Church up to 1969.

Since the 1960s migrant Christians from other continents have also established MCCs. The two Indonesian Protestant churches in Rotterdam are the *Gereja Kristen Perjanjian Baru* and *Gereja Kristen Indonesia Nederland*. The *Indonesian Christian Church in the Netherlands* (Indonesian, *Gereja Kristen Indonesia Nederland*) was established independently by Chinese-Indonesian Christians, mainly of *peranakan* Chinese-Indonesian descent in July 1985, and supported by ministers sent to the Netherlands for their theological studies. This new denomination has five congregations in the Netherlands and the community in the Rotterdam metropolitan area is located in Schiedam. The *Moluccan Evangelical Church* became the first independent Moluccan church in the Netherlands on 25th November 1952.⁸² The eight Moluccan church organisations in the Netherlands have their distinctive identities⁸³ and there are three Moluccan congregations in the Rotterdam area.⁸⁴ One in Rotterdam co-operated with the Provisional Congregation of the Moluccan Protestant Church in the Netherlands (in Dutch, *Noodgemeente Geredja Protestan Maluku di Belanda*) which was established in 1975 and is the second largest Moluccan Protestant church in the Netherlands.⁸⁵ The two active MCCs in Rotterdam’s suburbs of Capelle a/d IJssel and Krimpen a/d IJssel speak in Moluccan, Malay

⁸² Jongeneel, Budiman and Visser, *Gemeenschapvorming van Aziatische, Afrikaanse en Midden- en Zuidamerikaanse Christenen in Nederland*, 122.

⁸³ Jongeneel, Budiman and Visser, *Gemeenschapvorming van Aziatische, Afrikaanse en Midden- en Zuidamerikaanse Christenen in Nederland*, 143.

⁸⁴ Calvert, *Gids*, 53; Grant, *Gids*, 29.

⁸⁵ Unlike the *Moluccan Evangelical Church*, the *Provisional Congregation* community did not want to establish a new Moluccan church in the Netherlands because they consider themselves to be part of the Moluccan Protestant Church based on the Moluccan island of Ambon in Indonesia. Like the *Moluccan Evangelical Church*, and as the second largest Moluccan Christian community in the Netherlands, it sought official relationships with the Protestant Church in the Netherlands.

(Indonesian) and Dutch.⁸⁶ The legacy of Moluccan Christians is also significant for the Moluccan Church Centre in Houten which has hosted many conferences for theologian reflection on issues of identity and culture.⁸⁷

In the Netherlands, the first Korean-speaking Christian community started as a house church in 1979 with four families and represented a partnership between the *Koshin Church in Korea* and the *Gereformeerde Kerken* in the Netherlands. An independent *Korean Reformed Church* was established in 1994 and with its evangelical identity⁸⁸ should be regarded as 'renewalist' (see 3.3.2). *Korean Churches Together* who seek to bring unity to Korean-speaking Christian communities, estimate that there are about 150,000 Koreans living in Western Europe.⁸⁹ The *Moravian Evangelische Broedergemeente* and the *Holland Methodist Church* grew vibrantly in Suriname and the Caribbean and now in Rotterdam these are largely second and third generation MCCs which adhere to their Protestant traditions.⁹⁰ In recent decades more than one third of its 4,500 members in the Netherlands come from the Dutch Antilles, Suriname and Ghana. In the 1980s the *Urdu Congregation of the Protestant Church Rotterdam*⁹¹ developed through the efforts of a Pakistani pastor and his wife together with dialogue between the *Church of Pakistan* and the *Gereformeerde Kerk*.

The English-speaking ministries of *Hope International Baptist Church* and the *Wesleyan African Methodist Church* were founded in the 1990s by North American and

⁸⁶ Grant, *Gids*, 171.

⁸⁷ In 1991 the commission for building relationships between the Dutch and the Moluccan Churches (*Contactcommissie Molukse en Nederlandse Kerken*) started with the *Moluks Theologisch Beraad* (Council for Theological Reflection). This 'beraad' was meant to reflect on the issues of culture and identity. A few years later, dr. Nico Koopman (at that time director of The Beyers Naudé Centre for Public Theology - a Centre of the Faculty of Theology at the University of Stellenbosch) asked for a joint program because of the shared interests. A joint venture of the Moluks Theologisch Beraad with the Free University in Amsterdam, the Hendrik Kraemer Institute and the faculty of theology in Stellenbosch came then into being to organize annual conferences on topics related to the Gospel and Culture debate. Sjaak van't Kruis, e-mail message to author, 12 July 2016.

⁸⁸ Korean Refomed Church in Rotterdam, accessed 30 July 2016, <http://www.krcr.org>

⁸⁹ *Churches Together, Breathing Together*, outline for a consultation on the Korean Protestant presence in western and central Europe, John Knox International Reformed Centre, Geneva, 5-8 June 2001, internet website, accessed 11 December 2006, World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Mission in Unity.

⁹⁰ Calvert, *Gids*, 93, 91; Grant, *Gids*, 133, 134.

⁹¹ Calvert, *Gids*, 73; Grant, *Gids*, 150.

African-Dutch pastors but are now served by Ghanaian pastors.⁹² An English-speaking ministry to students in Rotterdam and Delft was initiated through the ecumenical relations around the Protestant Church in the Netherlands in 1982.⁹³ Sudanese refugees were the catalyst for the *International Students Chaplaincy Rotterdam*, an ecumenical initiative of university chaplains from the Protestant Reformed and Roman Catholic traditions.⁹⁴ Work among asylum-seekers led to the creation of the English-speaking *International Christian Fellowship* through the evangelist who was employed by *Stichting Gave* in mission to asylum-seekers.⁹⁵ The *International Christian Fellowship* began as an initiative of the Dutch foundation *Stichting Gave*, a Reformed Dutch ministry to engage with and evangelise refugees and asylum-seekers. The worker in Rotterdam made many disciples and began a new church based up on the different languages spoken in their cell-groups. The *International Christian Fellowship* began informally in 1998 through bible study and more formally in 2000. In 2004 it was composed of African, Arabic, Chinese, Turkish, Iranian and Kurdish groups. The congregation which has its weekly services in English and another language to facilitate one of these groups⁹⁶ was accepted as missionary congregation of the Christian Reformed Church in the Netherlands (or *Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*). I consider it to be a historical rather than a renewalist MCC because of its origins and its continuing engagement with the Dutch denomination.

In 2007 one of the Seventh Day Adventist Churches through the support of the Pentecostal 'Elim' organization, formed *Jewish Adventist 'Bet Hatikwa'* as a 'house of hope' to engage with people of Jewish descent.⁹⁷ It offers a place for safe dialogue, the study of

⁹² Calvert, *Gids*, 36, 92; Grant, *Gids* 33, 139.

⁹³ Calvert, *Gids*, 40.

⁹⁴ Rev. Waltraut Stroh, interview by author, Rotterdam, 23 September 2004, written notes.

⁹⁵ Calvert, *Gids*, 124; Grant, *Gids*, 62.

⁹⁶ The other language could be Arabic (1st Sunday), Farsi (2nd Sunday), Chinese (3rd Sunday), African (4th Sunday) and an East European language (if there was a 5th Sunday in the month).

⁹⁷ "The meaning of Hatikwa is to find an approach to Judaism." Joods Adventistisch Ontmoetingscentrum Hatikwa brochure, 28 April 2007. The community is 50% Jewish and 'Bet Hatikwa' is the national anthem of Israel.

Hebrew, expeditions to Israel and worship that are consonant with the traditions of the Seventh Day Adventist Churches.⁹⁸

In the Seventh Day Adventist Church, there are indigenous and migrant pastors serving six MCCs⁹⁹ and reaching economic migrants from Suriname and the Dutch Antilles. The Seventh Day Adventist Church in Crooswijk (north Rotterdam) was formed with an initial fifty to one hundred members in 1990 as a result of two groups coming together that had met in outlying areas of the city since 1985. “The groups of Bolnes and Tamboer earned themselves national recognition and received the status of English-Papiamento speaking Seventh-day Adventist congregation within the Dutch Union-Conference.” In 2007 the Seventh Day Adventist Church Rotterdam South (with an average attendance of 150) was 40% Indonesian and 20% Antillean/Suriname while the character of Seventh Day Adventist Church Spikense was mostly Antillean/Suriname.

3.3.2 Renewalist Churches

The term ‘renewalist’ has been adapted to describe evangelical and pentecostal/charismatic churches that have grown up over the last hundred years. They have developed independently alongside the historical churches and in some cases arisen from out of them. In the following sections, I describe the character of renewalist Christianity and a chronological introduction to these MCCs that have their origins in different regions of the world.

3.3.2.1 The Renewalist tradition

Evangelical churches that formed in reaction to the situation of the historical churches can be described as renewalist. Other evangelicals “did not start a series of new denominations but

⁹⁸ The common principles of observance of the Sabbath and the Ten Commandments are congruent with peoples of Jewish descent and its meetings on Saturday afternoons are held in Hebrew and Dutch.

⁹⁹ Grant, *Gids*, 77, 105, 112, 128, 164, 184.

remained as a ferment within historical denominational families”.¹⁰⁰ Since these churches did not split away from the historic form and tradition, I do not define them as renewalist, even though they are working for renewal from within. “Evangelicals have always been found within a wide range of denominations rather than being confined to distinct evangelical denominations.”¹⁰¹ Those that have left the historical tradition tended to create new confessional identities – it is these that I have defined as renewalist. After the Second World War the character of many churches in the Netherlands remained the same¹⁰² Billy Graham’s Gospel rallies contributed to Europe’s protestant churches’ spiritual reconstruction. Though some have been critical of historical churches for being wedded to culture and tradition, the Evangelical movement is much more than antipathy to the protestant churches. Evangelicals seek renewal of faith and belief rather than of ecclesial structure. Most identify with the beginnings of the Protestant movement, but, in the Netherlands, the Evangelical movement has been described as “‘New Religious movements’ which have a number of conservative features.”¹⁰³ They are concerned for the authority of the Bible and for authenticity in the way it is lived out in the world.¹⁰⁴ “Evangelicalism seems well able to flourish since it takes elements of expressive individualism but controls them with moral obligation and community loyalty.”¹⁰⁵ More widely, concern about expressions of conservative faith and missionary action led to a process that culminated in the Lausanne Congress 1974. From this diverse evangelical

¹⁰⁰ Dowsett, Rosemary and Samuel Escobar, “Evangelicals, 1910–2010” in Johnson and Ross, *The World Atlas of Christianity*, 96.

¹⁰¹ Dowsett and Escobar in Johnson and Ross, *The World Atlas of Christianity*, 96.

¹⁰² James C. Kennedy, “Recent Dutch Religious History and the Limits of Secularization” in Erik Sengers, ed, *The Dutch and Their Gods*, Hilversum, 2002, 33.

¹⁰³ Pieter Boersma, “The Evangelical Movement in the Netherlands”, in Sengers, *The Dutch and Their Gods*, 176.

¹⁰⁴ Evangelical churches have been described as expressing the four movements of protest, revitalizing, conversion and care. Within ‘Evangelicalism’ in the Netherlands, three main groups or reactions have been detected. The ‘conservatives’ want to hold onto older values, whereas the ‘assimilative’ group wants to engage society as long as it does not conflict with God’s Word and the ‘transformational’ group seek contextual and cultural change. Boersma, “The Evangelical Movement in the Netherlands”, in Sengers, *The Dutch and Their Gods*, 170.

¹⁰⁵ David Martin, *Sociology, Religion and Secularization: an orientation*, Amsterdam, 1995; cited in Hutchinson and Kalu, eds., *A Global Faith*, 74.

gathering “the Lausanne Covenant became one of the most significant mission statements of the twentieth century, with a call to re-unite evangelism and social action.”¹⁰⁶ The Evangelical movement has “its roots in the Puritan movement and the Wesleyan revival in the English-speaking world as well as the Pietistic movement in continental Europe.”¹⁰⁷ While evangelical identity can be traced to Protestantism and many leaders of Evangelical churches originally came out of those churches, they maintained a distinctive independence from historic denominations.

Pentecostalism shared some common roots with Evangelicals but essentially grew out of marginal communities in North America, India, China, Korea and Latin America.¹⁰⁸ It has a strong focus on spiritual gifts and their implementation of the priesthood of all believers contrasted with some expressions of clerical authority and centralized structures in historical churches. Paul Freston has argued that Pentecostalism emerged as a kind of ‘globalization from below’¹⁰⁹ and new denominations such as the Full Gospel Church, Assemblies of God and International Church of the Foursquare Gospel promoted global awareness and connections. The Pentecostal movement is a twentieth century phenomenon that has been estimated to grow to 150 million by 2010. Its development is driven in the Southern hemisphere where 58% are in Latin America and Africa compared to 30% in North America and Europe.¹¹⁰ Neo-Pentecostal churches are recognizable through “international and strongly hierarchical church organizations, the use of media, international expansion and networks, the emphasis on casting out of demons and prosperity theology.”¹¹¹ Contextualised expressions of Pentecostalism are to

¹⁰⁶ Dowsett and Escobar in Johnson and Ross, *The World Atlas of Christianity*, 97.

¹⁰⁷ Dowsett and Escobar in Johnson and Ross, *The World Atlas of Christianity*, 96.

¹⁰⁸ Julie Ma and Allan Anderson, “Pentecostals (Renewalists), 1910-2010” in Johnson and Ross, *The World Atlas of Christianity*, 100.

¹⁰⁹ Paul Freston, “Evangelicalism and Globalization: General observations and some Latin American Dimensions” in Hutchison and Kalu, *A Global Faith*, 74.

¹¹⁰ Peter Brierley, *Future Church*, East Sussex, 1998, 121, 124.

¹¹¹ Kamp, Linda van de, Miranda Clover and Regien Smit, “De mobiliteit van de mondiale Pinksterbeweging”, translated by Regien Smit, unpublished paper for the research project “Conversion Careers and Culture Projects in Global Pentecostalism”, Free University of Amsterdam and Centre for Intercultural theology (IIMO), University of Utrecht, 2004.

be found throughout the world, and with the ability to move across cultures has itself been described as a manifestation of modernity.¹¹² New expressions of Pentecostal spirituality have also been described in missiological circles as ‘waves’ of renewal.¹¹³ In this terminology, the first wave of ‘Pentecostal’ renewal gave way to a second wave of ‘Charismatic’ renewal followed by a third wave of ‘Neo-Charismatic’ renewal. ‘Third Wave’ expressions¹¹⁴ have “poly-nucleated origins, a global orientation and network, and inherent migrating tendencies that, coupled with its strong individualism, made it fundamentally a multidimensional missionary movement.”¹¹⁵ While they are common in Evangelical churches, they are also “now found in every Christian tradition, in every country, and in nearly every people group with a Christian presence.”¹¹⁶

Renewalist forms developed in reaction to historic and denominational forms from the end of the nineteenth century but have also affected the historical churches and led to charismatic movements within the established denominations. Since the Second Vatican Council, the renewalist movement has, for example, been embraced by many within the Roman Catholic Church and led to a movement of ‘Catholic Charismatic Renewal’.¹¹⁷ Renewalist spirituality which is found within the traditions and movements of the historical churches represents a change of substance and style rather than ecclesial form. In this way renewalist or

¹¹² Martin, *Pentecostalism: The World Their Parish*, 1.

¹¹³ Todd M. Johnson, Three Waves of Christian Renewal, *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 30.2 (April 2006), 75-76. The language of ‘wave’ suggests active movement that embraces all before it rather than ‘tradition’ that one is born into or intentionally adopts.

¹¹⁴ “The First Wave are Pentecostal denominations. The Second Wave are Charismatics, members on non-pentecostal churches who have been filled with the Holy Spirit. Thus individuals do not have to leave their home denomination of Christian tradition to embrace the beliefs of the renewalist tradition... Neo-charismatics are followers of the Third Wave, usually found in independent churches, experiencing the same gift of the Holy Spirit but without accepting the same terminology or polity” in Johnson and Ross, “Pentecostals (Renewalists), 1910-2010”, Johnson and Ross, *The World Atlas of Christianity*, 102.

¹¹⁵ Julie MA and Allan Anderson, “Pentecostals (Renewalists), 1910-2010”, Johnson and Ross, *The World Atlas of Christianity*, 100.

¹¹⁶ Todd M. Johnson, “Three Waves of Christian Renewal”, *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 30.2 (April 2006), 75.

¹¹⁷ Barrett, Johnson and Crossing, “Missiometrics 2007”, *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 31.1 (January 2007), 27.

charismatic spirituality may enable historical churches adjust to a globalising world.¹¹⁸ The aftermath of the Second World War witnessed a dramatic increase in Evangelical, Pentecostal and Charismatic churches and by 2007 renewalist Christians were estimated by David Barrett as representing 1,565 million people in the world.¹¹⁹ This figure is based on new forms with explicit evangelical or Pentecostal/charismatic identities.

3.3.2.2 Renewalist MCCs in Rotterdam

In the 1980s Southern America-initiated MCCs in Rotterdam started with the settlement of men from Suriname. *Christian Fellowship Emmanuel*¹²⁰ was composed of mainly Suriname people but people from Cape Verdean islands, Curacao, West Africa and the Netherlands also joined the community. The group had to change its name several times to avoid confusion with other Pentecostal churches. They cater for different generations of Suriname people who travel in from the suburbs. Beginning as a house group in 1983, *Christian Fellowship Emmanuel* met in a Lutheran church and then in a rented property next to a supermarket. Another church that originated by a leader from Suriname *The Salt of the Earth (Het Zout der Aarde)*¹²¹ began in 1986 after its pastor Stanley Dissels “came to the Netherlands by means of a dream” the year before.¹²² He was trained at an Evangelical bible school in Suriname to serve a church that is composed of people from Suriname (80%) with a vision for renewal. *Waterstroom Ministries*¹²³ was established in 1988 by Dudley Monart, an Antillean, whose image is still prominent on a side wall in the sanctuary. He dedicated himself to work with the Antillean community in

¹¹⁸ This may be similar to the way that Methodism once enabled adjustment from country to city in the industrial revolution in England. Linda Woodhead, “Perspectives on the Local Church: Sociological Strand” in Cameron et al, *Studying Local Churches*, 59.

¹¹⁹ Barrett, Johnson and Crossing, “Missiometrics 2007”, *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 31.1 (January 2007), 32.

¹²⁰ Marius Lansman, interview by author, Rotterdam, 11 November 2005, written notes.

¹²¹ Calvert, *Gids*, 133; Grant, *Gids*, 59.

¹²² Stanley Dissels, interview by author, Rotterdam, 17 May 2006, written notes.

¹²³ Calvert, *Gids*, 120.

Papiamento¹²⁴ though services were translated into Dutch and sometimes English. The community was made up of people in their first and second generations in the Netherlands and are mostly Antillean with some Suriname and Spanish speaking people from Venezuela. Also coming from Southern America, the female pastor of *New Birth Ministries*, Sandra Potuyt, is originally from British Guyana and prefers to describe the church which began in 1998 as a ‘training centre’. The name was changed from New Life Centre following the recovery of her husband, the co-pastor, from serious illness. The multi-racial community contains people from St. Martin, Jamaica, Antilles, Suriname, Africa and the Netherlands.

Latin American MCCs using Spanish and Portuguese tended to develop in Rotterdam from the 1980s. The Spanish-speaking *Church of God Evangelical Centre* (in Spanish, *Centro Evangelico Iglesia de Dios*) began in 1984 and regularly attracts up to three hundred attendants, many of whom migrated from Latin America and the Caribbean.¹²⁵ The Spanish-speaking *Evangelical Church of God Rotterdam* (or *El Encuentro Con Dios Rotterdam*)¹²⁶ was established in 2003 in Rotterdam and has a joint husband and wife team to serve people from Columbia and the Dominican Republic. The joint husband and wife pastor team serve people from Columbia (50%) and the Dominican Republic (30%). Rotterdam is the biggest Portuguese-speaking city in the Netherlands with a conservative estimate of 25,000. *Christian Community Rotterdam* (*Comunidad Christa Rotterdam*) officially began in 2005 following a church-planting initiative from Amsterdam, with the aim is to reach Portuguese-speaking people as Rotterdam.¹²⁷ Its three sister churches are in Brazil, London and Amsterdam. The MCC forged a relationship with the Brazilian consulate that enabled them to help with documents and legal advice and an organization which provides social assistance in obtaining

¹²⁴ Dudley Monart, interview by author, Rotterdam, 5 April 2005, written notes. Calvert, *Gids*, 110.

¹²⁵ Calvert, *Gids*, 125; Grant, *Gids*, 45.

¹²⁶ Calvert, *Gids*, 121; Grant, *Gids*, 55.

¹²⁷ Paulo Oliveira, interview by author, Rotterdam, 23 February 2006, written notes. Calvert, *Gids*, 52; Grant, *Gids*, 79.

travel documents. Its leaders co-operate with various indigenous urban initiatives in Rotterdam. The Spanish-speaking *Evangelical Church of God Rotterdam* (or *El Encuentro Con Dios Rotterdam*) was established in 2003 in Rotterdam and there are sister churches in Amsterdam, the Hague, Almere and Utrecht.

The first renewalist Chinese MCCs started as result of ship-workers in the Katendrecht area but with the arrival of new restaurants and Chinese companies there are now more MCCs on the north side of the river Maas. The *Chinese Evangelical Mission in Europe* began in 1974 through the missionary vision of Tung Lee which led to the foundation of 'Chinese Evangelical Mission in Europe' There were *Chinese Evangelical Mission in Europe* churches in seven cities of the Netherlands but the largest was led by Hugo Chan in Rotterdam where its membership grew from 210 in 1994 to 330 in 2005 (when the number of official members in the Netherlands had reached one thousand). In 1997 Chinese Evangelical Mission in Europe connected with the American Evangelical Mission and Seminary International under bishop Moses Yang and was renamed Christian Evangelical Church though in publications they are known as Chinese Evangelical Mission in Europe/Evangelical Mission and Seminary International. The church has relocated back to the Katendrecht into a larger purpose-built premises. The *Chinese Christian Church in the Netherlands*¹²⁸ on the *Westersingel* holds services in Mandarin and Dutch and includes some Chinese Suriname members. They speak the Hakka dialect and services are translated into Hakka.¹²⁹ Dutch language services were started in 1993 as many did not speak enough Chinese. The *Bread of Life (Brood des Levens)*¹³⁰ is a Mandarin-speaking Chinese church that was established in 1996 because some families were concerned that Chinese children should learn enough Mandarin to converse and read the bible. Their deacons

¹²⁸ Calvert, *Gids*, 23; Grant, *Gids*, 20.

¹²⁹ This is similar to their church in the Hague but in Utrecht where members of the Chinese Christian Church are mainly from Wen Chou (about fifty minutes south by air from Shanghai) the church in Rotterdam is mainly Cantonese.

¹³⁰ Calvert, *Gids*, 24; Grant, *Gids*, 18.

are connected to a network of pastors living in France, Belgium, Sweden and the Netherlands, and to other Chinese churches abroad.¹³¹

Korean ship-workers first came to Rotterdam in the 1970s and employees of business companies followed with the economic growth in South Korea. Christians represent about 30% of the population in South Korea and mostly associate with the Presbyterian churches which started in the last decades of the 19th century or with the older Roman Catholic Church. MCCs initiated by people from South Eastern Asia tend to be more Protestant than Pentecostal. This is not the case with *Mission Jeevan Jyoti* which means “the light of life.”¹³² Established in 1998 it is a registered Full Gospel church and a charitable foundation in the Netherlands. Its leader, whose father left India in 1912 as British immigrant for Suriname, is at home in the Hindu civilization and *Mission Jeevan Jyoti* is recognised by the Hindu community in Rotterdam as a church organisation. People from India, Suriname and the Netherlands attend meetings where Dutch and Hindi are spoken. Its leader Mohan Paltoe grew up in Suriname but is at home in Hindu culture and identifies with migrants from India.

Compared to the Protestant churches in Indonesia, there is a smaller heritage of Pentecostal churches. Missionaries with experience of Indonesia led to the connection of renewalist communities reconnecting with the Indonesian church *Gereja Kristen Perjanjian Baru* in 1998. These communities which also describe themselves as charismatic and evangelical initially joined the Evangelical Alliance in the Netherlands. It was only later that they became associated with the Pentecostal Full Gospel movement known as the United Pentecostal and Evangelical Churches in the Netherlands (or in the Netherlands, abbreviated to V.P.E.). The *Christian Church of the New Covenant* is a bilingual language community which was set up in 1999 with a special focus on the culture of people from Indonesia. The Chinese-Indonesian pastor, John

¹³¹ Henk Hazenbosch, “De Bouwers Van Het Rijk: Chinese Christelijke kerken in Nederland”, Doctoral Study in Cultural Anthropology, Free University, Amsterdam, 28 September 2006, 90.

¹³² Paulus Mohan Paltoe, interview by author, Rotterdam, 19 May 2006, written notes; Calvert, *Gids*, 113.

Tan, and his wife had been involved in missionary work in Indonesia in 1985 before coming to Amsterdam, Arnhem and Zwolle to share their vision new churches for Indonesians living in the Netherlands. They seek to reach Indonesian people “with their own language and culture” as many in Indonesia do not speak Dutch and cultural aspects have a big influence.

The first West African renewalist church in Rotterdam was previously known as *New Anointing International Ministries* but the name had to be changed because another movement took a similar name but had quite different values. The church now known as *Potter’s Hand New Covenant Word International Ministries*¹³³ began in 1991 in a sports hall in Feijenoord with only five people. This MCC has had to change its location on five occasions and since 2001 it has demonstrated high commitment to the local low-income neighbourhood of *Tarwewijk*. Its diverse community comprises people from a wide range of African nations as well as the U.K. and the Netherlands. The Ghanaian-led *Christian Family International* church¹³⁴ survived many changes during the period 1999-2007. The MCC experienced many changes in internal leadership, title/name and physical premises. Services are held in English but translation is available in Dutch and as required in Papiamento, Kurdish and French. The MCC relocated on four occasions during this period and lost many trusted leaders through emigration.

The *Redeemed Christian Church of God* (RCCG) was originally founded in Nigeria¹³⁵ in 1952 with twelve members and its headquarters in Lagos. This new denominational MCC has the reputation of being the fastest growing Pentecostal church in the world. Under this West-African denomination the parish of *The House of Praise*¹³⁶ started in Rotterdam in 2000, another in Schiedam in 2003 and another in 2004 in Rotterdam South. They began with the

¹³³ Samuel Antiri, interview by author, Rotterdam, 4 April 2005, written notes. Calvert, *Gids*, 118; Grant, *Gids*, 49.

¹³⁴ Nana Opoku Konu, interview by author, Rotterdam, 21 March 2005, written notes. Calvert, *Gids*, 83; Grant, *Gids*, 47.

¹³⁵ Pa Josiah Akindayomi, who died in 1981, handed overall leadership to Enoch Adejare Adeboye.

¹³⁶ Calvert, *Gids*, 122.

ideal of setting up churches that was accessible within ten minutes walking distance to its members. This Nigerian-initiated church is international in character with services in English but translated into Spanish, French and Dutch as required.¹³⁷ In 2007 one of the church communities relocated in Rotterdam South from rented premises at a Seventh-Day Adventist Church. Increasing the number of RCCG communities in Rotterdam has been a challenge and there are four RCCG churches documented in the 2015 guide.¹³⁸ RCCG has ‘parishes’ throughout Africa and in Europe, the USA and the Caribbean, and in the Netherlands where there are seventeen churches in thirteen cities, one of them is French-speaking. The worldwide Redeemed Christian Church of God is highly structured with the national co-ordinator of the Netherlands Mission accountable to a European co-ordinator who operates under the General Superintendent based in Nigeria.

Pioneering initiatives led to the development of evangelical communities such as the *Evangelical Ethiopian Church*¹³⁹ and the *Mehaber Christian Church* which are made up of migrants from the Horn of Africa.¹⁴⁰ The *Ethiopian Evangelical Church* was established independently by Mesfin Tsegaye and is composed of Ethiopians (50%) and Eritreans (50%) in their first generation in the Netherlands. *Mehaber Christian Church* is now established in ‘*Het Steiger*’ Roman Catholic Church in the centre of Rotterdam and the Amharic-speaking community has more than one hundred people regularly attending and in 2004 was composed of 75% Ethiopian and 25% Eritrean. ‘Mehaber’ is Amharic for ‘community’ or ‘association.’ Though it started informally in 1987 with just five persons, *Mehaber Christian Church* now gathers a large Amharic-speaking community on holy feast days.

¹³⁷ Bucky Olowu, interview by author, Rotterdam, 20 July 2006, written notes. Calvert, *Gids*, 122; Grant, *Gids*, 72, 136, 181, 182. The Redeemed Christian Church of God was established in Nigeria in 1952 with E.A. Adeboye as its founding leader. RCCG churches are in 178 countries across the world including many African nations, large cities of the U.S.A., the U.K. Germany, France and the Netherlands. Redeemed Christian Church of God website: <http://www.rccg.org>.

¹³⁸ Grant, *Gids*, 202.

¹³⁹ Calvert, *Gids*, 68; Grant, *Gids*, 142.

¹⁴⁰ Sony Shiferaw, interview by author, Rotterdam, 29 June 2004, written notes. Calvert, *Gids*, 20; Grant, *Gids*, 35.

From Central Africa are mostly French or Portuguese-speaking MCCs which started up in the Netherlands from the 1990s. The *Evangelical Church of the Living God (Eglise Evangeelique du Dieu Vivant)* began in 1990 and is about 95% is from the Democratic Republic of the Congo.¹⁴¹ In 1993 the *Mission Evangeelique de la Foi en Action*¹⁴² began as a French-speaking church with more than 90% originally from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Kasha and Braza), Cameroon, Nigeria and Angola. The Portuguese-speaking *Manna Church (Igresia Mana)*¹⁴³ which started in 1983 in Lisbon and in Rotterdam in 2000 drew principally upon Portuguese-speaking Angolans and Congolese. The largest *Manna Church* in the Netherlands is in Amsterdam and other Manna communities can be found in Eindhoven, Groningen, Dordrecht, Maastricht, Utrecht, Zwolle, Deventer, Almelo and Arnhem. The global church has about three hundred bishops who oversee developments.

Evangelical, Pentecostal and Charismatic churches in the Netherlands tend to be Dutch-speaking communities. I found this to be the case in my limited encounters of the Full Gospel Churches (*Volle Evangelie Gemeenten*), the Dutch Federation of which was formed in 1969, and the Free Evangelical churches (*Vrij Evangelie gemeenten*) which go back to the late nineteenth century. For this reason I did not engage in depth with the plethora of old and new Dutch-speaking Evangelical, Pentecostal and Charismatic groupings. The United Pentecostal and Evangelical (VPE) association, however, is a broad and progressive association that many MCCs have connected with. In the south of Rotterdam I found experienced Dutch-speaking pastors serving mixed congregations at *Filadelfia*¹⁴⁴, *De Banier*¹⁴⁵ and *Kom en Zie*¹⁴⁶) which I included in the Rotterdam guide to MCCs. I was invited to attend the monthly group meetings

¹⁴¹ Calvert, *Gids*, 26; Grant, *Gids*, 80.

¹⁴² Christoph Kalubi, interview by author, Rotterdam, 4 March 2006, written notes. Calvert, *Gids*, 62; Grant, *Gids*, 176.

¹⁴³ Celsio Afrikan, interview by author, Rotterdam, 9 April 2004, written notes, and Heldos dos Santos, interview by author, Rotterdam, 11 November 2005, written notes. Calvert, *Gids*, 126.

¹⁴⁴ Calvert, *Gids*, 128; Grant, *Gids*, 50.

¹⁴⁵ Calvert, *Gids*, 120; Grant, *Gids*, 69.

¹⁴⁶ Calvert, *Gids*, 89; Grant, *Gids*, 130.

for VPE pastors after in 2007 I shared my research into renewalist MCCs to Dick van Steenis, senior pastor of *Kom en Zie*¹⁴⁷ and leader of the Rotterdam Pentecostal and Evangelical pastors' fellowship.

3.4 CASE STUDIES

3.4.1.1 Introduction to Case Studies

The selection of appropriate MCCs to act as case-studies required the consideration of criteria. On what basis should MCCs be selected and offered as fair representation of the field of MCCs in Rotterdam? I considered their ecclesial tradition, the region of the world that they represented, the principal language in use, their location in the city and their generational age to be areas of some importance and which divided the field of MCCs. While a balance was desirable, it was also useful to have MCCs with similar features in order to observe if this congruence affected their behaviour. From interviews conducted with more than fifty pastoral leaders, I selected six that I considered would continue to be open to my enquiries and which would represent a balance between historical and renewalist models. The three historical and denominational MCCs were from the Roman Catholic, Moravian (Protestant) and hybrid Protestant traditions but tending to Reformed. Two of the three renewalist MCCs had connections to mega-churches¹⁴⁸ while the other was attached to a global urban renewal movement. None of the MCCs (in terms of the pastoral leaders and core constituents) had origins in the same country. Since Africa has become known as a 'sending' continent for mission in Europe, I chose three MCCs with connections there. Three of the six MCCs have connections with regions of the world tied to Dutch colonial history. The principal languages

¹⁴⁷ Dick van Steenis, interview by author, Rotterdam, 15 January 2005, written notes.

¹⁴⁸ Johnson and Ross, "Glossary" states: "A very large local congregation or church, in a demographic sense refers to a congregation or church with a membership of over 2,000." Johnson and Ross, *The World Atlas of Christianity*, 327. Scott Thuma and Dave Travis also define a mega-church as a Protestant church that averages at least 2000 total attendees in their services over a single weekend. Thuma, Scott and Dave Travis, *Beyond Mega-Church Myths*, San Francisco, 2007.

used in public meetings are Dutch, English, French, Portuguese and Urdu. In all of the cases they use between two and four languages in public meetings though some MCCs employ them more interchangeably than others. I sought variation in the languages and in the way that they were used, since the sociological literature indicated this to be a crucial aspect in forming identity. Depending on the demographics and story behind of the MCC, languages can segregate or reconcile.¹⁴⁹ Language use and their combination is a determinant of identity. MCCs can be regarded as ‘migrant’ no longer where over several generations their members integrate to the point of speaking the same language and nationalizing as citizens.

Another aspect that divided the field was that of age concerning the establishment of the MCC and the principal generational cohorts that they contained. Since many were newly forming, I had make a judgement about what defined a MCC. Some which consisted of the family of the pastoral leader and met in their house claimed to be recognised. In viewing the wide field of MCCs in Rotterdam. I determined that for the purposes of this research that a MCC had to be in existence for at least five years, to have at least twelve regular members and to be recognised by (or involved with) SKIN-Rotterdam. I believed that the selection of case-studies reflected significantly different migration stories and represented the interests of different types of migrant. Some of the case-studies experienced significant return movements of migrants from where the Netherlands had long-term historical interests. I also sought balance between those MCCs that principally serve third generation migrants and those serving first generation ones because different experiences in adaptation may relevant in the formation and development of the MCC. The theoretical aspects behind the criteria of ethnicity, language and generation will be considered in the next chapter along with a need for a constructed approach to group identity. I also sought a balance in their distribution of locations across the city and in their relationship to the buildings they occupied. When I began to observe them, two were

¹⁴⁹ Ebaugh and Chafetz, *Religion and the New Immigrants*, 100.

situated in the west, two in the south, and one each in the north and east of the city. They are located within the city motorway ring around Rotterdam. At the end of my research period, two owned their building, two rented other churches and two rented public buildings. The following brief outlines of the case studies are based upon my interaction with them (personal interviews with pastoral leaders, observations of worship and fellowship, and reading of relevant literature).

3.4.1.2 Cape Verdean Portuguese-speaking Roman Catholic Church¹⁵⁰

Cape Verdean Portuguese-speaking Roman Catholic Church (CVPRC) belongs to a historic ecclesial tradition, as belonging to the Roman Catholic Church, and was formed in Rotterdam as recently as 1988. In 2007 it had become the most highly attended MCC in Rotterdam with up to eight hundred at worship. The Portuguese language is a key aspect of the identity of this MCC and offers a bridge to various peoples in Africa and Latin America – and especially to people from the Cape Verdean islands (off the west coast of Africa in the Atlantic Ocean). Rotterdam contains the highest population of Cape Verdeans in the Netherlands. Other languages such as Creole and Dutch are in regular use and this busy vibrant model of a ‘historic but newly-formed’ MCC embraces a variety of peoples from different continents. It is situated in a highly multicultural context next to Marconiplein which is readily accessible to public and private transport across the city. Through the Roman Catholic Diocese of Rotterdam this MCC rents a church property in Rotterdam West.

¹⁵⁰ Peter Stevens, interview by author, Rotterdam, 11 April 2006, written notes and Bernard de Boer, interview by author, Rotterdam, 20 March 2012, written notes. Calvert, *Gids*, 51; Grant, *Gids*, 87.

3.4.1.3 Moravian Evangelical Brethren (*Evangelische Broedergemeente*)¹⁵¹

Moravian Evangelical Brethren (MEB) is an historic Protestant model is mostly made up of Suriname people in second and third generation who came to the Netherlands after independence in the period between 1975 and 1980. Though there are about two thousand members, the number attending the church services is normally between two hundred and fifty and three hundred. This MCC attracts many who identify with Suriname culture, which is a very mixed one. Though they make up only about 1% of the MCC, Japanese Moravians meet every third Sunday of the month with their elder. The Indian and Chinese Moravians meet less regularly. The pastor stated that “our mission is to meet people who still finding their way”. The church uses more traditional songbooks (from Johan de Heer, Evangelical “Opwekking” and Roman Catholic). The pastoral leader summed up his philosophy as: “in essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; and, in all things, love.” The MEB purchased a church building in Kralingen, an old neighbourhood in the east of Rotterdam.

3.4.1.4 Congregation of Urdu Protestant Church Rotterdam¹⁵²

Congregation of Urdu Protestant Church Rotterdam (CUPR) is in partnership with the *Protestant Church in the Netherlands* and is a second generation MCC formed in 1985 as a result of negotiation between the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* and the Church of Pakistan. The MCC now a member of the *Protestant Church in the Netherlands*. This Urdu-speaking community began to meet in the Bergsingel Kerk as part of the ‘Wijk Gemeente Gereformeerde Kerk Rotterdam Centrum’ in the north of Rotterdam centre. The newly formed historic MCC is predominantly first and second generation Pakistani in the Netherlands and the pastor from Pakistan serves two congregations, one in Rotterdam and one in Amsterdam.

¹⁵¹ Christoph Kalubi, interviews by author, Rotterdam, 4 March 2006, written notes, and Rotterdam, 4 April 2012, written notes. Calvert, *Gids*, 62; Grant, *Gids*, 176.

¹⁵² Max Lieveld, interview by author, Rotterdam, 21 September 2004, written notes and Danny Zinagel, interview by author, Rotterdam, 13 December 2010, written notes. Calvert, *Gids*, 93; Grant, *Gids*, 133.

Members of the Urdu-speaking community originally came here to find work from the 1960s and were later joined by the families came but there has been higher unemployment in the Rotterdam community compared to that in Amsterdam. Approximately one hundred and twenty-five people belong to this Urdu-speaking MCC and there are regularly between forty and fifty in the weekly services who come from all over the city. The use of Urdu, Hindi and Punjabi creates a special niche for people predominantly from Pakistan and enables contact with people from the region of Pakistan region (including a local mosque).

3.4.1.5 Victory Outreach Rotterdam¹⁵³

Victory Outreach Rotterdam (VOR) is a renewalist church, a new kind of Pentecostal denomination which was initially formed as the result of inner-city mission work in Los Angeles but now a worldwide movement. The MCC in Rotterdam was created from the mother church in Amsterdam in 1995 through the setting-apart of a Suriname-Dutch couple who had been nurtured from difficult backgrounds. The church disavows the term ‘migrant’ and prefers to promote itself as an ‘international’ church. It operates publically in a bi-lingual manner in Dutch and English, though Spanish and Italian can be provided through headphones. After renting a further education college, the international fellowship bought and renovated an old Reformed church in Tarwewijk in the south of Rotterdam. The pastoral leader originates from Suriname while the MCC is very mixed with people from more than twenty countries and many indigenous members who were born and brought up in the Netherlands. In 2007 there were about eleven hundred people on the mailing list and about five hundred attend their regular activities. The ministry of Victory Outreach is to reach out to the poor.

¹⁵³ Jerry Mendeszoon, interviews by author, Rotterdam, 31 August 2005, written notes, and Rotterdam, 20 March 2012, written notes. Calvert, *Gids*, 117; Grant, *Gids*, 76.

3.4.1.6 Glorious Chapel International (GCI)¹⁵⁴

GCI is a Pentecostal MCC that was created in 2002 as the result of an elder from the first West African-led church in Rotterdam receiving permission to start a church for others in the city. After renting a number of properties in the south of Rotterdam, they currently meet in a community centre in the south-eastern district of Lombardijen. The church is involved in the local community through youth activities, providing food to the poor and promoting good health. The pastoral leader is from Nigeria where he had a Roman Catholic upbringing. Before he founded this MCC, he was previously an elder in the first established West African MCC in Rotterdam. He left *Potter's Hand* in order to reach other peoples and most people of the MCC are in their first generation. The community operates publically in a bi-lingual manner in English and Dutch. Though the MCC consists mainly of people who are from Africa and Suriname, they also have Dutch members and use Papiamentu to reach the young Antilleans. This mixed community draws between fifty and one hundred people for Sunday services. The pastor expressed concern about homelessness and drug abuse from his walks in the streets in the south of Rotterdam.

3.4.1.7 Alliance Messianique pour l'Evangelisation des Nations¹⁵⁵

Alliance Messianique pour l'Evangelisation des Nations (AMEN) has its origins in a Pentecostal MCC that started up in Utrecht in 1992 but moved to the Emmaus Chapel of the Reformed Church in Delfshaven in 1995 when the pastoral leader had to relocate for work. The pastoral leader is from the Republic of the Congo and was set apart through the help of a local indigenous Pentecostal church. The church began in the Republic of the Congo where the pastor is still involved in Christian movements and campaigns. The MCC operates in a bi-

¹⁵⁴ Onalapo Asubiaro, interviews by author, Rotterdam, 22 July 2004, written notes, and Rotterdam, 3 April 2012, written notes. Calvert, *Gids*, 112; Grant, *Gids*, 121.

¹⁵⁵ Christoph Kalubi, interview by author, Rotterdam, 4 March 2006, written notes. Calvert, *Gids*, 62; Grant, *Gids*, 176.

lingual way in French and Congolese (Lingala) and the majority of the people are from the Congo (Kasha and Braza), Cameroon, Nigeria, Angola and the Netherlands. They are mostly in the first generation in the Netherlands and came as asylum-seekers due to the instability in the Congo. AMEN seeks to reach out to people without work, the homeless, the drug addicted and to Africans who are 'illegal' in the Netherlands. They operate bilingually in French and Lingala for people who came from Central Africa. Having previously rented residential space and a church hall, they now rent a warehouse adjacent to an industrial area between Marconiplein and boundary with Schiedam. The current name of the MCC was changed from *Mission Evangelique de Foi en Action* on moving to the new premises in Rotterdam West. The majority of the 'AMEN' community live in Rotterdam, Schiedam, Dordrecht and cities further away such as Utrecht to the east and Zeeland in the south.

3.4.1.8 Overview of Case Studies

As I have indicated, there were similarities and differences in the principal characteristics of the MCCs guided the selection of the six case-studies. I have attempted to describe the reasons behind their choice as case-studies and highlighted them in the following table.

| Abbreviation for the MCC | Ecclesial tradition | Principal ethnic groups | Principal language(s) | Background of leader(s) | Year of their foundation in | Area where located in |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| PCVRC | Historic: Roman Catholic | Cape Verdean | Portuguese; also Dutch | Dutch | 1988/91 | West Rotterdam |
| MEB | Historic: Protestant | Suriname | Dutch | Suriname | 1967/74 | East |
| UCPR | Historic: Protestant | Pakistan | Urdu; also Punjabi and Hindi | Pakistan | 1985 | North |
| VOR | Renewalist | Mixed | Dutch, English | Suriname-Dutch | 1996 | South |
| GCI | Renewalist | Dutch Antilles | English, Dutch; also Papiamentu | Nigeria-Dutch Antilles | 2002 | South |
| AMEN | Renewalist | Republic of Congo | French, Lingala; also English and Dutch | Republic of Congo | 1995 | West |

3.5 CONCLUSION

Researchers do not agree on whether to use ecclesial (denominations) or missional definitions (e.g. mission in reverse or missionary) for MCCs. They refer to the ethnic origins or character of MCCs or describe them as ‘migrant’ or ‘international.’ For researchers who allude to MCCs in ethnic terms, the very act of giving ethnic (and denominational) terms could be viewed as a desire to categorize, capture and control new expressions. Any attempt at categorization will have its flaws and researchers of MCCs have used a variety of categories in an attempt to capture the diverse field. I opted to make a basic distinction between historic and renewalist MCCs. Historical MCCs tend to define themselves through the use of national and denominational terms inherited from social histories and church traditions. Renewalist MCCs whose peoples originate from Africa, Asia and Latin America tend to define their Christian identity in Europe without using the ecclesial or ethnic terms preferred by many observers. Further differences in their life and practice may over time offer a way of distinguishing the field.

I understand ‘historic’ MCCs as being MCCs of the Orthodox, Roman Catholic or Protestant tradition. For example, Orthodox churches can be distinguished between the Eastern (which draw upon the Council of Chalcedon) and the Oriental (which are doctrinally non-Chalcedonian). There are four Eastern Orthodox (Russian, Greek, Serbian and Romanian) and two Oriental Orthodox (Ethiopian and Eritrean) communities in Rotterdam. Roman Catholic MCCs developed out of the pressure to provide pastoral care to migrant Catholics in their own tongue. The Cape Verdean community in the Rotterdam area is the largest in the Netherlands and sustains the largest MCC in the city. This is an example of a ‘migrant parish’ where there is ministry to a people group in a certain language. Two other approaches to ministry for migrant Catholics are the ‘integrated parish’ where ministry to migrants is sustained in a Dutch parish and ‘chaplancies’ where special services support is offered for minority groups of Catholic

migrants. In their second and third generation, some people groups are able to sustain migrant parishes but increasing resources are needed to develop integrated parishes and support small chaplaincies.

The Protestant tradition, which bequeathed denominationalism, is well represented by MCCs across the globe. The early MCCs, which are still extant, arrived from the end of the sixteenth century with Huguenot migrants and commercial traders from Scotland and England. From the nineteenth century there was a wave of Lutheran (German) and especially Seaman's missions (Scandinavian). There are fewer Orthodox and Roman Catholic than Protestant or renewalist congregations because patriarchal authority and a view of catholicity discouraged separate communities.

The majority of renewalist MCCs in Rotterdam do not present themselves as historic Orthodox, Roman Catholic or Protestant. While some belong to Evangelical or Pentecostal associations/movements, others were birthed independently when founded by pastors from outside of the Netherlands. I describe renewalist MCCs as embracing Evangelical and Pentecostal/Charismatic movements that are not in membership of Protestant structures. In saying this, I acknowledge that I have modified the approach of Barrett who defines them as belonging to Pentecostal and Charismatic ministries. Renewalists have mostly developed in reaction to or even alongside historic institutional forms. Looking at the origins of renewalist MCCs in the port, Indonesian, Suriname and Antillean ministries (for migrants from regions of former Dutch-colonial interests) started up from the 1960s and African, Asian and Latin American ministries (for migrants arriving as economic migrants) started up from the 1980s. Many of these renewalist MCCs formed first in the Netherlands while others are extensions of worldwide movements such as the Assemblies of God (established in 1910) or the Redeemed Christian Church of God (established in 1952).

I have described these communities as migrant Christian communities. ‘Migrant’ offers an ‘etic’ identity based upon the empiricism of observers and researchers. Though it has been the favoured term in recent years, few MCCs use it of themselves. Some MCCs explicitly reject the label because their role is wider one than the limited diaspora ministry that it suggests. They are not just ‘for’ members of their own ethnic, cultural or language group. While for some ‘migrant’ suggests marginality and temporality, I retain it as an adjective because it points to migration as the prevailing context and reason for this discussion about identity.

Having shown the inadequacy of contemporary categories used in the academic world to describe MCCs, this research seeks to contribute to the understanding of MCCs in Rotterdam and beyond through the application of these theoretical positions concerning identity. I propose that understanding them in terms of constructed identities (see next chapter) instead of essentialist views of identity is more appropriate in a globalizing urban environment. I have tried to make a broad selection and representative sample of MCCs which are different from one another in several key features. In the case studies I have attempted to represent the wide field of MCCs in order to develop categories of distinction. The sample needed to reflect different migration streams and represent the interests of different types of migrant. I sought for a balance of historic and renewalist communities, of first and third generation communities and in their use of language. I also sought for a balance in their distribution of locations across the city and in their relationship to the buildings occupied. To be eligible as case-studies, the MCCs had to have been in existence for five years, have at least twelve regular members and be recognised by SKIN-Rotterdam (a local network for migrant churches working with local authorities). The theoretical aspects behind the criteria of ethnicity, language and generation will be considered in the next chapter along with a need for a constructed approach to group identity.

CHAPTER FOUR: THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF IDENTITY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter addresses some theoretical aspects that lie behind group identity (4.2.1-3). It moves from the field of MCCs and issues of classification (drawn from ecclesiology) to aspects of ethnicity, language and generation in the six case-studies (outlined in chapter 3). For many migrants the experience of departing a homeland and arriving in Rotterdam is significant and becomes intertwined with the realization of a spiritual journey. MCCs can reflect on and interpret its significance for a core group or cohort with a similar story. In this way MCCs have a major role in constructing identity for migrants through their own religious narratives. Omar McRoberts observed that teaching, especially on the life of holiness, has “closely paralleled and deeply validated the existential realities of migrants and immigrants struggling to navigate a strange social terrain.”¹⁵⁶ According to McRoberts, religious faith becomes the starting point for migrants to interpret the new reality. This is underscored by Schreiter who has stated that migrants “become more religiously active in their new setting than they were at home.”¹⁵⁷

I propose that essentialist views of identity to be inappropriate in a globalizing urban environment and there is need to advance a concept of constructed group identities. In 4.2.4 I reflect on how identity in MCCs is constructed and explain how they may be understood. I propose to research the theoretical aspects through five lenses. They are their context and their development (within the frame of *koinonia*), their leadership and their public statements (within the frame of *kerygma*) and their public service (within the frame of *diakonia*). *Koinonia* describes who the community is and how it has developed. I found that the dual lenses of context and development to be necessary because *koinonia* is a wide frame where the shared

¹⁵⁶ McRoberts, *Streets of Glory*, 64.

¹⁵⁷ Robert J. Schreiter, “Spaces for Religion and Migrant Religious Identity”, *Forum Mission*, 5 (2009), 157.

life of the community is observed in their new environment and in their development. *Kerygma* describes the group's identity as it is projected in public through their leaders and in their nomenclature. *Diakonia* describes the group's identity through the lens of their public activities and trans-national relationships. In 4.2.5 I give reasons for the choice of these frames and lenses. The three frames of fellowship, proclamation and service provide a sequence and structure for the research. The five lenses of context, development, leadership, statements and activities reveal areas of similarity and difference in the case-studies. In 4.3.1-5 ideas that lie behind each of the lenses prepare the observer for their application to the case-studies (in chapters 5-7).

4.2 PERSPECTIVES ON RELIGIOUS IDENTITY

4.2.1 Ethnicity

Ethnicity, as a category for MCCs, has been commonly used in reference to the origin of the founder, the composition of the community or the location of its headquarters. The word 'ethnicity' entered the English dictionary in the second half of the twentieth century and has been used in social anthropology to differentiate between groups. The issue of ethnic and racial identity¹⁵⁸ comes down to who defines another and how a group wants to be defined. In any given context, people's preferences are tied to how they wish to be understood. Negative associations with race relations and ethnic minorities can be traced to an era where the word (derived from the Greek 'ethnikos') referred to heathen or pagan peoples.¹⁵⁹ In social anthropology, up to the 1960s, ethnicity was regarded as a pre-social reality which one was born into together with one's religion, language and upbringing.¹⁶⁰ This is a primordial

¹⁵⁸ In the United States Mary Waters has shown that ethnic minority over racial descriptions by whites have been used pejoratively. Mary C. Waters, *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America*, Berkeley, 1990. In the Netherlands "the term 'ethnic minorities' has different connotations and implications from terms such as 'immigrants', 'guest workers', or 'foreigners'." Verkuyten, *The Social Psychology of Ethnic Identity*, 57.

¹⁵⁹ Thomas H. Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives*, London, 1993, 4; Thomas H. Eriksen, "Ethnicity, Race and Nation", in Guibernau, Montserrat and John Rex, eds, *The Ethnicity Reader*, 33.

¹⁶⁰ Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationality*, 11-12.

approach to ethnicity which emphasized the historical continuity of ethnic groups and linked them to the idea of nations. The notion of humanity as being divided through kinship and biological differences continued to hold sway until Max Weber added the element of subjectivity. Weber described ethnic 'groups' as those "that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration."¹⁶¹ In a similar way, Benedict Anderson envisaged them as imagined political communities where the members have similar interests and live in the image of their community.¹⁶² A psychological element alongside the biological was introduced which gave rise to the perennialist view (in contrast to the primordial one). Eriksen cites Ronald Cohen on this view of ethnicity as a ubiquitous presence in constant change through the redefinition of boundaries.¹⁶³ Group identities are regularly revised in relation to what they are not.

Ethnic identity is a problem of contact rather than isolation because it has to do with commonalities and differences between people.¹⁶⁴ It has come to be more thought of as a rational choice which can be organized around social and economic interests and used and applied as the situation required. Michael Foley and Dean Hoge, in their research of worship communities in the United States, cited this view of ethnic identity as a social, economic or political tool which the marginalized could use as a tactic to mobilize themselves and maintain social dominance.¹⁶⁵ How enduring is ethnic identity as a tool for identity of immigrants? Herbert Gans predicted that "the vestiges of immigrant culture as manifestations of a 'symbolic ethnicity' would ultimately disappear" but Foley and Hoge in the United States have

¹⁶¹ Max Weber, "The Concept of Ethnicity" in Monserrat Guibernau and John Rex, eds, *The Ethnicity Reader*, 20.

¹⁶² Benedict R. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London, 1991, 224.

¹⁶³ Ronald Cohen, "Ethnicity: Problem and Focus in Anthropology", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 7 (October 1978), 379-404, cited as in Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationality*, 10.

¹⁶⁴ Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 35.

¹⁶⁵ Foley and Hoge, *Religion and the New Migrants*, 6-7.

demonstrated that ethnic identity persists and changes across generations depending on the social context.¹⁶⁶ It was Frederik Barth who influenced notions of ethnicity in social studies when, going further than Max Weber, he proposed the constructed nature of ethnicity¹⁶⁷ which could be under regular review as a result of internal self-ascriptions and external categorizations.¹⁶⁸ The constructivist approach to ethnic identity recognised that one's identity is not only changing but that both insiders and outsiders have an active role in shaping it.¹⁶⁹ In self-categorization theory, identity is dynamic and sensitive to one's context. The mixing of identities¹⁷⁰ has given rise to the notion of new hybridities.¹⁷¹ Robert Schreier, in researching religion in a globalizing world, recognised 'hybridity' in changes of religious identity in Guatemala, the 'creolization' of African slaves in Central America and the 'mestizo' identity of Hispanic peoples. Hybridities which involve the merging or mixing of different elements in groups can be related to individual identities described as 'hyphenated.' Maykel Verkuyten, in the categorization of 'mixed' individuals, discussed the difficulty of a Moluccan dealing with identity in the Netherlands.¹⁷² In this case the desire to be half-Moluccan rather than half-Dutch

¹⁶⁶ Foley and Hoge suggest that most sociologists hold a constructivist view of ethnic identity where it is a matter of choice or acceptance, depending on your situation, *Religion and the New Migrants*, 6.

¹⁶⁷ Fredrik Barth, ed, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference*, London, 1969.

¹⁶⁸ Verkuyten, *The Social Psychology of Ethnic Identity*, 94-5, 107-108.

¹⁶⁹ Thomas H. Eriksen defines it as "an aspect of social relationship between agents who consider themselves culturally distinctive from members of other groups with whom they have a minimum of regular interaction." According to Michael Moerman it can be considered as a self-defined or "emic category of ascription." Eriksen, "Ethnicity, Race and Nation", in Guibernau, Montserrat and John Rex, eds., *The Ethnicity Reader: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration*, Cambridge, 1997, 38-39. There is a voluminous literature on the much discussed concept of 'race' and whether it can be traced back to hereditary or physical characteristics (whether biological or not in origin). Definitions of identity are bound up with the power relationships of those involved. Verkuyten recalls Michael Banton's observation on the difference between race and ethnicity as having to do with the identity of the person who defines and categorizes them. Verkuyten, *The Social Psychology of Ethnic Identity*, 57.

¹⁷⁰ Since the 1980s hybridity had been used to describe people entities such as the Mexican term 'mestizo' or Caribbean term 'creole.' Though it has been advocated that creolization should be applied to all colonial-born descendants of Europeans, Creole identity normally follows racial lines and separates the Portuguese and Spanish from British, French and Dutch descendants. Dirk Hoerder and Leslie Page Moch, eds, *European Migrants*, Boston, 1996, 32-33, 49.

¹⁷¹ It is possible to be both Turkish and Dutch ('Neder-Turk') or both Asian and European ('EurAsian') where fusion of cultural identities gives rise to the notion of new hybrid identities or a new ethnic category that offers an alternative to belonging to one ethnic group. Verkuyten, *The Social Psychology of Ethnic Identity*, 152.

¹⁷² Verkuyten, *The Social Psychology of Ethnic Identity*, 170-171.

revealed the existence of hybridity, which if not merged, offered options as to which one wants to project to others. The psychological approach to identity contrasts with that of methodological nationalism, namely the tendency of some researchers to look at the field through the lens of nationality or land of origin.¹⁷³

Ethnicity as a category for migrant groups has an ambiguous role where it functions either as an active or a passive signifier. Actively, through the use of national labels in their titles, MCCs assume a political project and portray themselves a spiritual embassy. Fenggang Yang suggested that some MCCs reinforce ethnicity by bringing migrant people together from similar backgrounds and “increasing social interactions among co-ethnic members.”¹⁷⁴ Ethnicity may play a passive role in the development of identity as when Foley and Hoge proposed that religion sometimes trumps ethnicity (e.g. identifications in Rotterdam of migrants as Turkish or Moroccan Muslims or Polish or Cape Verdean Catholics).¹⁷⁵

Ethnicity can act as an active or passive signifier of identity. In these MCCs, ethnicity could be used as a social, economic or political tool to establish dominant, hybrid or mixed identities. I am interested in how this develops but firstly I observe how these identities appear in the context of public worship. I want to know how they are composed. I am interested in how MCCs publically express themselves in terms of dominant or mixed ethnicities or in none at all. How do they behave and express their identity in a new context? Michael Foley and Dean Hoge have noted that “immigrants need the sense that they are members of a collectivity whose voice can count.”¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³ Nagy, “Minding Methodology”, *Mission Studies*, 32:2 (2015), 203-233.

¹⁷⁴ Fenggang Yang, *Chinese Christians in America: Conversion, Assimilation, and Adhesive Identities*, Pennsylvania, 1999, 33.

¹⁷⁵ Foley and Hoge, *Religion and the New Immigrants*, 45.

¹⁷⁶ Foley and Hoge, *Religion and the New Migrants*, 40.

4.2.2 Language

Language is an important signifier of group identity and creates a special context for meaning. The symbolic significance of a language lies in “its capacity for generating imagined communities.”¹⁷⁷ It can exclude when it is used as a badge of identity or include when it is employed as a bridge to create collective identities. Dutch language speakers who have had an political influence in the Caribbean (Dutch Antilles), South America (Suriname) and South-East Asia (Indonesia and the Moluccan islands) also bequeathed a legacy of exclusion and inclusion in MCCs in the Netherlands. One instance of exclusion is where the use of Moluccan language or Cape Verdean languages continues to act as badges of identity which reinforce a specific identity over and against a global or international one. “In the age of language conflicts, a shared common language is pre-eminently considered the normal basis of nationality.”¹⁷⁸

As well as acting as badges of national identity, languages that have a large role in world affairs (e.g. Greek, Latin, French, Arabic, Chinese and English). A *lingua franca* acts as a bridge across social divides but also permits continued usage of minority languages. Another example of the inclusive role of language is where Dutch enables the social inclusion of peoples from Indonesia, Suriname and the Dutch Antilles. In building MCCs, languages can act as tools to include different people-groups and act as bridges between different people-groups. The use of ‘majority’ languages may establish MCCs as multiple collectives and at the same time enable those who use ‘minority’ languages to find one another. The English language, for example, through its foundational use in the internet, has become the main medium for “inter-cultural communication... presupposes the existence of separate cultures.”¹⁷⁹ Predominant languages in

¹⁷⁷ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 133.

¹⁷⁸ Max Weber, “What is an ethnic group?”, in Guibernau and Rex, *The Ethnicity Reader*, 24.

¹⁷⁹ Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, New York, 1996, 61.

public use by MCCs in Rotterdam are Dutch, English, French, Portuguese, Spanish and Indonesian.¹⁸⁰

Less known or minority languages perform a special function that majority ones cannot. Orthodox MCCs in Rotterdam have preserved their mother and sacred tongues (liturgical language) and had a creative role in their development. Minority languages can protect vulnerable people-groups from persecution simply because they are esoteric. The Orthodox Church has made use of ancient languages for more than simply a means of communication. Non-Chalcedonian Orthodox believers suffered great persecution and were almost wiped out by the hand of Byzantine, Arab Muslims, Sassanides and Ottoman invaders. Their ancient and rich worship traditions have both preserved and been preserved by the old languages of Ge'ez, Armenian, Coptic, Aramaic and Arabic. Ancient sacred languages such as Latin in Medieval Europe, Church Slavic in the Orthodox world and Coptic in Egypt¹⁸¹ still today serve to unite religious communities. In the Orthodox Church, "a sacred language closely tied to the vernacular may serve to bind together even those who do not share the vernacular, thus superseding ethnic ties."¹⁸² It also has the effect of reinforcing allegiance to a religious culture over an ethnic identity.

Language is an essential aspect of identity for MCCs and their members whether it is in the fluent use of the mother tongue or in learning that which is known by their parents.¹⁸³ The use of certain languages can divide or reconnect.¹⁸⁴ The use of native tongues and their different dialects has the ability to provide a comfort zone for migrants while at the same time it can be the basis of deep strains and even segregation. In an effort to hold the second generation, MCCs

¹⁸⁰ Calvert, *Gids*, 170-172.

¹⁸¹ 'Copt' is a Western expression of the Arabic 'al-Qibt' which was derived from the Greek word 'an Egyptian.' When Arab Muslims called themselves al-Misri [Arabic for "Egyptian"] and 'Copt' became an identifiable ethnic category. The split that created the Coptic Church followed after the Fourth Ecumenical council declared Monophysitism, the belief that Jesus had one nature rather than two natures (human and divine) to be a heresy.

¹⁸² Foley and Hoge, *Religion and the New Immigrants*, 213.

¹⁸³ Foley and Hoge, *Religion and the New Immigrants*, 193.

¹⁸⁴ Ebaugh and Chafetz, *Religion and the New Immigrants*, 100.

may create communities within communities or use more than one language in order to deal with diversity (that is, to incorporate people of different ages, ethnic backgrounds and spoken languages). Ethnicity and language may act as badges of a specific identity or as bridges to a broader identity. Where it acts a badge of identity, the MCC may be actively transmitting its own language and values. Where language is used as a badge, it could lead to a situation where some parents prefer their children to marry someone who is not a Christian rather than not a speaker of their language or bear their values. Karen J. Chai describes this scenario in relationship to her Korean American parents and Korean Protestant Church.¹⁸⁵ Where language is used more as a bridge, the use of Dutch together with other major languages can be seen as a sign of double adaptation (both to the host country and to the processes of globalization).

Languages tend to both include and exclude in the task of communication. Most languages function either as a badge of identity or a bridge between several, and the way in which they are employed is symbolic of a certain way of looking at the world. Ancient ones are symbolic of and point to a past identity whereas a *lingua franca* is significant in enabling different groups to connect. The language that is used in worship may be described as the liturgical language of the MCC and belongs to their public identity. Whether it is an ancient or common language, the people of the community associate themselves with the language because it belongs to who they believe themselves and their group to be.

4.2.3 Generation

Adaptation to the Netherlands is not experienced in the same way by all migrants. In their study of immigrant worship communities in the United States, Foley and Hoge envisaged ethnic identities coalescing around low income migrants. They eventually become involved in their

¹⁸⁵ Karen J. Chai, “Competing for the Second Generation: English-Language Ministry at a Korean Protestant Church” in Warner and Wittner, *Gatherings in Diaspora*, 309.

new context when they are more established and mixed.¹⁸⁶ When new generational cohorts attach themselves, the group becomes more integrated through its wider set of relationships but also experiences deep internal conflicts. Questions of identity are raised in every child-parent relationship but are especially evident in the second generation where young people have been born and brought up in a country different from their parents. Differences in gender, class and ethnicity within a single generation may result in conflicting views of reality but the generational cohorts have a role in creating space for people to find a common perspective.

These differences of outlook and language use between generational cohorts serve to deepen differences in their ethnic background. Writing on MCCs, Nagy commented that “ethnic or pan-ethnic identities may well persist... especially where racial stereo-typing continues to set apart members of second and third generation.”¹⁸⁷ Differences between generational cohorts in a MCC can lead to internal conflicts and influence the identity of the whole community. The outlook of one generational cohort may deepen and divide the community around ethnic or language differences that already exist. As a function of age and migration processes, some MCCs are more open than others to this kind of conflict. Research in the United States suggests that there has been a ‘silent exodus’ of the second generation from MCCs (especially Korean).¹⁸⁸ Alienation from the values of their parents appears to be more acute in some second generation ethnic groups than others. Some argue that the decline of the second generation in their parents’ church points to a lack of attention to their needs. Religious education and other activities can help to bind generational cohorts.

In the Netherlands, citizenship has been conferred on children born to a foreign-born parent where the other was born in the country. The third generation can become citizens

¹⁸⁶ Foley and Hoge, *Religion and the New Immigrants*, 44-45.

¹⁸⁷ Foley and Hoge, *Religion and the New Immigrants*, 213.

¹⁸⁸ Karen Chai Describes a pastor who at a conference stated that “a whole generation of Korean Americans will be lost through ‘the silent exodus.’ Karen J. Chai, “Competing for the Send Generation: English-Language Ministry at a Korean Protestant Church”, Warner and Wittner, eds, *Gatherings in Diaspora*, 300.

automatically unless they renounce their right. They may experience pressure to do so but third generation cohorts find it challenging to relate to the 'old' world of their parents. This is not so much the case for those who were born in the homeland of both parents and share more with them even as they have been brought up in a new country. As MCCs grow older, they experience differences and divisions between generational groups. Languages which divide the generations may promote the participation of second generation in services using majority languages. Their availability may promote second generation to move on and their lack of availability to create their own.

Short-term immigrants, expatriates, exiles or transnationals have special difficulties in adaptation. Giving birth to a new generation is a way of putting down roots in the new country.¹⁸⁹ Some MCCs, however, have very few or no new generational cohorts or source of new migrants. As a result they experience less conflict and more commonality. These MCCs are likely to either merge and become more integrated in society or remain more distinct as a diaspora. The social circumstances and outlook of the migrant members of any MCC is likely to contribute to its intrinsic character as well as determine the way in which they relate to others and how they develop as communities. How the MCC relates to new generational cohorts is likely to affect public worship and the way in which languages are used in them.

4.2.4 The Construction of Group Identity

In anthropological terms, this study employs the developmental approach which recognises that all communities are products of their age and that social interaction affects how MCCs express their identity with their members and wider context.¹⁹⁰ This approach, which asserts the

¹⁸⁹ The biblical Old Testament prophet Jeremiah advised Jewish exiles in Babylon in these terms in Jeremiah 29:7

¹⁹⁰ The 'psychological' approach looks for mental or behavioural change whereas the 'developmental' approach uses situational evaluations to assess contextual factors and the way of 'social interaction' offers an alternative way to assessing self-descriptions. Verkuyten, *The Social Psychology of Ethnic Identity*, 23.

provisionality of group identity, allows for observers to recognize patterns and predict trends of development. Ethnicity, language and generation are key aspects or identifiers of group identity in MCCs. I observe the dominant forms and variety of ethnic expressions when they gather for worship, and whether language acts as a badge of a dominant ethnic identity or as a bridge between several different expressions, the role of generational differences and who are the prime movers and initiators of change in group identity.

There is an issue about how individual identity relates to group identity since both groups and individuals can have multiple identities. Groups use public titles to represent and project their collective identities. Identity has a deictic function in setting an individual or group apart and has a semantic function in giving sense to it.¹⁹¹ Identity both creates distinction and conveys meaning – even if, in groups, it may appear more abstract. This research into MCCs is into group rather individual identity. When Dorottya Nagy discussed the problems of transnational identity, she concluded that the focus on transnationalism was often skewed because little attention had been paid to groups or communities.¹⁹² My interest is in the behaviour of MCCs as groups. Religious faith or tradition offers a basis for why individual members join MCCs and identify with these groups. “A congregation, by virtue to a religious or faith tradition, has the capacity, in a limited way, to transcend the determinative power of its context and the values and interests of its members so that it influences them as well as being influenced by them.”¹⁹³ Ethnicity, language and generation, as we have seen, also effect why individuals identify and how identity is expressed. Different levels and perspectives are involved. For members of the group, construction of identity is essentially a subjective process of socialization (self-construction) where meaning is drawn from being a member.

¹⁹¹ John E. Joseph, *Language and Identity: National, Ethnic, Religious*, Basingstoke, 2004, 2.

¹⁹² Nagy, *Migration and Theology*, 63.

¹⁹³ Roozen, McKinney and Carroll, *Varieties of Religious Presence*, 31.

Members of MCCs have their own set of multiple identities. Though hybrid identities are a feature of individuals, they can also be applied to groups or communities. MCCs are generally heterogeneous communities and frequently exhibit hybridities. Leaders of MCCs draw religious identity from a variety of factors but reinterpret it in their new local or city-wide context. Their own perspective or ‘emic’ interpretation provides ‘self-identity’ in contrast to the ‘etic’ interpretations of the more detached perspective of the observer. In self-categorization theory, religious and social identity belongs to the individual rather than the group. It is more of a self-concept than a social category.¹⁹⁴ By giving place to self-categorization thinking, this research attempts to avoid the excesses of essentialism where identity is connected to certain inherent features (e.g. ethnic composition, language). At the same time, validity must be given to the interpretation of observer and researcher. Different perspectives on identity depend on who is in interaction with the group. The process of identity construction in MCCs involves the interaction of three perspectives:

- (1) ‘self-group identity’ as expressed by founding or pastoral leader/core-members,
- (2) ‘identification’ as the perception of nominal members/others (e.g. local residents),
- (3) ‘categorization’ as the sociological construct of the researcher/observer.

These terms are introduced in order to explain the perspective from which different people perceive the identity of the group. Identity as a self-description says more about what group people perceive themselves to belong to in any specific context. Identification does not require

¹⁹⁴ Joseph, *Language and Identity*, 76.

becoming a member of the group and it is possible that one member might not share the same identification with the group as another.

Categories are the products of empirical observation and in interviewing pastoral leaders it was important not to lead with an interpretation in case the pastoral leader might revise the self-description on being introduced to empirical categories.¹⁹⁵ Identity is a matter of perspective and members may find themselves out of step with the view of the leader (identity) or the observer (category). The identity of the leader or core leadership can diverge from the identification of new members or the categorization of the observer. Identity is less of a property and more of a process which is continually under construction depending on the historical moment or social situation. The background of the pastoral leader influences how MCCs deal with diversity and construct their identity.¹⁹⁶ There is an interactive nature to identity construction which involves different perspectives. Identity is constructed in between that which they have ‘inherited’ and that which they have ‘initiated’.

The group identity of MCCs is not determined ‘a priori’ but developed (or constructed) between the words spoken/written and the activities/interests of the group as demonstrated by its leaders or members. The observer is also involved in the construction of identity. If the observer identifies with the group to the point of becoming a member, the group according to Verkuyten “becomes the basis of thinking, feeling and acting”¹⁹⁷ notwithstanding personal differences such as one’s needs and preferences. Where the observer does not personally

¹⁹⁵ In contrast to the term ‘constructed’, Stephen Warner prefers ‘negotiated’ over Will Herberg’s ‘transmuted’. Warner, R. Stephen, “Immigration and Religious Communities in the United States” in Warner and Wittner, *Gatherings in Diaspora*, 17.

¹⁹⁶ A Suriname leader, for instance, might negotiate identity for a mixed community but a Moluccan leader in the Netherlands may be more likely to decide against and to resist such negotiations in order to protect a self-group identity. Suriname and Moluccan dominated communities have a major effect on the adaptation of new immigrants (compare Foley and Hoge, *Religion and New Immigrants*, 44). Politically in the Netherlands, Moluccan immigration in the 1950s received a different reception to that which Suriname peoples faced following national independence in the 1970s. Identity depends on perspective. MEB may be viewed variously as the ‘Evangelische Broedergemeente’, the ‘Suriname’ church, the ‘Moravian’ church or as a mixed community model. SICR may viewed as an ‘international’ community, ‘the Scots Church’ or as a building to hire.

¹⁹⁷ Verkuyten, *The Social Psychology of Ethnic Identity*, 64.

identify with the group, s/he is more likely to categorize them in terms not used by the group itself – for example, in the use of the term ‘migrant’ or ‘Korean’. In the latter, where the observer perceives the group as not natural to the Netherlands, ethnicity may be used as an ‘identifier’ and become the basis of categorization.

The identity of MCCs constructed between the perspectives of the leader, the member and the observer depend not only on who they are relating to but upon the role that the faith tradition, ethnicity, language and generation plays within the group. In the light of this, we may conclude that there are not one but many group identities for each MCC. The lens of the observer affects what they s/he sees and how s/he categorizes MCCs.

4.2.5 The Analytical Approach and Lenses

How does one begin to assess the variety of group identities of MCCs in Rotterdam? In recent time, there is perhaps no wider field of migration to consider than in the United States of America. The Immigration Act of 1965 which abolished the old ‘country-of-origin’ quotas gave rise to massive diversification of the American population and since the 1960s new churches appeared from Latin America, the Caribbean and Asia. The major concern was articulated in terms of a new pluralism and fears over the incorporation of institutions that belonged to other faith traditions. The perceived threat of new migrants and their faith communities led Samuel Huntington to state these fears about assimilation and conflict. In response Michael Foley and Dean Hoge sought to meet the challenge of new immigrants’ religious institutions by researching how they contributed to civic life in Washington D.C. In order to counter the ‘problem’, they began by explaining the variations and characteristics of immigrant worship communities. Foley and Hoge viewed them through three lenses of their:

- (a) Circumstances of migration and reception,

- (b) Organizational culture,
- (c) Religious tradition.

Foley and Hoge's research into the social capital of worshipping communities in the United States revealed significant differences in the organization and traditions within a wide range of religious communities. Since their research in 2007 other approaches have been taken but it has been noted that the religious presence of immigrant religious communities has not been adequately recognised or researched.¹⁹⁸ If this was the case in the United States at the end of the twentieth century, it is certainly appropriate in the Netherlands where the first research concentrated in the 1990s on African Pentecostals in Amsterdam. In the following decade anthropological studies were concentrated in Amsterdam and the Hague and only later in Rotterdam. Though much of the research has been quantitative rather than qualitative, Sjoukje Wartena drew upon the approach of Foley and Hoge when she researched MCCs in the Netherlands. Her research on patterns of migration, settlement, worship and social agendas¹⁹⁹ used the following lenses and identifications²⁰⁰:

- (a) Foundations (migration movements),
- (b) Organisation (how they formed),
- (c) Form (services and liturgy),
- (d) Objectives (activities).

¹⁹⁸ Warner and Wittner, *Gatherings in Diaspora*, 6.

¹⁹⁹ Sjoukje Wartena, "Migrantenkerken, Definities, Evaluaties en Alternatieve Benaderingen" in Hans Euser, Karlijn Goossen, Matthias de Vries and Sjoukje Wartena, *Migranten in Mokum: De Betekenis van Migrantenkerken voor de Stad Amsterdam*, Amsterdam, 2006, 22.

²⁰⁰ Wartena, "Migrantenkerken, Definities, Evaluaties en Alternatieve Benaderingen", 20-21.

The approach of Wartena offers a more promising pathway by which to observe similarities and differences between MCCs because it reduces and breaks up the field of study.

Though highly appreciative of the work carried out by Foley and Hoge, I have also made some revisions to their set of variables and added a fourth one that is similar to that of Wartena. I found this revision to be necessary because of the difference in contexts. In the Netherlands there had not been such a large influx of MCCs that, despite some historical examples, they could offer the prospect of absorbing all of the new migrants. The religious landscape in the Netherlands began to change in the 1960s and the recent growth of Suriname immigrants was not until the mid-1970s and from other continents until the mid-1980s. It is only since the 1990s that renewalist MCCs (which now represent more than 50% of the field) established themselves in the Rotterdam area. These renewalist MCCs represent the interests of first and second generational migrant Christians and warrant more academic attention. As a result I have revised the approach of Foley and Hoge by revising rather than rejecting their focus on the civic participation of faith communities. My attention is upon the identity of Christian communities – and identity remains the main issue even where I refer to social capital and cohesion. It became clear in previous chapter that many MCCs in Rotterdam are not congruent with and do not fit into existing ecclesiastical traditions or classification. By describing them as ‘renewalist’ I categorise them differently from those who still employ historical traditions. Like Foley and Hoge, I am interested in their interactive context but I seek to describe their composition and behaviour through how they developed. Their public titles and statements with their relationships and activities indicate how they see and present themselves. Therefore, I propose to look at the identity of MCCs through the lenses of:

(a) Context,

(b) Development,

- (c) Leadership,
- (d) Statements,
- (e) Service.

My approach to researching the identity of MCCs has been guided by the methodology of Michael Foley and Dean Hoge and that of Sjoukje Wartena. I have tried to give more place to how composition is affected by the context of migration, their development, the role of leaders, the titles they adopt and the role of relationships.

This broad approach is important as American sociological research has, partly for reasons of funding, developed a wider comparative study approach than elsewhere else.²⁰¹ Most American studies of migrant religious communities have tended to focus upon organizational structures, ethnic composition, religious traditions, generational conflict and social impact. Most of these studies of migrant religious communities were sociological and concerned their social impact but my quest is more about religious studies and about their religious identity. The primary interest of Michael Foley and Dean Hoge was on their impact on society whereas my principal concern is about issues of their identity in the city. In explaining the choice of analytical lenses, I would like to expand on Foley and Hoge' research.

Conditions of their early adaptation and settlement are likely to have a bearing upon the MCCs' constructed identity. In their research, Foley and Hoge adopted Alejandro Portes's interactive model of adaptation because it took account of a wider range of outcomes than earlier ones did.²⁰² But where they studied the circumstances and reception of individual immigrants, I am interested in what MCCs as groups had to face when they initially formed in the city. The context of reception tends to have a profound impact on the adaptation of MCCs

²⁰¹ Warner and Wittner's collection of ethnographies in *Gatherings in Diaspora* analysed different migrant religious communities across the U.S. was followed by the comparative project of Foley and Hoge who surveyed 200 immigrant religious communities in Washington DC in *Religion and the New Immigrants*.

²⁰² Foley and Hoge, *Religion and the New Immigrants*, 42.

and my interest is in the group rather than the individual. This involves looking at the composition and character of their group. Foley and Hoge demonstrated that local leaders and group characteristics affected group organization and behaviour more than their ethnic origin or religious tradition. I consider what Foley and Hoge referred to as circumstances of reception and migration as a quest for ‘identity in context’.

The dynamic development of MCCs presents a picture that is not easily captured by assessments of organisational culture or congregational models.²⁰³ My approach to organisational culture is to go beyond organizational definitions and ask about how they formed and how they continue to develop in the city. The numbers who participate in these MCCs varied in their formative years but growth is not only about numerical increase. It is about how they make use of space – not only physical space but that which is social and religious. It is where MCCs establish what Stephen Warner and Robert Schreiter described as religious space “to reflect on one’s experience and one’s history.”²⁰⁴ The organizational culture analysed by Foley and Hoge is a search for ‘identity in development’.

Foley and Hoge recognised the importance of the local leader and how “national origins and culture play relatively little role.”²⁰⁵ Influenced by their insight, I focus on the strategic role of the leader in determining the relationships and activities of the MCC. Foley and Hoge’s concern for denominational ties and ecumenical relationships²⁰⁶ was appropriate in their context bearing in mind that many of the worshipping communities had a global religious tradition and a contextual history going back to the 1960s. Since individual leaders, especially founders,

²⁰³ Foley and Hoge draw upon types of congregation developed by Penny Becker but were not able to apply these descriptions in their ethnographic research. Foley and Hoge, *Religion and the New Immigrants*, 47. I find that Becker’s typology or organizational culture fails to set apart the field of MCCs which are mostly first to third generation in the making.

²⁰⁴ Schreiter, “Spaces for Religion and Migrant Religious Identity”, 158.

²⁰⁵ Foley and Hoge, *Religion and the New Immigrants*, 41.

²⁰⁶ Foley and Hoge, *Religion and the New Immigrants*, 110.

appear to have a large role in the design of the MCC's public identity (in particular when it concerns renewalist MCCs), it important to think about 'identity in leadership'.

I also want to reflect on the statements of MCCs concerning their group's mission and vision. This is an important source of information about identity and meaning to both local and global contexts. Subjective factors are involved in the identity and titles given by founding leaders of new MCCs. The self-concept can be deciphered from the nomenclature adopted and the way it is modified by individual leaders. I describe what Foley and Hoge described as religious tradition as a search for their 'identity in statements'.

How MCCs serve their communities and the wider public is likely to be affected by the nature of their relationships and activities. Using the sociological concepts of social capital and trans-nationalism, I want to address and analyse these relationships and activities. Though Foley and Hoge discuss issues of social capital, it may be as much an effect than a cause of identity. In reflecting on the social action of MCCs and its impact on their character and identity, I am interested in the direction as well as the nature of their public activities. I want to find out how MCCs serve others in the quest to think about their 'identity in service'.

4.3 THEORETICAL ASPECTS BEHIND THE FIVE LENSES

4.3.1 Identity in Context

Communities develop in a certain context and to understand their identity one has to understand that context. Identity in context²⁰⁷ refers to the group identity of MCCs when they meet as a group in Rotterdam. Mark Chaves has pointed to a lack of consistency of religious behaviour in individuals²⁰⁸ but it may operate differently for groups. Identity in context refers to the life

²⁰⁷ MCCs have multiple global and organizational contexts but here 'context' refers to their local area of reception. The metropolitan area of Rotterdam (in some cases, a city district) is the local context for these groups. They are influenced by both municipal policies and those of the national government as well as by their own transnational interests.

²⁰⁸ Mark Chaves, SSSR Presidential Address, "Rain Dances in the Dry Season, Overcoming the Religious Congruence Fallacy", *Journal for Scientific Study of Religion*, 49:1 (March 2010), 1-14; Jen'nan G.

of MCCs in worship and fellowship²⁰⁹ because the salient feature of MCCs as religious groups is in their gathering for religious activities.²¹⁰ MCCs are essentially worshipping communities and “it is in worship that the congregation shares in corporate activity and affirms its identity.”²¹¹ Some have theorized that in gathering for worship and education MCCs reproduce the cultural identity of their members.²¹² Helen Ebaugh and Janet Chafetz describe how this can happen through holding on to aspects of the religious institutions of their home country, including ethnic customs and national birthdays, and in continuing religious practices in the home and in the community’s social life.²¹³ Worship is also a sensual experience enabled through images and lighting, sounds and smells. Depending on the ecclesial tradition and other factors, the experience of participation can be passive in joining in common prayers or active through proclaiming, praising and prophesying. In worship and through the use of ritual, MCCs express their collective identity in those who speak, in leadership and in distinctive practices. Émile Durkheim once coined the phrase ‘totem’ to describe the basic symbols behind the rituals of worship²¹⁴ and how the narratives of worship communities provide pointers to their identity. The totem gives meaning and binds people together. James Hopewell has drawn attention to the way that story, social demographics, history and location serve as attributes and indicators of worship communities.²¹⁵

Rotterdam is an international context of reception since countries which had prior connections with the Netherlands have become its principal migration societies. The historical

Read and David E. Eagle, “Intersecting Identities as a Source of Religious Incongruence”, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 50:1 (March 2011), 116-132.

²⁰⁹ Foley and Hoge described worship communities in the United States as having high levels of participation (compared to indigenous churches) and in particular of lay people (rather than trained pastors and priests). Foley and Hoge, *Religion and the New Immigrants*, 154-155.

²¹⁰ Warner, *A Church of Our Own*, 153-156.

²¹¹ Cameron et al, *Studying Local Congregations*, 113.

²¹² Warner, *A Church of Our Own*, 286.

²¹³ Ebaugh and Chafetz, *Religion and the New Immigrants*, 80.

²¹⁴ Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, Oxford, 2001.

²¹⁵ Hopewell, *Congregation: Stories and Structures*, 1987; Cameron et al, *Studying Local Churches*,

interests and presence of Dutch people in Suriname, some Caribbean islands and parts of Indonesia has led to the present situation where many representatives from these countries live permanently in the Netherlands.²¹⁶ MCCs that draw upon these migrants experience more congruence in use of language, customs and a shared history. They have an advantage over other MCCs in adapting to their new context. The context of reception, however, is in a fluid state. Societal reception and the attitude of the municipal authority have hardened since 2002.²¹⁷ Rotterdam's labour market which once offered work for seafarers and labourers, by means of greater strictures over 'black' or illegal jobs has reduced the number of people coming to the city. Despite the European Union attempting to protect rights to seek work, the local context of reception in the Netherlands has changed considerably from when migrants were more likely to find work (though more vulnerable to exploitation in the 1960s and 1970s).²¹⁸ Restrictions in the social networks of migrants and what they see as discrimination in the labour market could strengthen the ethnic composition of MCCs.

Many new migrants have come to the Netherlands through 'channelling' which is a form of chain migration. Migrants from similar backgrounds tend to follow one another as they see opportunities open up in employment or education. Some are disappointed in their reception or the changed political opportunity structure. Government policy on immigration to the Netherlands has tightened and created a middle group between those considered as acceptable or as illegal. The latter includes migrants with families who seek to join them but for whom the costs (e.g. application papers, education) and requirements (e.g. learning Dutch in their homeland to a standard to pass an examination) of being accepted are too high to attain. MCCs contain people who can be profiled as living with poverty, low levels of education and

²¹⁶ Castles and Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 27-28.

²¹⁷ Pim Fortuyn, leader of an anti-immigration party *Lijst Pim Fortuyn* was assassinated on 6 May 2002, epitomised a change in political opportunity structure which led to attempts to restrict the entry of new immigrants or to force them to leave or integrate.

²¹⁸ Castles and Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 234.

employment skills and also those recruited by multinational corporations who are highly trained and more able to find homes and schools for their children. Cape Verdeans and Dutch Antilleans tend to fit the first profile whereas Western professionals and businessmen working with international companies tend to fit the second. International students are short-term migrants who are normally provided for at a low level of subsistence.

MCCs provide a welcoming and receptive context to many kinds of migrant persons. In the United States the phrase ‘proximal host’ was coined²¹⁹ to differentiate between racial or ethnic (though not always religious) populations. Urban planning and housing policies in the Netherlands have been historically different from the United States. Across the city, MCCs may act as proximal hosts by promoting religious and transnational activities and by their active presence. In this way MCCs offer incentives to the migration and adaptation of newcomers in Rotterdam. Care needs to be taken in interpreting stories of religious migrants in different contexts as they cannot be easily compared. Peggy Levitt comments that migrants to the United States had to start their own religious groups since few religious organizations had been established to receive them. This was less the case in Europe because of post-War governmental initiatives and the role of the historic churches. Also Stephen Warner²²⁰ has suggested that historically established religion in Europe is of a different nature.²²¹ Whereas in the United States a strong voluntarism is still evident, citizens in Europe have been more affected by growing secularization in the relationship between church and state. How has this affected support for religious migrants? In Europe more public attention has been given to migrants from Islamic countries whereas the majority of migrants in the United States came initially from

²¹⁹ David Mittelberg and Mary Waters, “The Process of Ethnogenesis among Haitian and Israeli Immigrants in the United States”, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 15:3 (1992), 412-435.

²²⁰ Warner headed up a major research project into migrant forms of religion in the United States between 1992 and 1997. The “New Ethnic and Immigrant Congregation Project” was sponsored by the Lilly Endowment and Pew Charitable Trusts and a summary of its findings is contained in Warner and Wittner, *Gatherings in Diaspora*.

²²¹ Warner, *A Church Of Our Own*, 6.

Christian backgrounds.²²² MCCs in Rotterdam have grown and diversified as economic migration accelerated in the Netherlands from the 1980s. The rapid development of (mainly) renewalist MCCs may indicate that a new or different kind of voluntarism is operating in Europe through some of its new citizens.²²³

For identity in context I have drawn upon migration systems theory and the dominant ‘interactive model’ that connects immigration with reception. Alejandro Portes has discussed “immigrant enclaves”²²⁴ and how “the context of reception” affects migrant’s survival and advancement. The labour market and government policies²²⁵ have influence on opportunities for employment and the settlement of migrant groups. The interactive model developed by Portes was created in light of improved communications between migrants in different cities of the world.²²⁶ Michael Foley and Dean Hoge in researching the immigration and reception of faith communities in the United States²²⁷ attributed the first use of the term ‘interactive’ to Waldinger, Aldrich and Ward but this is now commonly referred to as ‘transnationalism’. Migrants appear to maintain active relationships and commitments with several urban centres and societal nodes. Migration processes are more interactive and complex than previous theories which reduced them to ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors. The interactive model understands that the reception of migrants is affected by socio-economic opportunities and characteristics of the people-groups involved. Theorizing on group identity not only involves the migration process but the opportunity structure of the new context and the characteristics of the migrant

²²² Nancy Foner and Richard Alba, “Immigrant Religion in the U.S. and Western Europe: Bridge or Barrier to Inclusion?”, *International Migration Review*, 42:2 (June 2008), 360-392.

²²³ Schrover and Vermeulen suggest that in Europe, more than in North America, migrants in their third generation are thought of as belonging to their country of origin. Marlou Schrover and Floris Vermeulen, “Immigrant Organisations”, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 2005, 31:5 (2005), 827.

²²⁴ Alejandro Portes and Robert D. Manning, “The Enclave and the Entrants”, in Jan Lin and Christopher Mele, eds, *The Urban Sociology Reader*, Abingdon, 2005, 202-213. Examples of enclaves given include Jews in New York and Koreans in Los Angeles.

²²⁵ Foley and Hoge, *Religion and the New Immigrants*, 42-43.

²²⁶ Castles and Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 31.

²²⁷ Foley and Hoge, *Religion and the New Immigrants*, 42.

communities themselves.²²⁸ The context of reception is the sum of three contexts: the policies of national or local government, the economic conditions of the labour market and the immigrant communities in which new migrants seek identity.²²⁹ Portes' work built upon and broadened the idea of economic opportunities for different ethnic groups.²³⁰ It has been attributed to in migration studies and by those who recognise the role of transnationalism.²³¹

We have noted that distinctive identities can result from the use of language(s) in interaction with the opportunity structure in Rotterdam. We would like to look at how the opportunity structure affects their growth of MCCs and how they maintain their identity. It has been suggested that too much or too little competition (whether from government or other groups) can negatively affect their growth.²³² Competition may come in the form of government initiatives or those of other MCCs which address the needs of migrants. The opportunity structure is not only government policies but also the effects of changed economic and social conditions associated with globalization. Living in the social margins is also a global issue where physical space is closing down and MCCs need to be creative in finding and using new social space. Worship communities in Boston have been described as socially engaged with “spatially diffuse sub-cultural groups or spatially discrete neighbourhoods.”²³³ Globalization theory suggests that in cities we experience fragmentation between the geographical and the social. Dorottya Nagy²³⁴ theorized that ‘de-territorialization’ of local space requires the reconstruction of a new sense of location and place.²³⁵ Renewalist MCCs possess few material

²²⁸ Schrover and Vermeulen, “Immigrant Organisations” 823-832 drew upon research of immigrant communities by R. Breton and J.L. Cohen.

²²⁹ Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut, *Immigrant America: A Portrait*, Berkeley, 1996, 83-93.

²³⁰ Ivan Light and Edna Bonacich, *Immigrant Entrepreneurs*, Berkeley, 1988; Roger Waldinger, Howard Aldrich and Robin Ward, *Ethnic Entrepreneurs: Immigrant Business in Industrial Societies*, London, 1990; Immanuel Ness, *Immigrants, Unions and the New U.S. Labour Market*, Philadelphia, 2005.

²³¹ Castles and Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 31; Nagy, *Migration and Theology*, 52; Vertovec, *Transnationalism*, 24.

²³² Schrover and Vermeulen, “Immigrant Organisations”, 823-832.

²³³ McRoberts, *Streets of Glory*, 145.

²³⁴ Nagy, *Migration and Theology*, 54.

²³⁵ The role of new information technology and the internet offers a virtual space in which connection can be made and continuity maintained between different places. Transnationalism enables migrant individuals and communities to act upon social and political life in more than one place.

resources and tend to be “based in school buildings, apartment garages and neighbourhood houses.”²³⁶ They may rent warehouse or community centre²³⁷ as they struggle to find suitable buildings that are available, affordable and accessible.²³⁸

After gathering information on MCCs in Rotterdam between 2003 and 2007, I selected six historical and renewal case studies and observed by making personal visits and interviews with their pastoral leaders. I listened to their stories and noted their age and gender. I was interested in the various languages and rituals used in worship and how they created religious space for their activities. I wanted to find out about how they interacted with the urban context and the people who participated in and composed these communities. In seeking to understand these MCCs, I sought ways of describing their composition that were not ‘ethnic’ categories. Kerry Ann Rockquemore’s study of biracial identity in the United States recognized the mixed-race character of those whom others referred to as ‘coloured’ or ‘black’. Her study led to the creation of new categories that mixed-racial persons might identify with. Rockquemore’s social interaction approach to the identity of multi-racial individuals is of interest because she moved beyond bipolar categories in outlining four positions of singular, border, protean and transcendent.²³⁹ In tackling biracial identity, her typology recognises that not only are ethnicities under construction but that identity construction takes place in relationship to a given social context. This range of negotiated positions or mixed understandings of identity for biracial people in the United States is helpful because they are based upon a methodology of social interaction. The study also demonstrates how identities are shifting as well as diversifying. Even her critics applauded the typology which includes more than one options for

²³⁶ Godfried B. M. Engbersen, Richard Staring and Joanne van der Leun, *Inbedding en Uitsluiting van Illegale Vreemdelingen*, Amsterdam, 1999, 28. This description is of African-led MCCs in Amsterdam but those in Rotterdam are similarly seeking space that is not expensive, accessible and flexible.

²³⁷ Community centre in Dutch is a *wijkcentrum*. Since MCCs draw people from all over the region, public space needs to be accessible and near to transport hubs (e.g. Zuidplein or Central Station) where the train, metro, tram and bus can connect with private transport.

²³⁸ ‘Adequate’ in the sense of being spacious and safe, ‘affordable’ with respect to the rental costs and ‘accessible’ in the sense of being near to public transport, public roads and car parking.

²³⁹ Rockquemore and Brunnsma, *Beyond Black*, 62-73.

biracial identity.²⁴⁰ I am interested in groups rather than individuals and in the composition of ethnic rather than racial aspects of identity, but Rockquemore's research is pertinent to issues of identity in MCCs in Rotterdam. The liminal experience where MCCs serve non-Dutch people is reflected to some extent in the racial stigmatization of black and white identity in the United States of America. In theorizing identity in context, Alejandro Portes showed how migration systems and an interactive model can affect the character of MCCs while Rockquemore offered an approach that enabled analysis of their composition.

4.3.2 Identity in Development

Sociologists have suggested that there is an optimal level of government interference or competition that immigrant groups can handle successfully and that there is a bell-shaped relationship between the levels of conflict experienced and the number of newly founded MCCs was proposed.²⁴¹ Their size and development relates to how they connect with new generations of migrants. Both their size and composition is affected by how they interact with them and the opportunity structure.²⁴² Marlou Schrover and Floris Vermeulen also proposed a bell-shaped relationship between their size and behaviour and predicted that immigrant (especially heterogeneous) groups which are too large or small would struggle to maintain organizational activities.²⁴³ They recognized "immigrant organisations can be large and well established but they can also be small, ephemeral and unstable."²⁴⁴ Though small and large MCCs may be

²⁴⁰ See review on Rockquemore and Brunnsma, *Beyond Black* by David R. Harris in "Social Forces", 82.1, September 2003, 436-437. Harris is critical about the small size of survey samples and, though concerned at the lack of detail provided about the variables behind the construction of biracial identity profiles, heralds the typology as important. A similar concern is shared by Erica Chito Childs, "Race and Society", 4:1 (2001), 110-111, but affirmed it as a "methodologically sound study."

²⁴¹ Susan Olzak and Elizabeth West, "Ethnic Conflict and the Rise and Fall of Ethnic Newspapers", *American Sociological Review*, 56: 4 (August 1991), 460.

²⁴² The opportunity structure in a society is the distribution and availability of occupations and support services to enable people to achieve their goals.

²⁴³ Schrover and Vermeulen, "Immigrant Organisations", 831.

²⁴⁴ Schrover and Vermeulen, "Immigrant Organisations", 824.

limited in their ability to maintain themselves, the simple existence of them is significant in that they provide “collectively expressed and collectively ascribed identity.”²⁴⁵

MCCs range from low-income groups that attract new migrants to established communities that cater for a mixture of settled migrants and newcomers and to older third generational communities which appear more integrated. Michael Foley and Dean Hoge suggested that migrant worshipping communities experience different stages. They observed that “where an immigrant group enjoys a sufficiently large community of co-ethnics... we can expect to find ethnic worship communities to emerge as part of that community.”²⁴⁶ Rennix Penninx and Marlou Schrover outlined generalised types and phases of development in the Netherlands.²⁴⁷ The first phase is where immigrants form organizations based upon their country of origin or when they join multicultural communities alongside migrant Christians from other continents. At this stage MCCs form around newcomers around a specific language and seek to address the needs of those on low-incomes. The second stage is where the MCC becomes established, the community is more mixed and its members are likely to play a wider role in their new context. MCCs experience this phase when their organizations need to develop infrastructure for the growth of their community. Foley and Hoge observe: “These more settled communities can be expected to enjoy more resources and a greater diversity of ties outside the community.”²⁴⁸ In a third stage the MCC becomes more integrated in the Netherlands but may experience internal conflict. The conditions of migration differ greatly, for example, for second/third generation migrants who feel removed from their traditional homeland or for those who come from low-income sending contexts and need to send remittances home. Some MCCs in this third phase focus on supporting the needs of the second generation who are more

²⁴⁵ Schrover and Vermeulen, “Immigrant Organisations”, 824.

²⁴⁶ Foley and Hoge, *Religion and the New Immigrants*, 45.

²⁴⁷ Based upon study of migrant organizations in the Netherlands from 1580 to 2000, Rinus Penninx and Marlou Schrover offered a framework of how migrant organizations develop through different phases.

²⁴⁸ Foley and Hoge, *Religion and the New Immigrants*, 45.

connected than newcomers to life in the Netherlands. They offer solidarity to poor migrants but need wider relationships without which they remain isolated. A further fourth phase can be added for where there is no ready supply of new immigrants and in attempting to develop a more integrated identity the third generation MCC eventually merges or detaches. Where there is no supply of new migrants, ethnic identity is undermined and the MCC may assimilate into the religious landscape. Where they detach, the MCCs risk isolation in remaining as diaspora or trans-national communities.²⁴⁹

These phases indicate that development is more complex than a simple cradle to grave story. There are contrasting stories as migrant leaders of MCCs experience different contexts of origin and reception. Rather than a generalized linear or cyclical pattern, MCCs develop in interaction with their context (opportunity structure) and address issues that are connected with globalization (e.g. transnational relationships). We need to theorize how they interact with their local context as well as enhanced global networks. How do MCCs grow, survive and maintain themselves? Manuel Castells suggested that networked identities grow out of the dislocation between the global and local to produce defensive identities.²⁵⁰ He recognised the onset of a new order of communications and theorised on identity and meaning in a network society. Castells expounded on the exclusive effects of globalization from above and observed three distinct responses in identity formation that arise from below²⁵¹:

Legitimizing

Project

Resistance

²⁴⁹ “A much older term for transnational communities is diaspora.... The term diaspora often has strong emotional connotations, while the notion of a transnational community is more neutral.” Castles and Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 31.

²⁵⁰ Both Omar McRoberts and Dorottya Nagy theorized that ideas of dislocation from human community (glocalization) are misleading because organisational and human interactions are able to continually shape territory (and vice versa) as they change and grow. McRoberts, *Streets of Glory*, 140; Nagy, *Migration and Theology*, 48-49.

²⁵¹ Castells, *The Power of Identity*, 7.

In building group identity Castells recognised three distinct processes of legitimizing identity, resistance identity and project identity to be at work.²⁵² ‘Legitimizing identity’ takes place in dominant social institutions where pejorative terms (e.g. ‘allochtone’) are used. The ambiguous use of ‘migrant’ carries the danger of legitimizing identity of people as outsiders who do not invest in the host country. As globalization brings about the movement of information, jobs and finance, new communities are created. The emergence of migrant networks is a form of ‘project identity’ in which there is a re-positioning in society. ‘Resistance identity’ is generated by people who are marginalized or stigmatized in order to survive and resist domination.²⁵³ These themes have resurfaced in important studies of globalization by Robert Schreiter and of transnationalism by Peggy Levitt. Bearing the effects of globalization in mind, Schreiter addressed the construction of religious identities and analysed their formation²⁵⁴ around three broadly similar themes:

Hierarchy

Hybridity

Resistance

Schreiter was concerned about how globalization leads to changed identities, where multiple belongings give way to partial communities and constant change is experienced as disruptive and divisive rather than harmonious. Power relationships play out a range of behaviour patterns from coercion/domination to resistance/withdrawal. Schreiter analysed the formation of groups through the decisions of dominant institutions, the experience of hybrid people groups and the resistance to indigenous values and principles. Group resistance could involve withdrawal from participation in the intercultural encounter while more indirect approaches involve going underground or the independent maintenance of their traditions. Schreiter gave the example of

²⁵² Castells, *The Power of Identity*, 10-11.

²⁵³ “God, nation, family, and community will provide unbreakable, eternal codes, around which a counter-offensive will be mounted against the culture of real virtuality.” Castells, *The Power of Identity*, 66.

²⁵⁴ Schreiter, *The New Catholicity*, 73-79.

where the veneration of saints can go together with attachment to ‘other’ spirits. Group hierarchy behaviour plays out in patterns of tolerance, encompassment and legislation. ‘Tolerance’ allows for the safe space for elements that are very different to co-exist but does not engage in conflict to resolve tensions. ‘Encompassment’ incorporates other ideas into Christian identity whereas ‘legislation’ requires official sanction of reforms. Group hybridities often experience tensions between the local and global. Identity can be reshaped through a moment of conflict. A new hybridity represents a positive religious identity where there has been a re-interpretation of its ways and traditions in the new globalized context. MCCs find themselves in the margins of a different social context and have need for appropriate tactics to express themselves and be recognised.

Schreiter’s options are helpful in interpreting how identity is being formed and suggested that new religious identities can form in a globalized society from hierarchy, through hybridity or through resistance.²⁵⁵ Hierarchical models can promote or prevent inculturation whereas hybridities need to be accepted as a way forward and acts of resistance can shut down dialogue.²⁵⁶ The Roman Catholic Church, for example, seeks to integrate its communities into a universal communion but the new experience of receiving migrants warranted a variety of shapes and styles. According to Nagy “Roman Catholic migrants are welcomed by and integrated into local churches” and “in the cases of larger migrant groups, the Roman Catholic Church establishes an ethnic parish and provides a priest who at least speaks the language of the parish members.”²⁵⁷ Sociologists view such religious organizations and denominations as a vehicle for either reproducing or transforming immigrant identity.²⁵⁸ Where the opportunity structure offers them little, MCCs behave less like institutional organizations and more like

²⁵⁵ Schreiter, *The New Catholicity*, 73.

²⁵⁶ Schreiter, *The New Catholicity*, 79.

²⁵⁷ Nagy, *Migration and Theology*, 64-65.

²⁵⁸ Warner and Wittner, *Gatherings in Diaspora*, 1998; Ebaugh and Chafetz, *Religion and the New Immigrants*, 2000; Casanova and Zolberg 2002; Levitt, “You Know, Abraham Was Really the First Immigrant – Religion and Transnational Migration”, *The International Migration Review*, 37:3 (2003), 847-873.

networks. They adapt to globalization and behave as networks that customise liturgies, recruit leaders and create transnational identities.

Trans-nationalism offers another perspective through which to interpret how migrants relate to their people-groups in several places. The practice of connecting with more than one centre at any one time is likely to affect how MCCs grow and develop. In the light of new migration patterns, Peggy Levitt has addressed the creation of trans-national communities and reflected upon their organizational development.²⁵⁹ She discussed the role of religion within the trans-national identity of migrants and theorised on three prevalent patterns of behaviour:

Extension

Negotiation

Recreation

There seems to be congruence between Schreiter and Levitt's categories.²⁶⁰ Schreiter spoke of resistance as withdrawal or refusal to participate whereas Levitt theorised that recreated organizations start their own groups and pioneer ways of operating between fragmented structures and systems. Resistance and recreation is played out in changing urban space. These tactics serve to 'resist' indigenous pressures and to 'recreate' new possibilities in a struggle for space and identity. For Levitt, hierarchical forms and organizational cultures 'extend' into new territories whereas smaller groups that recognise cultural dissonance are more relational and 'negotiate' new forms that often exhibit hybrid identities. New migrant leaders struggle with existing traditional forms and, though they try to connect, tend to 'resist' the dominant culture and 'recreate' new forms. According to Levitt's thought about development, migrant Christians were left with a choice either to join the traditional churches which extended to them (typically Roman Catholic or Orthodox), to negotiate a way forward with less institutional Protestant, Evangelical or Pentecostal churches or to recreate a new religious identity through MCCs that

²⁵⁹ Levitt, *"You know, Abraham was really the first immigrant"*, 10 -17.

²⁶⁰ Levitt, *"You know, Abraham was really the first immigrant"*, 15.

had been initiated by other migrants. Religion plays a role in the formation and development of transnational communities.²⁶¹

Building on the work of Castells, Schreiter and Levitt, I propose to employ three words that are congruent with their theoretical terms. ‘Authorization’ expresses how hierarchical organizations or ‘mother churches’ determine how MCCs should act and extend their influence into the space of others. ‘Accommodation’ describes the outcome of processes behind projected, hybrid or negotiated identities. ‘Agitation’ refers to the behaviour and role of a core group within the MCC involved in resistance and recreation. These terms offer a short-hand on how MCCs interact between the global and local. In observing the dynamics of MCCs in Rotterdam, I want to assess them to see if they are helpful

4.3.3 Identity in Leadership

The core statement in the frame of the *kerygma* is ‘Jesus is Lord’. The *kerygma* of the church is embodied and influenced by its leaders and preachers who regularly give messages or sermons. Where this *kerygma* becomes part of the community life of MCCs, it becomes spoken in public places in order to ‘sacralize the street’.²⁶² Before looking at *kerygma* in their titles and public statements, we need to understand how individual leaders interact in relationship to the group. How do leaders behave and shape the character of their community? Pastoral leaders are important to the identity of new MCCs and a question arises as to how the leader is orientated to their community. James Davidson and Jerome Koch observe: “Leaders try to shape organizational actions according to their views of how the organization should act (what they consider right and just) and their self-interests (what they stand to gain or lose socially,

²⁶¹ Levitt, “*You know, Abraham was really the first immigrant*”, 847 and Jacqueline Hagan and Helen Rose Ebaugh, “Calling Upon the Sacred: Migrants’ Use of Religion in the Migration Process”, *International Migration Review*, 37:4 (Winter 2003), 1145.

²⁶² McRoberts, *Streets of Glory*, 86.

economically, and politically).”²⁶³ Some leaders may be responsible for the name of the MCC whereas others who inherit them may be responsible for their modification. Both of these modes, however, provide information about the MCC and its leadership.

While a survey of their leader’s sermons could reveal much about issues of the inner life and outlook of MCCs, an alternative approach is to study their titles or nomenclature together with official statements about their mission/vision/role. These public statements are obtained from their titles and mission statements. Besides profiling their beliefs and values, such statements give important information about the purpose, identity, role and outlook and can be found on websites, printed literature and gatherings for worship. The style of leadership and the values contained in their names and mission statements create a mosaic that represents the group’s identity and what it stands for.

Leaders of MCCs may vary in the extent that they own this and we need to evaluate the way that leadership relates to the group. For this purpose, Margaret Harris proposed a tool based upon Max Weber’s analysis of why groups operate differently and how conflicts can arise.²⁶⁴ Weber brought in the concept of legitimisation to describe how a group gives a person the right to lead.²⁶⁵ Weber’s tools enable observers to relate the structure and story of the community to the type of leader, but how does the leadership of a MCC determine what is their public role and outlook? Congregational studies have recognised the strong role that leaders have played in the formation and development of churches.²⁶⁶ Different styles of leadership may be expressed in terms of whether they operate according to traditional expectations or new creative

²⁶³ Davidson, James D. and Jerome R. Koch, “Beyond Mutual and Public Benefits: The Inward and Outward Orientations of Non-Profit Organizations”, in N.J. Demerath III, Peter D. Hall, Terry Schmitt, Rhys S. Williams, eds, *Sacred Companies: Organizational Aspects of Religion and Religious Aspects of Organizations*, New York and Oxford, 1998, 293.

²⁶⁴ Margaret Harris, “Organization Studies Strand: Power” in Cameron et al, *Studying Local Congregations*, 218.

²⁶⁵ Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, New York, 1968, 215; Bendix, Reinhard, *Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait*, California, 1977, 294-295.

²⁶⁶ Penny Becker’s description of leader-orientated congregations could define most MCCs in their first two phases of growth. Penny E. Becker, *Congregations in Conflict: Cultural Models of Local Religious Life*, Cambridge, 1999, 126-148.

talents. Where legitimacy of leadership is provided by ‘law’ a bureaucratic organisation recognises a leader according to a set of principles. Where it is by ‘tradition’, a leader succeeds through heredity. Where extraordinary characteristics and abilities are perceived, we may say that it is ‘charisma’ that identifies the leader. In this way Weber distinguished between traditional authority (exemplified by monarchies and legitimised by tradition), rational-legal authority (connected to bureaucracy and the management style based upon principles of modern organizations) and charismatic authority (associated with special powers, vision and gifts).²⁶⁷ The latter challenges prevailing ecclesiastical attitudes and systems. While all kinds of leadership can dominate the community, charismatic types tend to operate independently and contrast with traditional and rational types which tend towards bureaucracy. These types of leadership have been described as the leadership roles of organizational management, associational caring and spiritual charisma.²⁶⁸ Organizational (rational-legal) leaders are primarily concerned with consistency in and the fairness of organizational processes whereas associational caring (traditional) leaders do not remain neutral but take a position to protect relationships and charismatic leaders challenge the community to look beyond its current preoccupations.²⁶⁹ Max Weber concluded that charismatic leadership would be dominant but predicted it would eventually become rationalised into a bureaucratic system. In this research we will look to see if these Weberian definitions of leadership are borne out in the case studies or if other kinds of interaction are taking place. I would like to apply Weber’s categories and test them to see if there is a progression towards the charismatic or not.

²⁶⁷ These are “gifts of body and spirit, of vision and strength.” Carl S. Dudley and Earle Hilgert, *New Testament Tensions and the Contemporary Church*, Philadelphia, 1987, 67.

²⁶⁸ Dudley and Hilgert, *New Testament Tensions and the Contemporary Church*, 132-133.

²⁶⁹ Charismatic and founding leaders tend to take (or receive) power to make decisions but in time, as they move on or die out, the same power to govern is needed by the successor or at least controlled within the community. There is a need for terms by which we can recognise and speak about styles of leadership. In a study of Asian leaders of MCCs in Amsterdam, Hans Euser drew attention to different relational styles leadership in consulting, convincing, delegating and instructing which differ in the amount they give towards the direction or support of individual members. Hans Euser, “Aziatisch voorgangerschap en integratie” in Goossen, de Vries and Wartena, eds, *Migranten in Mokum*, 43-62.

4.3.4 Identity in Public Statements

How do observers interpret the self-understanding of MCCs from their narratives? The researcher has to act as a kind of ‘literary critic’²⁷⁰ of the narrative of these communities and detect what are their principal motifs or themes. Titles and stories are the basic devices which uncover the complex self-understanding of groups and communities.²⁷¹ The self-group identity of the community is one that is primarily accessible in narrative form and through congregational studies. James Hopewell described the congregation as “a group that possesses a special name and recognized members who assemble regularly to celebrate a more universally practiced worship but who communicate with each other sufficiently to develop intrinsic patterns of conduct, outlook, and story.”²⁷² His research led to this intrinsic patterns being recognised as comic, tragic, romantic and ironic outlooks or worldviews.²⁷³

Data gathered from public titles may be informative if we can differentiate between formal titles that describe an ecclesiastical organization and informal titles that describe an idiom. There is a distinction to be made between ‘institutional’ titles of MCCs that refer to denomination, movement or association and ‘intimate’ titles which contain images relating to the world and the Christian bible. Paul Minear and John Driver have given attention to the biblical language adopted by many MCCs. Following Minear’s study of biblical images²⁷⁴ Driver held that “biblical images must be read and interpreted afresh freed from traditional and current ecclesiastical practices.”²⁷⁵

Following the observations of Carl S. Dudley and Earle Hilgert, I propose to differentiate between MCCs as ‘structural’ or ‘intimate’ communities. When we observe their

²⁷⁰ A narrative approach asks about the forms in which information comes and in which it is transmitted. Hopewell, *Congregation: Stories and Structures*, 31.

²⁷¹ Hopewell, *Congregation: Stories and Structures*, 46-47.

²⁷² Hopewell, *Congregation: Stories and Structures*, 12-13.

²⁷³ Hopewell, *Congregation: Stories and Structures*, 69-83.

²⁷⁴ Paul S. Minear, *Images of the Church in the New Testament*, Philadelphia, 1960. Minear listed ninety-six images under four themes: ‘the People of God’, ‘the New Creation’, ‘the Fellowship in Faith’ and ‘the Body of Christ’.

²⁷⁵ John Driver, *Images of the Church in Mission*, Philadelphia, 1997, 21.

public titles, we notice ‘structural’ communities use the language of their ecclesial world or denomination whereas ‘intimate’ communities employ terms that are more meaningful to their members (e.g. from worlds of business or sport).²⁷⁶ The difference between the structural and the intimate goes back to social theorists since Ferdinand Tonnies who were concerned with the tension between organizational structure and community intimacy. Tonnies differentiated between groups that were bound together by emotion and intimacy (*Gemeinschaft*) and those held together by organizational structure (*Gesellschaft*).²⁷⁷ These terms may highlight the social dynamics that operate in religious groups such as MCCs but does not say much about their contextualization. Robert Hunt reflected on two aspects of post-modernity, namely the loss of single framework within which human experience can be understood and the break-up of a human sense of identity by the liminoid character of contemporary life. “Part of the identity crisis is the divergence between their account of themselves and the way that they embody that narrative.”²⁷⁸ From this analysis of a global identity crisis, Hunt envisaged how new religious communities act as pilgrims and as developing personal and corporate understandings of their identity. They describe a new narrative and develop it as they engage their context and integrate their experience into the long story of the Christian community. Since their narrative reflects on scripture and tradition, it becomes incorporated in the self-nomenclature they use of themselves.

Andrew Walls also theorised on how the contextualization of Christian witness involves both an indigenising movement (coming into step) and a pilgrim movement (becoming out of step) in society.²⁷⁹ What do their titles indicate about the contextualization of these case studies? Their titles may indicate if they are coming into or out of step with their context. They may

²⁷⁶ Dudley and Hilgert, *New Testament Tensions and the Contemporary Church*, 22.

²⁷⁷ Friendship, family kinship and use of shared space contribute to *Gemeinschaft* whereas a voluntary commitment and choice becomes the basis of *Gesellschaft*.

²⁷⁸ Robert Hunt, “Christian Identity in a Pluralistic World”, *Missiology*, XXXVII, 2 (2009), XX.

²⁷⁹ Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History*, 7-9.

contain historic or ecclesial titles and refer to the host city, wider region or the world. They may indicate if they focus on a specific people-group or suggest what is the special ‘niche’ to their ministry. Public titles and mission statements also distinguish one group from another except where they wish to embrace a wider shared identity of a denomination or movement.

4.3.5 Identity in Public Service

As faith communities, MCCs are mediating structures by the way they invest in the public realm. Within the frame of *diakonia*, they are viewed through the lens of public service or activities. There is a question about the scope of *diakonia* and whether diaconal mission extends to the Christian community or to those in most need in society. Charles van Engen, in reflecting on the biblical references to *diakonia*, suggested that “the New Testament teaching assumes that diaconal ministry extends beyond addressing the needs of the believing community.”²⁸⁰ The concept and practice of *diakonia* in the Protestant Church in the Netherlands is highly developed. Herman Noordegraaf surveyed different concepts of the use of *diakonia* and acknowledged that the word is so connected with the social role of the churches that it will be difficult to replace it. He calls for theological reflection upon *diakonia* to be motivated by issues of human dignity, the priority of the poor and use of material goods.²⁸¹ He addressed the capacity of *diakonia* to transform the situation of the poor and that which can confront as well as comfort.

Diakonia, for this research, embraces a variety of activities from personal service, personal advocacy, community development and community organizing.²⁸² *Diakonia* is ‘public

²⁸⁰ Engen, *God’s Missionary People*, 97.

²⁸¹ He also notes that others argue that it is primarily a mandate and therefore more than humble service. Herman Noordegraaf, “Migrant Churches Confronting Poverty in the Netherlands”, address to Stichting Rotterdam conference, *Diakonia*, 3:1 (2012), 66-87.

²⁸² ‘Personal service’ involves a direct transaction with someone in need and is illustrated in the action of giving a thirsty person a cup of water. While it aids the individual, personal service does not transform their situation. In this example, it simply enables the person to have access to water. ‘Personal advocacy’ goes a step further than ‘personal service’ to empower individuals who seek aid on the basis that it is better to teach a

service’ of which ‘personal service’ is part. Public service is concerned with the social role of MCCs and principally with their engagement with issues of human dignity and the poor. I observed *diakonia* in their acts of material service, education projects, counselling ministries, anti-addiction programmes and in meeting the ‘felt-needs’ of generational cohorts in the community. The nature of *diakonia* operates in different ways around relationships of power between the provider and client. Diaconal ministries may be defined differently based on whether they principally interested in the individual or collective and whether they retain dependency or empower others. Analysis of their relationship to those in need and how help is provided offers a framework that can be applied to the case-studies. *Diakonia* is either interpreted as service to an individual, advocacy on behalf of an individual, development of a community programme or the empowerment of a community. (See Appendix 3)

The direction of the diaconal activities of MCCs is at least as critical an issue as the nature and amount of them. Do they prefer to interact with the local street or the wider society? While their *diakonia* may give rise to individual or societal change, Omar McRoberts²⁸³ recognized that another benefit was in the socialization of their members. The extent to which specific areas of the city can be impacted by faith communities and formal associations in the United States has become a debate about social capital.²⁸⁴ Michael Foley and Dean Hoge

hungry person how to fish than to give him one. Personal advocacy involves people who have a need to engage with those who can most help them. It is a public ministry that seeks to address the unequal relationships of power between people. Advocacy often involves the heightening of public awareness about a specific problem. It involves the deliberate process of obtaining and communicating that information to those who can act upon it. Advocacy recognizes that shared information can empower those in need to become able act in their own interests. Whereas advocacy is around an individual, ‘community development’ moves from an individual to a collective approach and involves the creation of structures that mobilize people to serve others on a wider dimension. Community organizing is the diaconal empowerment of a neighbourhood or people-group where persons co-operate as a collective and act on their own problems.

²⁸³ McRoberts followed Davidson and Koch in this. McRoberts, *Streets of Glory*, 101.

²⁸⁴ Bordieu used the concept of social capital for individuals who participated in society but was criticised for his focus upon the privileged rather than the poor and upon the individual rather than the collective. Coleman tried to remedy this and his more abstract treatment of social capital was a more functional one about social structures in which individuals could be social actors. Both understood social capital as the public good and did not attribute a negative side to it. The meaning of social capital depends on the kind of researcher. Whereas organisational theorists tend to think of how companies relate to a network and of the benefit they will derive from it, political scientists and world economists think in terms of associations of networks and their activities. Putnam, a political scientist, popularized the concept of social capital when he diagnosed sickness in

distinguished three ways in which religious groups relate to society²⁸⁵ in their study on new faith communities in Washington D.C. and underlined the value of social capital approach.²⁸⁶ Social capital is about the relationships between individuals.²⁸⁷ Individuals benefit from knowing others with whom they form networks that allow for a flow of information, the making of agreements and that have shared vision and collective goals. “The networks that constitute social capital also serve as conduits for the flow of helpful information that facilitates achieving our goals.”²⁸⁸

Robert Putnam made the distinction between social capital that bridges across diverse social groups and that which bonds more homogenous groups. ‘Bonding’ social capital describes connections between people in similar situations (immediate family, close friends and neighbours) whereas ‘bridging’ social capital connect between people that are more distant (loose friendships and workmates). Putnam suggested that ‘bonding’ has a tendency to reinforce exclusive identities and homogeneous groups whereas ‘bridging’ is more outward-looking and inclusive, comprising of people across various social divides.²⁸⁹ ‘Bonding’ could be connected to the leadership of the MCC and its style. How do MCCs express their public service where bonding capital is high? While ‘bonding’ can have negative effects for society as a whole, it

American society. He described how individuals act less because of the influence of the busy fragmented nature of life in the metropolis, electronic entertainment and changes in the generations. He discovered that even when Americans bowl alone on a routine basis that their occasional association could lead to the building of trust and networks. Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, New York, 2000.

²⁸⁵ Foley and Hoge, *Religion and the New Immigrants*, 29. The ‘social capital’ approach focuses on the extent to which individuals are involved in networks, the ‘civil society’ approach examines the role of those communities in the larger society and the ‘civic participation’ approach directs attention on the role of these communities in preparing their people to participate in the wider community. Even as Foley and Hoge describe them, it becomes clear that the three approaches are not competing but complementing one another. ‘Civic participation’ specifically examines how these communities are involved in ‘civil society’ which itself is an indicator of how ‘social capital’ is employed.

²⁸⁶ Foley and Hoge, *Religion and the New Immigrants*, 108. The social capital approach aids our understanding of religious groups though there is considerable overlap between the models of social capital (where people are empowered and given confidence to act socially), civic participation (through provision of practical advice and direction) and civic participation (groups play a full part in the larger society).

²⁸⁷ “Whereas physical capital refers to physical objects and human capital refers to the properties of individuals, social capital refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them.” Putnam, *Bowling Alone*, 19.

²⁸⁸ Putnam, *Bowling Alone*, 289.

²⁸⁹ Putnam, *Bowling Alone*, 22-23.

may be important to support reciprocity and create solidarity. “Bridging social capital can generate broader identities and reciprocity, whereas bonding social capital bolsters our narrower selves....”²⁹⁰ ‘Bridging’ social capital has positive social effects through linking networks and external assets but can be harmful to the growth of groups as it demands time for the maintenance of networks which is often at the cost of time needed to build bonding social capital. Putnam concluded that though both forms are necessary, in practice it is difficult for one group to move from bonding to bridging social capital. The conditions and supports for bonding social capital need to be dismantled if there is to be a good basis for the bridging variety but it is not ensured. The exclusive aspect of groups involved in bonding social capital often becomes visible when they try to transition into bridging social capital.²⁹¹

Michael Woolcock, a social scientist with the World Bank, introduced the concept of ‘linking’ social capital. ‘Linking’ reaches people who are clearly different and outside of the community. This is a useful addition because it recognises how voluntary communities can be enabled to draw upon the resources of statutory organizations. Linking social capital enables the leverage of a wide range of resources than which would normally be possible or available inside their community.²⁹² Woolcock saw bonding as good for ‘getting by’ and bridging as good for ‘getting ahead.’ They operate on the horizontal level whereas on the vertical level linking social capital allowed for the leveraging of significant relationships beyond one’s own social world.

Transnationalism featured strongly in the discussion on identity in *koinonia*. The movements of extension, accommodation and recreation are understood to be key ways in MCCs form a transnational identity. The direction of public services has featured in the

²⁹⁰ Putnam, *Bowling Alone*, 23.

²⁹¹ John Field criticised Putnam for failing to see that different combinations of the three types of social capital would produce different outcomes. John Field, *Social Capital*, London, 2008, 42-43, 73.

²⁹² Michael Woolcock, “Social Capital and Economic Development: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis and Policy Framework”, *Theory and Society*, 27: 2 (April 1998), 151-208. Michael Woolcock, “The Place of Social Capital in Understanding Social and Economic Outcomes”, *Isuma*, 2:1 (2001), 13-14.

discussion of social capital and I now want to sketch out how MCCs can embrace transnational identities. In recognizing that religious organizations connect immigrants with their homeland Peggy Levitt described how they exhibit trans-national identities in their structure and/or activities. The ‘transnational religious corporation’ is the Roman Catholic option where its priest and members belong and where “the organizational chart and lines of authority are clear.”²⁹³ The ‘transnational corporate model’ is used to describe the Protestant experience of building relationships beyond the community and denomination. In this way, their national networks link churches of the same denomination and create capacity across the world. Levitt also posited three other options as to how groups amid the new religious architecture are able to relate to people in other countries: (i) national groups that work transnationally, (ii) flexible specialization²⁹⁴, and (iii) the transnational supply chain.²⁹⁵ We also need to focus on the nature of these activities of MCCs and their people who regularly relate to others both in and beyond the Netherlands. As trans-national actors, MCCs create social contacts through festivals and services. They contribute to development in their homeland communities by sending money and stimulate questions about social status by generating conflict.²⁹⁶ It could involve facilitating travel and the organization of conferences in other countries. Beyond this more detailed transnational competencies have been envisaged where individuals work across two or more national boundaries. They competencies include the analytic (e.g. the ability to link counterpart-country conditions to one’s own circumstances, the emotional (e.g. the ability to manage multiple identities, the imaginative (e.g. ability to envision viable mutually acceptable alternatives), the behavioural (e.g. the ability to listen to different cultural messages) and the

²⁹³ Peggy Levitt, *God Needs No Passport*, New York, 2007, 117.

²⁹⁴ Levitt, *God Needs No Passport*, 124. The example of Benetton is given as a description of ‘flexible specialization’ where radical responses are made to local preferences and “represents a radical departure from assembly lines.”

²⁹⁵ Levitt, *God Needs No Passport*, 122-126. The final option is the transnational supply where the organization depends on inputs from abroad. These case studies do not reflect this option because they have structural and personal relationships which actively connect them to other countries.

²⁹⁶ Levitt, “*You know, Abraham was really the first immigrant*”, 28-19.

functional (e.g. the ability to maintain positive interpersonal messages).²⁹⁷ Such trans-national competencies in leaders of MCCs may lead to meaningful relationships with other local actors.

The demand for migrants to adapt and for their communities to integrate to the local environment may put a strain upon their trans-national activities and relate to other places at the same time.²⁹⁸ It is also the case that, though the process of adaptation can be difficult at an individual level, it does not nullify transnational activities at a group level. Through the collective of MCCs, transnational activities take place across national borders to sustain relief, reconciliation or evangelism ministries. The interactive paradigm of adaptation that we are operating with also allows pastoral leaders and their communities to connect city-to-city. Circles of relationship are paramount in creating transnational identities. The prevailing interactive model of adaptation suggests that MCCs become more or less integrated in their new host country. There appear to be more circular arrangements where MCCs are continuously connected with other countries through their leaders.

4.4 CONCLUSION

Religious identity has been associated with ethnicity, language and generation to provide perspectives on MCCs. Ethnicity is an interest or rational choice that is used by some migrants to signify their identity. The social, economic and political context has a strong bearing on how they express their identity. Context will influence whether they assume a dominant or hybrid identity and whether they will join a homogeneous or heterogeneous community.

The number of and the language(s) spoken also reveal information about the breadth of the group's identity. The role of the *lingua franca*, for example, permits minority identities to

²⁹⁷ Vertovec, *Transnationalism*, 70-71.

²⁹⁸ Nina Glick Schiller defined transnational as the processes that "(1) extend beyond the borders of a particular state but are shaped by the policies and institutional practices of a particular and limited set of states and (2) include actors that are not states." Nina G. Schiller and Georges E. Fouron, "Terrains of Blood and Nation: Haitian Transnational Social Fields", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22:2 (1999), 343-344.

surface whereas the use of a sacred language protects people in ways that narrower ethnic labels do not. Context becomes a factor in whether leaders and MCCs determine to use languages to include or exclude, to connect or dis-connect and this is particularly relevant in groups where several generations are present. One language may protect the culture of the group while another may put it at risk. Where one language can stir the imagination of the first generation and inspire story-telling, the third generation of the migrant community can feel suffocated and denied their interests. MCCs need new migrants to assimilate into the group but new generational cohorts create extra challenges in the maintenance of identity. These are some of the dilemmas and choices involved.

The construction of group identities is a dynamic process that involves the leaders and members who have chosen to identify with MCCs. However, researchers and observers are also implicitly involved when they seek categories and tools to interpret their observations. As an observer, I searched for categories and tools that would assist me. I knew the concepts of *koinonia*, *kerygma* and *diakonia* to be essential to the theological identity and missionary role of churches. From this premise, I chose the three frames of fellowship, proclamation and service for gathering data from the case-studies. Furthermore, I selected five lenses to reveal issues relevant to the construction of identity and aid their analysis. These were about their context, development, leadership, nomenclature and service.

The frame of fellowship (*koinonia*) is a wide one and the two lenses used to analyse their identity are those of context and development. The lens of context examines their stories of how they have settled in Rotterdam using Alejandro Portes' interactive model. The context of their reception creates the conditions in which the group and its members may integrate or segregate. Their composition is closely related to the context and opportunity structure afforded to their migrant members. The lens of context is also used to examine their composition by employing categories drawn from Kerry Rockquemore's theory of biracial identity as singular,

border, protean or transcendent. The group composition depends on how MCCs and members identify with one another. The lens of development examines how MCCs grow and draws upon three theories of identity formation that are congruent with one another. Manuel Castells theorised on legitimized, projected and resistance behaviour in a network society whereas Robert Schreiter reflected on identities of hierarchy, hybridity and resistance in an era of globalization. Peggy Levitt reflected on trans-national identities and their behaviour as that of extension, negotiation or recreation.

The frame of proclamation (*kerygma*) is also wide because of the different ways in which MCC leaders interact with members of their community and make public statements. The lens of leadership looks at how leaders behave in relationship to their community and its organisation and draws upon theories of Max Weber. Some MCCs retain the historic practices of the wider organization (traditional), while others act according to rational judgements in developing the group (rational) and others make use of their special gifts and interests (charismatic). The lens of public statements involves looking at the MCCs' self-nomenclature through their titles and mission statements. I examine what MCCs say about themselves and reflect on them as intimate or structural communities (as Tonnies, Dudley and Hilgert) and as pilgrim or indigenising communities (as Hunt and Walls). The style of leadership is examined in how they relate to the MCC as a structural organization or intimate community. Their proclaimed identities provide an insight into their vision and values.

The frame of service (*diakonia*) is used to analyse their public activities through the kind and type of relationships that these MCCs form with others. The concepts of bonding, bridging and linking capital are applied to the public activities observed in the case studies. Based upon the social capital theory of Robert Putnam and Michael Woolcock, their public activities are assessed as to whether they are directed to individuals or to collectives and to the degree they empower others. Trans-national behaviour featured in chapters five and six in how

these MCCs and their leaders relate to their context. The transnational nature of their activities provides an insight into how these MCCs operate and serve others. Context remains a key factor that conditions how MCCs and their leaders relate to other factors such as ethnicity, language and generations as they construct an identity between the local and global.

In chapter three I introduced two of my own terms: historical and renewalist (3.2.2) around which I proceeded to try to classify the field. In this chapter, I have introduced further terms obtained from theorists of social identity. I have a strong hunch that they may be useful in the analysis of MCCs and, in the chapters five to seven, I will test these terms on the case studies. By means of these three frames and five lenses, observations on the six case-studies are recorded and evaluated in chapters five, six and seven.

CHAPTER FIVE: KOINONIA

5.1 INTRODUCTION

After four years of fieldwork into MCCs in Rotterdam, I began to receive regular requests for information by other researchers, church leaders and social activists. This demand was to lead to the production of the first *Gids* in 2007 and this in turn tabled the issue of their ascribing an identity to them. From out of the need to record and describe them, several questions raised themselves concerning the basis upon which to classify them. Even if they could be identified, should they be listed and described by their denomination, ethnicity, chronology or another feature? Moreover, there were differences in how they and others identified them. *Emic* perspectives did not tally with *etic* ones. The key questions for me were: “What do they look like? How did they come to be?” Having read Foley and Hoge’s ground-breaking research on migrant faith communities, I decided to follow but significantly adapt their approach.

This chapter uses the frame of *koinonia* or fellowship to look at the character of MCCs in their context and the story of how they formed and developed. *Koinonia* or fellowship is an expression of Christian community and of a shared life together. I selected it as a frame because it has been used widely by church leaders around the world. The World Council of Churches have employed as a model for the ecumenical movement¹ and evangelical leaders have used it as a model for church growth.² The experience of *koinonia* has sustained and strengthened MCCs when they faced unexpected difficulties. In *koinonia* migrant Christians participate in group life and individuals draw aspects of their identity from the larger collective. They identify with the religious tradition, oral language, regional background, the vision of the leadership and

¹ Konrad Raiser, General Secretary of the World Council of Churches; see Benjamin Simon, “An Ecumenical Challenge at the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century: Koinonia vs. Convivence”, in Adogame, Gerloff and Hock, eds, *Christianity in Africa and the African Diaspora*, 322-326.

² Engen, *God’s Missionary People*, 90-92.

the MCC's activities. While *koinonia* enables individuals to construct an identity³ it remained unclear as to how MCCs portray themselves as collectives of Christian migrants. The context of the worshipping community and the story of its growth and development were the two perspectives through which I viewed the construction of their identity. The case studies are observed through the lenses of their context and development.

The lens of context makes use of Alejandro Portes' interactive model of migration, discussed in chapter three, that operates between aspects from their old homeland and new contextual factors.⁴ Socio-economic factors can have a profound impact on how these MCCs adapt. As also discussed in chapter three, the situation and conditions of their reception of different generations is likely to influence their settlement and establishment. Some communities contain a majority of migrants on low incomes whereas others have more skilled or educated persons who are able to find higher employment. Some groups come from backgrounds congruent with Dutch ways and language whereas others are quite alien to it. Migrant group identity is formed in relationship to and in interaction with the social and political context (as stated in 4.3.1). This context is also influenced by what migrants bring to Rotterdam.⁵ Their stories also serve to shape MCCs. The context may affect the way in which they interact, adapt and ultimately how (or if) they redefine themselves. Their identity is observed in their gatherings for worship, a sensual experience and an activity already noted as salient to their identity. When visiting MCCs, I am interested in their choice and use of symbols as well as the composition of the community. I am interested to observe who is participating and how they use language. In their worship settings, the character and composition of the MCC

³ Cameron et al, *Studying Local Churches*, 131, 153.

⁴ Alejandro Portes's interactive model of adaptation is adopted by Foley and Hoge for it takes account of a wider range of outcomes than earlier ones. Foley and Hoge, *Religion and the New Immigrants*, 42.

⁵ "Governmental reception is defined by a continuum from active resettlement assistance to active opposition and societal reception is conditioned by the phenotypical and cultural characteristics of each immigrant group" whereas co-ethnic "communities offer some protection against outside prejudice and the shock of acculturation." Alejandro Portes, *The Economic Sociology of Immigration: Essays on Networks, Ethnicity and Entrepreneurship*, New York, 1995, 25.

became more transparent. I discovered a typology developed for the study of bi-racial identity in the United States to interpret their composition when the group comes together in fellowship. The second lens which I employ views their behaviour and development. It makes use of Robert Schreiter's research on contextual identity in globalization and Peggy Levitt's research on transnational identities. Both Schreiter and Levitt offer a three-fold typology for group development that appears to have congruence with Manuel Castells' social construction of identity through networks⁶ (see 3.3.4). Through the lens of development, I observed how the group settled and established itself.

5.2 SIX CASE STUDIES

5.2.1 Portuguese-speaking Cape Verdean Roman Catholic Church (PCVRC)

5.2.1.1 Their Context and Character

Rotterdam has been a favoured destination for migrants from Cape Verde⁷ whose population in the Netherlands has risen to over twenty thousand.⁸ The port contains the largest population of Cape Verdeans in the Netherlands⁹ and the second largest Cape Verdean of any city in Europe.¹⁰ From the 1950s Cape Verdean men came to Rotterdam in search of work as seafarers as, for example, Lloyds sought to recruit them. "Elderly men who worked at sea in the 1960s often

⁶ Castells, *The Power of Identity*, 7.

⁷ Cape Verde, an archipelago of nine islands off the coast of West Africa, was a Portuguese colony from about 1460 to 1975.

⁸ 14,827 Cape Verdeans were registered as living in the city boroughs of Rotterdam on 1 January 2002 and increased to 15,114 on 1 January 2007. The total population of Cape Verdeans in Rotterdam is likely to be higher than statistics show. Cape Verdeans with a Portuguese passport are registered as North Mediterraneans. In addition, the number of Cape Verdeans who are illegal immigrants in the Netherlands is estimated at 2000. Pires, Rodrigues and Dóris Teresa Duarte, *Nha Tambor: Onderzoek naar het Cultureel Erfgoed van Kaapverdianen in Rotterdam/Uma Investigação sobre a Herança Cultural dos Cabo-verdeanos em Roterdão/Investigation of the Cultural Heritage of Cape Verdeans in Rotterdam*, Rotterdam, 2006.

⁹ The Netherlands has the third largest population of Cape Verdeans of any country of the world after the United States and Portugal.

¹⁰ Lisbon contains about 50,000 of the 160,000 Cape Verdeans who are estimated to have migrated to Europe. Strooij, Henny, "Eilanden aan de Maas: De Kaapverdise Gemeenschap van Rotterdam", in Ineke van Kessel and Nina Tellegen, eds, *Afrikanen in Nederland*, Amsterdam, 2000, 44.

talk very fondly about the spirit of community and co-operation in Rotterdam at that time.”¹¹ A pattern of classic chain migration system developed and their population gained pace in the early 1960s. The official number of registered Cape Verdeans¹² increased from 9000 in 1960 to over 19000 in 2010 as women and children joined up with their men.¹³ On 1 January 2007 15,114 Cape Verdeans were registered as living in Rotterdam and more than six thousand (40%) were living in the western district of Delfshaven.¹⁴ Nearby in Marconiplein is a public transport hub through which family and friends can travel in.¹⁵

PCVRC meets in the district of Delfshaven which contains the neighbourhoods of Schiemond, Spangen and Bospolder. In 2005 they had the highest proportion of Cape Verdeans (more than 10%) in any neighbourhood in Northern Europe.¹⁶ Nearby in *Heemraadsplein* the Cape Verdean community began to be a dominant population group and in 2001 the municipality gave a Cape Verdean name to a public meeting space. In Portuguese *Prasinha d’Kebro’d* means the “square of those without money” or the “square of those who are broke.” For many Cape Verdeans, this amounted to a political acknowledgement of the place of Cape

¹¹ Jórgen Carling, “Cape Verdeans in the Netherlands” in Luis Batalha and Jórgen Carling, eds, *Transnational Archipelago: Perspectives on Cape Verdean Migration and Diaspora*, Amsterdam, 2008, 91.

¹² Pedro Góis, “Low Intensity Transnationalism: The Cape Verdian Case”, *Stichproben, Wiener Zeitschrift für kritische Afrikastudien*, 8:5 (2005), 258. The numbers are estimated as much higher since family members visit on tourist visas but regularly over-stay the allotted period.

¹³ In the 1970s, transnational links developed between the male-dominated Cape Verdean community in the Netherlands and the female-dominated community in Italy. Out of the several thousand Cape Verdean women who worked as domestic maids in Italy, many chose to migrate to the Netherlands for better living and working conditions. Women became the majority of Cape Verdean immigrants to the Netherlands in the early 1970s because of migration from Italy, family reunification and female migration from Cape Verde. Jacqueline Andall, “Cape Verdean Women on the Move: ‘Immigration Shopping’ in Italy and Europe”, *Modern Italy, Journal for the Association for the Study of Modern Italy*, 4:2 (1999), 241-257.

¹⁴ By 2025 the population of Cape Verdeans in Rotterdam was expected to increase to 16,600 with 6297 (or 38%) in Delfshaven. C. Ergun, M. Bik, C. Stolk, *Bevolkingsprognose Rotterdam 2025*, Rotterdam.

¹⁵ The greatest concentration of Cape Verdeans is in the district of Delfshaven. In 2002 6,414 or 43% of all Cape Verdeans lived in Delfshaven compared with 1336 in the northern districts, 1218 in Kralingen-Crooswijk, 1614 in Feyenoord and 1067 in Charlois, *Key figures Rotterdam 2002*, COS, 2002.

¹⁶ Cape Verdean people connect other Cape Verdeans in other neighbourhoods, towns and cities. “For the Cape Verdeans residing in Lisbon, the regions with large numbers of relatives were the regions of France (mostly Paris, but also Nice), the Dutch cities (region of Rotterdam), the region of New England (Boston and/or Providence) and Spain (Leon and Madrid). As far as the Cape Verdeans residing in the Netherlands are concerned, the areas with large numbers of relatives were the French region of Paris, Lisbon Metropolitan Area, New England (Boston and/or Providence), Luxembourg and Rome Metropolitan Area.” Góis, “Low Intensity Transnationalism: The Cape Verdean case”, 262.

Verdeans in Rotterdam.¹⁷ Herman Noordegraaf wrote in 2010 “most Cape Verdeans do unqualified work (maintenance sector) and earn minimum wages” and “there is a lot of hidden poverty.”¹⁸ The municipality has not always treated Cape Verdeans as a dominant group. Though Portuguese language studies were considered to be important for young people returning to Portugal¹⁹, the authorities were reluctant to grant separate funds for Cape Verdean social activities. At the beginning, most Cape Verdeans immigrants were poor and their experience of reception was difficult. Where Cape Verdean men found work they were able to bring their families to the Netherlands but the lack of jobs they could undertake made family reunification difficult. Issues concerning residential documents increased at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Cape Verdean seafarers looked for jobs in the port but they could not take more than three months away from the Netherlands without losing their entitlement to social welfare.²⁰ It is on record that some Cape Verdean women came from Italy to the Netherlands.²¹ They had been working as domestics but their need for better conditions threw them upon their community’s transnational ties. In the west of Rotterdam, Cape Verdeans create networks and experience hospitality and solidarity in neighbourhoods where many of their families and fellow countrymen reside.²² They made their home in the west of Rotterdam. Governmental policy was not to make subsidies available to Cape Verdeans so that they would integrate into Portuguese organizations in the Netherlands.²³

¹⁷ Carling, “Cape Verdeans in the Netherlands”, 91.

¹⁸ Herman Noordegraaf, *Migrantenkerken en Armoede in Nederland, Een Verkennend Onderzoek*, 2010, Utrecht, 17.

¹⁹ Charlotte Laarman, “De Portugeestalige Migranten en hun Parochies in de Nederlandse Katholieke Kerk, 1969-2005”, *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis*, 4:1 (2007), 135.

²⁰ Carling, “Cape Verdeans in the Netherlands”, 92.

²¹ Góis, “Low Intensity Transnationalism”, 267, 268.

²² ‘Mutirão’ is the concept of deep mutual solidarity between Cape Verdeans who have as many as seventy self-help organizations in Rotterdam. Many of them are connected with PCVRC. “The church is not only a place of worship but is a place for meeting other people with whom you share a deep identity around your own language, rituals, laughing and crying.” Peter Stevens, interview by author, Rotterdam, 11 April 2006, written notes.

²³ Laarman, “De Portugeestalige Migranten en hun Parochies in de Nederlandse Katholieke Kerk, 1969-2005”, 59.

Their religion is more than personal and essential to their social standing and identity. Cape Verdean *morna* songs, which express longing for the homeland of the archipelago, feed the imagination. The brokenness of poverty and fragmentation of the ten islands is can be met by the sound of Creole songs. In this way, religious experience reasserts social identity and the Cape Verdean religious heritage is activated for migrants who are struggling in Rotterdam. I observed small groups of men at PCVRC talking to each other in corridors and fellowship halls. This pointed both to their fragmented island experience and to their satisfaction in finding others to share with. On the other hand, difficulties about living conditions can create a group within a group which has an effect on the whole. Poverty and lack of sustainable employment have a bearing on the younger generation who appear less attached to their parents' homeland and religion.

It is in this context that we observe PCVRC in Rotterdam. The chapel of the PCVRC is not luxurious or ornate as the splendid interiors of other Catholic churches and has been described as sober with long simple pews, a modest altar and baptismal font but, when people enter, "the church bursts out of its jacket".²⁴ I observed:

Upstairs in the church sanctuary all of the pews are full. Young families walk in and I watch coloured people of all ages go forward to receive the Mass. I am surprised that more Portuguese language is used in what I was told would be the 'Dutch' service. Music and song is a feature of the service and afterwards the community does not rush away. Small groups of men are intently talking with one another. The choir is meeting in a side room where the priest, who stands among them, receives people. When they come looking for him, they are invited to share in tasty Cape Verdean snacks.

²⁴ Peter Stevens in "Op zondag zit het hier provol", Marcel Potters, *Rotterdam AD*, 7 February 2007.

Within the MCC there are regular reminders of another homeland. In PCVRC there is a sense that they do not want to become Dutch or at least they are not in a hurry. When the first generation of Cape Verdeans came to Rotterdam, Cape Verde was a colony of Portugal. According to Charlotte Laarman, they did not have a distinctive identity as did the Angolans and Brazilians.²⁵ Yet in a whole range of activities and the practice of their faith, a sense of identity is being shared and remembered. An interview with the former priest confirmed this.

The church is not only a place of worship but is also a place for meeting other people with whom you share an identity. Your own language, your rituals, your people, your laughing, your crying, your own place and your own party.... someone once named the Cape Verdean parish as the eleventh island of Cape Verde.²⁶

Diversity within this community is enabled through the use of three languages. The dominant one is Portuguese, which is spoken on four continents, and Sunday services take place at 10.00 (in Portuguese) and at 12.00 (in Portuguese and Dutch, and to a lesser extent in Creole) and attract up to seven hundred adults and children. The priest observed “most of the people have lived for two or three generations in the Netherlands and speak two languages”²⁷ and it is families of the second and third generations who tend to come to the midday service. 90% of PCVRC originate from the Cape Verdean islands but the community also contains Roman Catholics from Portugal, Brazil, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.²⁸ The music which accompanies the songs is played by a band that one reporter described as sounding like “the sun, sea and sand”.²⁹ The PCVRC became dominated by Cape Verdean spirituality when Creole

²⁵ Laarman, “De Portugeestalige Migranten en hun Parochies”, 136.

²⁶ Peter Stevens, interview by author, Rotterdam, 11 April 2006, written notes.

²⁷ Peter Stevens, interview by author, Rotterdam, 11 April 2006, written notes.

²⁸ “Most Brazilians are women married to Dutch partners and many of the Angolans live in Dordrecht but do not attend regularly.” Bernardo de Boer, interview by author, Rotterdam, 20 March 2012, written notes.

²⁹ Ivo van Woerden, “En de Migrant hij Bidt”, *Haagse Post / De Tijd*, 17 December 2010, 40.

songs were included in the liturgy. The Cape Verdean population is particularly dominant in this migrant parish which was set up to serve all Portuguese-speakers. Their use of certain songs and artefacts became an important feature in giving a foothold and establishing Creole spiritual identity.³⁰ Cape Verdean people celebrated their experience of migration through the singing of *morna* songs about leaving and longing for their homeland. It has been suggested that this is connected to images of the good Cape Verdean life.³¹ There is variety in their rituals and artefacts of Creole spirituality such as in both white and ebony statues of Mary³² and African religious belief in reincarnation.³³ The allowance of greater ritual and participation has been important to the development of PCVRC. Though the priest has the dominant role, musicians clearly have a big influence in enabling Cape Verdeans to express their own faith traditions.³⁴ A high level of participation and leading worship was evident in this MCC. Annual pilgrimages to sacred Roman Catholic sites are made with ten to fifteen buses full of Cape Verdean people. Through religious faith, this dominant population of Portuguese speakers is able to represent their ethnic heritage and spiritual identity.

³⁰ Laarman, “De Portugeestalige Migranten en hun Parochies”, 141.

³¹ L. Akesson, *Making a Life: Meanings of Migration in Cape Verde*, Ph.D. dissertation, 2004, Gothenburg: Department of Social Anthropology, University of Gothenburg.

³² Laarman, “De Portugeestalige Migranten en hun Parochies”, 138.

³³ In the Cape Verdean islands of Sao Vicente and Santo Antão, this is promoted by a Christian group, *O Centro Redentor do Racionalismo Cristão*, which has influence in Brazil. Strooij, “Eilanden aan de Maas: De Kaapverdise gemeenschap van Rotterdam”, 57.

³⁴ Issues of emancipation keep some Cape Verdean women directly related to their role in church life. One of them, for example, tried within her church to shape her black or African identity. They set themselves against the Portuguese character while the church enjoyed Cape Verdean resistance. Then she sought with a group of black women who indulge in female theology and speak about social issues. Translated by author from: “Vraagstukken van emancipatie houden voor enkele Kaapverdianse vrouwen direct verband met hun rol in het kerkelijk leven. Een van hen heeft bijvoorbeeld getracht om binnen haar kerk vorm te geven aan haar zwarte of Afrikaanse identiteit. Ze zette zich daarmee af tegen het Portugese karakter van haar kerk, maar dit streven riep zowel bij de Portugese als bij de Kaapverdianse kerkgenoten weerstanden op. Daarop heeft ze aansluiting gezocht bij een groep zwarte vrouwen die zich verdiepen in ‘womanistische’ theologie en over sociale vraagstukken spreken.” Gabriel van den Brink, *Culturele Contrasten- Het Verhaal van de Migranten in Rotterdam*, Amsterdam, 2006, 151.

5.2.1.2 Their Story of Development

The formation of a Portuguese Roman Catholic Church began in Rotterdam at the end of the 1960s when Portuguese-speakers gathered with Roman Catholic missionaries to meet in a Dutch church at *Pijperstraat* in Crooswijk.³⁵ The numbers of Portuguese-speaking Roman Catholics increased in the 1970s and early 1980s. They not only sought a place to celebrate the mass but also somewhere that would be multi-functional and contain other activities. It became possible to move to the ‘Barbara’ Church in Crooswijk (where they could also use the basement of a house in the *Hondiusstraat* for community celebrations) and in 1984 to a church in *Nozemanstraat* in Rotterdam West. Both of these locations were in the area around *Heemraadsplein* where Cape Verdean population was growing. In 1991 the Roman Catholic Diocese bought premises that they could have at a low rent and they relocated to the former Apostolic Church³⁶ in the *Korfmakersstraat* by Marconiplein. As a result of decisions made at the Second Vatican Council 1962-65, the vernacular was able to be adopted in Roman Catholic liturgies and ‘new’ language ministries were legitimised. It became possible for a parish (or ‘quasi-parish’) to establish a Portuguese-speaking MCC³⁷ which was expected to become a channel for the integration of Cape Verdean peoples³⁸ who shared the same language, church and religion.³⁹

The designation of a Portuguese-speaking Roman Catholic Church gave rise to a community for migrants from Angola, Brazil, Guinea, Cape Verdean islands and Portugal. Though Cape Verdeans spoke Creole amongst themselves, it was expected that Cape Verdean people would either integrate into the local parish or return to their homeland. In the MCC Cape

³⁵ Previously Portuguese migrants sought services from the Diocese of Haarlem-Amsterdam and in 1964 a Dutch priest, a former missionary in Brazil, founded a Portuguese MCC in Amsterdam, known as the *Nossa Senhora de Fatima Immigrant Mission*.

³⁶ This church used by the Apostolic Fellowship (*Apostolische Broederschap*) but with declining numbers they moved to Blijdorp.

³⁷ Judith Maaskant, *Afrikaanse Katholieken in Rotterdam, waar Kerk je dan? Kerkelijke Verwachtingen van Afrikaanse Katholieken in Rotterdam en het Migrantenbeleid van de RKK*, Nijmegen, 2000, 49.

³⁸ Laarman, “De Portugeestalige Migranten en hun Parochies”, 135.

³⁹ Laarman, “De Portugeestalige Migranten en hun Parochies”, 136.

Verdeans became the dominant set by dint of greater numbers but, as the Cape Verdean presence increased, the Portuguese attendance declined and internal difficulties arose.⁴⁰ As Creole songs began to be sung exuberantly during the liturgy, Cape Verdeans from the social margins of the city were able to express their own faith traditions.⁴¹ The remaining Portuguese members left and either went to Dutch Catholic churches, stopped attending or went back to Portugal. There had been a quiet power struggle. It has been said that Cape Verdean Roman Catholics effectively used the organization of the Portuguese Roman Catholic Church as a ‘springboard’ to establish their own identity.⁴² Whereas Roman Catholic MCCs were created as a result of policies in the Vatican that offered migrants opportunities in their mother-tongue, in this case it was specifically another migrant group that took charge. It was not a relationship of succession because despite the attempts of conditions for grant funding there was little co-operation between Portuguese-speaking groups. This community of different ethnic groups was based upon a shared Catholicism, a colonial past and a shared language. When the other smaller Portuguese-speakers left it effectively became a Cape Verdean majority. A variety of Portuguese-speaking Roman Catholic migrants were ‘spring-boarded’ by another. The Cape Verdean Portuguese-speaking migrants organized themselves and resisted pressures from the Dutch government. They experienced an attempt to reshape them by editing statements in the provision of grants.⁴³ Peggy Levitt, in drawing upon political theorists such as John Stuart Mill and Ernest Gellner, asked “if nationalism and patriotism sometimes function as springboards to a humanitarian embrace, why can’t religion do the same?”⁴⁴ Through the use of songs and artefacts⁴⁵ it appears that Cape Verdean national and religious identity was asserted. In this

⁴⁰ Portuguese members stopped attending the church, but, according to Becker, conflict experienced in its early development is consistent with the large size of the MCC and more than one polity type in operation.

⁴¹ Brink, *Culturele Contrasten: Het Verhaal van de Migranten in Rotterdam*, Amsterdam, 151.

⁴² Laarman’s thesis is that under certain conditions, a MCC founded by one group of migrants can become a springboard for another group of migrants, either by succession or by being taken over.

⁴³ Laarman, “De Portugeestelijke Migranten en hun Parochies”, 141.

⁴⁴ Levitt, *God Needs No Passport*, 90.

⁴⁵ Laarman, “De Portugeestelijke Migranten en hun Parochies”, 138, 141.

case, religion functioned as a means to develop a narrower and specific social identity in Portuguese-speaking migrant group. At first it was encouraged to develop through a diaconal ministry for Roman Catholic migrants. Up to 2004 the PCVRC had been nurtured by *Cura Migratorum* rather than by the Diocese and Bishopric of the Roman Catholic Church. When finances for *Cura Migratorum* were ended, PCVRC functioned under the local diocese of Roman Catholic Church with its more traditional policies and procedures. Migrant parishes were required to come under the authority of and accountability to the Diocese of the Hague and Rotterdam.

The transnational identity of Cape Verdeans is rooted in the islands of the archipelago but differences in relationship to their original island homes help to account for fragmentation in the wider community in Rotterdam. Cape Verdean people who left their islands retained a strong ‘island mentality’ and organized their own social clubs and associations.⁴⁶ Since on each island there is a different Creole dialect, Cape Verdeans have had some difficulty in understanding one other. The island of origin therefore became an important aspect of the identity of Cape Verdeans in the Netherlands. Most came from the islands of Santo Antão, São Vicente and São Nicolau in north-west of the archipelago.⁴⁷ Góis wrote: “Cape Verde may be a unique example of a state that could be characterised as transnational and a hybridity at the moment of its creation; of a nation scattered over many territories; of an archipelago-like set of groups of highly diverse transnational migrants, enmeshed in transnational practices.”⁴⁸

Cape Verdeans have assumed transnational lifestyles through the maintenance of relationships in their experience of migration. Strong transnational family networks have been

⁴⁶ Strooij, “Eilanden aan de Maas”, 50.

⁴⁷ “A survey of the Cape Verdean-born population in Rotterdam who were over thirty-five years old indicated that up to 75% were born on these three islands.” This was “estimated on the basis of a custom sample drawn from the municipal register of Rotterdam, on 1 April 2004, for the European Research Project Immigrants and ethnic Minorities in European Cities, University of Amsterdam.” Carling, in Batalha and Carling, eds., *Transnational Archipelago: Perspectives on Cape Verdean Migration and Diaspora*, 93, 99.

⁴⁸ Góis, “Low Intensity Transnationalism”, 255. Through their relationship to the Iberian peninsula and Africa, Cape Verdeans included Portuguese, Spanish, Jewish, Spanish and different African backgrounds.

discovered through interviews with Cape Verdeans in Rotterdam in 1999 when 90% said that they had relatives living in other countries of Cape Verdean immigration.⁴⁹ Cape Verdean people who live in other European cities tend to operate in transnational identities and networks. They regularly travel together by bus between cities to attend funerals and maintain social connections. “The constant ‘coming and going’ that characterises transnationalism became more and Lisbon and Rotterdam are the important starting points of this circulatory movement.”⁵⁰ Members of PCVRC are involved in transnational practices such as in financial remittances to family members in specific Cape Verdean islands. In the globalising port city Cape Verdeans through the PCVRC continue to practise their particular traditions but the relationship with their homeland is in a process of change. A large proportion of the elderly in Cape Verde are still supported by family members overseas.⁵¹ The second generation in Rotterdam are less concerned about identifying with a specific island but prefer to focus on unity within the Cape Verdean community.⁵² While the islands had their own differences in ethnic and religious background⁵³ there are differences between first and third generations in

⁴⁹ Malheiros, Jorge M., *Arquipelagos migratorios: transnacionalismo e inovacao*, Dissertacao de Doutoramento em Geografia Humana, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 2001 in Góis, “Low Intensity Transnationalism”, 261.

⁵⁰ Iolanda Évora, “Associativism and Transnational Practices on Capeverdean Migrants”, Conference paper for XI Annual Conference of Project Metropolis International “Paths and Crossroads: moving people, changing places”, 2-6 October 2006, Lisbon, Gulbenkian & Culturgest. http://pascal.iseg.utl.pt/~cesa/files/Doc_trabalho/88.pdf accessed on 23 January 2012. Across Europe, Cape Verdeans had different destinations from individual islands in the archipelago. The South Vicente island has a connection to Rotterdam in the same way that the Santiago island has to Lisbon. Góis, *Low Intensity Transnationalism: The Cape Verdian Case*, 257. The multi-polar geography of Cape Verdeans is evidenced in city to city networks, such as between Cape Verdeans in Rotterdam and Luxembourg, and from these cities and towns to Cape Verde. “While Boston, Brockton, Dakar, Lisbon, Paris, Pawtucket, Providence, Roma or Rotterdam, are the central nodes of this network, cities like Milan, Porto, Marseille, Rio de Janeiro, Bridgeport, Lausanne, Luxembourg or Faro are secondary nodes that support and diversify the migratory network.” Góis, *Low Intensity Transnationalism: The Cape Verdian Case*, 259. As a result, Cape Verdean identity is diversifying as the new generations become embedded in their European contexts and speak in Dutch, French or Italian.

⁵¹ “A quarter of the people in Cape Verde has a parent, spouse or child abroad, and can thus be regarded as part of a transnational family.” Carling and Batalha, “Cape Verdean Migration and Diaspora” in Batalha and Carling, eds., *Transnational Archipelago: Perspectives on Cape Verdean Migration and Diaspora*, 28.

⁵² Peter Bosman, *Cabo Verde aan de Maas. Kaapverdianen in Rotterdam: Groepsidentiteit en Religie*, Doctoraalscriptie maatschappij-geschiedenis, Rotterdam: Faculteit der Historische en Kunstwetenschappen, Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam, 1997; Strooij, “Eilanden aan de Maas”, 2000.

⁵³ The population of Cape Verdean islands is a mixture of African and Portuguese (and other Europeans) ancestors. The Northern group of islands is more ‘European’ while the Southern group is more African. Strooij, “Eilanden aan de Maas”, 45.

socio-economic status⁵⁴ and the majority of the Cape Verdean community is youthful.⁵⁵ For grandchildren of the early migrants the title ‘Cape Verdean’ may represent more of an ‘imagined community’⁵⁶ where it connects to a land that they never knew or will never visit or return to. It is possible that trans-national activities could decline substantially because both Cape Verdean exiles and the Cape Verdean islands are in a state of flux. The priest recognized the distinctive role played by the older Cape Verdeans in Rotterdam when he observed that “the first generation has more feeling than new migrants for the islands and many of them return every year.”⁵⁷ The second generation abroad have fewer friends and relatives to support in the archipelago while the Cape Verdean islands have become less dependent on gifts from abroad and undergone socio-economic transformation as a result of market growth in the 1990s and early 2000s. This suggests that in the future the Cape Verdean identity of PCVRC will depend less upon these islands. Perhaps PCVRC’s identity will draw more upon other Cape Verdean migrants and where they live, the Portuguese language or the policies of the local Roman Catholic diocese.

In their family and social networks, PCVRC has an influence on Cape Verdeans in Rotterdam who do not attend religious services. Though some intermarriage with local people is taking place, the priest’s view is that “the church is the only organization that can unite the

⁵⁴ The second generation of Cape Verdeans in the Netherlands comprises 40% of the population. They are less likely to send remittances or retire in Cape Verde than the first generation. From 1990 to 2000 remittances from the Netherlands fell from 20% to 12%. (Banco de Cabo Verde 1991-2001, In: Cape Verde: Toward the End of Emigration?, Migration Information Source, International Peace Research Institute, Oslo). A Cape Verdean Evangelical pastor in Rotterdam reported that Cape Verdeans in Rotterdam have a double mentality. “They do not live as Christians but instead have ‘a foot in both camps’ or as we say in Portuguese ‘a leg in both boats.’” Eugenio Delgado, interview by author, Rotterdam, 24 April 2004, written notes.

⁵⁵ In 1999 it was estimated that 39% were second generation Cape Verdeans who had been born in the Netherlands. *Minderhedenmonitor 2000: Etnische minderheden in Rotterdam*, Rotterdam, ISEO (Instituut voor Sociologisch-Economisch Onderzoek, Erasmus Universiteit) / COS (Centrum voor Statistiek en Onderzoek, Gemeente Rotterdam), 2001. In 2000 it was estimated that 67% of Cape Verdeans were younger than 35 years (Strooij, *Eilanden aan de Maas*, 2000, 48) and that 46% of Cape Verdeans were younger than 25 years (see Pires and Duarte, *Nha Tambor*).

⁵⁶ There was no assertion of a Cape Verdean national identity until the twentieth century and, as has been indicated, migrants tended to identify more with their island of origin. The relevance of Benedict Anderson’s phrase is connected more with the use of Cape Verdean Creole and Cape Verdean music. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 17.

⁵⁷ Bernardo de Boer, interview by author, Rotterdam, 20 March, 2012, written notes.

people of these islands.”⁵⁸ The development of a trans-national Cape Verdean identity also tends to unite people from different islands and enable them to face up to common and contemporary issues in Rotterdam. Cape Verdean migrants demonstrate patterns of transnational behaviour. They speak about their island activities at meetings in the church community. Individual members of PCVRC continue in de-centred attachments⁵⁹ through space that is regarded as ‘home away from home.’ PCVRC provides space to remember values from their upbringing and for activities that support their homeland. They keep the notion of transnational identity alive through practising their traditions. They find space to practise their folk religion or organize support through their clubs. In the future this trans-national character could reduce for those born in the Netherlands.

5.2.2 Moravian Evangelical Brethren (MEB)

5.2.2.1 Their Context and Character

The circumstances of Surinamese migration are generally regarded to have been supportive and beneficial. Studies on the reception of Surinamers from 2006 have suggested that they have integrated to the point that they “have actually become part of Dutch identity.” The diversity of groups that make up Suriname identity made them more open to assimilation than other groups.⁶⁰ The major flow of Suriname people came between 1975 and 1980 for economic,

⁵⁸ Bernardo de Boer, interview by author, Rotterdam, 20 March, 2012, written notes.

⁵⁹ Vertovec, *Transnationalism*, 6.

⁶⁰ “The Dutch colonial identity was one of assimilation through universal education; it required the use of Dutch language, law and customs. The Javanese and Hindustani traditions proved too resistant and in and around 1930 the Dutch began to recognise Asian cultural traditions such as marriage practices. In later years, the Creole elite began to promote Creolization as a means of national identity formation. This too was met with resistance by other segments of the population. After independence, Suriname began to promote an integrated Surinamese identity, but this political platform lost popular support when the when the military regime associated with it began to commit human religious rights violations in its efforts to disempower rival political groups. Out of this resistance to one common national identity has grown a shared common vision of society best described as ‘unity in diversity’. There is a prevailing mutual respect for a range of cultural and music traditions among the Surinamese with no one tradition attempting to promote cultural hegemony.” Coexistence International at Brandel University, Suriname Studies Series, Shaun Taylor and Jessica Burns, March 2010, Suriname identity, accessed on 26 August 2016, <http://C:/Users/Roberts%20laptop/Desktop/Ch%205%20FN%2059/surinamecs.pdf> (no longer accessible)

education and medical reasons that were compounded by fears that national independence would make life in Suriname more difficult. Almost half of the population of Suriname (200,000 out of 450,000) departed for the Netherlands following independence, and today 300,000 people in the Netherlands trace their roots to Suriname.⁶¹ African Creole descendants represent about 23% of the population of Suriname compared to 35% Indian, 16% Javanese (or Indonesian), 10% Maroons and 7% Chinese.⁶² Creoles contain a mixed heritage of Dutch or European peoples and enslaved West-Africans while Maroons are directly descended from enslaved West-Africans who subsequently were able to escape. The latter “kind of blend in with the Afro-Suriname group but are different.”⁶³ 70% of Suriname population in the Netherlands have originated out of either Africa or India.⁶⁴

In general, migrants from Suriname in the 1970s found the opportunity structure to be more positive because of the Dutch language and recognition of Suriname as part of the story of the Netherlands. The 300,000 who can trace their roots to Suriname have hybrid identities. They are mainly first and second generation from Suriname and continue to revisit the ‘homeland’. Those who originate from Java or India seek help in this ‘Moravian’ community to recall their spiritual past. What the first migrants brought with them from Suriname has been difficult to pass on. The context for those born in the Netherlands is more conflictual. They struggle to find work and feel unwelcome in the Netherlands. They do not easily relate to their parents and grand-parents and some retreat into African folk religion. A major challenge facing the community has been the search for personal identity and what it means to be Surinamese in the Netherlands. The third generation has more secular attitudes and the MEB tries to engage

⁶¹ Suriname migration, accessed on 4 February 2012, www.dutch.berkeley.edu/mcnl/history/immigration/colonial/the-surinamese (no longer accessible)

⁶² Suriname populations, accessed on 14 August 2012, <http://www.dutch.berkeley.edu/mcnl/history/immigration/colonial/the-surinamese> (no longer accessible)

⁶³ Erik-Jan Stam, interview by author, Rotterdam, 6 March 2012, written notes.

⁶⁴ Robert Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, London, 1997, 142.

with their interest in the use of drugs and aspects of Suriname folk-religion.⁶⁵ The pastoral issues highlighted in the MEB's own guide are "problems between generations, the second generation problem, bible reading, drugs."⁶⁶ Though slavery was abolished in Suriname in 1863 and despite its Dutch colonial history, its people face challenges in their relationships to the Netherlands that are not very different from those faced by new MCCs from Africa.⁶⁷ Creole identity connects with its African roots. In MEB, Surinamese traditions remain important whether in the singing of familiar songs or in celebrating birthdays as they did in Suriname. "We value the tradition of celebrating birthdays and members will ask the pastor to have a thanksgiving service for them (which may mean two or three services every week for the pastor)."⁶⁸ The traditions from Suriname are more demonstrative compared with the traditional and stiffer style of German Moravian missionaries to the Netherlands but this MCC is mostly composed of first and second generation members since the 1970s. It faces a challenge to reach the younger third generation who are born here. I observed:

A traditional but impressive sanctuary contains an imposing organ. Only traditional hymns are listed but a soloist introduces a couple of folk songs that people knew in the Sranon Tongo language from Suriname.⁶⁹ Afterwards the hall is crowded as many queue for Suriname food because it is someone is celebrating a birthday. Only a few children and young people were in the service and they went out for their own

⁶⁵ 'Winti' is an African folk-religion that dates back to African slave trade and has rituals which venerate ancestors.

⁶⁶ *Wat is... Wat doet... EBG Rotterdam?*, Rotterdam, Evangelische Broedergemeente Rotterdam, 9.

⁶⁷ Kathleen Ferrier cites a comment that places MEB in solidarity with newer MCCs. "Laten wij vooral niet te snel denken dat wij, als Surinamers, het hier in Nederland gemaakt hebben. Er liggen ook voor ons nog heel veel uitdagingen in deze multiculturele samenleving, die echt niet zoveel verschillen van de uitdagingen die onze broeders en zusters van nieuwere migrantenkerken aan moeten gaan." / "Let us not think too quickly that we, as Surinamese, have made it here in the Netherlands. There are also many challenges for us in this multicultural society, which is not really different from the challenges that our brothers and sisters of the newer immigrant churches have to face." Ferrier, *Migrantenkerken*, 53.

⁶⁸ Max Lieveld, interview by author, Rotterdam, 20 September 2004, written notes.

⁶⁹ "Sranan Tongo" is a local creole language that is widely used language on the streets and is regularly interchanged with Dutch.

activities. The congregation is almost entirely made up of the dark features of mainly middle-aged and elderly Suriname people.

The community of MEB appears as a multicultural hybridity with minorities of Javanese, Chinese and Indian Suriname Moravian (Protestant) Christians. The latter regard MEB as their spiritual home in the Netherlands though now each makes up no more than 1-2% of the whole community.⁷⁰ One Surinamese pastor interviewed stated: “We have a strong motivation to look for one another for we are one big family with different cultures from different parts of the world.”⁷¹ These sub-cultures within the MEB have a story of a ‘double migration.’ In 2007 the Javanese were the largest with about forty members⁷² who have strong bonds and their own networks.⁷³ The Indian or Hindustani group numbered between thirty and thirty-five and have their own services every week in the Netherlands. Most attend the service in Rotterdam which takes place on the third Sunday of the month. Within a reconstructed Surinamese identity in the Netherlands the continuance of increasingly small separate Javanese, Chinese or Indian services may be justified over the need to hear one’s mother tongue and childhood songs. It is likely that separate services echo memories of the church in Suriname which had to live with being a minority. In the first migration about 80% were Hindu and only a small number were Christians. The members of MEB began to mirror what they remembered of the practice of the churches in Suriname that they came from.

⁷⁰ The mission to the Javanese began in Indonesia in 1909. There were similar missions to Hindu, Indian and Chinese people.

⁷¹ Denny Zinhagel, interview by author, Rotterdam, 19 March 2012, written notes.

⁷² The MEB holds about three hundred and fifty addresses in its Javanese fellowship across South Holland and is in contact with the Javaans Christelijke Werkgroep Nederlands (JCWN).

⁷³ Network analysis of Suriname organisations in Amsterdam in 2002 has revealed Hindustani (or Indian) Surinamese have a stronger internal network than the African Surinamese (formerly enslaved from West Africa) have a much better internal network than the African Surinamese. Anja van Heelsum and Eske Voorthuysen, *Surinaamse Organisaties in Nederland: Een Netwerkanalyse*, Amsterdam, 2002. Evidence of this is available through the Landelijke Hindustani Begeleidings Commissie (LHBC).

5.2.2.2 Their Story of Development

The effectiveness of the Moravian mission beyond Europe gave rise to a denomination with a global identity across three continents. The adoption of the Dutch language in Suriname paved the way for Suriname people and their Moravian spirituality to get connected in the Netherlands. After the Second World War the first visitors from Suriname were students in the 1960s and they sought their own Christmas celebrations in the Netherlands. They joined the MEB which was revived in Rotterdam in 1967 as a historic Protestant Church.⁷⁴ “The Surinamers who came to the Netherlands after World War II had to accommodate to a very different Evangelical Brethren Church than they were accustomed to.”⁷⁵ In Rotterdam it:

was a very small church, consisting of two small congregations, which by their nature were largely German and the church was regarded as alien. The European Evangelical Brethren expressed a willingness to connect the Suriname migrants to the existing Dutch Protestant churches.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ A group who were disappointed with the state of the church in the seventeenth century were inspired by the words and writings of Jan Hus and called themselves *Unitas Fratrum* or “the unity of the brethren.” Their appeal grew and within a few years grew into a popular church in Bohemia and Moravia. When the Peace of Westphalia (1648) led to Bohemia becoming Roman Catholic, the Moravian bishop Jan Amos Comenius (1592-1670) went into exile. As a Protestant community, they adopted the Reformation and took their ordination rites from the Waldensian church. In 1722 the town of Herrnhut (meaning ‘under the Lord's hat’) was founded on the estate of Count von Zinzendorf in Saxony. The German and Czech-speaking exiles who met with Count von Zinzendorf were inspired and in the 1730s they left as Moravian missionaries for the West Indies, Greenland, North America, Suriname and South Africa. From 1734 Moravian missionaries came to the Netherlands and missions started up in Haarlem (1744) and Zeist (1746). Following the visit of Zinzendorf, small Moravian communities sprang up in a few towns (including Rotterdam) but in the second half of the eighteenth century the main centre was in Zeist. The MEB survived virtual dissolution following criticisms of Calvinists, the autocratic style of Zinzendorf and events of the French Revolution, and in 1950 the MEB still had two established congregations in the Netherlands: in Haarlem and Zeist. W. Lutjeharms, *The Moravian Church (De Evangelische Broedergemeente: Hernhutters)*, Zeist, 1983, 3-8.

⁷⁵ Translated by author from “De Surinamers die na de WW2 naar Nederland kwamen, troffen hiet een andersoortige EBG aan dan zij gewend waren.” S.N., *Door God Gezonden, met Mensen Verbonden*, Evangelische Broedergemeente Rotterdam.

⁷⁶ Translated by author from “Hier was zij een zeer kleine kerk, bestaande uit twee klein gemeenten, die door haar Duitse karakter grotendeels als vreemdelingenkerk beschouwd werd. De Europese EBG te dacht dat de Surinaamse immigranten zich wel bij de bestaande Nederlandse protestantse kerken zonden aansluiten.” S.N., *Door God Gezonden, met Mensen Verbonden*, Evangelische Broedergemeente Rotterdam.

As the flow of immigrants from Suriname accelerated either side of the declaration of independence in 1975, the MCC grew numerically and it had to relocate to a variety of different premises on the north side of the river. During this period of growth, MEB negotiated suitable arrangements to meet in the chapels of two hospitals, the Lutheran church, the *Emmahuis*, before moving to the Scots Church where for eight years they met on Sundays and for mid-week activities. In 1974 the MEB in Rotterdam became a self-governing congregation within the worldwide Moravian denomination which meant that they could be governed by their own board of elders rather than supervised by the European Continental Province.⁷⁷ New developments in MEB followed when in 1981 they purchased the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*⁷⁸ church premises at *Avenue Concordia* in the old and prestigious area of Kralingen (East Rotterdam). The first service took place there in September 1981 and the pastoral house (which they were given) was restored in 2004. The church building became a well-known meeting place for Suriname people and they also rent space to the Holland Methodist Church which is mostly composed of people from the Dutch Antilles. Today most of the members of MEB are third generation in the Netherlands and have Dutch passports. They are an aging community that still follows the traditions of their churches in Suriname. Officially there are about two thousand members but the regular attendance today is between two hundred and fifty and three hundred. MEB continues to have a strong trans-national identity and is known for its trans-national practices. Though Suriname people have generally integrated well into the Netherlands, they generally retain their stories, songs and use of their own language. The

⁷⁷ The European Continental province (to be distinguished from the United Kingdom and Czech provinces) was formed in 1722 and contains twenty-four congregations as far apart as Germany, Latvia, Switzerland, Sweden and Iceland. More than 12,500 members are involved in twenty-four congregations, ten of which are to be found in the Netherlands. *Wat is... Wat doet... EBG Rotterdam?*, Evangelische Broedergemeente Rotterdam, 15, and S.N., *Door God Gezonden, met Mensen Verbonden*, Evangelische Broedergemeente Rotterdam.

⁷⁸ The church premises were commissioned in 1888 and remained as the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* until 1980.

transnational identity and practices of the MCC are reflected in their first and second generations in the Netherlands who regularly travel between and remit money and gifts to Suriname through the *Zendings Genootschap* of the *Nederlands Evangelische Broedergemeente*. MEB is a widespread community and only a few members live in *Kralingen* area where the church building is situated. Most people travel in from across the city and from Rotterdam's suburbs and outlying towns.⁷⁹ The small Dutch and German congregation transformed into a community that was able to receive increasing numbers of Surinamese from Southern America who understood the Moravian culture. The MEB in Rotterdam became the second largest community of its kind in the Netherlands and is also responsible for Moravian groups in Maassluis, Dordrecht and Breda.

5.2.3 Urdu Congregation of Protestant Churches Rotterdam (UCPR)

5.2.3.1 Their Context and Character

Migrants from Pakistan came to the Netherlands in 1970 for work and came later for reasons connected with problems that they as Christians had in their homeland and political backgrounds. About 1% of the 30,000 Pakistanis in the Netherlands are Christians whereas in Pakistan the percentage is higher (pastor Eric Sarwar estimated it at 5%). In UCPR at least 80% of the community originate from Pakistan and the core group comes from the state of Punjab where Christians are in a minority and regarded as socially inferior to Muslims. Danielle Koning reported that the average member of the Urdu congregation lives “on lower class incomes and has a low level of education.”⁸⁰ Most of the emigration from the sending districts in the West and East Punjab⁸¹ transpired for economic reasons and some members of their

⁷⁹ These include Capelle a/d IJssel, Hoogvliet, Breda and Alphen a/d Rijn. Each month Moravian services are also held in Dordrecht and Maassluis.

⁸⁰ Koning, *Importing God*, 52.

⁸¹ There is a map of these districts in Prina Werbner, *The Migration Process*, Oxford, 1990, 18.

families have tried to follow them. The partition of India and Pakistan left many refugees and threatened the existence of families who had small land-holdings.

In the Netherlands, since its formation in 1985, UCPR sought a suitable place in which to meet but also to hold on to its religious Urdu identity. This is connected with the sound of the *tabla* drum, women wearing headscarves and the Urdu language which create a context of familiarity for people who share Asian culture from the Punjab. In Sunday worship, I observed:

On entering the sanctuary by the side-door, the Urdu *tabla* (drums) and harmonium creates a distinctive repetitive rhythm. The pastor calls for people to read the bible and is responsive to newcomers who are noticeable through their different appearance to rest of the mainly Pakistani congregation. I notice several women sitting off to the left wearing headscarves. The pastor told me that they were connected with the mosque. Children leave by a side entrance with a young female teacher and with fifty persons the ground-floor pews are only about 20% occupied. Several persons are working in the hall behind to prepare a feast for the community after the service and following a period of fasting.

The Urdu family can easily extend to others through the use of other languages. This is less the case with the younger generation in the Urdu community who are building Dutch-speaking networks. As the families grow up, there is more need to give attention to the second and third generation who see their future in the Netherlands. They became a generational cohort and, unlike their parents or other members, learn to speak Dutch fluently and have little memory of another homeland. They interact with their context differently and, if UCPR does not adapt, they may try to change it or leave and join other groups. The congregations of Urdu in

Rotterdam and Amsterdam have tried to operate for all Urdu-speakers⁸² and establish centres of Urdu culture. “We have our own church to reserve our own culture and to bring up the children not only at home but there (Pakistan) as well. We adopt the good things from you, not the bad things.”⁸³ In Rotterdam in 2007 the UCPR built relationships with forty-five families in the Netherlands (officially) and ten Muslim families (unofficially). Most members escaped the caste system and came from the same area of the Punjab region where there is a large population of Christians who converted from Hinduism to Christianity.

UCPR has concentrated on ministry in the Urdu language rather than to diversify and represent a regional Asian hybridity.⁸⁴ Though other languages are used, Urdu is responsible for creating the main contours of their identity. Urdu is the official language of Pakistan but is also spoken by some people from India and Suriname. The use of Punjabi and Hindi languages, together sometimes with Dutch and English, enabled UCPR to extend its network. In the 1970s teaching in the Urdu language in the Netherlands suffered under economic cutbacks and the tendency to identify ethnicity according to nationality or country of origin.⁸⁵ The language functions as a unifier where Urdu-speakers can be brothers and sisters across boundaries. The future of such MCCs that retain a diasporic identity and do not blend into a Dutch-speaking community may depend on the reception of new Urdu migrants and the wider development of the Urdu language and traditions in the Netherlands.

The mixed ecclesial heritage of the Church of Pakistan has perhaps influenced the character of UCPR where the pastoral leader has sought to form a non-confessional and inter-denominational community. In its early development it was important for the pastoral leader to

⁸² Though there is a long history of Christianity, Pakistan was founded as a homeland for Muslims and since 1958 it has been effectively an Islamic republic. Christians are less than 2% of the population. Jongeneel, Budiman and Visser, *Gemeenschapsvorming van Aziatische, Afrikaanse en Midden- en Zuidamerikaanse christenen in Nederland*, 144.

⁸³ Pluim and Kuyk, *Relations with Migrant churches*, 36.

⁸⁴ *Susmacaar* meaning “Good News” in Hindustani worked with the *Gereformeerde Vrijgemaakte Kerken* to form a Pakistani-Hindustani congregation in Crooswijk.

⁸⁵ Mohan K. Gautama, “Problems Related to the Teaching of Urdu in the Netherlands”, *The Annual of Urdu Studies*, 10: (1995), 200. Permanent link: <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1793/11795>

be open to other traditions and flexible in the way it conducted worship and sacraments.⁸⁶ UCPR meets in the *Bergsingel Kerk* in Rotterdam North every week on Sundays at 17.00. The start of the service can be delayed since the pastor has to travel from Amsterdam where he conducts a service at 13.00. In 2007, from between two hundred and fifty to three hundred Christian Pakistanis in the Netherlands, there were between one hundred and one hundred and fifty members and up to fifty who regularly attended the Sunday services in either congregation. Koning described attending a service where 35-50 attended, where “the man/woman ratio was 40:60 and 50% were below thirty years of age.”⁸⁷

5.2.3.2 Their Story of Development

Though the first Urdu-speaking Christian family came to Amsterdam in 1967, more Urdu-speaking Christians arrived in the 1970s. Pakistani Christians live throughout the country but the core group is located in Rotterdam. The beginning of UCPR goes back to the 1980s when bible studies and acts of worship were held in homes. When Eric Sarwar moved to the Netherlands in 1982, he married Rose Paul whose parents were one of the first to open their home for meetings. The couple started to attend a local church in Rotterdam North (*Opstandings Kerk*) but also visited Urdu-speaking families who, they discovered, were distributed all over the Netherlands. In 1983 Eric worked with ds. Jan Willem Roosenbrand of the *Gereformeerde Vrijgemaakt* in visiting the homes and the Dutch Reformed church offered UCPR the use of a shop or coffee bar at Linke Rottekade 1985.⁸⁸ The embryonic community began in the period in Rotterdam from 1985 and in Amsterdam from 1987. The Pakistani Christians live scattered throughout the country, but the biggest nucleus is in Rotterdam. Henny de Lange in article in *De Verdieping Trouw* on 8 May 1996 cited pastor Eric Sarwar: “Before

⁸⁶ Atmadja, Nieke, Teus Eikelboom and J.J. (Hans) Visser, *Grensgangers: portretten van migrantenvoorgangers*, Heerenvveen, 2010, 48.

⁸⁷ Koning, *Importing God*, 52.

⁸⁸ The Amsterdam Urdu community were offered premises in 1987. Koning, *Importing God*, 52.

we came together in living rooms, where we talked about the Bible, sang and went into prayer, but when the circle grew, we went to a church hall.” For five years they held worship alternately in Rotterdam (at the Reformed Church *Breeplein*) and in Amsterdam (at the Reformed *Maranathakerk*). This arrangement needed to be regularised and services were enabled to take place through ds. J. Slomp who had served as a missionary with the Reformed Churches in Pakistan. The ordained status of the celebrant is important to historical MCCs where the sacraments of baptism and communion are to be observed.

Bishop Bashir Jiwan of the *Church of Pakistan*⁸⁹ proposed that the newly emerged MCC should become part of the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* (GKN) or the *Reformed Church of Rotterdam* (as the local ‘denominational mother church’). Difficulties began to arise when it was required by the *Gereformeerde Vrijgemaakt Kerk*, who had been involved with Pakistani Christians for an extended period, that everyone in the Urdu congregation should become their members. At stake was the issue of their minority and valued identity being lost, changed or assimilated. The Urdu-speakers wanted to organise fellowship activities and form a community in a manner that was sensitive to their own needs and in their mother tongue. Henny de Lange in article in *De Verdieping Trouw* on 8 May 1996 cited the pastor’s wife on the inter-generational aspects. Rose is an ordained deacon and learned the Dutch language before her husband. Commenting on why it was important to have a Pakistani church...

We think about the future. Of course we could remain an independent congregation but that is not conducive to our integration into Dutch society. Our children still speak and understand Urdu, but how it will go with the next generation? We also want to take this step to express that we are children of God. We do not want to sit apart.”

⁸⁹ In 1970 the Church of Pakistan was formed out of a union of Anglican, Methodist, Lutheran and Scots Presbyterians whose missionary work in Pakistan began from the mid-nineteenth century. Jongeneel, Budiman and Visser, *Gemeenschapsvorming van Aziatische, Afrikaanse en Midden- en Zuidamerikaanse christenen in Nederland*, 144.

From the early house-group activities and the initiative of the bishop in Pakistan, a proposal for partnership led to UCPR to negotiate with denominations in Pakistan and the Netherlands. In 1993 the local *classis* of the GKN adopted a two-phase plan to give practical assistance and familiarise with one other before considering how to engage with the UCPR as part of the GKN. In 1999 a ‘project of cooperation’ was set up with the GKN through its *classis* in Rotterdam and its parish (or *wijkgemeente*) in the north of the city. Up to two hundred attended UCPR and who had a variety of denominational backgrounds from Pakistan were registered as members of the Reformed Church of Rotterdam. The Urdu-speaking pastor, who had been ordained as a presbyter by the Church of Pakistan, was officially sent by the bishop as a missionary to the Urdu-speaking Christians in the Netherlands. There were however different ideas about how he should relate to the GKN. The pastoral leader continued to serve the two Urdu-speaking MCCs but questions were raised over the finances necessary for his support. The GKN requested that the Urdu congregations give more but many families were poor and others without residential papers. In UCPR some members did not have a house of their own and could not pay their bills.⁹⁰ The commitment to finance a relative’s travel was considerable and there was an expectation that a certain level of remittances would be returned.⁹¹ Research in Manchester, a favoured location for Pakistani migrants to England, has indicated that young families are more likely than single men to invest in transnational relationships with their homeland.⁹² These costs and their relative poverty made it difficult to sustain the costs of a pastor. During the 1990s

⁹⁰ The contrasting profiles of the two MCCs are revealing. In the Rotterdam MCC, 25% are working and 75% are without jobs whereas in Amsterdam it is reversed with 75% working and 25% unemployed. “Those who are employed are labouring jobs such as in factories whereas in Amsterdam, there are more professional careers such as an architect.” Eric Sarwar, interview by author, Rotterdam, 8 December 2006, written notes.

⁹¹ Dahya, Badr, “The Nature of Pakistani Ethnicity in Industrial Cities in Britain”, in Abner Cohen, ed., *Urban Ethnicity*, London, 1974, 82.

⁹² Werbner, *The Migration Process*, Oxford, 1990, 21.

GKN provided full support for the pastoral leader but with financial constraints support fell away which affected the mortgage of his home.⁹³

In an evaluation of this partnership project in 2006, appreciation was given for their commitment and the experience of mutual support and Christian testimony of 'being church together' cross-culturally. Yet there was also a strong underlying feeling that the stated objectives (integration, participation and partnership) had not been met. The Urdu-speaking members of the church had a sense that they were less 'partners in mission' but more 'part of a project.' They were disappointed by the temporary employment of their pastor and the difficulty to arrange his formal ordination in the GKN. Though UCPR understood the 'project of cooperation' as a long-term partnership in mission, it seems that on both sides there were confused and divergent views on whether the task was primarily missionary or pastoral. UCPR already understood itself as a missionary community before GKN sought it to become a missionary congregation of the Dutch denomination. Expectations and attitudes were different on both sides. The essential difference was that UCPR desired continuity in the pastoral care of Urdu-speaking people and GKN in *Bergsingel* sought integration of Urdu-speakers into their congregation. Partnership with the denomination was important for UCPR in order to provide a physical place and location for weekly services. For the GKN, the Urdu MCC did not embrace the idea of common mission or 'being church together.' In their evaluation, further theological and ethical differences were raised. Reference was made to a lack of interaction and dialogue between the communities. There were different views on the extent of the religious sphere and civic engagement.⁹⁴ Their original identity in Urdu-language ministry later became the basis for negotiation of being an Urdu congregation in the *Protestant Churches in the Netherlands*.

⁹³ Since 2003 they depended on loans and gifts from their wider family and at the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century the pastor received 40% through the congregations in a newly formed organization (the *Pakistan Dutch Christian Association*). His wife Rose supplemented their income through her hairdressing business and Eric, for a time, through driving taxis.

⁹⁴ Pluim and Kuyk, *Relations with Migrantchurches*, 41-42.

One of the problems in the process of forging a partnership with the Reformed denomination was the difference in expectation and inequality in organisation. “The terminology and red tape involved in Dutch meetings are completely alien to the Urdu community.”⁹⁵ Agreements and expectations were not easily realised and each felt in danger of losing its identity. In its relationship with the Reformed congregation UCPR took the opportunity to strengthen and build a hybrid identity.⁹⁶

The character of UCPR was transnational from the outset because of the migrants from Pakistan. The transnational identity of UCPR was reflected in its mixed and catholic character. “In our community there is a place for Anglicans, Methodists, Evangelicals, Charismatic brothers, Roman Catholics, everyone is welcome.”⁹⁷ UCPR continued to develop on the character of their denomination in Pakistan that drew from this historical mixture of Christian missions. The development of UCPR has focussed on transnational activities. These include the organization of conventions with Asian Christian leaders from Rotterdam and other countries, the planning of campaigns with the Pakistani ambassador and representatives of the local mosque and the transfer of remittances to families in Pakistan.

The acquisition of space for weekly services with the local Reformed congregation enabled UCPR to strengthen its own identity. One of the positive and practical outcomes that was under view in the partnership with the GKN were the resources of the Dutch church.⁹⁸ UCPR obtained safe space to pray and worship and also support for their young people growing up in the Netherlands. The second generation, however, struggled to operate only in the Urdu

⁹⁵ Plum and Kuyk, *Relations with Migrantchurches*, 41.

⁹⁶ Plum and Kuyk, *Relations with Migrantchurches*, 47.

⁹⁷ Atmadja, Eikelboom and Visser, *Grensgangers - portretten van migrantenvoorgangers*, 48.

⁹⁸ Beukema, *Een Kerk Bekent Kleur*, 84.

and began to visit Dutch churches where they sought a wider identity. In 2013 some young people left UCPR to join a community that became known as the *Living Stone Urdu Church*.⁹⁹

5.2.4 Victory Outreach Rotterdam (VOR)

5.2.4.1 Their Context and Character

Two-thirds of the VOR community lives in the south of Rotterdam. City statistics in 2005 indicated that 5-6% of the local population in the districts of Feijenoord and Charlois adjacent to VOR originated from the Netherlands Antilles.¹⁰⁰ Of the many Antillean people who live in the neighbourhood, pastor Jerry Mendeszoon said, “one third of the people is unemployed but we stimulate them to find work and make it with God and their family.”¹⁰¹ Besides those Antilleans who came to study, many working-class Antilleans, especially from the island of Curacao, moved to the Netherlands. As the socio-economic situation in the 1990s began to decline, the reception of Antilleans has been difficult in Rotterdam and second generation Antilleans have been the focus for debate and political action.¹⁰² Since about 30% of regular attenders of VOR are reckoned to be from the Caribbean islands of Netherlands Antilles and Aruba, the community faces multiple pressures and problems. One third of its regular attenders is unemployed but VOR encourages them to find work. Between 75 and 80% within VOR are migrants in their first or second generation and most are fifty years of age or under. Though many come from the local neighbourhoods in the south of Rotterdam, VOR thinks of itself as

⁹⁹ They meet at Van Malsenstraat 104, Rotterdam. Website accessed on 9 August 2016, https://www.facebook.com/TheLivingStoneUrduChurch/info/?entry_point=page_nav_about_item&tab=page_info.

¹⁰⁰ *Bevolkingsprognose Rotterdam*, 2005, COS, 42.

¹⁰¹ Jerry Mendeszoon, interview by author, Rotterdam, 31 August 2005, written notes.

¹⁰² “A shoot-out in Arnhem with one fatality, a shoot-out in Rotterdam, a shoot-out in Zoetermeer, also resulting in a fatality, and every time Antilleans are involved. What is going on? The largest group of Antilleans in the Netherlands does not cause any problems in terms of criminal activity and also does not carry any weapons. However, a small group is committing serious crimes and is not afraid to use brute force. However, for every Antillean who has committed a serious criminal offence, there are ten examples of Dutch autochthon men who did the same.” Tomislav Tudjman, “The issue: ‘Approach to Antillean problem youth is working, but not sufficiently well.’” Erasmus University Rotterdam, internet accessed on 6 March 2012, website no longer available: https://www.eur.nl/english/news/the_issue/issuearchive. (no longer accessible)

a city or regional church. “We don’t see ourselves as a Tarwewijk church because people come from Tilburg, Eindhoven, Breda and Gouda.”¹⁰³ The location of its house of worship, offices and women’s home was established in the middle of an area in Rotterdam South well known for its urban deprivation and difficulty. This venue was viewed as a good base for VOR, whose mission was to have influence across and beyond the city. “I believe that God has given a promise that will change this neighbourhood, have an effect on the city and then the whole country.”¹⁰⁴ While many members travel in from a distance, others have chosen to stay on in the local area. VOR works at different levels and is involved in platforms in the local area, the city of Rotterdam and the nation. VOR is located in the neighbourhood of Tarwewijk which is regularly highlighted as unsafe and in need of urban renewal.¹⁰⁵

The available housing is often poor quality: outdated and deteriorated. Tarwewijk is a young neighbourhood (the youngest in Rotterdam): 40% of the inhabitants are under the age of 24. 78% of the inhabitants belong to an ethnic minority. Starting in the late 1970s, many middle-income families left the area. Throughout the 1990s, Tarwewijk

¹⁰³ Xannelou Mendeszoon, interview by author, Rotterdam, 19 March 2012, written notes.

¹⁰⁴ Jerry Mendeszoon, interview by author, Rotterdam, 31 August 2005, written notes.

¹⁰⁵ Partner & Pröpper report for Round table on 24 March 2010 in The Hague, Netherlands, “Rotterdam–Tarwewijk, A Resilient Neighbourhood: A Case Study for the New Synthesis Project.” www.partnersenpropper.com/.../Case%20study%20Tarwewijk%20/, accessed on 5 March 2012. The Tarwewijk district was built in about 1930 as an expansion of Rotterdam to provide housing for port workers. There are about 5,300 homes in the area, about 75% of which are privately owned; 50% of those are rented out. Rental is primarily arranged directly by the private owners; in the interviews and documents, they are often referred to as ‘landlords’, ‘rack-renters’ or ‘slum lords’.... Slumlords and drug dealers carved out a niche for themselves in parts of the area. The low rent attracted underprivileged people. Tarwewijk has now also become a place where newcomers (more and more often people from Central and Eastern Europe) live when they first come to Rotterdam. People can disappear altogether in the neighborhood; the anonymity is intense. Impoverishment, drug-related crime and nuisance, illegal sub-letting of rooms, empty buildings, social injustice, unemployment and a huge transit rate are the result. At the end of the 1990s, the problems escalated for the first time in Millinxbuurt (which covers seven streets) in Tarwewijk. In particular, the nature and concentration of drug trafficking, the low number of passers-by and the concentration of slumlords made the situation in Millinxbuurt in the 1990s unique.

was the topic of increasingly negative news reports. Where similar neighbourhoods were the target of quality incentive programs, such initiatives passed Tarwewijk by.¹⁰⁶

The current building in the middle of Tarwewijk was renovated using the ‘sweat-equity’ of its own members. VOR has two services on Sundays with a Friday service for prayer and a Saturday service for young people. In 2007, approximately five hundred attended the first Sunday service and on average a total of up to seven hundred and fifty would attend the two services. In their sanctuary, I observe:

A lighted cross with hundreds of lighted bulbs shines out from the right hand side as my attention is drawn to the stage in from where the worship leader interacts with the backing singers. The young and multi-ethnic community is engaged with the stage area. The profiles of Rotterdam’s Erasmus-bridge and tall buildings provide the background for a loud worship event being screened for local television. Ushers are busy in advising newcomers and directing late arrivals upstairs into the balcony.¹⁰⁷

There were also more than eleven hundred people on the mailing list. VOR describes itself as an international mission community served by an international leadership.¹⁰⁸ It is composed of people from about twenty-one countries and the weekly services are normally spoken in Dutch and translated into English. VOR does not highlight any one ethnicity or language.

¹⁰⁶ Partners & Pröpper report for Round table on 24 March 2010 in The Hague, Netherlands, “Rotterdam–Tarwewijk, A Resilient Neighbourhood: A Case study for the New Synthesis Project”, accessed on 5 March 2012, www.partnersenpropper.com/.../Case%20study%20Tarwewijk%20/ (no longer accessible)

¹⁰⁷ Observation by author, Victory Outreach Rotterdam, 18 July 2010, written notes.

¹⁰⁸ Information brochure: *Welcome to VOR*; available through internet site: www.victoryoutreach.nl (no longer accessible)

5.2.4.2 Their Story of Development

The pastoral leaders of VOR are a couple, Jerry and Xannelou Mendeszoon, who were born in Suriname and the Netherlands respectively.¹⁰⁹ In 1995 the couple was sent out as pastoral leaders to Rotterdam from Victory Outreach Amsterdam¹¹⁰ where they had been local leaders. They had visited Rotterdam Central Station with buses from Amsterdam and were shocked at the desperate state of many drug addicts after *Perron Nul*¹¹¹ had been dismantled as a place of support and shelter near to the central railway station. The couple found a two-room apartment in *Saftlevenstraat* near to a poor ‘red light’ area of the inner city. They invited people they met on the street to share their hospitality as “home is not so much a building.”¹¹² An initiative to feed seventy people at Christmas in their own home in shifts was to eventually lead to one of their major and distinctive ministries. Though VOR started in the home of the pastoral leaders, it was officially opened in Rotterdam in 1996 at the *Engels* Congress Centre by one of the founding figures of Victory Outreach International in the United States (Nicky Cruz). In 1996 a manager from *Albeda College* offered the couple a building to rent and in 1998 repeated the offer with premises behind Rotterdam Central station. After the success of providing a home for women on the street in 1995 the same model was followed to establish a home for men in 1998. The ministry relocated from the small apartment to *Albeda College* until in 2004 it purchased a Reformed Church (*Reformed Congregations in the Netherlands* or in Dutch, *Gereformeerde Gemeenten in Nederland en Noord Amerika*) in Rotterdam South in the *Tarwewijk* area of the district of *Feijenoord*. After an enormous effort to purchase these premises, local members were involved with friends in professional contractors to remove the

¹⁰⁹ They were rescued from the personal problems in the drug world when they lived in Amsterdam. Jerry, who moved from Suriname to the Netherlands in 1981, said “I never finished school and wanted to get my dignity back.” He describes first sensing a call from God, discovering a gift of helping and realizing that he had been given a second chance.

¹¹⁰ In 1985 Victory Outreach Amsterdam was the first to be established in Europe.

¹¹¹ *Perron Nul* was a site adjacent to the railway station where heroine addicts could receive methadone. In 1998 VOR organized a march against its free distribution in their treatment. This shelter at Rotterdam Central Station for drug addicts attempted to regulate the care of drug users but was closed in January 1995.

¹¹² Xannelou Mendeszoon, interview by author, Rotterdam, 20 March 2012, written notes.

pews, the pulpit and organ, create an open stage along the side wall, sculpture a large lit-up cross and paint the dark interior in light blue and white to connect with the street culture they sought to reach. The interior was refurbished to ensure adequate space and spaces for all of their activities. Interior design transformed the interior to make it more functional for multiple uses. Following this extensive interior redevelopment, the building was opened in 2005 and new office buildings obtained in 2006.

Though VOR was formed by ‘extension’ from Amsterdam, its development is an account of ‘resistance.’ The pastoral leaders experienced obstacles from within their own ‘mother’ church in Amsterdam as well as from some local pastoral leaders in Rotterdam. Mendeszoon stated: “When we received poor treatment from other pastors, we agreed to let ourselves be treated as a doormat.”¹¹³ Their behaviour under pressure caught the eye of the Victory Outreach pastor in London. As a result he stepped in as an elder for Europe to support their candidacy as VOR pastors in Rotterdam under the mother headquarters of the movement in the Los Angeles. The pastoral leaders also had to overcome hindrances from city services when the municipality did not agree with their methods of reducing drug dependency. VOR developed in spite of these conflicts and the spiritual home that the pastoral leader couple created for people in pain became the forerunner for VOR’s homes for men and women in Rotterdam. These homes were shaped by the supervisory and mentoring practices recommended by *Victory Outreach International* (VOI). The concept was a kind of franchise of similar developments to needs on the streets in the worldwide ministry of *Victory Outreach International*. The basis for this model of urban Christian community is linked to its vibrant expression of Pentecostal Christianity.¹¹⁴ VOI has its origins and centre in Los Angeles and retains a strong North American-international identity in its worldwide network of over six hundred ministries. From this distinctive American-international identity, VOR has developed

¹¹³ Jerry Mendeszoon, interview by author, 20 March 2012, written notes.

¹¹⁴ Schreiter, *The New Catholicity*, 75.

the appearance of an international organisation rather than a transnational one. VOI has a clear project to establish new ministry centres with similar characteristics and its members sign up to serve that project rather than any interests of their own. Financial collections are taken up in Sunday services to fund local operations while offerings are requested in order to direct remittances for work in other centres or for international conferences. Members are given discipline and direction associated with the values of VOI through bible studies along with education about alcohol and drug addiction and the family.

The truth sets people free. Our dynamic services are always full of life. As we gather to worship, you are able to hear life changing messages that will help you in fulfilling your God given destiny.¹¹⁵

A key feature of the development of new leaders at VOR is in being able to demonstrate that they have overcome backgrounds of abuse and addiction and living in healthy relationships. The new leaders are sensitised to issues of living in urban areas and the need for a rescue ministry. In recent years VOR has attempted to set up new Victory Outreach ministries in Heerlen, Aruba, Berlin and Bucharest.

5.2.5 Glorious Chapel International (GCI)

5.2.5.1 Their Context and Character

The community of *Glorious Chapel International* contains migrants who came to Netherlands from the end of the 1980s. Those who originate from Curacao and Suriname and some Ghanaians have stayed the longest. The pastoral leader, Onaolapo Smith Asubiaro, is from Nigeria but he learned to speak in Papiamentu to reach the younger generation of Antilleans

¹¹⁵ *Welcome to VOR brochure: 'Dynamic Services.'*

using the community centre where GCI meets on Sundays. He is married to Rudselia Ludgeria who speaks Papiamentu as a result of growing up in Curacao, the largest island in the Leeward Antilles (formerly Dutch Antilles). They brought up a young family with part-time jobs but the experience of migration can be traumatic and disruptive at personal, economic and social levels. The pastoral leader reported that the most common social problems that he encountered with migrant Christians were marriage and divorce and how to find a life partner. With few resources, it is also difficult to find a suitable place for fellow Christian migrants with these kinds of problems to gather. In worship I observe:

Their location was near *Zuidplein* but it was not easy to find. The loud rhythm of drums could be heard as we got closer. On entering the building a long corridor opened out into at least three large spaces that had been partitioned off from each other. Music and conversation could be easily heard from next door. A young man picked up a microphone and told us that the Lord was coming. He called us to praise God as the guitarist played. I learned later that both he and the boy on drums were two of the pastor's three sons. For the next twenty minutes only two men came in and then the room suddenly began to fill with smiling faces of African-looking families.

The pastor who arrived in the Netherlands in July 1991 visited over a four month period several Roman Catholic churches in the city. He found that compared to his experience in Nigeria that there was a great difference in the style of worship services and fellowship activities. West Africans are a small proportion of new migrants in Rotterdam and their forms of Pentecostal spirituality bear significant differences to indigenous churches (including some Pentecostal). On reflecting on this, he decided to join a new African-led Pentecostal community. GCI is a mixture of people including many with an Antillean background who have a variety of social

needs and low self-esteem. The community also draws people who originally migrated from Nigeria, Ghana, Suriname, Curacao, St. Martin, Iran and the Netherlands. The vision to be an international ministry is clearly indicated by the bi-lingual Sunday services which are held in Dutch and English (or tri-lingual when translated into Papiamentu). In 2007 GCI consisted of seventy-five to eighty members of which at least 80% were from the Dutch Antilles¹¹⁶ at a Sunday service. GCI met for weekly services from 12.00 at *Menanderstraat* in the *LCC Wijkgebouw* in the district of *Lombardijen*, their third location in ten years. Ten years after starting in a dance-hall by *Zuidplein*, I visited GCI and observed:

National flags which cover the wall catch my attention before I notice the wooden cross on the stage. The hall seats one hundred about fifty persons but we are swaying and dancing with a young choral group singing “In this sanctuary God is here” with music from keyboard and drums. An electronically beamed message behind the pastoral leader’s head states: 2012 ‘Our year of restoration.’ Before the service begins, the pastoral leader engages more than twenty children and teenagers in bible study.¹¹⁷

5.2.5.2 Their Story of Development

GCI was established in 2002 and contains new migrants who are in their first and second generations in Rotterdam. As an elder in the English-speaking *Potters Hand New Covenant Word International Ministries*, Asubiaro obtained leave from its pastoral leader to begin a new ministry using the Dutch language as well as English. GCI was therefore formed by ‘extension’ and was started up to connect with indigenous and young people in the south of the city. In the beginning the founder and current pastoral leader had to overcome many obstacles. These

¹¹⁶ Martijn Davelaar and Jessica van den Toorn, *Geloof aan het Werk: De Rol van Levensbeschouwelijke Organisaties bij het Bestrijden van Sociale Uitsluiting in Rotterdam*, Onderzoeksproject for Faith-based organisations and exclusion in European Cities (FACIT), December 2010, 176.

¹¹⁷ Observation by author, Glorious Chapel International at Menanderstraat 95, Rotterdam, 11 March 2012, written notes.

difficulties included finding appropriate space in which to meet. They first rented an old dance hall at *Tandwielstraat* in *Zuidplein* with twenty-six people at a cost of 1200 euros per month. For nearly two years they were able to have the use of the building during the week but eventually the cost was felt to be too great for a location where there was substantial noise interference and where some felt that there was ‘a spirit of division.’ From the middle of Rotterdam South, GCI moved to *Lombardijen* in the south-east into a Roman Catholic Church (at *Pascalweg*) where the pastor had his office and the MCC could offer weekly activities. When notice was given that the building would be sold for housing, the pastoral leader negotiated use of a nearby community centre in the same neighbourhood. Difficulties encountered in the rental of premises have meant that since 2002 GCI has had three locations.

When you move location, you lose people. We resist the powers and principalities who do not want the Church of God to stand. God will build his church but we have a part to play. We have to fight and assert authority by prayer. There is a lot to resist.¹¹⁸

Over that decade, however, GCI has developed programmes and a public profile to engage the poor and local authorities in *Lombardijen* Rotterdam. Conversations with local churches, district authorities and city services demonstrate a vital example of development by ‘recreation’ through the pastoral leader who became well connected in the local area. From the social and ecclesial margins GCI developed through the determination of the pastoral leader and the range of activities around it coalesced (e.g. the ‘House of Hope’ project and a food programme using the services of the *Voedselbank*). A notable feature in the story of GCI was the intention of the pastoral leader to move from one model of MCC that served African Christians in the English language to another which sought to be cosmopolitan and serve indigenous people in the Dutch

¹¹⁸ Onaolapo Asubiaro, interview by author, Rotterdam, 22 July 2004. written notes.

language. He informed the Ghanaian pastor of *Potter's Hand New Covenant Word International Ministries*, Samuel Antiri, about his vision to start a church for people from the Netherlands rather than mainly serving African migrants. He sought out Pastor Sunday Sunkanmi Adelaja, the Nigerian pastor of a mega church in Kiev, Ukraine, who laid hands on and prayed for him. GCI was founded (through the services of a notary) in October 2002. Pastor Sunday taught that the church is balanced, international and we must make people feel that they are important.¹¹⁹ “We shall always have an equal respect for all cultures.”¹²⁰ Holistic projects such as “House of Hope” were set up by the pastor to provide food for the homeless and poor. The project started in April 2005 but subsequently became a charitable foundation. The vision that GCI has to be ‘big’ is substantiated by its connections with several mega-ministries including one in the Ukraine which attracts thousands of indigenous people.¹²¹ “The ‘mega-church’ offers something for young people who are tired of piano and singing solo and respond to a combination of rock, reggae and country music.” In 2004 GCI was reported by the pastor to be one of thirty-three ‘G12’ churches with cell-group structure where the senior pastor gives responsibility to twelve ‘network leaders’ to look after twelve others. It was founded upon the idea that every Christian can mentor and lead twelve people after the example of Jesus Christ. The scheme was modelled by César Castellanos in Bogota, Columbia, and in 2004 in the Netherlands thirty-three ‘G12’ churches were connected with the ‘mega-church’ in Kiev in the Ukraine and others in Nigeria. The key values of GCI are expressed as “the practice of holiness and make prayer an essential practice” and “to establish a culture of generosity within the church.”¹²²

¹¹⁹ Onalapo Asubiaro, interview by author, Rotterdam, 22 July 2004. written notes.

¹²⁰ Onalapo Asubiaro, interview by author, Rotterdam, 22 July 2004. written notes.

¹²¹ The Embassy of the Blessed Kingdom of God for All Nations is reported to be the largest charismatic church in Europe, having started with only a few followers in a small apartment in downtown Kiev in 1994. The church has created its own association or new denomination as more than 700 churches in over 45 countries were created.

¹²² Onalapo Asubiaro, interview by author, Rotterdam, 22 July 2004. written notes.

This African-initiated MCC has a mixed character and serves people who are migrants and from local neighbourhood with more marginal identities. GCI draws people from Rotterdam South and remains committed to working with the district government and local services in south-eastern area of Lombardijen. In their three locations, GCI worked hard to become visible. Despite suggestions of alternative premises in other parts of the city, the pastoral leader declared he wanted to stay in the area. Following theft of property in 2015, GCI relocated to the adjacent district of IJsselmonde. This took place after their music and amplification equipment was stolen from the community centre in which they had an office.

5.2.6 Alliance Messianique pour l'Evangelisation des Nations (AMEN)

5.2.6.1 Their Context and Character

This community is mostly made of people from the Congo and others from French-speaking African countries. In Brussels and France there are large French-speaking MCCs but in Rotterdam the migration of Congolese migrants has been more like a trickle compared to those who have settled in France. In 2008 the official number of those registered in the city of Rotterdam was four hundred and twenty or 0.7%.¹²³ AMEN offers services in French-language and in a loud Pentecostal style to Congolese and other migrants, many of whom travel from beyond the borders of Rotterdam from Utrecht in the east and from Dordrecht and Zeeland in the south. Several (including the pastor) had found regular employment in the Netherlands but others in the MCC sought political refuge. In 2006 the majority was asylum-seekers from the Congo and in their first generation in the Netherlands. For many of these French-speakers the experience of migration has been highly problematic. AMEN is a young community and many have been in Netherlands since the late-1990s when they arrived for political reasons with

¹²³ COS 2009, Gemeente Rotterdam, print out by request of the author.

increasing instability in the Congo. “Most of its members are jobless, impoverished, cut off from society by the language and the culture and a staggering lack of information (and in some cases access to information).”¹²⁴

At the front two African men hold microphones close to their mouths and pray loudly in French for God to fill the place. Coming in off the residential street, one is directed into a long L-shaped room where chairs are set out in rows. This office space of the local *Hervormde* church is transformed on Sunday afternoons by the sound of *djembe* drums and becomes a place for charismatic worship. Several young families with push-chairs had made their way in with difficulty and after thirty minutes it was standing room only with thirty to forty persons.¹²⁵

The *Alliance Messianique pour l’Evangelisation des Nations* is a French-speaking MCC where the majority (about 95%) have origins in Kasha and Braza of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The original title of this Congolese-dominated MCC was *Mission Evangelique de la Foi en Action* (MEFA) but, after seeking God in prayer, was changed to the *Alliance Messianique pour l’Evangelisation des Nations*. It was in 2010 that AMEN changed its name on relocation to a new building. Relationships with local residents were strained over noise disturbance and at that time they received many Congolese asylum-seekers. The experience made an impact on MEFA/AMEN which draws upon people with French-speaking African identities, some of whom are in transit from France and Belgium. The community includes people from Cameroon, Nigeria, Angola and the Netherlands. Services are conducted in French and Lingala¹²⁶ and simultaneously translated into Dutch. In 2007 the Sunday service contained

¹²⁴ Gwanmesia, *Blessings Under Pressure*, 28.

¹²⁵ Observation by author, AMEN in Schiedam, 21 October 2012, written notes.

¹²⁶ Lingala is Bantu language spoken in the Democratic Republic of the Congo by an estimated ten million people

between fifty and one hundred persons including families and children. In 2012 the size of the community that met in their new location was similar to five years previously but there was versatility and flexibility in communication. “Soon after I arrived in the upstairs hall the pastor spoke in three languages (including English) with translation in another.”¹²⁷ The French language title, itself, indicates a global scope and interest of the MCC that “has no limits or restrictions of geography, culture or race.”¹²⁸ It appears that the target group is broader than merely French-speakers and in weekly services they are prepared to change or translate the main language (and songs) into Dutch or English.

The church is international and not only for Africans but also for people who have grown up in the Netherlands. We sing in Dutch, French and English.¹²⁹

5.2.6.2 Their Story of Development

The pastoral leader, Christoph Kalubi, came to the Netherlands in 1986 and founded this community as a church¹³⁰ in Zeist in 1993¹³¹ following a visit from his spiritual father. When Kalubi obtained employment in Rotterdam, the MCC relocated to the Emmaus Chapel of the Pilgrim Fathers’ Church *Hervormde Gemeente Delfshaven*. The pastor made contact with the Dutch pastor ds. Piet de Jong and from 1995 MEFA began to meet weekly in its open-plan reception area. They faced difficulties following complaints about noise interference, however, because they were using space that was adjacent to local residences. “We need to find places to meet for prayer and welcome each other.”¹³² The tension experienced by MCC leaders

¹²⁷ Observation by the author, AMEN, Rotterdam, 10 May 2009, written notes.

¹²⁸ AMEN website: ‘Vision’, accessed on 28 February 2012, <http://cse-amen.e-monsite.com/blog/>

¹²⁹ Christoph Kalubi, interview by author, Rotterdam, 4 April 2012, written notes.

¹³⁰ He also started a church in Breda which became known as ‘The Rock’.

¹³¹ Willemijn Bijl, Gerdine van Gilst, Adriaan van Kinken and Leonie Zandee, *Migrantenkerk Rotterdam April 2003*, research project with drs. Jaap Beukema by students of Ede Hogeschool, 25.

¹³² Christoph Kalubi, interview by author, Rotterdam, 11 April 2006, written notes.

increased as tolerance of local residents decreased and the Pilgrim Fathers' Kerk (in Rotterdam West) eventually advised them to relocate into more suitable premises. In 2007 AMEN relocated from the premises following complaints about noise levels and bought a suite of rooms above parking garages at *Van Cleeffstraat* on the edge of an industrial area of Rotterdam West. Since moving from Mathenesserlaan in mid-west Rotterdam, MEFA was re-named AMEN and shared the larger premises with the Redeemed Christian Church of God from 2010. As the costs of maintaining the premises were too great, the *Assemblies of God* were able to help and AMEN took out a loan to purchase the building. AMEN is a French-speaking charismatic Pentecostal community that has been under pressure. The pastor described the formation and growth of the MCC as one of divine grace rather than as a human procedure.¹³³ Members his community had difficulty in obtaining asylum and living in the city on little income.

Individuals need residence permits while others seek educational qualifications in order to gain recognition as technicians, engineers, medical practitioners, accountants and accountants. The problem is learning the language and financial pressures, while some do not know how long they can stay in the Netherlands.¹³⁴

They faced up to different spiritual and socio-economic difficulties. The use of the office space conflicted with the interests of local residents on Sundays. The community came together despite their new space being in poor condition. The community is aware that its goals need to be understood a long-term project. In 2012 AMEN stated one its main objectives, alongside a commitment to holiness and prayer, to “being a community committed to transition and

¹³³ Christoph Kalubi, interview by author, Rotterdam, 4 April 2012, written notes.

¹³⁴ Christoph Kalubi, interview by author, Rotterdam, 11 April 2006, written notes.

progression.”¹³⁵ The values espoused by the community are about personal integrity and the conduct of one’s life. In looking back over the first decade, the pastoral leader indicated that the main problem was the living with short-term and long-term uncertainties. Those from the Congo are used to instability but this has implications for the development of the community and their global vision.

In five years, we hope to have more Dutch than African people in the church. This is our vision. As white people came to Africa, now black people (including French-speaking) are coming to Europe – to say that Jesus is coming soon.¹³⁶

The trans-national identity of AMEN has largely developed through the pastoral leader. “AMEN has no limit or restrictions of geography, culture or race.”¹³⁷ The pastor spoke of positive influences from churches in his but the most significant relationship was that of his mentor. Members are from a variety of places and the pastor wants “to have an impact in these countries.”¹³⁸ The pastoral leader used to receive visits from his spiritual father from Congo Brazzaville but political strife in his homeland may have weakened this vision and the MCC’s transnational character.

5.3 REFLECTIONS ON CASE STUDIES

5.3.1 Their Composition

In observing these MCCs over a period of time, it became noticeable that their composition changed. Five of the six case studies had been composed of people of one principal ethnic

¹³⁵ Website of Ministry AMEN: ‘Vision’, accessed on 22 February 2012, <http://cse-amen.e-monsite.com/blog/>

¹³⁶ Christoph Kalubi, interview by author, Rotterdam, 11 April 2006, written notes.

¹³⁷ Website of Ministry AMEN: ‘Vision’, accessed on 22 February 2012, <http://cse-amen.e-monsite.com/blog/>

¹³⁸ Christoph Kalubi, interview by author, Rotterdam, 4 April 2012, written notes.

background that numbered more than 80% of the whole. GCI had been largely Antillean in 2007 but in recent years has become more mixed. VOR was the main exception to this 80% rule. The paradigm of integration might suggest that migrant groups should naturally move towards a closer identity with their new society¹³⁹ but in their first and second generations they appear to form alternatively bastion identities or even mixed identities. These groups exhibit a range of behaviour patterns as they respond to experiences of opportunity and difficulty. Whether it is for this reason and because of their trans-national behaviour, the composition of the case-studies can be viewed through the use of a typology appropriated from Kerry Ann Rockquemore's study of bi-racial identity in the United States.¹⁴⁰ I have modified it and revised her categories of individual identity. Her observations can be adapted for the group identity of MCCs and employed as an alternative typology for theorizing on the identity of MCCs. For the purposes of this study, Rockquemore's *singular*, *border*, *protean* and *transcendent* identities for individuals are translated into *particular*, *merging* and *multiform* categories for groups. While the term *transcendent* is obviously appropriate in psychological analysis¹⁴¹ for the individual, I have not retained it for group identity. It is possible to apply it as a term for MCCs with a highly cosmopolitan character and where descriptions of nationalism and ethnic origins have become obsolete. In such cases, religious faith seems central to and becomes embodied within the group project of moving away from a national or ethnic identity. Transcendence is difficult to apply empirically where language, ethnicity and generation continue to surface as

¹³⁹ Rinus Penninx and Marlou Schrover, "Bastion of Bindmiddel: Organisaties van Immigranten in Historisch Perspectief", Jan Lucassen and Arie de Ruijter, eds., *Nederland Multicultureel en Pluriform? Een Aantal Conceptuele Studies*, Amsterdam, 2002, 316-317.

¹⁴⁰ Rockquemore and Brunnsma, *Beyond Black*, 43.

¹⁴¹ *Transcendent* identity was described as where a biracial individual refused to define themselves in racial terms but preferred to be identified in terms other than that of race. Rockquemore recognised *transcendent* as another identity affirmed by individuals but it is less appropriate for groups. Where other characteristics are affirmed than those of the phenotypes observed, transcendence could indicate the discounting of different ethnicities in favour of a principal function or interest (such as mission, outreach or chaplaincy) but in this study of MCCs, it is an 'emic' term employed by individual pastoral leaders. Rockquemore and Brunnsma, *Beyond Black*, 71.

aspects of group identity. I will now explain how I have modified the rest of Rockquemore's categories and applied them.

The *particular* category replaces Rockquemore's *singular* category because in most MCCs where there is a predominant ethnic group or language the composition of the community is rarely homogeneous. Whereas *singular* represents an exclusive choice of racial identity validated by others, *particular* represents a majority identity of a community where one ethnic background represents at least 90% of its members over a period of ten years. The latter factor is important to establish a long standing and inherent connection with representatives from one place. The flux of people in these cosmopolitan communities makes it necessary to define *particular* MCCs in this way. Their capacity to receive new migrants from different backgrounds can suddenly change their character. The reason for defining identity over a period of time is that in communities that are regularly between thirty and fifty persons, it is not difficult the largest proportion to rise to 90% where there is a large influx of newcomers. Even where people of other ethnic backgrounds are present, they are not significant enough to threaten the displacement of the majority. Theoretically the composition of small groups can more easily change its percentages than in a large group – for example, when one or two families depart. In practice, however, it seems that the character of the group established by the leader and its members ensures there is less change than might be imagined. The initial identity is character forming for the MCC.

From the six selected communities, PCVRC (90% Cape Verdean), UCPR (95% Pakistani) and AMEN (90% Congolese) presented *particular* identities that demonstrate a strong commitment to a majority people-group that is not Dutch. *Particular* identity is visible in aspects of their worship supported by cultural traditions. The black and white 'Mary's and Creole songs, for example, have been key to maintaining Cape Verdean identity in PCVRC in a similar way that songs in Urdu and Lingala operate in UCPR and AMEN respectively. The

sharing of food, the nature of intercessory prayers and charitable initiatives often serve to strengthen a *particular* identity. The *particular* category is expressed in the use of a particular language and cultural aspects in the liturgy by the worshipping community.

The *merging* category replaces Rockquemore's *border* identity which is a created biracial or a mixed-race identity but is not always validated as such. Border identity may not be accepted by others around them. For example, observers who are not part of the social network of the bearer of that identity may not recognize or understand it. Border identity is one that lies between two predefined social categories which can be validated by others in the community. I chose to use *merging* as an indication of how migrant identity can become assumed within the predominant host society rather than use her term 'border' which was created for individuals or an alternative term 'blended.' There is coalescence rather competition between these identities. The *merging* category represents MCCs where there is close congruence between a migrant identity and a Dutch one – and where their members identify with either or both. The *merging* category refers to a relationship between two or more dominant groups where the indigenous Dutch language dominates. MEB is a model of a *merging* category between peoples from the Netherlands and Suriname (chiefly Afro-Suriname). In the concept of *merging* identity, persons belonging to MEB are considered to have integrated where both parts of their *merging* identity (Suriname and Netherlands) co-exist rather than melt away. The heritage of the Moravian church is a powerful one which has embraced peoples of several language groups. It cannot be easily separated from Suriname identity and enables the continuance of separate language groups in the Netherlands. The prevailing influence in identity construction within the group varies from the denominational tradition, the pastoral leader and the language used. In MEB the chief factor is the denominational tradition with its link to a previous homeland in Suriname. Members of MEB have Dutch passports and see their children's future as being in the Netherlands. Through a historic colonial relationship with the Netherlands, MEB has

successfully connected with local language and people. The members of MEB seem to have learned how to coalesce and to blend into the host society. This may be because Suriname developed as a hybrid community in South America and members of MEB from Suriname have roots in two other continents. *Sranon* may be heard and Suriname hospitality is still enjoyed. This merged community indicates that hospitality and familiar foods only gradually disappear after the regular use of one's mother tongue. Language is one aspect of culture that is a major carrier of indigenous identity. MEB belongs to a greater European project where their members affirm their identity in relationship to other historic European churches. They, for example, have worked alongside the Roman Catholic Suriname 'Petrus Donders' community as they share a special interest in the care of the elderly. Another example of *merging* models can be found in Dutch Pentecostal and charismatic churches that attract Dutch-speaking migrants.

The *multiform* category replaces Rockquemore's *protean* identity which involves a movement between several identities. *Multiform* communities are on a journey from being a *particular* or *merging* model and thereby highlight "the idea of identity as process."¹⁴² In the *multiform* group category several identities have the freedom to move and express themselves. *Multiform* groups are mixed and multifaceted. Where one part may strive to become dominant, there is competition rather than coalescence between the different parts. The *multiform* category represents groups that are multifaceted. Protean behaviour suggests the ability to changing shape and, in general, MCCs exhibit strong versatility and the ability to assume other forms. The *multiform* category represents MCCs which contain a diversity of migrant people and places of origin. We need to take care in the use of this term. One of the representatives of the *Bergsingel* Church described itself as 'multiform' in the sense that they had a multiplicity of interests depending on who you spoke to in the congregation. It was used as a term to reflect on why they did not find it easy to partner with UCPR. The implication was that there were

¹⁴² Rockquemore and Brunnsma, *Beyond Black*, 71.

many in the Dutch congregation would not have much interest in connecting with Urdu culture.¹⁴³ The term was applied to having many interests over against the singular 'Urdu' project in UCPR.

Multiform is here used to describe those communities that identify with being 'international' in their fellowship and composition. Again we need to take care of this term. 'International' can also be used to describe communities that have origins and influences from other nations or have the intention to become international in the future. *Multiform* communities are often created around language (where one predominates or where several are in use). Of these case studies VOR was the most diverse and serves migrants from many different backgrounds. No one language predominates but they are mixed almost equally with another. This is also the case in GCI but not in UCPR where Urdu predominates. In VOR and GCI, for example, both Dutch and English are frequently used along with a third or fourth language. GCI uses Dutch and English and the pastoral couple are Nigerian and Suriname whereas in AMEN the main languages are French and Lingala and the pastoral couple are both from the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Translation into other languages is from the front (by one of the worship leaders), from the back (through someone translating orally) or through headphones.

MCCs should not be conceptualized as static because there are dynamic interactions within and they can change rapidly. They may move from *particular* to *multiform* identity or to *merging* identity (and back again). PCVRC developed from a *multiform* community to a *particular* one and the same seems true for GCI which is in process of moving from being a *multiform* community to a *particular* one. PCVRC is a *particular* community rather Cape Verdean or Portuguese though it uses some Dutch in its second service and the number of recent immigrants has dramatically reduced. MEB is *merging* rather than Suriname or Dutch. The

¹⁴³ Pluim and Kuyk, *Relations with Migrantchurches*, 47.

merging category is enhanced where the use of the indigenous (Dutch) language dominates. The dynamic of change in MCCs appears to be less of a circular process and more of an interactive one in which both context and tradition play a large part. These descriptions of identities in context take us beyond typing around ethnicity and race¹⁴⁴ to the role of language to understand the interactions that are taking place within them.

Four of the six case studies focus on binding specific people groups (Cape Verdean, Suriname, Urdu and Congolese) whereas the other two case studies, VOR and GCI, serve to enable a wider range of people. There are also significant generational differences in these MCCs. UCPR, GCI and AMEN tended to serve new or recent migrants. PCVRC and VOR appeared as established MCCs that served a mixture of generations (first to third). MEB tended to represent second/third generation Surinamers and there were only a few Dutch or German members and noticeably few recent migrants. The change in shape of people groups and generational differences affects the growth and development of MCCs.

5.3.2 Their Tactics

The formation of the PCVRC is the outcome of a commitment from the Roman Catholic Church to provide a Portuguese language ministry. This hierarchical behaviour gave permission for “church leadership or its intellectual elite...to move the cultural and religious mixing in a certain direction.”¹⁴⁵ This gave rise to tensions and internal conflicts in the mixed Portuguese-speaking community when the Cape Verdeans desired to establish their own identity. PCVRC developed its *particular* identity out of a wider Portuguese-speaking community from where

¹⁴⁴ ‘Race’ is a categorization of people but ‘ethnicity’ has more to do with group identification and suggests inter-relationship. In the 1990s Thomas Eriksen outlined five types of ethnic identity: urban ethnic minorities, indigenous peoples, proto-nations, ethnic groups in plural societies and post-slavery minorities. Thomas H. Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives*, London, 1993, 14-15; Eriksen, Thomas H., “Ethnicity, Race and Nation” in Guibernau and Rex, eds., *The Ethnicity Reader*, 40-41. ‘Race’ tends to envision a static position but the use of ethnicity points to a dynamic process of identity construction. Eriksen, “Ethnicity, Race and Nation” in Guibernau and Rex, *The Ethnicity Reader*, 37.

¹⁴⁵ Schreiter, *The New Catholicity*, 78.

the Cape Verdean element re-asserted itself and became the dominant expression in the 1980s. From being *multiform* in its origins, PCVRC developed a *particular* form as a result of a double-action movement on the part of the Roman Catholic diocese and the Cape Verdean migrants. The Cape Verdean Portuguese-language identity is largely the initiative of its Cape Verdean members who ‘spring-boarded’ upon the ‘hierarchical’ action of the Roman Catholic diocese. Though the Cape Verdean people are poor, fragmented and diverse, the project of establishing a Cape Verdean MCC became a focal point for religious and cultural unity. After occupying a basement, they were offered space at a low rent through the Roman Catholic diocese. The church and hall space from the Roman Catholic Church provided a base for worship and pastoral care and also projects of diaconal service. It was not long before their activities stretched the capacity of the building. PCVRC has since become a ‘migrant parish’ that seeks to maintain its global and local identity and not disappear into an ‘integrated’ one. The size of PCVRC has maintained despite restrictive immigration policies that affect new migrants and the possibility of family reunion from the archipelago. The Portuguese-language people-group identity was re-shaped in the tension between the local and global. Cape Verdeans became the largest Portuguese-speaking group in the Netherlands and the population of this people-group in Rotterdam is the second largest Cape Verdean community in any city of Europe. Peter Stevens was quoted in *Algemeen Dagblad* on 7 February 2007 as saying, “The Cape Verdeans are born with faith. It is in their blood..... They are religious people, for whom the church is an important part of their lives.” The Cape Verdean people have drawn overtly upon their religious identity. At different times they had the support of Portuguese-speaking Dutch pastoral workers¹⁴⁶ and priests through *Cura Migratorum* and the Roman Catholic diocese of Rotterdam but fundamentally the story of development of PCVRC is one of agitation. Agitation involves creating the conditions for new development. To employ the terms of Cassells, Schreiter and

¹⁴⁶ Oers, *25 Jaar Cura Migratorum*, 44.

Levitt, the identity of PCVRC has developed by *resistance* and *recreation*. The identity of PCVRC formed in resistance but developed by recreation. During this period the Portuguese-speaking community adopted a *particular* Cape Verdean identity from the seeds of a Portuguese-language liturgy that gave rise to a mixed cultural ministry set up through hierarchy by the Roman Catholic diocese.

MEB formed through migrant Christians from Suriname adopting the Moravian church and establishing their own hybrid identity. MEB was already a small hybrid fellowship (Dutch-German) but by the 1980s the stream of Suriname Christians had turned into a flood. Most immigrants from Suriname were already connected or familiar with the Moravian Church in their homeland. As the flow of immigrants from Suriname accelerated either side of the declaration of independence in 1975, increasing numbers of Moravian Suriname Christians from Southern America were received into the small Dutch and German congregation. As the community grew, it relocated to a variety of different premises on the north side of the river. The years of using different locations and the acquisition of a church building in the city is evidence of the goodwill of the local churches. This *merging* community that formed in hybridity developed through *negotiation*. In 1974 the MEB in Rotterdam became a self-governing congregation and had to enter into *accommodation* with other churches. They made arrangements to meet in the chapels of two hospitals, the Lutheran church, the *Emmahuis* and latterly at the Scots Church where they met on Sundays and for mid-week activities for eight years. In recent years, along with the governance of its European province, MEB has maintained services and pastoral support for Chinese, Hindi and Javanese Surinamers. The ability to accommodate these people groups has been enhanced by the recruitment of Suriname pastoral leaders since the end of the twentieth century. They understand the complexity and cosmopolitan nature of Suriname identity as well as the need to serve the different interests of its large but aging membership. As members become less mobile and able to travel the distance

from their homes to Kralingen, MEB becomes more dependent on younger and more 'Dutch' generations. MEB is a story of development by accommodation.

Though UCPR is on the point of finding a wider identity in the Dutch denomination of the PCN, its development is a story of struggle. UCPR retained its Urdu-speaking identity but its Urdu character was redefined on more than one occasion when there were attempts to create a hybrid Urdu-Dutch partnership with the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* (GKN). There was a sense in UCPR that becoming embedded with a denominational partner would change or threaten their Urdu identity. UCPR had been founded in resistance through Eric and Rose Sarwar's service to Urdu-speaking families in the Netherlands. As they ministered to a transnational network the pastor struggled to justify to Reformed partners why he spent significant time in visiting the wider Urdu-family in England, France and Italy. Meeting for bible study, UCPR appeared as a family or diaspora network with the Urdu-speaking community meeting in private homes. The MCC developed through negotiation with the *Church of Pakistan* and GKN and they entered into an official partnership with a congregation that belonged to the GKN. The development included the further education of the pastoral leader with the *Church of Pakistan* and through the efforts of the Bishop of Peshawar and financial support from the GKN together with projects of co-operation with local churches. UCPR has been recently renamed following negotiation of a partnership with the Protestant Church in the Netherlands and the new partnership secured some funding for the pastor whose support suffered because of transnational commitments to families outside of the Netherlands. The leadership agitated for action.

Despite the early house-group activities and the proposal of the bishop in Pakistan, UCPR was formed more in resistance rather than through negotiation. A proposal for partnership led to UCPR developing through discussion between denominations in Pakistan and the Netherlands. In 2015 UCPR became a mission church of the *Protestantse Kerken in*

Nederland (PKN)¹⁴⁷ but its story of development is one of agitation at the local level. By agitation, over time UCPR was able to develop by the support of partnerships at the local and trans-national level. The choices made appear to have been informed at a wider and trans-national perspective. The outlook of this MCC continues to be both focused on a wider Asian and inter-denominational vision and, despite their regular community not filling the whole space, are able to regularly host Urdu festivals and Asian conferences.

VOR is a renewalist community which operates out of the global movement known as *Victory Outreach International*. VOR was formed out of *resistance* because it appears that its founding leaders were under-resourced and faced many conflicts. The couple who assumed leadership in VOR lived in uncertainty about their role for a year after they moved from Amsterdam to Rotterdam. During this difficult time, the role of the international office in Los Angeles and friendship of a pastor from London proved to be an essential support. The ministry that led to VOR started up in their small home and afterwards they found themselves isolated by local Pentecostal pastors and faced many investigations and questions from local government officials and the police. They pioneered ways of recruiting people from the street and establishing a distinctive identity. It was in stark contrast to ‘Perron Nul’ which from 1987 attempted to provide drug-users clean needles and methadone. The context of VOR’s development was its relevance to many who wanted to escape the world of drug addiction and their ministry gave support to these people from the streets. Finding suitable space was a great problem but on two occasions in its early formation VOR was able to use premises belonging to the city’s Albeda College. They later found a way to purchase a traditional church building and they did most of the refurbishment themselves. They re-organised the space to house the women’s home, youth and family work, and offices. Though VOR grew out of the margins, it

¹⁴⁷ UCPR became an official member church of the Protestant Church in the Netherlands in April 2015. Gerald Bruins, “Urdu-gemeente Lid Protestantse Kerk”, *Nederlands Dagblad*, 25 April 2015, internet accessed on 1 November 2017 <https://www.nd.nl/.../urdu-gemeente-lid-protestantse-kerk.512119.1> (no longer accessible)

developed upon programmes created with its American-based parent association *Victory Outreach International*. VOR is a story of development by agitation and they now seek to develop new centres in other European cities.

GCI grew out of a vision to reach indigenous people and specifically Dutch-speaking immigrant groups such as Suriname and Antilleans. GCI was formed out of the first West African initiated ministry in the city in order to reach indigenous population in the Dutch language. The release of Ola Asubiaro and blessing of his vision by pastor Samuel Antiri was a remarkable event itself but it paved the way for continuing mentoring relationship. GCI grew as new leaders were prepared through the 'G12' model that was advocated by his Nigerian mentor in Kiev, Ukraine. GCI also resisted forms of ministry that failed to reach indigenous Dutch-speaking people group. The pastor redefined the scope of ministry in an effort to reach Dutch-speaking peoples. (When he had been an elder at *Potter's Hand New Covenant Word International Ministries*, the first language was English, but now he brought in Dutch and Papiamentu). Despite this, GCI struggled to keep their new identity when competing for space at the open plan dance hall (in *Tandwielstraat* near *Zuidplein*). They struggled to have a clear identity. Eventually through the tactics of *resistance* and *negotiation*, GCI became established and grew in numbers after relocating from the dance hall to the *Goede Herder/Heilige Engelbewaarders* Roman Catholic Church in *Lombardijen*. After they were given notice that it was to be sold to a housing development organization, GCI entered into negotiation to rent a hall and office at the community centre in the area. They became well known in the local neighbourhood where they developed through agitation. As their activities grew, the lack of space available and the subsequent theft of expensive sound equipment led to GCI relocating to *IJsselmonde* where they have sole use of the premises.

AMEN formed by hiring space available from a local church, gathering new members and setting up of social projects that enabled the members of their communities. In this way,

the story resembles that of GCI. AMEN formed following a vision to support the special needs of Congolese and French-speaking people groups but struggled to develop from the confines of its residential location. The trans-national identity of AMEN has developed through the pastoral leader. “AMEN has no limit or restrictions of geography, culture or race”¹⁴⁸ and the pastoral leader spoke of an international vision. Members are from a variety of places and the pastor wants “to have an impact in these countries.”¹⁴⁹ The pastor spoke of positive influences from other churches but the most significant relationship was that of his mentor. The pastoral leader used to receive visits from this ‘spiritual father’ from Congo Brazzaville but political strife in his homeland may have weakened this vision and MCC’s transnational character. The MCC was originally known as “Mission Evangelique de la Foi en Action” and served French-speakers of from various African backgrounds. At this time the pastoral leader cultivated positive relationships with the Reformed Pilgrim Fathers’ Church (from whom they rented a small space) and Pentecostal leaders. Relationships arose through his initiative. MEFA experienced increasing social isolation and received complaints on sound levels for many years from the local residential housing area. AMEN subsequently relocated to a larger space situated between a residential area and industrial units on the eastern edge of Schiedam. They purchased the premises through a financial arrangement made possible by the “Assemblies of God” and shared the premises with a Portuguese-speaking MCC and a Nigerian-led MCC. In AMEN’s story of development, the MCC agitated to project a positive identity and in the process both relocated and redefined itself.

The case studies highlight how regularly agitation and resistance have been used as tactics by people and/or leaders of MCCs. They experience conflict in their development and

¹⁴⁸ Website of Ministry AMEN: “Vision”, internet accessed on 22 February 2012, <http://www.cse-amen.e-monsite.com/blog/>.

¹⁴⁹ Christoph Kalubi, interview by author, Rotterdam, 4 April 2012, written notes.

sometimes create conflict in expressing identity. Manuel Castells has even indicated how the existence of new forms of religious community could be a form of resistance identity.

Local communities, constructed through collective action and preserved through collective memory, are specific sources of identities. But these identities, in most cases, are defensive reactions against the impositions of global disorder and uncontrollable, fast paced change. They do build havens, but not heavens.¹⁵⁰

In her study of congregations, Nancy Ammerman assessed how congregations adapt to change and surmised that they maintain identity by either surviving in one place, transferring to another place or adopting a regional focus.¹⁵¹ From these case-studies, it seems that many other influences may combine together in the maintenance of identity. In their development, there were critical moments when the denomination, pastoral leader or a group of their members took the initiative. Their development is the result of different actors and tactics. The different tactics for establishing identity suggested by Castells, Schreiter and Levitt are reduced to three words: authoritarian, accommodation or agitation. *Authoritarian* describes the dominant activity of a church tradition and or movement to establish a new community of a new order whereas *accommodation* describes the dominant mode of making agreements and accepting a marginal position and identity within the field. *Agitation* does not accept the latter but uses tactics to stir, attract and build identity between the religious and cultural norms of the society. The case-studies indicate that agitation within the group plays a key role in determining identity. Manuel Castells proposed identity “as prolongation of community resistance.”¹⁵² I employed agitation as a broader term to that of resistance because it gives expression to the involvement of internal

¹⁵⁰ Castells, *The Power of Identity*, 64.

¹⁵¹ Ammerman, *Congregation and Community*, 324.

¹⁵² Castells, *The Power of Identity*, 11.

processes and not merely external. Agitation can be understood as redefinition (change of name and outlook), representation (change idea by argument) and/or relocation (occupation of new space).

Resistance or agitation is a tool in the development of identity that can be directed externally or internally. The leaders and/or members of historical MCCs agitated against identities being imposed on them¹⁵³ but it is sometimes exercised against targets within the church as well as outside it.¹⁵⁴ In some cases, a certain amount of re-positioning of relationship to their denomination or movement took place. Whereas in historical MCCs the pastoral leader tends to act through the organization, in renewalist MCCs the pastoral leader tends to take a more direct approach (e.g. to set up a charitable foundation to support the needs of their members). Where they lack wider resources, MCCs agitate and create a niche identity for themselves.¹⁵⁵ Tensions were felt from within at the prospect of domination from outside influences but of the case studies acted differently and presented a merging or accommodation model.¹⁵⁶

5.3.3 Their Languages and Generations

Though it was not an explicit lens in the frame of *koinonia*, language surfaced as an important aspect in the case-studies. Language influences the composition of MCCs. In the six case

¹⁵³ In PCVRC there was an act of agitation over the plan of Roman Catholic Church and the increasing Cape Verdean element took over by spring-boarding the Portuguese-speaking community in a quiet power struggle. Some of the members were dominant in this action but, where a MCC feels itself to be discriminated against, pastoral leaders may play the dominant role. Both leader and the elders of UCPR showed direct resistance to several pastoral recommendations and the organizational policies of the Gereformeerde Kerken.

¹⁵⁴ New pastoral leaders at VOR agitated over the decision of their parent community in Amsterdam to de-select them, over negative responses from representatives of other Pentecostal ministries in Rotterdam and over the actions of the municipality concerning their manner of treating alcohol and drug addiction. The agitation of an elder over the predominant church identity at *Potters Hand New Covenant Word International Ministries* led to the formation of GCI.

¹⁵⁵ Foley and Hoge, *Religion and the New Immigrants*, 44.

¹⁵⁶ MEB grew in hybridity where Suriname peoples co-existed with others. There was some agitation from the Javanese and Hindi language groups in order to maintain their distinctive services on a monthly or bi-monthly basis. A third generation group also preferred folk religion from Africa or the Caribbean against the wishes of pastoral leaders who wanted to maintain orthodox forms of Christianity.

studies that we have observed, one of the principal ways that MCCs create identity is through language. In the two MCCs which attract older migrant populations, the dominant use of Portuguese in PCVRC and of Urdu in UCPR created an identity and environment for the distinctive Portuguese-speaking Cape Verdean and Urdu communities respectively. The almost exclusive use of the Dutch language at MEB, in contrast, promoted an identity that is blending between being between Suriname and Dutch people. Dutch-speakers from the Dutch Antilles together with those from Suriname and Indonesia operate more freely in the Dutch language. Dutch-language MCCs with second and third generation migrants are likely to connect with more and more aspects of Dutch identity. Despite this achievement, they may no longer be considered as a MCC if they do not receive first or second-generation migrants. The varied use of the Dutch language in worship and up to two others by VOR and GCI has promoted a mixed ethnic community that is regularly able to draw in new immigrants. VOR is the clearest model of a MCC where new members find identity in something beyond ethnic background and where religious faith creates bonds of mutuality. The predominant use of French in AMEN and flexibility to translate into Dutch and English similarly attracts new French-speaking immigrants and other global travelers.

In their use of various languages (whether one or many, a majority or minority one) MCCs appear to enable a wider set of relationships. The use of more than one language seems to sustain migrants in their first generation when the political opportunity structure may seem to be against them. Newcomers can be included when their language is used for even part of the liturgy. The long-term use of a language(s) other than the indigenous Dutch depends on the relationship of the MCC with new migrants. Three categories of composition reflect at least three ways in which language is used by leaders or by groups within the MCC. Language acts as either a badge of identity, a carrier of identity or a blender of identity. It can be used to include indigenous Dutch people to an extent that the identity of the MCC merges or be used

to connect other marginal migrant groups to the extent of the MCC creating a regional or cosmopolitan identity. The use of language(s) enables more or less diversity to take place, and through the language used in their liturgy, MCCs are able to establish a distinctive identity. The dominant role of Portuguese, Urdu and French ensure that PCVRC, UCPR and AMEN continue to develop and maintain their *particular* identities whereas the dominant use of Dutch by MEB in a Dutch-speaking context enables movement to a *merged* identity. The use of English and Dutch together with other languages can promote a mixed or *multiform* community in VOR (and to a lesser extent in GCI). The use of more widely known languages (such as French or English) enables particular identities to continue a little longer but is likely to lead to the development of a mixed or multiform community. Language acts as a badge of identity in *particular* MCCs, a blender of identity in *merged* MCCs and a carrier of identity in *multiform* MCCs.

The use of language also affects the development of MCCs. Language has the power to leverage identity. While it may serve to include or exclude newcomers, it has been used as a tool or tactic to establish identity and space for MCCs in their new context. The languages used in public worship influence the composition of MCCs. In PCVRC the Portuguese language together with Creole over Dutch (except in the second service) brought Cape Verdeans including third generation together. In MEB the use of Dutch together with a little Sranan Creole brought Suriname Moravians together with Dutch (most have Dutch passports). In UCPR the use of Urdu with a little Hindi or Dutch has created a ‘particular’ as well as transnational Urdu identity. The issue about using Dutch to connect with the third generation remains but the more transnational a language is, the more mixed may be the composition of MCCs when they gather for worship. In two of the six case studies (in VOR and GCI), the more even-handed use of Dutch and English together with other languages (mainly Papiamentu) brought together a mixed community around a Dutch Antillean core group. In AMEN the use

of French and some Lingala brought together Francophone Africans around a core group from the Republic of Congo. These case-studies reveal three communities with majorities coming from one region and wide ethnic background (PCVRC, UCPR and AMEN). They principally serve a people group which, despite changes made in favour of Dutch language for the younger generation, is likely to remain stable. In MEB the mixed Suriname population use Dutch passports and are at home both with Suriname and Dutch traditions. The majority of MEB have lived through two or three generations but Suriname traditions are in need of being regularly ‘remembered’ if they are not to be lost. Through the use of language, MCCs have the most ability to include or exclude. The theoretical stages of MCCs discussed suggest that though some will become more mixed, others will merge (or integrate) into a predominant Dutch-migrant identity as they grow organisationally and adapt over two or three generations. It has been suggested that their relationships and experience of reception tend to condition a more clinical response of MCCs to determine their identity.

One may prioritize one culture over the other or even completely discard one of them. Some may choose to connect to Dutch culture as little as possible, thereby developing a kind of ghetto. Others choose to leave their original culture behind, even to the point of discriminating against members of their ancestral culture.¹⁵⁷

Some groups can do this in the tactical use of language(s). PVCRC reduced the amount of the Dutch language to maintain its Cape Verdean identity and ensure it would not be merged and or integrated into a Dutch parish. UCPR similarly reduced the level of Dutch language in public worship in the year before becoming a full member of the PKN in 2013.

¹⁵⁷ R. Ruard Ganzevoort, “Staging the Divine: A Theological Challenge for the Churches in Europe”, Jansen and Stoffels, eds., *A Moving God: Immigrant Churches in the Netherlands*, 228.

Several generations of migrant Christians exist in MCCs in Rotterdam but new ones present a challenge in maintaining their identity. Second generation children and young adults in MCCs are between cultures and are likely to be swayed more by their peers than their families. The special challenge for the second generation lies in having a different language ability to their parents. They do not identify substantially with the choices of their parents and are more concerned about creating a viable future for themselves. MCCs offer the new generations cultural flexibility in style of the service and the languages used. Where this flexibility is lacking in 'particular' MCCs, inter-generational strains and conflicts are more likely. PCVRC and UCPR that set up at the beginning of the 1970s have grand-children born to those who migrated then as well as children born to those arrived more recently. They are referred to as second/third generations. PCVRC and UCPR chose particular identities that emphasized the culture and traditions of their homeland. The first generation at PCVRC sought to recall Creole culture and remember the archipelago while the first generation at UCPR sought ways to express concern for family members and friends in Pakistan. Their MCCs offered space for this and had more success than any other group in bringing together the generations. While the Cape Verdean and Urdu cultures are clearly expressed, it is transparent that the second/third generations do not share the strong attachments of previous generations. These young adults of the second/third generation did not participate in large numbers in these case-studies. They struggle to identify with the particular identity of PCVRC or UCPR.

The same may be said of MEB as a 'merging' model where there is a strong Suriname behavioural culture. MEB is about Suriname migrants with cultural connections to the Netherlands who joined a pre-existing church. This helped to contain the various hybrid identities within and also gave support to generations of Suriname immigrants. Despite the dominant use of the Dutch language, currently they do not attract many young second/third generations. The deep dislocation between generations is expressed by some through the

attraction of drugs and going back to African folk-religion. Different issues exacerbate the preferences of migrant people groups where they are of different generations living in the Netherlands. These include being made to feel welcome in the Netherlands, opportunities for employment, their use of language and their behaviour towards different generations. Influential aspects of their behaviour have to do with lifestyle, food and clothing. These can be seriously 'felt' issues for the current generations born and growing up in the Netherlands.

VOR and GCI which were established just before and after 2000 attracted a cosmopolitan community with both Dutch and English languages regularly used. They appealed to younger adults including groups of Antillean young people caught between two or more cultures. These MCCs developed programmes to engage with drug dependency and their rehabilitation. AMEN is the other renewal case study and 'particular' model that works mostly with French-speaking Africans. Some in AMEN could not find employment or residential status French-speaking areas of Belgium from where they came to Rotterdam. The uncertainty of life and the affirming language ministry of AMEN has attracted many families. While they have a major task to stabilize their lives, the greater test for the MCC may be how they serve the second/third generation in the future. If the families stay in Rotterdam, AMEN must recreate opportunities with people of different generations to engage their local context.

5.3.4 Their Search for Space

Another important aspect that surfaced from the case-study descriptions regarding context and development was the quest for social as well as physical space. Migrants seek social space where they can identify and build their own identity as well as physical space where they can worship, share and be active. Migrants and MCCs do not necessarily all have the same experiences of Rotterdam because the migration systems under which they arrived and the conditions under which they were accepted differ. It is not only because of their background

that their interaction with their new context varies. As a product of migration systems and societal reception, migrants experience that the opportunity structure often distinguishes politically between Dutch-speaking immigrant families and people of other nations. It influences the economic conditions in which they look for employment.¹⁵⁸ When Cape Verdean and Suriname people first came to Rotterdam they were more able to find work than more recent economic migrants from Africa and Asia. Cape Verdean men found work in harbour-related industries but these jobs were not so plentiful. All of the case-studies had instances of members who experienced the struggle to live on low incomes and with unemployment. The Cape Verdean experience was less positive than that of Suriname immigrants who as result of national independence arrived in larger numbers and benefited from their historical relationship to the Netherlands.

From the 1980s and the 1990s generations of African and Asian migrants experienced more difficulty in settling into the Netherlands for two reasons. Firstly, they tended to arrive as individuals rather than as cohorts from the Cape Verdean islands or Suriname. In comparison to the latter, the registered numbers from Pakistan, Ghana, Nigeria and Cameroon (in West Africa) and Congo and Congo Kinshasa (in Central Africa) were significantly lower.¹⁵⁹ Secondly, they had much less awareness of the Dutch language and systems than people from Suriname. As questions were raised about the status of new migrants in the Netherlands, these latter groups experienced more difficulties in settling and learning new skills. As Schrover and Vermeulen observe: “The degree of support for immigrant organizations is strongly related to the legal position of the newcomers in the host society.”¹⁶⁰ Several pastoral leaders of renewalist

¹⁵⁸ Marlou Schrover and Floris Vermeulen, “Immigrant Organisations”, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 31:5 (2005), 829.

¹⁵⁹ A print-out requested by the author from Publiekszaken Rotterdam, COS, for 1 January 2008 on the population of Rotterdam and land of ethnic origin, residents from Pakistan were 0.67% of the total population of the city, West Africans from Ghana, Nigeria and Cameroon were 0.24%, Congolese from Congo and Congo Kinshasa were 0.07% whereas residents from the Cape Verdean Islands were 2.59% and people from Suriname were 8.93%. Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek, *Bevolkingsprognose Rotterdam 2025*, Rotterdam, 2007.

¹⁶⁰ Schrover and Vermeulen, “Immigrant Organisations”, 828.

MCCs in Rotterdam reported a sense of isolation and a lack of contact with local authorities and indigenous churches¹⁶¹ and others have voiced their desire to establish a spiritual and social community centre for migrants.¹⁶² Even as they try to obtain a foothold in the city, they portray themselves as groups with global networks and transnational identities. I will explore this further in terms of the *kerygma* (their public titles and statements) and *diakonia* (their social capital and transnational activities).

The difficulties experienced by migrant Christians in adapting has created an opportunity for MCCs to provide religious identity and the social and spiritual support that goes with it. The need for these MCCs by the first generation of migrant Christians was re-affirmed by subsequent generations who joined these communities. The case studies highlight some of the difficulties in catering for a mixture of generations.¹⁶³ They also reflect how religion can contribute to one's social identity in the face of living on low incomes and in experiencing polarization within society. MCCs demonstrate that the affirmation of religious identity can contribute to social identity in the face of living on low incomes and in their experience of marginalization. During the period of this research there was a marked increase in number of MCCs in Rotterdam though many were under fifty persons and others less.¹⁶⁴ The smaller groups appeared more vulnerable and open to change.

The identity of MCCs seems to be affected by how they respond to reduced space. A common issue in their development is in how to obtain physical space in which to meet and to

¹⁶¹ An elder of an Ethiopian-led MCC emphasized the importance of providing good information to MCCs. "We do not have good relationships with Dutch people and don't understand the Dutch social mentality for we do not have even the link – we don't know how." Sony Shiferaw, interview by author, Rotterdam, 29 June 2004, written notes.

¹⁶² Sony Shiferaw, interview by author, Rotterdam, 29 June 2004, written notes.

¹⁶³ In the longer established MCCs (PCVRC, MEB and UCPR) from the 1970s and 1980s there were two kinds of second/third generations where younger members were either born here or arrived to join their parents in Rotterdam.

¹⁶⁴ Of these case-studies, the highest Sunday attendances were in PCVRC and VOR which numbered significantly more than seven hundred. MEB was about two hundred whereas UCPR, GCI and AMEN were around or under fifty persons.

find social/ psychological space.¹⁶⁵ There are hidden tensions and conflicts in sharing and renting space.¹⁶⁶ One of the major issues facing new MCCs is the reduction of space and how to find that which is suitable. The reduction of space can be traced back to the onset of the era of globalization from 1960. Church property was not only dramatically limited by war-time destruction but also in the subsequent redevelopment of Rotterdam which had a major impact on their number and distribution in the city centre. Though thirty churches were destroyed in 1940 (including the Scots, Swedish, Norwegian and Finnish)¹⁶⁷ many more were to disappear in the following period through city planning. The secular climate and post-war municipal policies effectively reduced the number of church towers and spires. Consequently, as we have already noted, the profile of Rotterdam today has relatively fewer than compared to other European cities. The loss of church premises in the city-centre has affected Orthodox MCCs who found it difficult to find fixed space so that the altar and iconostasis will be undisturbed. Though perhaps more Protestant churches were built in the past than were strictly needed¹⁶⁸ the loss of the visible and imposing structures of historical churches in old neighbourhoods was lamented by citizens of Rotterdam in an official report.¹⁶⁹ As Rotterdam expanded at the end of the twentieth century, its old centre was remodelled and the development of the city had the effect of forcing renewalist MCCs to find premises in the decentralised suburbs¹⁷⁰ and in mixed¹⁷¹ and low-income housing areas.¹⁷² While indigenous Dutch-led renewalist MCCs have

¹⁶⁵ Of the six case-studies, PCVRC, MEB and VOR have ownership of their own premises while UCPR, GCI and AMEN are renting space or being hosted by others.

¹⁶⁶ It took a lot of time and energy for MEB and VOR to find suitable premises for purchase.

¹⁶⁷ Website: www.engelfriet.net/Alie/Hans/oudekerken.htm

¹⁶⁸ Robin Gill cited in Cameron et al, eds, *Studying Local Churches*, 167.

¹⁶⁹ Church buildings have a sacral role and memorial function in the lives of many connected with the historic churches. Cameron et al., *Studying Local Churches*, 50. Also Gemeente Rotterdam, Advies groep, January 2009.

¹⁷⁰ *Abundant Grace Ministries* looked for a centre for families and youth in Rotterdam South but continue to be located in the suburb of Krimpen a/d IJssel where they started up in 2003.

¹⁷¹ They do not exhibit the depths of difference in social-economic and ethnic composition commonly found in North American cities.

¹⁷² In these districts, twenty MCCs are located in Charlois on the south side of the river in the areas of Tarwewijk and Carnisse, eighteen in Delfshaven in the west and twelve in Feijenoord in the south. 79% of MCCs in Charlois and Feijenoord on the south-side are renewalist.

been able to purchase or adapt existing buildings¹⁷³ migrant-led ones have largely struggled to find suitable locations and premises. In the 1990s interaction between a Suriname businessman, Larry Grives, and several renewalist MCCs demonstrated how space could be re-shaped from that which was used for commercial purposes. The re-shaping of space can take place in homes, offices or factories. Relocation is sometimes accompanied by redefinition.¹⁷⁴ Renewalist MCCs resisted being squeezed out of public and religious space. They survived the experience of liminality and the prospect of extinction through resistance (by the formation of new and distinctive identities) and through recreation (by their relocation and the re-shaping of space). There is often need for “open space for sharing the experience of Christ’s presence in a joint struggle towards justice and liberation on the road to the fulfilment of the human destination.”¹⁷⁵ In requesting space that was not open but already occupied, they have had to agitate either the influence of churches/leaders, societal opinion or local government authorities.¹⁷⁶ One of case-studies (PCVRC) obtained space through its corporate identity of the Roman Catholic Church. Two others (MEB and UCPR) negotiated to rent/share space with Protestant and Reformed churches while another (VOR) purchased a Reformed church building. After experience of being required to relocate, GCI and AMEN rented public buildings, one an un-used school on the edge of the a housing area by the ring-road and the other office space on the edge of an industrial site. It is often the case that relocation is accompanied by redefinition. Development

¹⁷³ In 1980 the *Hiding Place (De Schutse) Church* bought up a large commercial property that had been erected in 1900 behind the Central Station, but had become redundant and the people from the neighbourhood favoured a change of use. In 1981 the *Europort Christian Evangelical Centre* (previously the *Candlestick Church* or *De Kandelaar*) bought an old cinema that could seat nine hundred people and in the same year *Come and See (Kom en Zie)* bought a Reformed Church in Gerdesiaweg near the city centre.

¹⁷⁴ In UCPR, VOR, GCI and AMEN, agitation involved in taking up a new social space led to their redefinition. In VOR, GCI and AMEN, agitation led to taking over new physical space. Social space enables new relationships and is not bound to time and place as physical space.

¹⁷⁵ Hock, Klaus, “Religion on the Move” in Adogame, Gerloff and Hock, eds, *Christianity in Africa and the African Diaspora*, 244. In the same volume, Roswith Gerloff summarises some theological issues that need that to be encountered in that open space in 215-216.

¹⁷⁶ Agitation (resistance and recreation) led to GCI having joint-use with other MCCs of space that had been a dance-hall and to AMEN relocating to the comparative freedom of occupying industrial space in a renovated warehouse away from middle-income residences.

requires more than the acquisition of physical space and renaming may be a necessary tactic to reclaim ideological space.

5.4 CONCLUSION

Some MCCs cater for a specific group of migrant people while others are more mixed. They appear to be dynamic communities that change when circumstances change. Though ethnic categories are often used to describe MCCs, these appear to be too crude to capture these dynamics. Using an adaptation of Rockquemore's theory on biracial identities, I developed the notions of particular, multiform and merging types. *Particular* identities are dominated by one ethnic group and maintain it through the use of familiar religious rituals, songs, languages and foods. Three of the case studies portray a *particular* identity where their members numbered at least 80% of one ethnic background. If they do not protect their particular identity, they tend to assume multiform or merging identities. *Multiform* identities are not dominated by one group and in the two case-studies which displayed a *multiform* identity, one had previously had a majority of Antilleans whereas in the other there was no dominant ethnicity. *Merging* identities contain several ethnic or group identities but are in the process of becoming one with the culture of the host country. One case-study represented a *merging* form where the indigenous language held together the hybrid parts of the dominant people group.

These patterns of group identity were affected by several factors. As groups they are less likely to suffer from the 'religious congruence fallacy' (where false assumptions are made on the consistency between an individual's religious ideas and behaviour). Their composition was shaped by interacting with their context, by the tactics used by leader or in-groups, their use of language and the relationship between generational cohorts. Group identity construction is the result of interaction through the leadership and/or membership and sometimes the organization's headquarters.

I observed different tactics and significant struggles take place within these groups in reaction to the social and political context, which I have attempted to describe with concepts that draw upon the work of Castles, Schreiter and Levitt: authorization, accommodation and agitation, developed in 4.3.2. Competing interests (even rivalries) among the leadership, membership and wider organization can be interpreted through the tactics of authorization, accommodation or agitation used. These tactics are played out within the group as they work out their life and identity in the city. If ‘authoritarian’ behaviour is not from the leader but from the denomination or government, pastoral leaders need to decide how to operate. Do they respond in similar fashion, accommodate or stir up in agitation? One of the important findings of the case-studies was that, in their new context, agitation is a regular tactic and tool in the development of migrant groups. Agitation differs from authoritarian behavior in being the decisive or aggressive activity by a leader or a small group rather than the whole group or representing official policy. All but one of the case studies have developed through agitation, either through their members or pastoral leader, meaning that processes of agitation are not only initiated by the leadership. Agitation seems to be the dominant act of resisting significant others connected with one’s group and which leads to conflict. MCCs experience conflict at different levels (e.g. with other MCCs/ churches or own members) but conflict can contribute to growth. The stimulation of conflict or agitation is a tool in identity construction. It can be intensified by leaders or members in order to change the composition or redefine boundaries.

Languages have key role to play in group identity construction of MCCs. It is often stated that MCCs can be a ‘home away from home’ but there are different kinds of home. ‘Home’ for migrant people may be felt to belonging to communities that represent the dominant sending or receiving culture or in a globalized form. The dominant roles of Portuguese, Urdu and French ensure the development of *particular* identities together with use of Cape Verdean, Hindi and Lingala. The creative use of English with Dutch (and other languages) led to the

development of *multiform* communities which are not tied to a dominant people-group or language. The dominant use of the Dutch language enabled the formation of *merged* identities. Language is a carrier of identity that enables other identities to develop. Apart from being an instrument to attract new members, language is also a tool that binds or disperses the generations. It is especially important in preserving the pattern of different generational cohorts where the use of the indigenous or more than one language can prevent an exodus and enable the creation of communities with a wider identity. Language is used to create safe environments for migrants and new space for building shared identities. The choice and use of languages is key to how MCCs will develop in their new context. Language has enormous significance in building religious community and creates a 'home away from home' for migrant people. New generations of migrant Christians present a challenge to leaders in the construction of identity. Second generation children have different language abilities and cultural preferences. Some MCCs are able to offer flexibility in style of the worship and languages used. MCCs are groups in transition whose identity depends on a supply of new migrants/members and settlement of their existing membership as well as the changing opportunity structure in Rotterdam. The need for these communities by the first generation of migrant Christians who established them has been re-affirmed by subsequent groups of new migrants who found a home there.

Cities serve to connect people but MCCs experienced difficulty in finding the social as well as physical space in which to meet and settle. In order to find this space, some MCCs move out to the suburbs and others into industrial workspace. Two of the case-studies established a base in outlying suburb areas of the city where the costs were less. MCCs want to provide safe and sacred space for their members to meet and relate in throughout the week. This is safe or sacred space because they appear to regularly support the social or religious identity of individual migrants who are on low incomes and face social stigma. MCCs, in general, experience great difficulty in acquiring suitable premises for their social and religious activities.

From a surveying the field of MCCs in Rotterdam, it is regular practice for some to move to new premises because of high rents or social difficulties.

These narratives highlight the prominent role that the context, leaders and use of language have in shaping the development of MCCs. The role of leadership in taking decisions and relating to the group is under view in the next chapter. They have a key role in naming or describing the mission of their group. We will observe how the pastoral leaders in these case-studies articulate their group's identity.

CHAPTER SIX: KERYGMA

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter *kerygma* is another wide frame. In order to study the nature of MCCs under the frame of *kerygma* two lenses are applied: leadership and nomenclature. The first lens of leadership will focus on their interaction with their own community and its structure. A second lens of nomenclature will focus on their public titles and mission statements.

Firstly, I begin with the lens of leadership and observe how leaders relate to their own members and organizations. From taking up a theoretical position on leadership, I will ask questions about and examine how they behave towards their own communities. Do they act as traditional leaders and retain the historic practices of the wider organization? Do they act as rational leaders and make rational judgements in developing the group? Do they act as charismatic leaders and make use of their special gifts and interests? I will also reflect on their recruitment and how they construct identity.

Secondly, I want to examine, through the lens of nomenclature, what MCCs and their leaders proclaim about themselves. Titles and mission statements are a function of those in authority. I try to reflect on their names and mission statements in order to discern insights into their vision and values. The titles and public statements of these case-studies offer clues to how their identities were constructed. Their names and mission statements were obtained from visits to their pastoral leader and obtaining interviews, printed literature and reading their websites.

6.2 SIX CASE STUDIES

6.2.1 Portuguese-speaking Cape Verdean Roman Catholic Church (PCVRC)

6.2.1.1 Leadership

PCVRC is a 'parish' model that has been established for (and by) Cape Verdean migrants and is pastorally involved with their major concerns. As the local councillor Leonard Geluk said in

a national newspaper article in 2009: “Their parish is more than a church; the priest mediates over numerous problems.”¹⁷⁷ PCVRC has a full-time priest, part-time pastoral assistant, a care worker for the elderly and an administrator. The parish is one of the poorest in the city and the local diocese provides financial assistance for these positions and for the work of the parish council. The priest seeks to empower others to serve in a parish church that draws upon the resources of the wider diocesan organization. From its inception up to 2004 PCVRC was nurtured by *Cura Migratorum* and functioned separately from the diocese and bishopric. When financial support for *Cura Migratorum* ended, PCVRC came under the traditional Roman Catholic Church structures which provided more formal policies and procedures. Migrant parishes were required to come under the authority of and accountability to the diocese of the Hague and Rotterdam. The Weberian leader type in PCVRC is that of traditional priests who are involved in participative styles within the community and in the neighbourhood and diocese. PCVRC has enjoyed both continuity and commitment from two priests between 1988 and 2014. It may be significant that both priests have had experience in Southern America. The current priest, Theodore Wubbels, was trained as a Mill Hill Missionary, like his predecessor, Bernard de Boer. Mill Hill missionaries¹⁷⁸ belong to a Roman Catholic order associated with St. Joseph’s Foreign Missionary Society. The order began in 1866 and began mission work in Brazil and Chile in the second half of the twentieth century. Bernardo de Boer was born in Zeeland but served in Rio de Janeiro for fifteen years before returning to the Netherlands to serve in Rotterdam in 2007.¹⁷⁹ The two priests agreed that experience as missionaries in “Brazil was the

¹⁷⁷ “Hun parochie is meer dan zomaar een kerk; de pastoor bemiddelt bij tal van problemen.” Mark Hoogstad, “Migrantkerken Niet Steunen is Mensen Kwijtraken, *NRC Handelsblad*, 1 April 2009.

¹⁷⁸ Ben Engelbertink, *Mill Hill in Twente*, Oldenzaal, Waijers-Schasfoort Stichting, 2015.

¹⁷⁹ He serves the order of Mill Hill, the first Roman Catholic missionary society founded in England. The St Joseph’s Foreign Missionary Society was started in 1866 by Father Herbert Vaughan (1832-1903). By the second half of the twentieth century Mill Hill missionaries were active in Santiago, Chile, and in Brazil and by 1960 there were one thousand two hundred serving on four continents. In 2005 the society challenged its missionaries to face the challenges of secularization and globalization. Internet websites for the Mill Hill Missionaries and St. Josephs Missionary Society, accessed on 15 February 2012: <http://www.millhillmissionaries.com> and http://www.mundus.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search?coll_id=268&inst_id37/

best preparation for this parish.”¹⁸⁰ High migration and extreme poverty in Brazilian cities offered opportunities to learn how the Roman Catholic Church could operate missionally in Portuguese-speaking cultures. The pastoral and practical issues that they faced were possibly more voluminous than would have experienced in the Cape Verdean islands.

6.2.1.2 Nomenclature

The title “Onze Lieve Vrouw van de Vrede” (in Dutch) or “Nossa Senhora da Paz” (in Portuguese) highlights the religious imagery of Mary as “Our Lady of Peace.” It also identifies the community as part of the historic universal Roman Catholic Church. The organizational title is one that Roman Catholic migrants and especially those who are Cape Verdean can easily identify with. The bilingual title demonstrates that the community is performing a balancing act between the compulsion to integrate versus the need to keep one’s identity. The name also suggests that the parish is socially integrated. The newsletter of PCVRC states: “the parish fulfils a bridge function between the congregation and the Dutch society.”¹⁸¹

The three defining terms “Portuguese-speaking”, “Cape Verdean” and “Roman Catholic” are key indicators of the people that the parish serves. “Cape Verdean” was added as this group increased to substantial proportions within the Portuguese-speaking community. The Creole language is sometimes used in worship and fellowship but there are fewer new Cape Verdean immigrants. The Dutch language title suggests that the future of the community lies in becoming more connected into Rotterdam life and society. The title supports the concept of being an ‘integrated’ rather than a ‘migrant’ parish. Currently in the diocese of Rotterdam, PCVRC is regarded as a ‘migrant parish.’ In 2012 PCVRC had the status of being one of three ‘personal’ or ‘immigrant’ parishes.¹⁸² The Roman Catholic Church maintains a ‘universal’

¹⁸⁰ Bernardo de Boer, interview by author, Rotterdam, 20 March 2012, written notes.

¹⁸¹ PCVRC, church guidebook: “Welkom in de Migrantenparochie voor Portugeessprekenden!”

¹⁸² These different Roman Catholic terms for ‘parish’ originate from the use of Latin. The other two migrant parishes or *paroecia personalis* in Rotterdam were the Croatian and Polish Roman Catholic parishes.

identity but allows migrant parishes to be recognised where they are sustainable. However if one's language becomes a secondary indicator of identity to that of being Catholics, the compulsion to keep one's identity over integration could become the basis of a power struggle.

The mission of the church is connected with the area of Rotterdam near to where most Cape Verdean people live. The church premises have become their sacred space. Though "a Cape Verdean likes to rely on his own strength"¹⁸³ the church space has become a central focus for social and spiritual activities. "We give information on insurance for funerals or pensions."¹⁸⁴ It is a focus for the mutual solidarity or 'mutirao' between Cape Verdean people.

These people want a place where they can find themselves and get strength. We offer such a meeting place and a kind of island that aids their integration.¹⁸⁵

Members and volunteers are encouraged to see themselves within the previous priest's description of a line of accountability. The previous priest presented PCVRC as a wheel where God is at the centre radiating out to various people and activities. The mission statement was stated as:

The migrant parish has a wide function in providing for social necessities. The structure of this community is understood as 'God – Church Board – Parish' in which there are three hundred voluntary groups and activities.¹⁸⁶

The quasi-parish or *quasi-paroecia* catered for migrants within a local parish whereas the chaplaincy or *capellanus* signalled the appointment of a priest to serve a distinctly smaller or more variable migrant group. Johannes T. Rijk, *De Weg van de Multiculturaliteit in de Nederlandse Kerk: Bijdrage tot een Nadere Bezinning*, Den Bosch, 1995, 6-7; Martha T. Frederiks and Nienke Pruiksma, "Journey Towards Multiculturalism? The Relationship between Immigrant Christians and Dutch Indigenous Churches", *Journal of Religion in Europe* 3:1 (2010), 136.

¹⁸³ Noordergraaf, *Armoede in Nederland 2010: Migrantenkerken en Armoede in Nederland, een Verkennend Onderzoek*, 17.

¹⁸⁴ Bernard de Boer, interview by author, Rotterdam, 20, March 2012, written notes.

¹⁸⁵ Peter Stevens, interview by author, Rotterdam, 14 June 2006, written notes.

¹⁸⁶ Calvert, *Gids*, 51.

6.2.2 Moravian Evangelical Brethren (MEB)

6.2.2.1 Leadership

The Moravian denomination has clear lines of accountability where its different parts relate structurally with one another through “unity provinces, mission provinces and mission areas.” This structure is well established across four continents.¹⁸⁷ MEB is Protestant and the community comes together in larger numbers to celebrate the sacraments of baptism and communion. Within the Rotterdam community, the key work-groups are concerned with the property (fund-raising and care-taking) and its most vulnerable groups (youth and the elderly). The support services and mission workers with East Indians, Javanese, Chinese and Maroons are coordinated by the denomination’s Provincial Board of Europe and the MCC in Rotterdam is represented on this and the church’s Synod. Both the Synod and Central Council of the MEB in the Netherlands are served by elders and lay people of its twelve congregations in the country. One of the elders (or brothers) is a teacher in a secondary school in Rotterdam but acts as a pastor in the Javanese-Suriname group. MEB recognises the offices of bishops, elders and deacons and is locally governed through a board of elders. In the past there have been difficulties in finding pastoral support for its hybrid parts. MEB’s church guide highlights church services, pastoral support, bible study, social work and the annual bazaar to generate financial income.

The type of leader in MEB is traditional because of the deference given to the historic nature and structure of the denomination. In its formative years there were Dutch, German and French pastors but recent pastoral leaders have been brought over from Suriname. One issue

¹⁸⁷ It has ‘unity provinces’ in Europe, North America, South America and Africa, as well as mission work in Palestine and South Asia which are supervised by the European and British provinces respectively. See *What is EBG Rotterdam?*, 15; “Moravian Identity in Different Contexts”, 13-18. See also *The Moravian Almanac* which is published annually by most provinces as a supplement to the devotional book *Daily Watchwords*.

that made it difficult to obtain Suriname leaders was ensuring that they had appropriate theological training.¹⁸⁸ Traditionally pastoral leaders were required to have European academic requirements though it is possible for gifted candidates to have their education supplemented at *Christelijke Hogeschool Ede*. It is useful for leaders to have had experience in Suriname and Max Lieveld had been a school teacher in Suriname before studying at the Bethany Theological Seminary. He served as a Reformed pastor for ten years and as an army chaplain for four years before he came to Rotterdam in 1998. While MEB governs its own affairs it is able to draw support for the pastor's salary through the worldwide denomination. The current pastor, Denny Zinhagel, studied for pastoral ministry in Suriname and served a Moravian congregation in St. Maarten in the Netherlands Antilles before he began as pastor in Rotterdam in 2008. In contrast, Erik-Jan Stam was recruited from the Netherlands as a lay minister to serve the migrant minority groups associated with the MCC in Rotterdam. As minority groups, Javanese and Hindustani people have special needs (e.g. for care of the elderly). These minority groups meet in fellowship every month and even as numbers decline the continuance of these separate meetings can be accounted for by cherished memories of larger gatherings in Suriname. Though sometimes given separate identities¹⁸⁹, they are connected to the church in Avenue Concordia whereas in 1997 another congregation of the Moravian Evangelical Brethren was formed in the north of Rotterdam. Bonding between all Suriname peoples in MEB remains strong. In Suriname, internal networks were much stronger for Hindustani (Indian) than African groups.¹⁹⁰ In Rotterdam, MEB has become a badge of identity for African Suriname members who are in the majority.

¹⁸⁸ The pastor in 2004 had been trained at Bethany Theological Seminary in the United States before becoming a Reformed pastor for ten years in Suriname and serving four years as an army chaplain.

¹⁸⁹ Grant, *Gids*, 131, 132.

¹⁹⁰ See Anja van Heelsum's projects: "Organizations of Immigrants: 2002." The network of Surinamese organisations, internet accessed 25 January 2012, <http://www.avanheelsum.socsci.uva.nl/organisations.html>

6.2.2.2 Nomenclature

This Protestant MCC is entitled in Dutch as *Evangelische Broedergemeente Nederland te Rotterdam*. It is popularly known as the ‘Moravian church’ since it took its name from the exiles from Moravia who came to Saxony in 1722 to escape persecution. Their religious origins lay in the movement led by Jan Huss which after his death became known as the ‘Bohemian Brethren’ and were some of the earliest Protestants (before Martin Luther) linked to the Waldensian denomination. The *Moravian Evangelische Broedergemeente* has as its emblem the Lamb of God bearing the flag of victory encompassed by the words “Our Lamb has conquered, let us follow Him.” Surprisingly their own guide-book does not mention the Moravian story but refers to the *Evangelische Broedergemeente in Nederland te Rotterdam* which reflects its accommodation to the Netherlands its merging identity and tactics of accommodation (suggested in the previous chapter). MEB is a title that reflects its city focus within the organizational area of the Netherlands. It appears to be working out a new identity beyond that of being Suriname and Moravian. In Rotterdam MEB tries to cater for three generations of Suriname but it is third generation that presents the greatest challenge.

The historic name and its story across several continents has enabled MEB to maintain this hybridity. MEB was described to me as “one big family with different cultures from different parts of the world.”¹⁹¹ The people concerned are essentially from Suriname and in this they share a similar hybrid identity with another large MCC that caters for Suriname people.¹⁹² Their mission is in “mainly to unite people but also to offer freedom.”¹⁹³ In Suriname the focus of ministry is on the people from a neighbourhood but in Rotterdam it is across the entire city. Their pastoral leader was aware of the secular urban context when he announced that “our mission is to meet people who still finding their way and include people who are not regular

¹⁹¹ Denny Zinhagel, interview by author, Rotterdam, 13 December 2010, written notes.

¹⁹² *Petrus Donders Roman Catholic Suriname Parish Church*.

¹⁹³ “Vooraf verenigen mensen, maar bieden ook vrijheid.” Calvert, *Gids*, 93.

members because Christian faith is also important for them too.”¹⁹⁴ MEB attempts to live up to its heritage as a missionary church and to bring unity among the generations and hybridities within its community. For the Moravian emphasis is on community and openness to other churches and denominations. Its mission is characteristically something to be worked out with others, though today MEB seems to be more concerned with support for elderly Surinamers in Rotterdam than making converts in the Caribbean.

6.2.3 Urdu Congregation of the Protestant Church Rotterdam (UCPR)

6.2.3.1 Leadership

The pastoral leader, Eric Sarwar, was born in Karachi and ordained as a deacon by the Church of Pakistan’s Diocese of Hyderabad in 1990. He returned to study at a bible school in Mirpur Ratnabad and to gain a Master of Divinity in 1995 at the Gujranwala Theological Seminary near Lahore. He was ordained in *St. Mary’s Anglican and Episcopal Church* in Rotterdam in 1994 by Bishop Rumalshah, bishop of Peshawar, under the auspices of the Diocese of Hyderabad in Pakistan. There is a burden of hospitality incumbent upon the pastoral leader and his family. When bishops and pastors come from Pakistan, for instance, they expect to stay with his family for up to two weeks. From the beginning Eric undertook house visits to Urdu families in the Netherlands. He will visit and pray for them on their birthdays. The leadership and organization has a special concern to build relationships with Pakistani Muslims and the future of their own youth.

The second generation find it hard to operate only in Urdu and often visit Dutch churches. The early partnership with GKN might have led to support for their Pakistani youth growing up in the Netherlands. In looking for connectedness with indigenous church and their

¹⁹⁴ Max Lieveld, interview by author, Rotterdam, 21 September 2004, written notes.

resources¹⁹⁵, however, UCPR also sought safe space for prayer and worship. One of the problems in the process of forging a partnership with the Reformed denomination was the difference in expectation and inequality in organisation. “The terminology and red tape involved in Dutch meetings are completely alien to the Urdu community.”¹⁹⁶ It has been difficult for the Urdu network to relate to a Dutch institution where there are also different values and expectations. The length of time in making agreements with the church of Pakistan meant that there was a long “bridging” time where the pastoral leader had to take an active role. The minister had the bridging function between the Church of Pakistan and the European churches.”¹⁹⁷ He has also established working relationships with Dutch and other migrant leaders.

Despite the directions given by Church of Pakistan and its partner denominations, Sarwar is a charismatic type of leader both in his personality and practice. During this time the role of mother denomination seemed unclear and there was no parity of internal structure (affecting issues such as salary, supervision and accountability).¹⁹⁸ Through its relationship with the local Reformed congregation, UCPR took the opportunity to strengthen and build up its hybrid identity.¹⁹⁹ The roots of this hybridity lie in the Church of Pakistan which originated in 1970 from a union of Anglicans, Lutherans, Methodists and Scots Presbyterians.²⁰⁰ The Anglican Church in Rotterdam hosted his ordination service and the Bishop Bashir Jiwan of the Church of Pakistan proposed that UCPR become part of the structure of the Reformed Church.²⁰¹ While UCPR sought membership of the Presbyterian Protestant Church in the

¹⁹⁵ Beukema, *Een Kerk Bekent Kleur*, 84.

¹⁹⁶ Pluim and Kuyk, *Relations with Migrantchurches*, 41.

¹⁹⁷ Pluim and Kuyk, *Relations with Migrantchurches*, 39.

¹⁹⁸ Pluim and Kuyk, *Relations with Migrantchurches*, 37.

¹⁹⁹ Pluim and Kuyk, *Relations with Migrantchurches*, 47.

²⁰⁰ Teus Eikelboom, *SKIN Nieuwsbrief-Newsletter*, interview with Eric Sarwar, Amersfoort, 12:2 (June 2006), 20. Eric specifically mentions Lutherans, Anglicans and Presbyterians while the Methodist Church was also part of the Church of Pakistan.

²⁰¹ Noort, “Emerging Migrant Churches in the Netherlands: Missiological Challenges and Mission Frontiers”, 4-16. Eric Sarwar, interview by author, Rotterdam, 8 December 2006, written notes.

Netherlands (then known as ‘Samen-op-Weg’), contact with the Church of Pakistan remained significant though not dominant. “There is no regular correspondence but there is participation: every now and then a guest preacher comes over.”²⁰² UCPR has multiple denominational connections which is also the case of the Church of Pakistan. On 10 June 2012, Eric Sarwar presided at the Bergsingel Church on the induction of three pastors, four elders and two deacons who served in Rotterdam, Antwerp and Dortmund. After long negotiations, in 2013 UCPR became a full member of the *Protestant Churches in the Netherlands*.

6.2.3.2 Nomenclature

The nomenclature points to its roots in historic Protestant churches that brought Christianity to Pakistan from the nineteenth century. The title of UCPR reflects that it is the first Pakistani Christian congregation to become part of the *Protestant Church in the Netherlands*. The reference to Rotterdam differentiates it from its sister community in Amsterdam which is supervised by the same pastor. The name has developed rather than radically changed from “Urdu Church Holland” to the “Church of Urdu Congregation, Holland” (1992) to “Urdu Congregation of the Protestant Church Rotterdam.” This graduated change of name indicates a growing Protestant identity which was also present from the beginning. UCPR developed its identity through the Church of Pakistan and a history of local co-operation with the Bergsingel Reformed Church and Reformed/Protestant denominations. At the same time the relationships of the pastoral leader to other Asian leaders and Pentecostal pastors have also contributed to their current identity. The institutional name indicates that a bridge has been built with the largest Dutch Protestant denomination. It also indicates its specialization in Urdu culture. The Protestant and Reformed identity has given capacity for UCPR to diversify. John William, secretary of UCPR, said in an article “Pakistaanse Christenen luiden noodklok” in *De Trouw*

²⁰² Eikelboom, *SKIN newsletter*, interview with Eric Sarwar, 21.

on 7 June 2010 “we are Reformed and we have joined the PKN but we are more independent because we have our own liturgy and our own language.”²⁰³ For the leader this is a pragmatic approach to extending the mission as well as to strengthen their identity.

When we speak more languages, we can spread the gospel in more places. It will be necessary to co-operate and bigger churches will have to support the smaller ones.²⁰⁴

The pastoral leader expressed his view of UCPR’s mission as “the unity of churches, the spread of the gospel and to find homes for people of different cultures” and its main activities are the “visitation of Urdu-speaking people, healing, youth work, homeless, refugees.”²⁰⁵ Since, in his view, “the poorest people in the city are jobless, asylum-seekers and the Urdu-speaking people who are homeless”²⁰⁶ the pastoral leader has consistently argued that “the Dutch and the migrants need each other in building up the society.”²⁰⁷ Eric Sarwar visits Urdu people in many locations and is aware of a lack of capacity in the city of Rotterdam to care and contribute to urban society. He described UCPR as an active serving community.

Very few people do voluntary work in the city. In the church, people do voluntary work. The secretary is not paid, and while the elders visit they are not even paid expenses. I visit other Urdu-speaking people – that is my voluntary work.²⁰⁸

²⁰³ “We zijn gereformeerd. We hebben ons aangesloten bij de PKN maar we zijn verder zelfstandig. We hebben onze eigen liturgie en onze eigen taal.” John William, “Pakistaanse Christenen Luiden Noodklok”, *De Trouw*, 7 June 2010.

²⁰⁴ Eikelboom, *SKIN newsletter*, interview with Eric Sarwar, 22.

²⁰⁵ “Eenheid van kerken onderling, verbreiding van het evangelie plaats bieden voor mensen vanuit de bovengenoemde cultuur.” Calvert, *Gids*, 73.

²⁰⁶ Atmadja, Eikelboom and Visser, *Grensgangers*, 49.

²⁰⁷ Eikelboom, *SKIN newsletter*, interview with Eric Sarwar, 20.

²⁰⁸ Eric Sarwar, interview by author, Rotterdam, 8 December 2006, written notes.

He stated that “nobody in the congregation is in jail or going wrong” and that one of the tasks of the church is to be good citizens and be good Rotterdammers.²⁰⁹

6.2.4 Victory Outreach Rotterdam (VOR)

6.2.4.1 Leadership

The pastoral leaders of VOR are Jerry and Xannelou Mendeszoon from Suriname and the Netherlands respectively. They were themselves rescued from the personal problems in the drug world when they lived in Amsterdam. Jerry moved from Suriname to the Netherlands in 1981 and said “I never finished school and wanted to get my dignity back.”²¹⁰ He describes first sensing a call from God, discovering a gift of helping and realizing that he had been given a second chance. Jerry Mendeszoon serves as a regional pastor for the south of the Netherlands while Xannelou has a regional role serving the women’s ministry across the Netherlands. Their appointments were made and reconfirmed by a group of seven elders that serve *Victory Outreach International*.

The local leadership in VOR involves Suriname, Moluccan and Antillean men who have a good facility with the Dutch language along with indigenous Dutch. VOR has several pastors and ministry departments – and they provide high levels of support and accountability. They also depend upon the global parent body *Victory Outreach International* which enables effective ministry projects to take place, for example, with prison services. As a couple, Jerry and Xannelou Mendeszoon represent the charismatic type of leadership that drives forward and gives direction. In Weberian terms, I detected a change in the leadership style as they more actively relate to the wider structure. Their website which describes the values of VOR also provides an indication of a move from a charismatic to a rational type of leadership.

²⁰⁹ Eric Sarwar, interview by author, Rotterdam, 8 December 2006, written notes.

²¹⁰ Jerry Mendeszoon, interview by author, Rotterdam, 31 August 2005, written notes.

Each local ‘Victory Outreach Church’ strives to be polished and business-like. We recognize and believe in accountability and responsibility for payment of leadership in all aspects of the vision. Decisions are made for the benefit of the total organization.²¹¹

The philosophy of leadership development in VOR is to invest in local leaders and raise them up from within the organization. The organization and patterns of VOR were established in their early days by the pastoral leaders when they began to invite people in from the street and gave rise to large-scale Christmas meals, rehabilitation homes and weekly prayer services. In the Netherlands VOR belongs to the *Assemblies of God* Pentecostal group of churches and the pastor is a board member of the national Pentecostal association (VPE or *Vereniging Pinkstergemeenten en Evangelische Gemeenten*) and a city-wide Pentecostal group for pastoral leaders (VOR or *Voorgangers Overleg Rotterdam*).

At the end of the twentieth century VOI had over two hundred churches and over four hundred rehabilitation homes worldwide that enabled sufferers be drawn out of various addictions.²¹² Today this global association is a movement of over six hundred churches and ministries in the United States of America and in thirty other countries from the Philippines to the Netherlands. “The mission of VOI’s evangelistic effort is to reach people in every country of the world.”²¹³ Victory Outreach was founded in a public housing project in the east of Los Angeles in 1967 by Sonny and Julie Arguinzoni. The movement has a special focus towards people living on the streets and is one of the largest inner-city Christian ministries in the world.

²¹¹ Website of VOR, accessed 26 August 2016, <http://www.victoryoutreach-almere.nl/index.php/en/v-o-almere/our-core-values-the-5-e-s-3-e-s>

²¹² Warner and Wittner, eds, *Gatherings in Diaspora*, 167.

²¹³ *Welcome to VOR: Newcomer Package*, International Ministries, 12.

“Victory Outreach is an international church-orientated Christian ministry called to the task of evangelizing and discipling the hurting people of the world...”²¹⁴

6.2.4.2 Nomenclature

The name *Victory Outreach Rotterdam* is derived from the name of the mother organization that originated out of Los Angeles. Its purpose is revealed within its name which is to extend to people in the city and enable them to overcome difficulties and problems. This is expressed in the intimate image of ‘victory’ and shared with a new worldwide association of Pentecostal urban ministry centres. “Our international administrative offices are fully staffed by men and women who are dedicated to the global expansion of Victory Outreach.”²¹⁵ *Victory Outreach International* (VOI) has become the brand name of a global missionary movement with headquarters in California that seeks to empower the poor through the Christian message.

This call involves a commitment to plant and develop churches, rehabilitation centres and training centres in strategic cities worldwide. Victory Outreach inspires people and instils a desire to develop their highest potential in order to live in dignity and security.²¹⁶

VOR runs a variety of local ministry programmes together with rehabilitation homes for men and women. Through a strong mentoring approach, elders and programme leaders are nurtured and prepared locally. Having their own space has enabled VOR to work out its vision and mission. “The purchase of our own church building in Rotterdam Zuid in October 2004 marks the beginning of the fulfilment of the vision for missions.”²¹⁷ The pastoral leader detected a change in attitude to VOR as it became known for relating regularly to people on the street.

²¹⁴ *Welcome to VOR: Newcomer Package*, Mission Statement, 1.

²¹⁵ Jerry Mendeszoon, interview by author, Rotterdam, 31 August 2005, written notes.

²¹⁶ Calvert, *Gids*, 117.

²¹⁷ *Welcome to VOR: Newcomer Package*, Vision for the Future, 3.

Referring to the evangelism carried out by the church, he said that people used to be closed in our face but now five years later they are more open. “We believe that God can change a person’s life. He may be a thief, but when a person comes to the end, anything can happen. We help people to grow out of the gutter.”²¹⁸ VOR seeks to live under three key values of community, cause and corporation and justify them on basis of bible texts. Community is where “we call each other brother and sister, spiritual mother and father” and “we can love and with express a sense of security to another, giving a sense of belonging in the family.” But they have a clear sense of being “an army with a mission that God has given us to reach the world” and “to fight against the forces of darkness.” These two identities of family and army can co-exist. “In a family, it’s all about love, acceptance and respect, the army is all about mission, strategy, accomplishment and finances.” They also value of having the characteristics of being a company and organization. Their mission involves five activities that have a circuitous relationship with one another. They need to share in the five values of Victory Outreach: exaltation (increase), envisioning (transfer of vision), establishing, equipping (training) and evangelising.²¹⁹ Their mission is seen in both local and global terms at the same time.

Victory Outreach is an international church, called to the task of evangelizing and disciples make the hurting people of the world with the message of hope and plan of Jesus Christ. This call involves a commitment to plant and develop churches, rehabilitation centres and training centres in strategic cities worldwide.²²⁰

²¹⁸ Jerry Mendeszoon, interview by author, Rotterdam, 31 August 2005, written notes.

²¹⁹ Website of VOR, V.O. Waarden; accessed 8 August 2016, <<http://www.vorotterdam.nl/missie/>>.

²²⁰ Website of VOR, Missieverklaring, accessed 8 August 2016, <<http://www.vorotterdam.nl/missie/>>

6.2.5 Glorious Chapel International (GCI)

6.2.5.1 Leadership

The identity of GCI is bound up with the story of its founder. After he arrived in Rotterdam as an economic migrant, Onaolapo Asubiaro attended a Dutch-speaking Roman Catholic Church but left after a year. He tried to join a local church but left to serve for twelve years as a deacon and elder at *Potter's Hand New Covenant Word International Ministries*. From here, he went on to take a correspondence course with the Pentecostal Global University in the United States and a pastoral studies course for three months in a Bible school in Kaduna in Nigeria. Before founding GCI in 2002, he had been employed as a printer but gave up this profession and his printing press in order to have more time for pastoral study and undertake a one year 'integration' course at the Hendrik Kraemer Institute in Utrecht. The group identity of GCI in its first ten years has been strongly related to the pastoral leader. At this point group identity can easily become caught up with his individual one. The dynamics of group identity may then become more dependent on a personality and less reliant on how people regard the community.

This MCC operates with a light infrastructure. Onaolapo Asubiaro is a charismatic type of leader who expects that "every Christian should be a leader and have their own responsibility."²²¹ He has stated his belief that people in Rotterdam would respond to different expressions of Christian community. The pastoral leader (rather than church premises) provided increased visibility for GCI through his networking and website activities. The pastor is well acquainted with the struggles that new MCCs have in order to be recognised from his years of serving on the board of *SKIN Netherlands* and *SKIN-Rotterdam*. He once declared that "we need the Dutch churches to recognise us as missionaries to Rotterdam."²²² Onaolapo and Rudsela Asubiaro represent another couple in pastoral leadership and the G12 approach offers a relational model of developing leaders in small groups. The pastoral leader himself continues

²²¹ Onaolapo S. Asubiaro, interview by author, Rotterdam, 22 July 2004, written notes.

²²² Onaolapo S. Asubiaro, interview by author, Rotterdam, 22 July 2004, written notes.

to have mentoring relationships with other pastors outside of the Netherlands. In Rotterdam Asubiaro plays an active role in local Pentecostal groupings and in intercultural ministry (with SKIN-Rotterdam). Within the Netherlands he has taken on wider roles with SKIN and the Pentecostal association of churches *Verenigde Pinkster en Evangeliegemeenten* (VPE).

6.2.5.2 Nomenclature

The vision of GCI stands is expressed in intimate terms as “transforming life to reflect the beauty of Christ.”²²³ The first word of its title ‘Glorious’ is also an intimate expression and is suggestive of brightness and brilliance. ‘Chapel’ describes a place of worship, prayer and spirituality and ‘International’ indicates a global awareness and connections. The name also points to the spiritual nurture of the pastor who was brought up in Nigeria by Roman Catholic parents. “My Christian background started from birth, my father and mother are very committed Roman Catholic and this make me to serve in the Romans Catholic as a young boy.”²²⁴ He visited Dutch Roman Catholic churches when he first arrived in the Netherlands.

GCI has not changed its name despite having had to relocate on three occasions since 2002 when they were first formed. From the beginning, two practical goals were to find a suitable location where the community could regularly meet and to gain financial capital by forming a foundation (‘stichting’). Though GCI was registered as a ‘church’ by the notary in 2002, it took longer for others to recognise this. The pastoral leader of GCI described their mission as: “to form a community of victorious and believers who are active in the lives of others and the society in which they now live.”²²⁵ GCI is a young community that grew up in last decade that intentionally celebrates its own anniversaries as well as those of its members. On their tenth anniversary, it was stated that “our mission is to build a community of victorious

²²³ Onaolapo S. Asubiaro, *GCI Times*, tenth anniversary edition, 2012, 10.

²²⁴ Onaolapo S. Asubiaro, interview by author, Rotterdam, 22 July 2004, written notes.

²²⁵ Calvert, *Gids*, 112.

and well equipped believers actively involved in impacting lives, society and nations.”²²⁶ The purpose of GCI was defined at the outset in October 6th 2002 as “international, to reach out to the Dutch indigenes, the South Americans, and to the un-reached people in Holland.”²²⁷

African pastoral leaders are invited from other countries and an annual convocation in October has become an opportunity to demonstrate the church’s life and vision to others. “In general Dutch churches are dying but migrant churches are growing.” Its enterprising goals are set alongside ambitious time-scales which are not always realised.²²⁸ “Glorious Chapel has been working vigorously in the inner-city of Rotterdam, proclaiming the good news, and bringing hope of our Lord Jesus Christ to the homeless people, the harlot, the prisoner and the needy.”²²⁹ In April 2005 the House of Hope project was set up “to present the gospel to the poor, homeless people, people without resident permit, drug addiction, the harlots and the un-reached with the two sides of the gospel: physical and spiritual.”²³⁰ In April 2016 its multifarious ministries were targeted at men, women, children, youth, couples, singles and the homeless.²³¹ Publicity is of a high standard. The pastor had his own printing company (Onasco Print) and puts his printing skills to good effect. He created a distinctive logo for GCI which comprises of a circle of people who are together above or around an open bible.

²²⁶ Onaolapo S. Asubiaro, GCI Times, tenth anniversary edition, 2012, 10.

²²⁷ Onaolapo S. Asubiaro, interview by author, Rotterdam, 22 July 2004, written notes.

²²⁸ In 2002 eleven practical goals were publicised for its first year and they included the following: “Our target is to win one hundred people for Jesus before the end of 2003; our goal is to have a children’s day centre by the year 2005; our goal is to start feeding the homeless people by the end of 2003.” Onaolapo S. Asubiaro, *Glorious Chapel International: Mission Statement, Goals, Vision and Values*, Rotterdam, 2002.

²²⁹ Onaolapo S. Asubiaro, interview by author, Rotterdam, 22 July 2004, written notes.

²³⁰ Website of GCI, accessed 9 September 2010, <<http://www.gloriouschapel.org/ministries.php>

²³¹ Website of GCI, accessed 12 August 2016, <<http://www.gloriouschapel.org/ministries.php>>

6.2.6 Alliance Messianique pour l'Evangelisation des Nations (AMEN)

6.2.6.1 Leadership

The Evangelical Mission of Fire and Action (*Mission Evangelique de la Foi en Action* or MEFA) developed in the suburbs under its founder, David Vidini, who handed over to Christoph Kalubi when he assumed independence from his spiritual mentor. The majority of members in MEFA were asylum-seekers and in their first generation in the Netherlands. MEFA developed from out of a strong mentor relationship between the two men, even when the latter was in Africa. Kalubi's early development as a pastor can be traced back to his upbringing in the Democratic Republic of the Congo where he served as a deacon and elder. He had a recurring dream²³² about becoming a pastor and its meaning was conveyed to him by different people. His spiritual father requested Daniel Vidini, who had written many books and been involved in revival campaigns in the Congo, to ordain him as an elder/pastor in Rotterdam. Christoph who arrived in the Netherlands in 1986 was ordained in the Pentecostal Church *Kom en Zie* on 11 December 1999.²³³

The new structure at MEFA involved the pastoral couple Christoph and Seraphine Kalubi training up an evangelist, pastor, deacon and deaconesses. Christoph Kalubi is a charismatic type of leader and could at times be described as autocratic. I found, however, that the pastor couple team are not generally experienced as authoritarian because of their gentleness and patience. He has a vision for the MCC which involves relationships and ministry in many other countries of the world. Kalubi described AMEN not as "a company or industry but as a

²³² When pastor Kalubi first accepted the Lord Jesus, his spiritual father spoke to him about Jesus and they prayed together. After three or four years, he became a deacon, and, after three or four years helping people as a deacon, he became an elder. Then one day he had a vision before the beginning of a worship service. He saw two men coming, and they called him from outside the church. One said to him, "From today, if I have a problem in this church. I shall come and ask you. No, I am not the pastor – that person is you!" Then he woke up but three years later had the very same vision. He told his spiritual father and asked if there was a problem in this church. The spiritual father told him that it would be just like that, "I know, let's pray." His spiritual father gave a letter to Daniel Vidini to say that he should ordain him in "Kom en Zie" on 11th December 1999 (which he wrote in French but it is translated into Swahili, Lingala, Dutch, Portuguese and other African languages).

²³³ Christoph Kalubi, interview by author, Rotterdam, 11 April 2006, written notes.

spiritual community whose chief task is to win souls.”²³⁴ AMEN appears to operate with a light infrastructure and the acquisition of the new premises in 2010 near to the western boundary of Rotterdam with Schiedam was finally made possible through their membership of the *Assemblies of God*, a Pentecostal church association. Kalubi reported: “The Assemblies of God helped pay for a building and we took out a loan.”²³⁵

6.2.6.2 Nomenclature

The French-language title of AMEN points to the values of co-operation and togetherness and identifies the MCC with the task of making Jesus Christ known across the whole world. The Francophone title draws the attention of French-speaking African Christians. Like some other MCCs, this community has changed its name. The website declared that the change of name was a part of a wider transition that included a change of structure, mentality and operations in order to “focus on training our members for a people... who will advance the work.”²³⁶

Their title continues to reflect ‘intimate’ rather than ‘institutional’ terminology and was created on the relocation to Schiedam. Their former title focussed on evangelical mission and the intimate image of ‘fire’ which cleanses or burns. The previous title “Mission Evangelique de la Foi en Action” (MEFA) pointed more to activism whereas the new title “Alliance Messianique pour l’Evangelisation des Nations” gives more emphasis to a messianic alliance and to the global evangelisation. The pastoral leader has stated that “the purpose of this church is to spread the good news of Jesus Christ.”²³⁷ While the pastor is actively church-planting in other countries, the identity of the young community in Rotterdam is still in development.

²³⁴ Christoph Kalubi, interview by author, Rotterdam, 14 April 2012, written notes.

²³⁵ Christoph Kalubi, interview by author, Rotterdam, 14 April 2012, written notes.

²³⁶ AMEN website: Vision, accessed 28 February 2012, <<http://www.cse-amen.e-monsite.com/blog/>>

²³⁷ Calvert, *Gids*, 62.

In five years, we hope to have more Dutch than African people in the church. This is our vision. As white people came to Africa, now black people (including French-speaking) are coming to Europe – to say that Jesus is coming soon.²³⁸

The vision articulated to me in a later interview did not give much attention to non-Africans but seemed to reflect the problems that the French-speaking African members were facing. The pastor spoke about unfulfilled spiritual needs and experience of conflict. The pastor couple are regarded as the father and mother of the community. Originally from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Christoph and Seraphine now live with their family in Zeeland to the south, and offer a model of what prosperity and spiritual fulfilment looks like.

The Lord has given vision that there is going to be prosperity but not without tribulations. We are in the world but not of it. We help people materially but act beyond it to the spiritual aspects of it. We need to be fulfilled spiritually – that is our main vision.²³⁹

AMEN appears to attract French-speaking African Christians. There is less provision in the Netherlands for them than across the border in Belgium. The most significant aspect of their nomenclature, however, may be in the change of name which gives space for a wider global vision to be worked out.

²³⁸ Christoph Kalubi, interview by author, Rotterdam, 11 April 2006, written notes.

²³⁹ Christoph Kalubi, interview by author, Rotterdam, 4 April 2012, written notes.

6.3 REFLECTIONS ON CASE STUDIES

6.3.1 Leadership

The governance in these groups varies according to their structure and style of leadership. In these case-studies, the historical MCCs tend to reflect highly developed organizations whereas renewalist MCCs are built around networks and the vision of the founding leader. Based upon my observations and supported by the organizational theory of Anton Zijderveld²⁴⁰ these MCCs can be represented as organizations or as networks. Whereas organizations rely on legislation with clear procedures and structures of accountability, networks are built upon dominant relationships and friendships of the leader. Organizations provide policies and procedures for leaders whereas networks rely upon their vision and relationships. Two of the historical MCCs act as organizations (PCVRC and MEB) and two of the renewalist MCCs as networks (GCI and AMEN). The other two show interesting patterns of behaviour that differ with the style of pastoral leaders in historical MCCs that contrasts with the styles of founding leaders in renewalist MCCs. The former tend to be democratic or managerial and contrast with the latter that tend to be charismatic or autocratic.

The application of Weber's categories revealed two historical MCCs (PCVRC and MEB) have traditional leadership styles and that UCPR and the three renewalist case studies have charismatic leaders. Whereas VOR demonstrates Weber's theory of institutionalizing the style of charismatic leadership, UCPR reveals that other interesting processes are at work. What was surprising to find was the leader in UCPR behaving in a charismatic manner and the charismatic leader in VOR in the process of adapting to become a rational type. The rational leader style is becoming visible in VOR which uses the image of a company and has clear organizational plans and processes in place to achieve its aims. It is my view that a change of style from charismatic to rational type is taking place. This is especially significant for UCPR

²⁴⁰ Zijderveld, *The Institutional Imperative*, 35-37.

as it tried to engage with the structure and requirements of PKN as a missionary congregation. It may signal a way forward for other renewalist MCCs as they build structure and tradition. The charismatic leader is likely to become more rational if UCPR will fully function as a member church of the PCN. The charismatic leadership in VOR also appears to be more rational as their group plays its part within the wider VOI organization.

Even where the leaders are not anchors of their neighbourhood, they are significant actors in their own communities. Whether the leadership is considered as authoritative or participative depends to a large extent to which the pastoral leader operates in a collective decision-making process and is accountable to others within the community. It appears that, in general, historical MCCs tend to have traditional types of leader whereas renewalist MCCs attract charismatic types of leader. In PCVRC the long-serving priest behaved in a traditional manner but enabled many to find a way in which to participate. His view was illustrated by a diagram of a wheel in which God was at the centre giving strength and direction to the leadership team²⁴¹ and then to more than thirty groups and activities supported by over three hundred and fifty volunteers. The leader in MEB was the one the leading a team of ‘brothers’ or elders which was itself under the European Provincial synod. His style was gently autocratic with a spiritual vision for the Moravian community. Weber outlined charismatic figures in social terms.²⁴² The pastoral leader at UCPR has vision and charisma exemplified in his firm resolve to develop a trans-national identity for Urdu community in the Netherlands. Founding pastoral leaders generally possess charisma but their task involves creating an infrastructure in which leadership can be shared and handed on. The pastoral leaders at GCI and AMEN are not only charismatic but, like other founders of MCCs, they seem to exercise authority without transparent local accountability. Such pastoral leaders who demonstrate a more autocratic style in forming the MCC’s transnational identity face the challenge of building relationships and

²⁴¹ Appendix 2 is the diagram of a wheel where different groups and activities at PCVRC are involved.

²⁴² Dudley and Hilgert, *New Testament Tensions and the Contemporary Church*, 67-68.

perhaps a more participative style of decision-making. VOR has developed as an organization and its leadership is becoming more rational rather than charismatic. GCI has a charismatic leader but sets out organizational plans. AMEN is also making changes in their structure but disassociates itself from the image of “a company or industry but as a church winning souls for Christ.”²⁴³

These case studies demonstrate that leadership is significant in identity construction. There are often long-standing relationships between the pastoral leader and MCCs which demonstrate remarkable continuity in leadership. For example, two priests served the PCVRC for twenty-one years since it became a ‘quasi-parish’ in 1993. In these case studies, there has a pastoral leader in UCPR, VOR, GCI and AMEN for twenty-seven, sixteen, ten and twenty years respectively. During this time, only MEB has had to adapt to more changes in leadership than the others. Four of the six MCCs (UCPR, VOR, GCI and AMEN) are led by their original founder whereas only PCVRC and MEB have had to recruit new pastoral leadership. In renewalist circles, founding leaders are referred to as ‘fathers’ of the church and their personal identity becomes bound up with corporate project. These MCCs have no experience of how to transition between leaders and in some cases are without any clear procedure to hand over. The length of service and the stake of these founding leaders may prove to be difficult for others to follow. Where construction of identity is dependent on the founding leader, MCCs (mainly renewalist) become vulnerable to changes of leadership. Historical MCCs can have long periods of pastoral leadership but their denominations tend to have long-standing partnerships with other churches, a more developed ecclesiastical identity and a corporate structure for recruitment.

The recruitment of suitable leaders is another issue that distinguishes historical forms (PCVRC, UCPR and MEB) from renewalist ones (VOR, GCI and AMEN). In these historical

²⁴³ Christoph Kalubi, interview by author, Rotterdam, 11 April 2006, written notes.

MCCs some formal training was required in the new leader and was either obtained overseas (Brazil, Suriname) or in the Netherlands. By contrast pastoral leaders of renewalist MCCs emerged from the local urban context with little or no formal preparation. In UCPR Eric Sarwar was identified by the overseas denomination in Pakistan and offered formal training. In UCPR and the renewalist MCCs these enterprising individuals were economic migrants before they realised their new vocation. In the historic MCCs, PCVRC have had trained priests with experience of Latin America to serve the wide community whereas MEB recently have drawn upon seminary-educated pastors who have roots and experience of Suriname. The pastoral leader at UCPR was prepared in Pakistan and sent to be ordained as a teaching elder and on return in 1982 married Rose Paul who became involved in women's ministries. Similarly among renewalist MCCs, Jerry Mendeszoon in VOR was a bible study leader and married Xannelou before they were sent from Amsterdam, Ola Asubiaro in GCI was a printer in Rotterdam when he wanted to pursue a different vision and Christoph Kalubi in AMEN relocated from Utrecht when he was reminded of the significance of a dream. In the cases of PCVRC and MEB, pastoral leaders were recruited through the presence of historical denominations in the Netherlands. These pastoral leaders serve both their MCC and their Christian tradition. Recent pastoral leaders in their first generation have emphasised Christian faith and presented their MCCs as a new order or as offering it in a new way. In the cases of GCI and AMEN, pastoral leaders arose as a result of economic migrants sharing spiritual dreams or visions. In the cases of UCPR and VOR, pastoral leaders arose out of a conflict-ridden context and were enabled through different patterns of trans-national leadership. Their determination to serve a certain group was enabled through their trans-national connections and personal networking.

The Mill Hill priests at PCVRC spoke warmly of the experience gained when training in Brazil. Several pastoral leaders at MEB were trained in Suriname and the development of

the pastoral leader at UCPR took place through bible schools in Pakistan. Experience in the homeland was regarded by the historical MCCs as essential in the equipment of these leaders. Although PCVRC relied upon the creation of *Cura Migratorum* for its development, they would later receive support from the platform of the Roman Catholic diocese. The Moravian Brethren in Europe and across the world provided a resource and relationship structure for MEB whereas UCPR looked in several directions until its recent adoption within the Protestant Church in the Netherlands. The pastoral couple at VOR were selected from the Amsterdam congregation and resources for their development came through the international office. The pastoral leaders at GCI and AMEN began their early development in Nigeria and the Republic of the Congo respectively. The leaders of the renewalist MCCs were significantly supported and helped by relationships of more experienced pastors from the United States of America, an African pastor in Kiev in the Ukraine or the Republic of the Congo. VOR grew up as part of a global urban mission movement but all renewalist MCCs received support and encouragement from the platform of the Assemblies of God in the Netherlands. The growth and identity of all of the case-studies highlights the need for transnational structure or relationships. For different reasons this provision was not always available to PCVRC and UCPR. The structure behind VOR and the personal networks of the renewalist pastoral leaders in GCI and AMEN ensured that they operated from a global framework out of which they could develop their own support structures.

In historical MCCs there is greater emphasis on ‘professional’ expertise and corporate structure whereas in renewalist MCCs there is more focus on having appropriate ‘spiritual’ vision and skills. Some MCCs tend to be concerned with the expectations and needs of the organization while other MCCs are more concerned with personal witness and confession. It appears that charismatic leaders consistently arise with the development of new MCCs (even if they are historical models) and that they exert a large influence on the identity of the MCC.

Historical MCCs are more used to traditional or rational leadership. Another feature of charismatic leaders in renewalist MCCs is the way in which male leaders present leadership as with their spouses. Shared roles or 'pastoral couples' appear to be a feature of renewalist models (though the male person is in control of the leadership team). They regularly promote their partners in presenting their communities. They publically state that their wives have shared roles as well as individual ones (such as in women's ministries). The female pastor will have a distinctive role but it is generally accepted in the MCC that she is also a mother of the community and has 'spiritual' children. The life of their whole family is dedicated to God and the group. In a majority (four) of the case studies, 'the pastor couple' is regularly referred to as having authority and ability. In these case-studies the leader is not a solitary figure unaccountable to the local community but a couple who are recognised to have pastoral gifts. In most of the case studies it seems that leadership is not gender specific but recognised according to abilities and relationships.

6.3.2 Nomenclature

The nomenclature of MCCs indicates a difference between the use of structural and intimate terminology that is also reflected in my division between the historical and renewalist MCCs. Driver's study of intimate biblical images of the church reflected on 'intimate' titles of churches and arranged them into four clusters: 'pilgrimage', 'new order', 'people' or 'transformation.'²⁴⁴ I did not use this arrangement as I found the clusters to be difficult to apply. They tended to overlap and did not sufficiently differentiate the field. Only half of the case studies employed 'intimate' terms in their titles. His study revealed that the titles of historical churches tend to be more connected with wealth and power, perhaps as the result of a period when Christian mission

²⁴⁴ Driver, John J., "Images of the Church in Mission", *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 29.2 (1997), 74.

flowed from certain imperial centres.²⁴⁵ Paul Minear and John Driver's interest in biblical images may still offer a clue to how MCCs want to be identified.

Differences in nomenclature can indicate if there is a greater project or interest²⁴⁶ in how they want to be seen by others. Titles can reveal a wider denomination or organization that they are connected to, a predominant people group that they serve, a language they most identify with and their relationship to the physical space (to region, country, city or neighbourhood). Their names indicate their ecclesial community, the principal language spoken, relationship to the city and other motifs. Historical MCCs tend to have titles that connect them to an ecclesial tradition whereas renewalist MCCs employ titles tend to employ other motifs. PCVRC, MEB and UCPR have titles that reflect their religious traditions and denominations. They indicate the MCC's principal language which is Portuguese or Urdu, and, in the case of MEB, the title is given in the Dutch language. PCVRC and UCPR indicate attachments to particular people-groups and MEB promotes its historic roots in the Moravian mission project. PCVRC has interests in the Roman Catholic tradition and the welfare of Cape Verdeans trans-nationally but especially in the Netherlands. The titles of PCVRC, MEB and UCPR reveal the historic denominations as well as language and people-groups to which they are attached. While the titles of the renewalist case-studies are not denominational, it is possible that new denominational identities appear to be under construction. VOR, for example, is committed to supporting and participating in the growth of *Victory Outreach International*. The titles of the renewalist case-studies differ markedly in that they describe global communities. If titles express their purpose and identity, VOR focuses on the nature of being a local urban mission, GCI on belonging to the global church and AMEN (in French) on being a global mission. They

²⁴⁵ This is a generalization and does not recognise the missionary movements that proceeded from the social margins and from out of pain and sacrifice. "Political, juridical, organic, anatomical and commercial images have been found more useful for reflecting the the self-understanding of a rich and powerful church." Hopewell, *Congregation: Stories and Structures*, 227.

²⁴⁶ Francesca Polletta and James M. Jasper, "Collective Identity and Social Movements" in *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27 (August 2001), 283-305.

are projected as global communities. GCI is ‘international’ and AMEN is of the ‘nations’. VOR describes itself as ‘Rotterdam’ as its parent body is ‘international’.

The apparent reluctance of renewalist MCCs to use the term ‘church’ in public titles could indicate that they generally seek distance from the indigenous Western church forms²⁴⁷ even though they mostly denied it. Renewalist MCCs prefer to use the term ‘ministries’ rather than that of ‘church’.²⁴⁸ In their titles and websites, renewalist MCCs tend to develop a global consciousness and disown a nationalistic outlook. The majority of renewalist MCCs present themselves as ‘international’ rather than ‘of’ or ‘from’ particular nations. Sociologists have recognised that ethnic identity or identification can be an effective tool to mobilise a group that it is in the margins of a new social context and that needs to avoid stigmatization.²⁴⁹ While some MCCs resist such a marginal identity by projecting a cosmopolitan image²⁵⁰ as vital Christian communities in a globalizing urban world, most renewalist MCCs in Rotterdam have created a new image around their constituents rather than around denominational titles. In contrast with the titles of historical MCCs, VOR, GCI and AMEN state specific interests of mission, outreach or evangelism in their self-descriptions. Their titles suggest a new contextualization where they are resist dominant patterns in the indigenous society and build a transnational identity. This is suggested where MCCs employ words like ‘victory’ and ‘glorious’ alongside globalising terms such ‘international’ and ‘nations.’

Titles also provide clues to the language of a specific people group and where the main scope of their ministry lies. Dutch language titles would indicate that their main focus is within

²⁴⁷ Jansen and Stoffels, “Introduction”, *A Moving God*, 10.

²⁴⁸ *Rabita* is an Arabic word for ‘fellowship’ and is used for gatherings of Middle-Eastern Christians though it does not consider itself to be a church. Sandra Potuyt prefers to describe *New Birth Ministries* as a training centre rather than a church that she is the pastor of. “In church, people often do not have a function and simply sit there but a training centre makes it clear that everyone has a calling.”

²⁴⁹ Verkuyten, *The Social Psychology of Ethnic Identity*, 67-68.

²⁵⁰ The enterprise and risk involved in religious faith is exemplified in *Daring Faith International* and in *Ministry of Faith International* (previously known as *Mountains of Fire and Miracles*). Activity and action is suggested in *Mission Evangelique de la Foi en Action* whereas the divine capacity to help is communicated through *Abundant Grace Ministries* and *Holy Fire Revival Ministries International*.

the Netherlands whereas those that use other languages which are dominant in the world (e.g. English or French) would indicate they are more transnational and orientated to other world centres. The title of PCVRC indicates a special concern for Cape Verdean people and the Portuguese language. The title of MEB or “Evangelische Broedergemeente in Nederland te Rotterdam”²⁵¹ is in the Dutch language. Popularly referred to as the “Moravian Church”, MEB can trace its historicity to Central Europe or Moravia (today, the Czech Republic) and around the world. “Evangelical Brethren” in the title draws attention to its fellowship inspired by Jan Huss that kept its identity in the Netherlands, to Suriname and back to the Netherlands. The title of UCPR indicates attachment to a predominant people group and language. Though this historical Protestant MCC has recently become a formal part of the PCN, its language and culture is clearly important to their identity. The titles of VOR and GCI in the English language indicate a tendency to connect widely with people from various English-speaking cultures. They do not, however, promote any special people group or the fact that they use Dutch language in public meetings. AMEN (following MEFA) employs French language in their titles and promotes an interest in working with people from French-speaking cultures. These titles represent an acute awareness of the globalising context of the port city. Unlike the historical MCC case studies, the language spoken is not highlighted in the titles of renewalist MCCs. Renewalist MCCs tend to be more versatile and flexible in language use, even to the point of regularly employing more than one language at the same time. All of the case studies highlight special interests for Dutch, Urdu, English or French speakers. Public titles can promote areas of the world or languages associated with a global region. Different factors may be involved such as the adaptation from a past, to challenge the existing spiritual order, or to ‘market’ the MCC where there is competition for members, or even responding to felt-pressures to integrate. Their titles demonstrate a clear contrast between historical and renewalist MCCs and reveal the

²⁵¹ Grant, *Gids*, 133.

degree to which they operate as structural communities (organizations) or intimate communities (networks).

The use of 'Rotterdam' in UCPR and VOR indicates a strong interest in identifying with the port city. In some cases they may be connected with sister churches (such as these MCCs are in Amsterdam) and need to differentiate themselves from ministries in other cities. The absence of any reference to Rotterdam in the titles of the other case studies can point to a wider regional scope and less city-centred interest. Such MCCs draw people from a wide area and do not exclusively serve people in the port Rotterdam. There is a desire for a city-wide identity when MCCs (such as PCVRC and GCI) find themselves becoming deeply involved in the neighbourhoods near to where they worship. Though not necessarily reflected in the title, their literature and mission statements indicate a special concern for Rotterdam.

Two of the case studies have altered their names. The change of name at UCPR occurred at the time of becoming formally affiliated with the PCN and the change of name to AMEN took place on their relocation to a new building. Though MEB has did not officially changed its name, the title 'Moravian' is under-used in its statements. It is contextualizing into a European ecclesiastical context and to work alongside other churches. Changes in statements indicate an ongoing contextualization of the leaders and their communities. The title of UCPR has come through gradual transitions and indicates a desire to retain a clear people-group identity within the denomination that they have joined. The title AMEN not only reflects a change of location but also of a new stage in their development with changes taking place in the leadership structure. A change of name can signal new leadership or a desire for a new ethos. Change in nomenclature is also sometimes about protecting identity from other MCCs who adopt similar names. Public titles have been modified by pastors where there was felt to be competition or a lack of consultation with others. Other factors that can occasion a change of name include attachment to another denomination, relocation to a different site or internal

change within the community connected with migration processes.²⁵² A change of their titles is an indicator of identity construction. Whereas websites, newsletters and promotional literature may indicate new emphases, the change of name suggest a more significant change to the public identity and ethos they wish to project. Changed names and revised titles appear to be part of a process of resistance and ongoing struggle to establish a distinctive and relevant identity. Regular re-definition and change of names also point to an adjustment they are making in adapting to the religious context.²⁵³

John Driver suggested that traditional denominational identities are connected with wealth and power.²⁵⁴ Names and public titles provide a narrative from which we can interpret the identity that has been constructed. Titles of historical MCCs tend to have been ‘inherited’ from a denomination whereas the nomenclature of renewalist MCCs tend to have been ‘initiated’ through the founding leader or association. Titles convey different identities such as whether there is a denomination or ecclesial tradition (e.g. Roman Catholic or Protestant) that they belong to and this is clearly the case with PCVRC and UCPR. MEB traces its Moravian origins to one of the oldest Protestant denominations in 1457 and to its mission work in Suriname from the eighteenth century. Their title may indicate that they belong to a wider

²⁵² The *Scots International Church* changed its name from *Scots Church* in 1997 because economic and political migration had diversified the English-speaking community into more than forty nationalities. The word ‘international’ indicated a wider focus and interest than merely in those who had roots in Scotland. Scots people are less than 10% in a community that is dominated by Dutch and West African peoples (each about one third).

²⁵³ It may be useful to reflect on changes of public titles in the wider field in Rotterdam. In 1996 the *Scots International Church Rotterdam* changed its name from *Scots Church Rotterdam* in order to express a more cosmopolitan image and desire to connect with the global community. *The Candlestick (De Kandelaar)* became known as the *Europort Evangelical Centre* in 2005 following new leadership and as it gave up its independent ethos to become a member of the Pentecostal worldwide association ‘the Assemblies of God.’ The Dutch Pentecostal church, which was first supported by an Indonesian group and has a multicultural character, has now changed its name to the *Europort Christian International Centre*. The *New Life Centre* became known in 2007 as *New Birth Ministry* after their Dutch pastor was brought back from a near-death experience. These are instances of changes in order to acquire a positive image but changes have also been made to avoid a negative one. *Potter’s Hand New Covenant Word International Ministries* changed its name on several occasions from its first title of *New Anointing Ministries*. This MCC, which is the first extant African-led church in Rotterdam, is also formally associated with the ‘Assemblies of God.’ Their name was modified to disassociate from possible confusion with another African-led church with a similar name and whose practices they disapproved of. For a similar reason, Marius Lansman, the Suriname pastor of *Christian Fellowship Emmanuel*, said their name was changed when another movement adopted a similar one *Full Gospel Church Emmanuel*.

²⁵⁴ Driver writes similarly about the Constantinian Legacy in his book on *Images of the Church in Mission*, 36-44.

organization or association of churches. VOR is connected to an international headquarters and over six hundred ministry centres across the world. In other cases the name may be less of a 'brand.' The term 'chapel' in GCI may reflect the traditional understanding a place for meeting and prayer. The Pentecostal pastor of GCI was brought up as a Roman Catholic in Nigeria by his parents.

The character of MCCs can be deduced from their nomenclature which includes its statements about how they understand their mission. There is no common framework for mission statements and some MCCs are more conscious of having a local mission than others.²⁵⁵ The statements about the mission and vision were obtained from approaching their leaders. In one or all three of the following, the case-studies indicate common commitments:

- (a) to support of their denomination or missionary movement,
- (b) to reach people in a local area, the city or region of the country, and
- (c) in trans-national activities connected with the leadership and/or members.

There were differences in how these MCCs involve their members in their wider structures, local outreach and transnational activities. The mission statement of PCVRC suggests that the story of Cape Verdeans is around migration and that recognition of their needs has led to the multifarious social activities at PCVRC in an attempt to rebuild the identity of their Cape Verdean community. The use of Cape Verdean rituals and songs in the context of allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church has consolidated identity and inspired a new voluntarism beyond the close family networks. As Levitt wrote: "God needs no passport because faith traditions give their followers symbols, rituals, and stories they use to create alternative sacred."²⁵⁶

²⁵⁵ In preparing the *Gids*, I discovered that seaman's mission churches understood their mission to be precisely identical to their parent body while others catering for migrants wondered if there was any other mission.

²⁵⁶ Levitt, *God Has No Passport*, 12.

PCVRC has been active in creating and giving support to charitable organizations that improve the welfare of Cape Verdeans. Their mission statement describes the infrastructure within PCVRC that serves this uprooted people group.

MEB described itself as an associational ministry built upon on the memory of a European mission church in Suriname which continues to act as a purveyor of communal identity for its hybrid parts. Their principal migration story in the 1970s has come to a close and MEB now offers a context for the first and second generations to work out their new identity. MEB has worked closely with the local Suriname Roman Catholic Church in the care of the elderly. It describes unity and freedom as key values by which they serve the city.

The mission statement of UCPR values unity and evangelism in serving Urdu people across the region in the south of the Netherlands. UCPR is a close-knit family MCC whose language and melodies remind them of their identity (which is minority one compared to that of Cape Verdeans and Surinamers in Rotterdam).²⁵⁷ The pastor searches out Urdu-speaking families in and beyond the Netherlands. The spiritual identity of UCPR is reinforced by frequently told stories of suffering and persecution faced by Urdu Christians in the Punjab of Pakistan.²⁵⁸ UCPR has regularly organised days of action to highlight the plight of Urdu people as well as Asian events which bring together a wider group of pastoral leaders.

VOR highlighted its connection to *Victory Outreach International*, a worldwide association or denomination within in the Pentecostal movement. VOR received its name and ethos from the worldwide organization and connection with its ministry in Amsterdam. VOR also organised marches with local groups and statutory organizations against social ills in the city. VOR inspired a cosmopolitan identity through regular reminders about the spiritual state

²⁵⁷ On 1 January 2008 there were 3921 Pakistanis in Rotterdam or 0.7% of the city population (compared to 2.6% who were Cape Verdeans and 8.9% identified as Surinamers). *Bevolking van Rotterdam naar land van etniciteit*, 1 January 2008, COS print-out requested by author.

²⁵⁸ News items of atrocities against Urdu Christians un the Punjab are regularly highlighted on the UCPR website: <http://www.ucholland.org>.

that poor migrants had come from. This is an instance where, as Foley and Hoge observed, “religion sometimes trumps ethnicity and national origin.”²⁵⁹ Their mission statement clearly envisions an international ministry of evangelism and discipleship of people from all nations. In effect, VOR operates programmes that have proved successful across the world for people with lifestyles affected by drug and other addictions across the city and wider region.

From the inception of GCI, the pastor gave expression to reaching out to people in “poverty, homeless, people without resident permit, drugs addiction, centre of violence, and the pornographic industry all over the city.”²⁶⁰ GCI has a concern, like VOR, for indigenous people brought up in the Netherlands with addictive lifestyles and their mission statement envisions beauty and liberation. GCI is very involved in its local neighbourhood in *Lombardijen* after relocation from a nearby church to the community centre. They have articulated a vision for reaching Dutch language-speaking people and for young Antillean people in the neighbourhood where they have been located for most of their ten years.

AMEN describes its mission as “to reach out to people without work, the homeless, the drug addicted and to Africans who are ‘illegal’ in the Netherlands.”²⁶¹ AMEN operates a charitable foundation to support the most ‘needy’ in the Republic of the Congo and locally. They focus on the needs of French African speaking community in Rotterdam with a special concern for those without residential papers. Both GCI and AMEN describe their ministry as ‘international’ or for the ‘nations.’ Those who identify with AMEN are chiefly from French-speakers from Central Africa. Its mission statement is evangelical.

Nomenclature offers important clues as to whether they understand themselves as belonging to a historic denomination, as a new form of Christian ministry or as being involved in a wider project. Whichever we they understand themselves, MCCs appear to also represent

²⁵⁹ Foley and Hoge, *Religion and the New Immigrants*, 45.

²⁶⁰ Onaolapo S. Asubiaro, interview by author, Rotterdam, 22 July 2004, written notes.

²⁶¹ Christoph Kalubi, interview by author, Rotterdam, 11 April 2006, written notes.

themselves as global or trans-national communities. On the interface between the global and local, Peggy Levitt suggested that a new religious architecture is required with “different kinds of leaders... new production processes... different ways of communicating with followers, and new technologies for doing so.”²⁶² Without altogether rejecting biblical nomenclature, she posits a need for new images to describe the relationship between leaders and their people²⁶³ and how they relate to territory.²⁶⁴ For this revision of terms, Levitt proposes international aid workers and tourists. Moreover, both Walls and Hunt envisaged how new religious communities and their leaders are acting as pilgrims. They describe a new narrative and how communities start to embrace it. This narrative which draws upon religious imagery, texts and tradition can become incorporated in the self-nomenclature that they use of themselves. As MCCs engage with their context, they integrate their experience into the long story of the Christian community. These case studies reveal world-related imagery and indicate that a new contextualization²⁶⁵ is taking place. Their nomenclature gives priority to the global community and the reminder of a biblical worldview. Their adaptation of biblical nomenclature suggests that pastoral leaders see their identity more as pilgrims in the world rather than citizens of a country. The creation of networks and associations by leaders of MCCs suggests that there is a ‘felt-need’ for self-actualisation into Rotterdam and the global urban context.

6.3 CONCLUSION

The MCCs in the case-studies reveal that leadership is a key aspect of their identity. Most of the MCCs studied had long-serving leadership who had founded and/or developed the

²⁶² Levitt, *God Has No Passport*, 128

²⁶³ Levitt, *God Has No Passport*, 129

²⁶⁴ Levitt, *God Has No Passport*, 130

²⁶⁵ Andrew F. Walls describes how contextualization of a migrant church involves an indigenising movement (coming into step) and a pilgrim movement (becoming out of step) in society. Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History*, 29.

communities. The important role leaders have in shaping the identity of MCCs also signals possible tensions and conflicts around the succession in leadership.

Among the MCCs there were differing styles of leadership and types of organization. Weber's categories of 'traditional', 'rational' and 'charismatic' leadership proved helpful in detecting the different leadership styles. Traditional leaders exercise authority in a relational manner within the structure of a hierarchical structure of their denomination. Charismatic leadership is exotic, less predictable, and arises when authority is vested in the leader(s) rather than in the members. Rational leadership tends to develop where leaders are seeking to adapt to a MCC with a structured organization. It was interesting to note that over time changes in leadership style within the studied MCCs are taking place that are moving from charismatic to rational (VOR) or from traditional to charismatic (UPCR). Where Weber already signaled the tendency of institutionalization of charisma, he did not discuss situations where traditional leadership turned into charismatic leadership. The continuously context in which MCCs are situated or a perceived threat to their identity (in this case the UPCR's quest to maintain its particular identity over and against becoming part of the PCN) and there relatively loose connections with a mother church or sending organization, allows for and requires more freedom to act by leaders, resulting in a change of leadership styles.

Having used the terms 'historical' and 'renewalist' to cover MCCs in the changing ecclesiastical geography of the world, I note that differences and tensions exist between the intimate communities and those that are more structural entities. The relationship between historical/renewalist and structural/intimate communities MCCs became blurred in the case-studies of UCPR with VOR.

Historical MCCs tend to be 'structural' communities attached to organizational or denominational identities. The titles and mission statements of historical forms reveal that they belong to a wider organization, denomination or tradition. Their titles often indicate that they

exist for a people group or a religious tradition. They affirm their identity, for example, as Cape Verdean Roman Catholics, Suriname Moravians or Urdu Protestants. Renewalist MCCs, in contrast, create intimate identities through the use of positivist imagery rather than traditional descriptions of ecclesiastical or ethnic origins. Their public titles and mission statements express intimate phrasing grounded in the biblical imagination. Changes in public titles or mission statements can follow the relocation of the MCC or new leadership.

The case-studies also reveal that the dual categories ‘structural-intimate’ are limited in their usefulness of analysing nomenclature. The case-studies also pointed to the importance of the choice of language in nomenclature and the reluctance among renewalists MCCs to use the word ‘church’. The international and transnational aspirations of many MCCs does not seem to be diminished by an explicit focus on the local urban context. They are aware of both the global and local. The social fields that they interact with cut across political borders. MCCs are aware of different people groups in their locality and city, and they practice their faith in a variety of languages. Religion not only brings security to migrants but also opens the door for them to act on the world. As migration affects the practice of religion, the global context has become a key point of reference for MCCs in the construction of their identity. Their nomenclature is a result of the founding tradition or leader who exert a major influence. The pastoral leaders are ‘actors’ in a drama as well as ‘anchors’ of their community groups.

Public titles and mission statements reveal the MCC’s identity in *kerygma* whether created by the founding leader or organisation. *Kerygma* is concerned with the outlook of the leaders and nomenclature of MCCs. The study of their names and mission statements gives clues to how the religion of migrant groups is contextualizing. It provides insights into how their religion and urban context relates to their identity as migrant groups. I observed that MCCs commit to local urban areas while they also articulate a relationship to the city and world as a whole. While a relationship to a local place brings about local engagement, their transnational

relationships suggests that pastoral leaders see themselves more as ‘pilgrims in the world’ rather than ‘citizens of one country’.

In the next chapter we look at how these images are reflected in the public activities of MCCs. The frame of *kerygma* is exchanged for that of *diakonia* and we view MCCs through their social capital and transnational activities.

CHAPTER SEVEN: DIAKONIA

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In recent years the social value of MCCs in some Dutch cities has been researched in quantitative terms that identified the number of volunteers and hours spent in diaconal activities.²⁶⁶ The report which was substantially funded by the Catholic research institute for religion and society KASKI drew attention to the role of MCCs and the social support they provided to people in the city of Rotterdam. The report claimed that their contribution to city's health and well-being represented between fifty-five and sixty-six million euros per year.²⁶⁷ A similar report on migrant churches in the Hague calculated the social value of MCCs as seventeen and a half million euros per year, a sizable proportion of municipality's expenditure.²⁶⁸ They described the volunteer time given to making calls to the sick and bereaved, provision of clothes and meals, emergency aid, support for the homeless and prostitutes, after-school homework clubs, youth camps, language-learning, courses and workshops for parents, people with addictions and other social services. These quantitative analyses drew attention to their social and economic contribution in quantitative ways. My interest in this chapter is in their communities and in how they act towards others.

In this chapter I observe the public activities that arose from the case-studies and reflect on the nature of their social capital. Questions have been asked about the direction of social capital and how *diakonia* is directed to people in need in the community or in the urban world. I look at whether there is a more internal focus on needy generational cohorts or if support is offered externally in the locality, the wider city or to people in other countries. Following

²⁶⁶ Jorge Castillo Guerra, Marjolein Glashouwer and Joris Kregting, *Tel Je Zegingen: Het Maatschappelijk Rendement van Christelijke Kerken in Rotterdam en hun Bijdrage aan Sociale Cohesie*, Nijmegen, 2008.

²⁶⁷ Gwanmesia, *Blessings Under Pressure*, 6.

²⁶⁸ Jaap van de Sar, Jaap and Roos Visser, *Gratis en Waardevol: Rol, Positie en Maatschappelijk Rendement van Migrantenkerken in Den Haag*, Utrecht, 2006.

observations of each of the case-studies, their activities will be scrutinised in terms of social capital and trans-national character. Can these communities that draw upon people from all over the world develop and contribute to urban society of Rotterdam? Following the theory of social capital of Pierre Bourdieu, Robert Putnam and Michael Woolcock, I look in the case-studies for bonding, bridging and linking behaviour. ‘Bonding’ brings people of similar background together, ‘binding’ brings different people together and ‘linking’ goes a step further to bring people of different social and political standing together. This analysis is preferred to the simpler division of ‘bastions’ and ‘binders’ made by Rinus Penninx and Marlou Schrover²⁶⁹ in describing the behaviour of MCCs in the Netherlands. Following this research on the social capital of MCCs, the question arises as to how this affects the way in which they operate. Does their transnational character and related activities challenge our understanding about how MCCs traverse between the global and local?

7.2 SIX CASE STUDIES

7.2.1 Portuguese Cape Verdean Roman Catholic Church (PCVRC)

PCVRC provides diaconal support for both Cape Verdean people in the church and who live in the area of Rotterdam, especially in the west of the city where there is a large population. Support organizations enable PCVRC not to become overtaxed but to increase the capacity of volunteers and their time. There is a high level of participation and voluntarism and as many as three hundred and fifty volunteers serve more than thirty groups and activities. PCVRC has stimulated social projects in the parish with their own remunerated workers. The existence of these groups and associations represents a fresh development from the familiar pattern of self-

²⁶⁹ Rinus Penninx and Marlou Schrover argued that migrant organizations effectively function either as a bastion or a binder. Penninx and Schrover, “Bastion of Bindmiddel: Organisaties van Immigranten in Historisch Perspectief”, 279-322.

organizations around Cape Verdean families.²⁷⁰ Cape Verdeans demonstrate a high level of self-help organizations within their communities but PCVRC enables people in their daily life by providing spiritual resources and relevant social networks. After the former Portuguese-language church had been overtaken or ‘spring-boarded’ by the Cape Verdean community, PCVRC developed a ‘bastion’ identity around these islanders and this community which is principally concerned for the needs of Cape Verdeans is the one of the most well attended MCCs in Rotterdam. The Cape Verdean community is very poor and has various social needs because of the story and size of their island homelands. In terms of its identity, PCVRC has stated its interest in Cape Verdeans first and in Portuguese-speakers second. Though PCVRC does not claim to work with other parishes and churches, the parish is highly involved in a variety of diaconal projects connected with the diocese. Despite suspicion within PCVRC over local politics,²⁷¹ the community has developed foundations and networks with statutory agencies in the city.

Since Cape Verdean identity is fragmented, PCVRC exercises both a communal ministry (to Portuguese speakers in the western area of the city known as *Delfshaven*) and associational ministry (to Cape Verdeans across the region of South Holland). PCVRC has had an effective ‘bonding’, ‘cementing’ or ‘thickening’ role for Cape Verdeans.²⁷² Over many years its community and activities has experienced a high degree of bonding. There has been a kind of ‘double’ bonding where primary relationships have been formed both specifically with the local diocese and generally with Cape Verdean groups. Through the Roman Catholic institution they are able to gain access to services from the municipality. The strong Roman Catholic

²⁷⁰ A survey of the nature of the Cape Verdean self-organizations (in Delfshaven) has shown that most Cape Verdian self-help groups are forks or branches of bigger organizations where parents organize cultural events or raise funds for their children’s football. Other organizations which exist for women’s care and advocacy groups that seek emancipation frequently maintain contacts with Dutch organizations. Another kind of organizations focusses on activities that aim to mobilize family and friends in the Cape Verde Islands. Strooij, *Eilanden aan de Maas*, 51.

²⁷¹ Noordegraaf, *Armoede in Nederland 2010*, 19.

²⁷² Penninx and Schrover, “Bastion of bindmiddel”, 313-315.

identity and relationships is strengthened by the fact that PCVRC is one of the poorest migrant parishes within the diocese of Rotterdam and is heavily dependent on its financial assistance.²⁷³

PCVRC plays an important role in their social lives with more than thirty groups or different activities in Rotterdam. Active in traditional religious activities such as catechesis, bible study groups, four choirs (men, women, youth and children) and pastoral work, PCVRC has also given birth to several support groups including a social rights group, a marriage encounter group and a diaconal service group that visits prisoners and HIV work group that visits AIDS patients. The group *Finke Pe* promotes Cape Verdean music and literature and offers music lessons.²⁷⁴ The priest represented these activities together with more mundane activities (such the church cleaning group) in the diagram of a large wheel where they all flow from out the centre of the divine presence.²⁷⁵ The foundation PCI (*Parochie Caritas Instellingen*) was set up as a work group for undocumented or ‘illegal’ people. The foundation Emanuel was set up by Peter Stevens to work for the health and freedom of Cape Verdean men and its motto is “fish can teach you.” Volunteers enable all ages to live independently and responsibly with their own identity through social projects, activities, meetings and information.²⁷⁶ Cape Verdean youth are very active with soccer, dancing and music but they are perceived to have problems with alcohol and drug addiction. The church is also connected to a youth development organization which represents the interests of Cape Verdean youth in the Netherlands. PCVRC has assisted in projects where young people are encouraged to learn the Dutch language and reflect upon their experiences of living between two very different ways of life.

PCVRC has bonded constructively with the strong Cape Verdean group identity in the city. Diaconal activities are concentrated around the west of Rotterdam where many Cape

²⁷³ Noordegraaf, *Armoede in Nederland 2010*, 19.

²⁷⁴ Strooij, “Eilanden aan de Maas”, 57.

²⁷⁵ Peter Stevens, interview by author, Rotterdam, 11 April 2006, written notes. See Appendix II.

²⁷⁶ Stichting Emanuel website, accessed 23 July 2013, < <http://stichtingemanuel.nl/blog/>>

Verdeans live. It appears that PCVRC is committed mainly to ‘personal service’ and ‘community development’ types of *diakonia* among the Cape Verdean people. Many Cape Verdeans have been sustained through trans-national activities and charitable foundations. *Stichting Casa Tiberias* is a major initiative of PCVRC that was created in 1994 as a foundation both for and by Portuguese-speaking women in Rotterdam. *Casa Tiberias* is a foundation that depends entirely upon local volunteers to organize various socio-cultural activities for Portuguese-speaking women and their children with a strong emphasis on education, participation and empowerment.²⁷⁷ They offer courses in Dutch, sewing and computers in collaboration with *Stichting Disck* which offers residents opportunities to develop social and cultural skills for a better environment. The foundation is affiliated to *HefGroep*, a Rotterdam organization for welfare of children.²⁷⁸ A shelter for especially Cape Verdean women and their children in 1995 and ten years later was transferred to the *Stichting Arosa* which supervises shelters for women and children. Support is given to hospital outpatients and to situations of family crisis and debt where the church collaborates with organizations such as *Stichting Avanco*, the Social Services and the Public Health Services.²⁷⁹ *Avanço* is a foundation that was registered on 29 December 1999 to promote the interests of the Cape Verdean community in Rotterdam. “It often organizes information sessions in the church in the afternoons... on such issues as taxes, health and debt.”²⁸⁰ From a link-organization for all Cape Verdean organizations in Rotterdam, *Avanço* has developed into an organization that supports all local Portuguese-speakers and not only Cape Verdeans. There is co-operation with other self-help organizations

²⁷⁷ Stichting Casa Tiberias website, accessed 13 July 2013, <<http://www.casatiberias.nl/history/history.php>>

²⁷⁸ Stichting Disck website, accessed 13 July 2013, <www.disckgroep.nl/cgi-bin/mbCMS/cms.cgi?actie=toonhomepage>; Hefgroep website, accessed 13 July 2013, <www.hefgroep.nl/cgi-bin/mbCMS/cms.cgi?actie=toonhomepage> (no longer accessible)

²⁷⁹ Noordegraaf, *Armoede in Nederland 2010*, 18.

²⁸⁰ Noordegraaf, *Armoede in Nederland 2010*, 17.

and especially in the area of Delfshaven where it has built connections with the Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean communities.

The Dutch priests of PCVRC operate from a deep knowledge and experience of the Cape Verdean people and have drawn upon the local diocese and the universal identity of Roman Catholicism. They have contact with cultural and social settings in Rotterdam which have affinity with the Portuguese-speaking organizations.²⁸¹ Though they operate within the ecclesiastical structures, the mission statement outlined by the parish priest, Peter Stevens, highlights the width of the community's activities and interests. Members of PCVRC retain strong attachments to specific islands of the archipelago and other Cape Verdeans in other areas of Europe. PCVRC clearly models what Peggy Levitt called a "Roman Catholic Transnational Religious Corporation." Active in west Rotterdam and in other places where Cape Verdean people live, "this migrant parish has a broad function regarding their social requirements/needs."²⁸²

7.2.2 Moravian Evangelische Broedegemeente (MEB)

MEB benefits from having a strong support structure in the *Evangelische Broedergemeente* in the Netherlands. The members of the community are principally Surinamese and come from mixed backgrounds. As a third generation community, they have need to be connected with one another and enjoy memories of former homeland(s) and their adopted one in Rotterdam.

The merged identity of Surinamese members enables MEB to be able to connect on their behalf with others in the city and wider environment. MEB is a binder community with the inherent hybrid nature of Surinamese identity and the historic connection of Suriname people with the Netherlands. These factors have aided the building of bridges within and beyond the largely

²⁸¹ Grant, *Gids*, 87.

²⁸² "Dit migranten parochie heft een brede functie betreffende sociale benodigdheden. De structuur van dit gemeenschap is God-Kerk bestuur-parochie raad met 350 vrijwilligers-groepen en activiteiten." Peter Stevens, interview by author, Rotterdam, 11 April 2006, written notes.

Suriname community. There is a good working relationship with the mostly Antillean-Dutch *Holland Methodist Church* who occupy the same church space on Sunday afternoons. The Moravian emphasis on ‘unity in community’ encourages its members to be tolerant and respectful to people of other denominations.²⁸³ One pastoral leader reported that the adopted axiom of MEB was “in essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; and, in all things, love.”²⁸⁴

Members of MEB have worked in co-operation with the “Petrus Donders” Surinamese Roman Catholic Parish in bible study and visitation of the elderly. Care projects such as ‘Simeon and Anna’ have enabled elderly people from a Surinamese background to meet in the community every Tuesday and Thursday. Other Surinamese organisations and social groups such as *Ondra Bom* (meaning ‘Under the tree’) organise voluntary assistance for Surinamese peoples. A church action group worked together with Roman Catholic Surinamese parish and organised discussion groups and education in the old north area of the city. When, for many years MEB was situated in the south of Rotterdam, they gave financial support for a home for the elderly, an initiative of the Surinamese Roman Catholic parish. MEB not only works closely with other churches but also with social organizations and voluntary services. “Inter-church Foundation for the Welfare of Surinamese” (ISWS) was a joint initiative of people from both the Roman Catholic Surinamese parish and MEB. Diaconal activities tend to focus upon people related to the church community. MEB provides ‘personal service’ to their Suriname members across the city and is involved with others in ‘community development’ activities. Successive pastoral leaders from Suriname and the Netherlands have worked with the institutional ties that have developed across the denomination and with its historic partners.²⁸⁵ MEB is in a position to access a range of community groups for the support of Surinamese people²⁸⁶ and to offer

²⁸³ The MCC draws upon diverse liturgical resources: spiritual songs from Suriname, Reformed (evangelist Johan de Heer), Roman Catholic and Evangelical (*Opwekking*) traditions.

²⁸⁴ This is most frequently associated with John Wesley, the English Methodist preacher and missionary.

²⁸⁵ Grant, *Gids*, 133.

²⁸⁶ Gwanmesia, *Blessings Under Pressure*, 26.

social ‘bridging’ capital with a variety of organizations and groups beyond from their own. The story of these ‘bridging’ activities is described in its membership booklet “What is MEB?” together with possibilities of further co-operation. The guide-book details as many as twenty groups or bodies that the MCC has developed a special relationship with.²⁸⁷ They vary from ecumenical bodies in Rotterdam and in the Netherlands, other church denominations in the Netherlands, MEB groups in the Netherlands and outside of the Netherlands to secular bodies in Rotterdam. The ecumenical bodies in Rotterdam include several Christian institutions for social outreach work in Rotterdam (e.g. Mara, GCW, KSA) and they have close contact with Roman Catholic Surinamese Parish “Petrus Donders.” MEB is involved with several ecumenical bodies in the Netherlands such as the “Inter-church Peace Council of the Netherlands” (IKV)²⁸⁸, the “Foundation for Ecumenical Support” (SOH), and the “Ecumenical Evening Prayer network.” By working through ecumenical relationships and charitable foundations, MEB is able to sustain diaconal activities within its urban context. MEB listed the *Gereformeerde Kerk*, the *Hervormde Kerk* and the *Evangelische Lutherse Kerk* which since have formed the Protestant Church in the Netherlands (PCN) as the principal denomination in the Netherlands that it is in contact with. MEB bodies in the Netherlands include the Central Board in the Netherlands, the Central Board for Youth (*Jeugdraad*), its Mission Board (ZZG), and the national sister churches of MEB elders in the Netherlands. MEB bodies outside of the Netherlands are listed as European Provincial Synod, MEB in Suriname (EBG-Suriname) and their partner congregation in Germany (Konigsfeld). MEB also relates closely to city services such as the Rotterdam anti-discrimination and action organisation (RADAR) and the City of Rotterdam information service. Since 2000 the “Platform for Suriname Welfare Work in Rotterdam” has brought together several institutions that represent the interests of MEB

²⁸⁷ The MEB guidebook, *Wat is... Wat doet... EBG Rotterdam*, refers to social, youth work and external contacts, 5, 10.

²⁸⁸ The IKV is said to be in relationship with five non-governmental organizations and with one inter-governmental organizations.

members. These groups include SOBER (a foundation offering social services and education employing a social worker and a director), *Wi Masanga* (a foundation offering education and community centres for people with Creole identity that employs a social cultural worker), *Anand Bhawan* (a foundation offering a Hindu social and cultural centre with one social cultural worker), *Setasan* (a foundation which offers a Javanese community centre and social cultural support), and the Inter-church Surinamese Welfare foundation. ISWS focuses on the problems facing Surinamese people and one employee seeks to help Surinamers who have difficulty integrating in Rotterdam society, especially giving attention to the problems facing young women in employment and parenting.²⁸⁹

Suriname is a hybrid culture and there are special needs within the mixed Surinamese community. The minority Javanese group, for example, expressed their fears about criminality and going out at night. They are also concerned about those living in Suriname and send gifts through the *Zendingen Genootschap* of the denomination in the Netherlands. In Rotterdam this community became aware of the *Voedselbank*, a city-wide charitable food bank, and wanted to provide food packets. In 2005 the elder responsible for this group explained, “if you have come out of a poor country, you learn to do more with your money than those in the Netherlands.”²⁹⁰ Memories of life in Suriname inspire members of MEB to keep their individual identities but their mission statement emphasizes the need to seek unity and freedom in the urban context of Rotterdam. At a group rather than a leader level, MEB has developed high degree of ‘bridging’ capital for a variety of social and spiritual initiatives. In recent years, MEB developed close ties with Dutch social initiatives such as the *Gids Netwerk*, *Justitiepastoraat*, *Gedeeld Verleden* *Gezamenlijke Toekomst* and the *Pastorale Raad van Participanten Laurens*.²⁹¹ In the terms

²⁸⁹ Calvert, *Gids*, 93.

²⁹⁰ Djoaminadi Toumin, interview by author, Rotterdam, 15 February 2005, written notes.

²⁹¹ Grant, *Gids*, 133.

suggested by Peggy Levitt, MEB is an example of a “Protestant Transnational Corporate Model.”

7.2.3 Urdu Congregation of the Protestant Church Rotterdam (UCPR)

Members of this predominantly Urdu-speaking community seek the support of the pastoral couple over a variety of needs. UCPR has been more associated with the pastor’s activities than with denominational identity in Pakistan and the Netherlands. The pastoral leader is well known to SKIN and the PCN²⁹² and has established close contacts with other MCCs such as the *Scots International Church* in Rotterdam and the *Evangelische Broedergemeente* in Amsterdam.²⁹³ He has sought to extend UCPR’s area of influence trans-nationally through the hosting of Asian Revival Conferences in Rotterdam. It has been stated that “the minister has a bridging function between the Church of Pakistan and the European churches.... (between) not only brings with the theological world of Pakistan but also the world of refugees and asylum-seekers.”²⁹⁴ The pastoral leader has visited Pakistani Christians in asylum centres in the Netherlands and even as far away as Paris.²⁹⁵

The pastoral leader negotiated an agreement with the Bergsingel Reformed Church and has established a wide range of relationships that included the Urdu-speaking mosque in Rotterdam and with Pakistani people in the Netherlands and other European cities. The pastor has developed close relationships with the Ambassador of Pakistan in the Hague who has visited the church in Rotterdam. He has hosted the “Day for Pakistan” and participated in the Pakistan *Mela* festival in 2012. This was the occasion to announce that the Pakistani Christian Community strongly condemned a blasphemous film made against Islam and Prophet of Islam

²⁹² Pluim and Kuyk, *Relations with Migrantchurches*, 42; Grant, *Gids*, 150.

²⁹³ Henny de Lange, “Groep van 160 Pakistaanse christenen wordt gereformeerd”, *Trouw. De Verdieping*, 8 May 1996.

²⁹⁴ The first annual report of the advisory committee of the co-operation with the congregation in Bergsingel church in 1998. Pluim and Kuyk, *Relations with Migrantchurches*, 39.

²⁹⁵ Pluim and Kuyk, *Relations with Migrantchurches*, 44.

and that they would stand in solidarity with Muslim community in the world. The special guest was the Ambassador of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, H.E. Mrs Fauzia Sana. Six months later UCPR organised a protest in March against an anti-Christian incident in Pakistan where one hundred and eighty Christian homes were set on fire. They marched to the Embassy of Pakistan in the Hague and so demonstrated their commitment to transnational peace and justice.

Despite the need to maintain their Urdu-speaking identity, UCPR has been building 'linking' social capital with other groups such as *SKIN* and *PKN*.²⁹⁶ The pastoral leader has made relationships with Pakistani peoples in the Netherlands and Pakistani congregations across Europe and other MCCs. Despite 'linking' with the Pakistani Ambassador and the Church of Pakistan, it has appeared to many beyond their community that UCPR sought to become a bastion and protect their Urdu identity in Dutch church premises. Urdu which is spoken by one hundred million people around the world is the official language of Pakistan and spoken/understood in parts of India, Bangladesh, Nepal and the Middle East. Protection of Urdu language and culture enables UCPR to connect with people visiting from the nearby Pakistani mosque. Urdu-speaking people are used to living on the religious and social margins both in Pakistan and the Netherlands. In keeping with many other newly created MCCs, UCPR has become a bastion for Urdu identity where their language and social history can be expressed and protected. Despite attempts to become formally connected with local Reformed denominations, leaders of UCPR clearly stated their desire of retaining this bastion identity within the new relationship. In 1996 when UCPR was about ten years old, a Dutch observer envisaged "a full merger is possible perhaps in the longer term but I also do not rule out that in twenty-five years we will still be separate churches because the Pakistanis find our services to be boring."²⁹⁷ After the Reformed Church agreed to a request from the Church of Pakistan to

²⁹⁶ Grant, *Gids*, 150.

²⁹⁷ De Lange, "Groep van 160 Pakistaanse christenen wordt gereformeerd": "Een volledige samensmelting zit er op langere termijn misschien ook wel in. Maar ik sluit ook niet uit dat we over 25 jaar nog steeds apart kerken, omdat de Pakistanen onze diensten te saai vinden."

oversee Rev. Eric Sarwar, technical issues arose in 1999 in this ‘project of co-operation.’ The evaluation of the ‘project’ in 1999 showed that while the outcomes of the project were positive in the attempt “to be church together”, there was a lot of negativity. There had been a lack of interaction and dialogue and the objectives of integration, participation and partnership have not been realized.²⁹⁸ UCPR meets on Sunday afternoon in worship space that is extended to them by the Protestant *Bergsingelkerk* with whom they have a cordial relationship.

For the process of making formal agreements with the Reformed Churches has been neither smooth nor transparent. From one side UCPR felt that it was in danger of losing its identity whereas from the other side frustration was felt as expectations were not realised. In the acquisition of space for weekly services, UCPR used the premises and relationship with the local congregation to strengthen its own identity. “We have our own church to preserve our own culture and to bring up the children not only at home but there (Pakistan) as well... we adopt the good things from you, not the bad things.”²⁹⁹ Integration has mixed messages to MCCs and the pastoral leader articulated for a distinctive approach to the problems facing migrant young people in Rotterdam.

The youth take over the lifestyle of their friends. They smoke, use alcohol and live together before marriage. We don’t approve of that. And it raises questions for both parents and children, questions connected with living in a different culture. The question is not only how to handle this but also what has the Bible to say about these issues? The culture of the Bible must stay, not our cultures.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁸ Noort, Gerrit, “Emerging Migrant Churches in the Netherlands: Missiological challenges and mission frontiers”, *International Review of Mission*, 100: 1, April 2011, 8.

²⁹⁹ Pluim and Kuyk, *Relations with Migrantchurches*, 36.

³⁰⁰ Eikelboom, *SKIN Nieuwsbrief-Newsletter*, interview with Eric Sarwar, 22.

Diaconal activities in UCPR have a strong trans-national focus for Urdu people who live in the Netherlands and beyond. The pastor observed that “when one of them died, the community went house to house to collect money in order to send the body to Pakistan.”³⁰¹ Through its leadership UCPR seems to empower its community in ‘personal service’ and ‘individual advocacy’.

Everyone supports a family in Pakistan. Last week the pastor sought help for a family who have problems with Muslims and are threatened with death. The family had asked Eric for two thousand euros in order that this Christian community could come to Europe. Some people gave what they could. The church community is also helping to build a church in Pakistan which at the moment only has walls and no roof.³⁰²

In the terms used by Peggy Levitt, UCPR appears to be moving from a “National Group working Transnationally” to a “Transnational Protestant Corporate Model.” Hospitality in UCPR on Sunday afternoons requires all guests to be invited to the meal after the service. Everyone gets the same and is treated equally. Hospitality is a very important value to them but can be a huge burden on the pastor leader and his family such as when unemployed Urdu-speakers or refugees seek food and support or when “bishops and pastors come from Pakistan and expect to stay for one or two weeks.”³⁰³

7.2.4 Victory Outreach Rotterdam (VOR)

VOR provides a Christian recovery ministry for people with addictions who are often found to be living on the street. ‘Victory Outreach’ as a concept originated in California while VOR

³⁰¹ Eric Sarwar, interview by author, Rotterdam, 8 December 2006, written notes.

³⁰² Eric Sarwar, interview by author, Rotterdam, 8 December 2006, written notes.

³⁰³ Eric Sarwar, interview by author, Rotterdam, 8 December 2006, written notes.

itself arose from an untidy initiative from the mother community in Amsterdam and initial difficulties in Rotterdam. The pastoral couple, Jerry and Xannelou Mendezoon, established significant relationships with Nicky Cruz (a convert from a gang in Los Angeles), a pastor from VOR in London, an educational manager in the Albeda College, pastor Booner³⁰⁴, the Pentecostal pastors' platform³⁰⁵ and pastor of the Living Stones (*Levende Steen*) Church.

VOR is of a mixed nature and does not have a dominant people-group. It connects easily with a variety of language groups but the majority of members are Dutch-speaking and the principal languages used in public meetings are Dutch and English. From within this multiform community, many inter-cultural events are regularly organized around Antillean, Aruban, Asian and African people. With a vision for transforming individuals as well as challenging societal values, the mission statement states that "Victory Outreach inspires and instils within people the desire to fulfil their potential in life with a sense of dignity, belonging, and destiny."³⁰⁶ Diaconal ministries focus on challenging people with addictions and helping them to recover until they are able to re-enter society. Rehabilitation homes were opened for men (1998) and women (2000) and in 2005 VOR opened its renovated premises which it purchased the previous year from a Reformed church. VOR's ministries are international in their scope and from Rotterdam new 'Victory Outreach' ministries were begun in Heerlen on the Belgian border (2002), Aruba (2004), Berlin (2008) and Bucharest (2009). While core activities concentrate on evangelism and making followers of Jesus Christ, VOR is involved in regular diaconal service such as visiting prisons and contacting people on street corners. There are programmed

³⁰⁴ Senior pastor of the *De Schutse Kerk*.

³⁰⁵ VOR or *Voorgangers Overleg Rotterdam*

³⁰⁶ Guide: International Ministries, Cooperation, Hope for the hurting, GANG. Herstelcentra leaflet. Mission Statement: "*Victory Outreach inspireert mensen en wekt een verlangen op hun potentieel optimaal te ontwikkelen, met uiteindelijke bestemming: een leven in waardigheid en geborgenheid.*" The whole mission statement states: "Victory Outreach is an international, church-oriented Christian ministry called to the task of evangelizing and discipling the hurting people of the world, with the message of hope and plan of Jesus Christ. This call involves a commitment to plant and develop churches, rehabilitation homes and training centers, in strategic cities of the world. Victory Outreach inspires and instills within people the desire to fulfill their potential in life with a sense of dignity, belonging, and destiny. Victory Outreach works cooperatively with others of mutual purpose in accomplishing the task before us." Calvert, *Gids*, 117.

activities with for men and women with addictions. Activities for children use music and dance to support families. Annual Christmas dinners and Easter brunches are organized for the people of the street in such a way that professional people are involved in serving them. Some members are helping with the charitable food-bank (*Voedselbank*). Children's Christmas parties and toy give-aways for local children are organised for the local *Tarwewijk* area. For addicts there is counselling, workshops and group-work such as 'Stay Clean' groups for ex-addicts as well as structural guidance through Victory Outreach Homes. VOR have been involved in the *diakonia* of 'individual advocacy' and 'community organizing.' The pastoral couple suggested that a new development in the work of VOR would be from working with street people to support of families. VOR attaches a high value to the family and organises groups for boys and girls, men and women that focus on sexual behaviour, marriage guidance and support for single mothers. While "the ministry of Victory Outreach is to reach out to the poor (such as the drug addict or person who is living in the street)"³⁰⁷ the focus on drug addicts is broadening towards children and families.

I would like to see us develop childcare facilities for the poor, especially single mums, and to help the children go in the right direction. We want to give our children the best. We want them to break out to be the best by breaking cycles of behaviour. They need to break barriers and the curse of the label they are given.³⁰⁸

The pastor thinks of Rotterdam as a 'faster' city than Amsterdam.³⁰⁹ Many in the church are concerned about safety (*veiligheid*) in the city. Since 1997 VOR has organised marches against provision of heroin to the addicted and a march for safety with different churches in the

³⁰⁷ Jerry Mendeszoon, interview by author, Rotterdam, 20 March 2012, written notes.

³⁰⁸ Jerry Mendeszoon, interview by author, Rotterdam, 20 March 2012, written notes.

³⁰⁹ "Amsterdam was reggae style but life in Rotterdam was quicker." Jerry Mendeszoon, interview by author, Rotterdam, 20 March 2012, written notes.

neighbourhood. This is seen as a positive spiritual act to say “Stop the violence.” The police and other social organizations were involved in making this statement to the people in the south of Rotterdam. It has supported similar actions in other cities nearby where Victory Outreach is active (such as Amsterdam, Eindhoven and Antwerp). Its stated aim is to be part of a movement of strategic urban centres across the world. The focus of their diaconal activities is both in Rotterdam and in a number of other urban centres beyond. The transnational character of these activities is sustained through the programmatic approach in which they are delivered. In terms of social capital, VOR demonstrates an ability to forge ‘linking’ relationships from which there can be leverage and local co-operation. Its diaconal ministry to people with addiction problems provides the basis for professional and political relationships which enable the transfer of human resources. VOR tries to work in cooperation with the neighbourhood, city organizations and government agencies. The ministry of VOR operates on different levels and an example of this is their involvement in platforms for the Tarwewijk area, the city of Rotterdam and the nation. “I believe that God has given a promise that will change this neighbourhood, have an effect on the city and then the whole country.” In recent years it has contributed to conferences on drug addiction involving the United Nations and Parliament of the European Union. At both an individual and group level, VOR offers high ‘bridging capital’ to connect with people of different backgrounds, the municipality of Rotterdam and other groups. Their bridging and community activities have been visible since their first march against the free distribution of heroine in 1998. At that time, the leadership at VOR found themselves in conflict with other church leaders and the city government as they sought to address causes rather than symptoms.

Drug addiction and alcoholism are symptoms of deep-seated emotional and mental problems. The solution of the Victory Outreach Centres is not replacing one drug for another, but it is a total solution, which is found in a stable spiritual Christian life.³¹⁰

Many of the membership are recent recruits and in recovery from addictions. “Stay Clean” was founded in 2001 to provide Christian counselling and love to addicts and their families. Key words are to evangelise, establish and to equip people so that people grow in character and build their own relationships. To that end, VOR gives training and education to help them to develop their leadership skills and gifts. VOR seeks to address the causes of addicted and brokenness and could be described as organizing ministries.

Victory Outreach works for recovery in families, by focusing on abuse, drug addiction, alcoholism, violence, vandalism, gang formation and other life-threatening issues. Victory Outreach provides assistance to individuals and families whose lives have been scarred by alcohol and drug abuse.³¹¹

VOR operates out of the policies and programmes advanced by its the global movement “Victory Outreach International” and from those who have committed to its programmes such as “Nicky Cruz International”, “Teen Challenge International” and “Time Square Church New York”. Locally VOR is in relationship with the ‘Assemblies of God’ denomination for Pentecostal and charismatic churches and “*Stichting de Hoop*”.³¹² At the same time it has had to adapt and respond to changes in the context of Rotterdam and, in Levitt’s terms, could be described as a trans-national model of “Flexible Specialization.”

³¹⁰ “Victory Outreach herstelcentra (recovery centres) – Get your life back!”, VOR brochure.

³¹¹ “Victory Outreach herstelcentra (recovery centres) – Get your life back!”, VOR brochure.

³¹² Grant, *Gids*, 76.

7.2.5 Glorious Chapel International (GCI)

At GCI diaconal ministry is focussed on individuals beyond its own community. The pastoral leader, Onalupo Asubiaro, has been active in creating new relationships to pastors and organizations in Rotterdam and beyond. He regularly receives African pastors from other European cities. The pastor has built up multiple linkages and through one of these GCI is under the authority of Winners' Chapel. This is a mega-church organization based in Nigeria founded by David Oyedepo in 1981 and the pastor can call their headquarters for advice. Though it has no denomination³¹³ GCI has 'partners' and many friends such as *Het Zout der Aarde* in Rotterdam South. The pastor attends the local Pentecostal platform *Voorgangers Overleg Rotterdam* and is well known to city pastors. The links that he made with local officials in *Lombardijen* and volunteers at the community centre³¹⁴ have enabled a mixed and enterprising community to develop. He is also able to use the resources of the printing press where he used to be employed. In Rotterdam he has been connected with *Stichting KSA*, a Protestant organisation for diaconal activities, to enable conversations with city councillors and has relationship with officials of local *IJsselmonde* city district. *De Heuvel*, a Dutch training organisation for those working with young people from different backgrounds, *Stichting MARA*, a Roman Catholic organisation in working on local health programmes, *House of Hope*, which led to GCI starting up "Foundation Purpose" (*Stichting Doel*) in 2007. He is a board member of S.K.I.N. and S.K.I.N.–Rotterdam³¹⁵ which serve to unite and promote migrant churches in the Netherlands. Beyond the Netherlands, Onalupo Asubiaro is connected with *Victory City Church* in London and the *House of Restoration* on Staten Island in New York. He has also been a focus for enabling other African pastoral leaders to come together. He is a member of

³¹³ GCI is not to be confused with *Salvation Ministries (Glorious Chapel)* in Nigeria.

³¹⁴ Volunteers are normally between 15 and 20 people every week from the neighbourhood.

³¹⁵ S.K.I.N. (Samen Kerk in Nederland) has given its name to national and city-wide organisations that represent the needs of migrant and international churches.

the “Platform of African Association of Pastors in the Netherlands” and the Pentecostal Pastor’s platform in Rotterdam (*Voorgangers Overleg Rotterdam*). He is contact with African pastors in other countries beyond the Netherlands³¹⁶ in contact with David Winner, founder and pastor of Faith Tabernacle Living Faith Winner’s Chapel³¹⁷ and Sunday Adelaja, founder and senior pastor of the Embassy of God, a mega-church in Kiev, Ukraine.

GCI is a mixed international community with an increasing Antillean people-group but also embraces people from other backgrounds (such as Haiti, Congo and Russia) in a positive way. GCI is an African-initiated mixed community where the Antillean element could become dominant. It has developed through the use of Dutch and Papiamentu together with English. GCI is not so much attempting to protect an identity as to develop a more indigenous one. The use of the Papiamentu language has enabled bonding with people of Antillean background but their mixed use of languages suggests that GCI is able to bind with the local neighbourhood.³¹⁸ The international community has been enabled by languages used and the leader’s width of interests and relationships, especially with African pastoral leaders. To modify Levitt’s terms, GCI is an example of a “Regional Group (West African) working Trans-nationally.” The pastoral couple’s own sons lead worship on guitar and drums and helped to create a context where other migrant teenagers could connect.

GCI is reaching out through several social programmes by means of the charitable foundation “House of Hope” to feed homeless people a meal per day, pray and counsel them to do away with drugs. GCI and its own charitable foundation seek to “provide relief to people in need through the provision of food and clothes to the homeless and support for ex-prisoners,

³¹⁶ Onaolapo S. Asubiaro, “GCI Times: Ten Years of Transforming Lives”, anniversary brochure, 9, 11, 13.

³¹⁷ Living Faith Church Worldwide has its international headquarters in Faith Tabernacle, Ota, where bishop David Oyedepo is the senior pastoral leader. As the president and visionary behind the ministry in 1981, David Oyedepo was many years later consecrated bishop of the global Pentecostal ministry in Kaduna, Nigeria.

³¹⁸ *Lombardijen* is the neighbourhood in the south-east area of Rotterdam.

drug addicts, people with psychological problems and young people with problems.”³¹⁹ According to the pastoral leader, *diakonia* is how the whole church community helps others in need in society.³²⁰ “Our main focus is to see people’s lives transformed to reflect the beauty of Christ.”³²¹ The stated vision of GCI “is to change to reflect the beauty of Christ in the lives of others” and their “mission is to form a community of believers who are victorious and active in the lives of others and the society in which they now live.”³²²

Though they serve the interests of many across the city, GCI is principally involved in ‘personal service’ and ‘community development’ diaconal activities in *Lombardijen*, the south-east area of Rotterdam. GCI is involved with a variety of different groups and organizations and demonstrates ‘bridging’ social capital.³²³ Its diaconal activities are the result of activities with people having different values from the small community that occupied the Roman Catholic Church before it relocated to the community centre nearby. GCI has built relationships with the local neighbourhood and other diaconal projects in which have demonstrated a strong commitment to the local neighbourhood.

The ‘bridging’ activities belong to the essence of the vision behind GCI. From its origins GCI began to reach indigenous Dutch people and in using Papiamento with children of migrants from the Dutch Antilles. The pastoral leader is involved with many indigenous Dutch-speaking groups and secular organizations such as the Community Centre where GCI meets. In providing used-clothes and food items GCI has worked in partnership with the charitable food-bank (*Voedselbank*), Mamre³²⁴ in supporting the uprooted and homeless, ROS³²⁵ in healthcare for

³¹⁹ Davelaar and van den Toorn, *Geloof aan het werk*, 176.

³²⁰ Onaolapo S. Asubiaro, interview by author, Rotterdam, 3 April 2012, written notes.

³²¹ Onaolapo S. Asubiaro, interview by author, Rotterdam, 3 April 2012, written notes.

³²² Calvert, *Gids*, 112. “Onze visie is om de levens van anderen te veranderen om de schoonheid van Christus te weerspiegelen. Ons missie is om een gemeenschap te vormen van victorieuze en gelovigen die actief zijn in de levens van anderen en de samenleving waarin zij nu wonen.”

³²³ Grant, *Gids*, 121.

³²⁴ *Mamre* is an ecumenical ministry to uprooted and homeless people providing a meal, respect and referral support and is based at the Scots International Church.

³²⁵ ROS = Stichting Rotterdams Ongedocumenteerden Steunpunt.

undocumented migrants and LOS³²⁶ to create wider awareness of HIV/AIDS among undocumented migrants and a variety of charitable organizations around the city. In GCI *diakonia* seemed to be something done in relationship to the pastoral leader. GCI's outlook was "to help, serve and assist the pastor in doing good works."³²⁷ The pastoral leader who is also the founder of GCI has a strong identity in the community. The pastoral leader's care and compassion together with his vision and mission become that of the community. In newly created MCCs it is not organizational but relational. He described that the focus for *diakonia* should be "low income people, widows, single mothers and teenagers who are without fathers at home."³²⁸ The homeless are catered for by two soup lunches per week when they are transported by bus from the local area of *Lombardijen, Slinge* and the city centre.

7.2.6 Alliance Messianique pour l'Evangelisation des Nations (AMEN)

Poverty and problems with being without certain documents has affected the families of many who attended MEFA and AMEN. An African and French-speaking identity that is largely first-generation and not Dutch-speaking has developed. Sunday services are predominantly Congolese and French-speaking (though they are highly flexible and will also use English and Lingala that are spoken across other countries). Members feel a kinship with one another as many in the community face difficulties in living in Rotterdam. The unmet needs of French-speaking African Christians create a field of service for AMEN. This community has survived several difficult experiences and been forced to move on three different occasions in the west of Rotterdam. On its last relocation, they demonstrated 'bonding' social capital when they changed their name. In the AMEN community there are deep needs which extend from

³²⁶ LOS = Stichting Landelijk Ongedocumenteerden Steunpunt.

³²⁷ Onaolapo S. Asubiaro, interview by author, Rotterdam, 3 April 2012, written notes.

³²⁸ Onaolapo S. Asubiaro, interview by author, Rotterdam, 3 April 2012, written notes.

individuals in need of residence permits or educational qualifications in order to get employment as technicians, engineers, medical practitioners and accountants.

Diaconal service of AMEN has been established through a charitable foundation that enables support to be given to those in greatest need in the area of Rotterdam. Through the pastoral leader it also possible for diaconal support to be given outside of the Netherlands. ‘Bonding’ social capital is clearly demonstrated because of the way that diaconal activities are directed towards people in its own community. The charitable foundation, though separate from the MCC, serves to strengthen it by providing for the needy persons and families within the community. There is also a strong trans-national aspect to the diaconal service in AMEN. The pastor of AMEN and his wife created a foundation to support street children and their education in Africa. In 2012 through this foundation AMEN was involved in the construction of a school in the Republic of the Congo and the pastoral leader was looking at projects in the United Kingdom and Kenya, the latter through a member of AMEN. In this way AMEN, as a young MCC, has been able to provide educational study materials and to improve toilet facilities in a school. The pastoral leader described the need to “help people materially but to act beyond it to the spiritual aspects of poverty.”³²⁹ The pastoral leader interprets poverty in specifically spiritual terms and reports many stories of transformation such as when drug addicts and alcoholics become servants of Christ find peace and contentment in their lives.

People who don’t know the Lord are in spiritual poverty. Matthew 4 v.4 reminds us that we do not live by bread alone. Those who are very poor can go the Salvation Army.³³⁰

³²⁹ Christoph Kalubi, interview by author, Rotterdam, 4 April 2012, written notes.

³³⁰ Christoph Kalubi, interview by author, Rotterdam, 11 April 2006, written notes.

When the MCC was known as MEFA, Christoph Kalubi established *La Sunamite*³³¹ under the legal structure of a foundation (or *stichting*) in order to have a charitable basis for social and diaconal service. Through the charitable foundation, AMEN is in a position to raise funds for food and serving meals. The foundation was established for holistic mission that combined both talking to and taking material help to the most needy.

A meal is way of attracting them but you can't speak about Jesus to people who are hungry. There is a proverb that says: 'Hungry stomachs have no ears.' So we feed them and speak about Jesus.³³²

The role of deacons is to serve and visit people in need as well as the practical aspects of worship. This has allowed AMEN to grow in its activities and relationships. AMEN is involved in 'personal service' *diakonia* to persons in need but has also been committed to 'community development' activities for local refugees and projects overseas. Diaconal service has been defined through the foundation *La Sunamite* which was registered with the Trade Centre to "visit people without families and bring trust and hope, consolation, friendship, someone to share your pain."³³³ The hope for *La Sunamite* is that it will be able within ten years to give street children and orphans the opportunity and rights of a basic education in villages of Bas-Congo and the hope of a better future.³³⁴ For six months the foundation took care of a family who were without a residence permit and did not have welfare for two years. The foundation was created on 10 June 2004 in Rotterdam upon fifteen gifts of fifty euros per month and other donations of up to 200 euros per month. With a budget of approximately one thousand euros

³³¹ The name of this foundation is derived from the Old Testament story of the respected Shunammite woman (2 Kings 4:8 – 37) who portrayed compassion, kindness and persistence.

³³² Christoph Kalubi, interview by author, Rotterdam, 11 April 2006, written notes.

³³³ This was posted on a brochure of Stichting *La Sunamite*.

³³⁴ Website for the Sunamite Foundation, <http://www.lasunamite.com/> accessed on 30 August 2016.

per month, the foundation has given support to women and young people and uprooted people who are seeking asylum in the Netherlands. “The foundation aims to primarily support street children and orphans and send them to school.”³³⁵

AMEN is a separate organization from the Sunamite Foundation which has enabled the visitation of people who are without family support and provided financial assistance to the poor. The latter involves care for homeless people and families who are outside the asylum procedure and without any welfare support. Women have been helped in learning the Dutch language and domestic skills while children have benefitted from visits to the theatre, music and dance lessons. The pastoral leader couple took on the feeding programme but, despite having a few helpers, had to give it up, in favour of AMEN in 2008 becoming a distribution centre for the *Voedselbank*.³³⁶ AMEN is a poor community but its members trust their pastoral leader and regularly sacrifice what they have for those in greater need. There is diaconal support through financial giving at AMEN where three offerings are regularly taken up on Sunday afternoons.

They face problems in learning the language and financial pressures to the extent that some do not know how long they can stay in the Netherlands. Yet, after the terrible tsunami in Sri Lanka, we collected five euros per adult and one euro per child in answer to an international appeal.³³⁷

The pastoral leader cited the *Pauluskerk*, a Protestant diaconal centre in Rotterdam, as the model of what should be done. “The biggest problem is the individual status of various church

³³⁵ “Stichting La Sunamite heeft als doel in eerste instantie straatkinderen en de wezen ondersteunen en naar school te sturen.” This was obtained from brochure “Stichting La Sunamite” and stated on the website.

³³⁶ Gwanmesia, *Blessings Under Pressure*, 28.

³³⁷ Christoph Kalubi, interview by author, Rotterdam, 4 April 2012, written notes.

members, some of whom are refugees with all the problems that are entailed.”³³⁸ AMEN demonstrates high ‘bonding’ capital for the French-speaking African Christian community through personal support and trans-national activities (connected to its members). The pastoral leader has developed relationships with officials in the districts of Delfshaven and Schiedam where AMEN has been located. He has developed a wide set of relationships with other African pastors (including non-French speaking ones). An example of an association of such ties is in the French-speaking network “Ministry of Victory Army the Adorators.” In Rotterdam Christoph Kalubi attends the platform for Pentecostal pastors (*Voorgangers Overleg Rotterdam*). AMEN has ecumenical relationships with other African churches and, when known as MEFA, was supported by the *Delfshaven Hervormde Kerk* in using the *Emmaus Kapel*.³³⁹ Recently their premises in Rotterdam West have been shared with another MCC but tensions have developed. However, the pastoral leader is involved with pastors and churches in Kenya, Nigeria, the United States, Nigeria, France, Spain, England and in the Netherlands.³⁴⁰ Christoph Kalubi believes in itinerant ministry and is “hoping in time to extend and to have impact in these countries.”³⁴¹ AMEN is involved in both local and trans-national development activities. It could be described (like GCI) as a model of “Regional Group (French-speaking African) working Trans-nationally.”

³³⁸ “Het grootste knelpunt is de individuele status van diverse gemeenteleden, een aantal van hen is vluchtelingen met alle problemen van dien.” Bijl, van Gils, Klinken and Zandee, *Migrantenkerken Rotterdam April 2003*.

³³⁹ Beukema, *Een kerk bekent kleur*, 73-74.

³⁴⁰ Christoph Kalubi, interviews by author, Rotterdam, 11 April 2006 and 4 April 2012, written notes.

³⁴¹ Christoph Kalubi, interview by author, Rotterdam, 4 April 2012, written notes.

7.3 REFLECTIONS ON CASE STUDIES

7.3.1 Social Capital

Diaconal activities that focus on the individual include direct service and advocacy on their behalf. Typical examples of service activities might be the provision of food and clothes (material support) or training in language and leadership skills (education). Advocacy would typically be carried out with those facing debt and health issues or adaptation programmes for ex-prisoners and undocumented persons. Diaconal activities that address the collective, such as the neighbourhood, include community development and organizing. Community development might address the specific needs of generational groups such as the elderly, youth or families. MCCs are instrumental in social projects that address people in the wider area. Community organizing activities that address issues of power could be designed to liberate people from addictive lifestyles or oppression from bad landlords. Examples of a wide range of *diakonia* by MCCs in Rotterdam are highlighted in the appendix.³⁴² Whereas *diakonia* in service and development retains control of resources, advocacy and organizing attempts to empower people to help themselves. It appears that all of the case studies are involved in different kinds of these diaconal activities.

From observing them and listening to their leaders, I saw how these MCCs served both individuals and the wider world beyond their community. I observed at least two types of *diakonia* in each case-study that were directed towards the individual and the collective. At the same time, I noticed differences in approach which I characterise as either dependency-driven or empowerment-driven. MCCs and their leaders seem to have a strong commitment to the individual and personal service. Five of the six case-studies are providing personal service and four of the six providing it on a community basis. The case studies exhibit a high degree of control and ownership of social resources. The majority are involved in direct service or serving

³⁴² Appendix III contains examples obtained from fieldwork observations conducted between 2003 and 2007 and indicate the variety of roles and activities beyond those in the case studies.

the community. They identify individuals or groups of people in need and find ways to act upon them. The best example that consistently modelled empowerment of others was in VOR. They used programmes that had served men and women with addictive habits elsewhere. Through them they sought to rehabilitate people by instilling a new mindset through close mentoring and training. UCPR through its pastoral couple also supported and coached individuals over specific issues. Both VOR and UCPR appear committed to enabling individuals or the wider community to act for themselves. Previously we noticed that VOR and UCPR are in a process of change in their leadership style and organizational structure.³⁴³

Social Capital is a measure of the resources that a community shares with other groups that are either 'like' or 'unlike' them. PCVRC has a traditional style of leadership and exhibits 'bonding' capital. PCVRC bonds the diverse multi-generational Cape Verdean community while it also uses the services of the diocese to work with others. MEB does not successfully bond across its multi-generational and aging community but through its denomination it 'bridges' with and develops relationships with other churches. Coleman recognised that the social capital in churches was often greater because they were inter-generational. "Religious organizations are among the few remaining organizations in society, beyond the family, that crosses generations."³⁴⁴ The other case studies have charismatic leaders who travel and network extensively. This is the situation in AMEN which also provides 'bonding' capital to bind the first generation in this French-speaking African community. AMEN is a low income first and second generational community. These first to second generation migrants appear to bond with people who are like themselves. This is reflected in AMEN and similar MCCs where

³⁴³ VOR moved to a more rational approach to leadership and became a regional centre for ministry within VOI's global movement. While moving slowly from a charismatic style, UCPR became a missionary congregation within the structures of PCN.

³⁴⁴ James S. Coleman, *Equality and Achievement in Education*, Boulder, 1990, 336.

“individuals often choose to participate in an immigrant or ethnic worship community because they enjoy the company of those like themselves and are proud of their ethnic heritage.”³⁴⁵

There are, however, MCCs where the Christian migrants build bridges with people who in ethnic terms are not like them. They projecting a self-identity as global Christians and create a communal transnational space where individuals find support.³⁴⁶ The pastoral leader plays a key role. In the case of GCI the charismatic leader, in looking for a place to meet, created ‘bridging’ capital through meeting with the district municipality, the local community centre, the Roman Catholic Church and support networks (e.g. SKIN and *Voorgangers Overleg Rotterdam*). It was such a leader who enabled VOR to provide ‘linking’ capital to serve the poor in the city and build new social programmes. Both VOR and UCPR are examples of ‘linking’ capital because they reach for relationships outside of their own kind with political and ecclesial power. Though they have not been without their difficulties, VOR built strong relationships with VOI headquarters in Los Angeles and the Rotterdam City Council. Through the latter, VOR has organised city councillors and pastoral leaders to serve a Christmas meal to the homeless annually. The pastoral leader has developed meaningful relationships with the Dutch leaders who served with the Church of Pakistan and the ambassador for Pakistan – and in this has demonstrated ‘linking’ capital. UCPR has drawn resources from church headquarters in Pakistan and the Netherlands to organize conferences to support Asian leaders in Europe and undertake acts of solidarity with the Pakistani Muslim community. These leaders were able to use their international organization and wider relationships to achieve their aims.

³⁴⁵ “The social capital of a worship community, however, is not just a sum of the social networks and resources of its members. It must also include the resources a community is able and willing to bring to bear as an organization on behalf of the needs of its members and non-members and the organizational linkages it enjoys.” Foley and Hoge, *Religion and the New Immigrants*, 211.

³⁴⁶ Haar, Gerrie ter, “Ritual as communication: a study of African Christian communities in the Bijlmer district of Amsterdam”, in Jan Platvoet and Karel van der Toorn, eds, *Pluralism and Identity*, Leiden, 1995, 133, 139, 141.

While social capital is evident in all case-studies, there are differences. PCVRC has a large volume of volunteers involved in its programmes and in social projects connected with Cape Verdean people of all ages in the west of Rotterdam. In another denominational MCC with a traditional type of leadership, volunteers from MEB visit the elderly alongside volunteers from the Suriname Roman Catholic parish. Continuity in this partnership depended heavily on the small number of volunteers but has since been discontinued. The support for Urdu people is heavily dependent upon the pastoral leader at UCPR whose relationships and networks create opportunities for the community to connect with Urdu Muslims in the Netherlands as well as with other Asian ministries. The pastoral leadership of VOR and its programme create opportunities for members to serve the local neighbourhood, wider urban area and in other cities. They connect with all kinds of people, not only migrants, but people with special needs such as addicts and families. In relationship with the local authority and other churches, the pastoral leader at GCI brings opportunities for volunteers to serve local people through the food-bank and youth events. The pastoral leader of AMEN, in promoting the ‘Sunamite’ foundation, creates opportunities for support of undocumented families in Rotterdam and of schools in the Congo. The foundation is controlled by a small group that includes the pastoral couple. In general, MCCs have been established for the spiritual welfare of migrant groups and in all of the case studies there are strong horizontal relationships. Most MCCs tend to cater for a specific people groups and their leaders are heavily vested in this.

Foley and Hoge demonstrated that religion generates social capital but it appears that the type and manner it is provided depends on the style of leadership. The organizational culture of the community affects the ability to provide social capital. Previously we considered how the style of leadership and organizational structure suggested that the nature of social capital could be affected by how religious authority operates. Weber’s leadership types offer a tool to look at how social capital is affected. ‘Traditional’ and ‘Charismatic’ styles of leadership differ

in how the members of the community are enabled and the kind of initiatives that are taken on by the pastoral leader. 'Rational' leadership enables greater transparency where the logistics of the organization and its programmes are clear for the community to see and follow. In general, charismatic types do not encourage initiatives to arise out of shared social interaction in the way that traditional or rational leaders may provide space for. The fact of social capital is not in question but its type appears related to the style of leadership. The traditional leaders of MCCs tend to exercise authority in a relational manner despite the hierarchical denomination structure behind them. Social capital is evident in the shared activities of their community. Charismatic leadership creates possibilities for social capital but arises mainly through the authority vested in the leadership rather than in the members. Charismatic leaders can be autocratic even as they work through their networks both 'for' and 'with' their migrant constituency. Both vertical and horizontal types of leadership are evident in MCCs where there are charismatic leadership types.

Foley and Hoge³⁴⁷ suggested that low income communities are disadvantaged in producing social capital because they have less contacts and resources. It has also been suggested that inward-looking communities are less likely to be involved public and secular activities.³⁴⁸ However, even where MCCs have low capital, individuals may become involved in local service within the neighbourhood. They add their knowledge/skills and their churches are remembered through the role played by their volunteers. Focus on the amount of social capital (quantitative approach) needs to be balanced by researching stories of social capital (qualitative approach). Social capital grows out of interaction with differing contexts, stories of development and types of leadership. Charismatic leaders share their networks and relationships as they cater for low-income groups. We noted how interfaith activities came from

³⁴⁷ Foley and Hoge, *Religion and the New Immigrants*, 44, 47, 111-113.

³⁴⁸ James S. Coleman, "Religious Social Capital: Its Nature, Social location, and Limits", in Corwin Smidt, ed, *Religion as Social Capital: Producing the Common Good*, Waco, 2003, 38.

a shared common heritage (e.g. Abrahamic religion) between the Pakistani mosque and UCPR. Community activities have been inspired by a leader's vision (e.g. weekly community support programme at GCI) and a leader's sense of space and locality (e.g. march against violence by VOR). From the type of social service and the numbers involved, the stories of people groups and pastoral leaders in MCCs are paramount in building trust and influence.

7.3.2 Transnational Activities

The social value of MCCs has been widely recognized as a blessing in Rotterdam and other cities but because they are different others feel they cannot be completely trusted and represent a threat to the way of life in the Netherlands. Though religious institutions have long made universal claims, questions persist about the loyalty of MCCs and how they traverse the boundary between global and local. Globalization with its increasing connections and disconnections is the prevailing context for the constructed identity of these MCCs.

Does community 'togetherness'³⁴⁹ stimulate and express itself in translocal and transnational social activities to the wider world? Some members of these transnational communities send resources to people in their homeland or to other cities where they have networks. It seems that Rotterdam offers space for the organization of their social and religious life. In this section we reflect on MCCs that maintain global connections and their trans-national identity in the city.

As the one of the best attended MCCs in the city, PCVRC has facilitated a variety of social initiatives for Cape Verdeans as well as large number of active groups and volunteers. While they do not obviously work with other churches, they use their strong diocesan contacts effectively. The priests and members of PCVRC have not so much isolated themselves from other organizations as become consumed by their trans-national religious corporation. The principal identity of PCVRC is for Cape Verdean people rather than to become an integrated

³⁴⁹ Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Modernity*, Cambridge, 2000, 99.

project. For the fragmented Cape Verdean identity, PCVRC has not only become an ‘eleventh island’ of the archipelago but a community where that identity can be put together again through their faith story and various activities with music and literature. PCVRC has initiated youth projects and courses in social care. They create the opportunities to attend funerals and pilgrimages in other countries. Their songs and traditions are remembered with the elderly because they are felt to be at risk. Though mainly resident in the west of Rotterdam, unemployment has dispersed men and women to find work. The older Cape Verdeans are encouraged to maintain relationships with their home island but the third generation seem to be less involved in religion and its transnational activities.

Sensitive to the needs of the hybridities within its Surinamese identity, MEB cares for them by working with statutory and other services in the city. Their transnational connections have formed through two migrations, both to and from Suriname. The European boards and other organizations within the denomination are supportive of initiatives towards support of minority groups (e.g. Javanese, Indian, Hindustani) contained in the Surinamese hybrid identity. In Rotterdam MEB has visited homes and held events for Surinamese people with volunteers of the *Petrus Donders Suriname Roman Catholic parish*. Elderly people attend *Ondra Bom*. As the first and second generations in the congregation get older, there appears to be a decline in transnational activities and numbers of volunteers. The Protestant ‘transnational corporate model’ has established national networks that bind religious communities of the same denomination across the world. People with hybrid identities in MEB find their Moravian Protestant identity to be a passport to ecclesial respectability across the world.

UCPR is a product of when the Church of Pakistan made representations to its partners in the Netherlands. For many years, the pastoral leader of UCPR visited similar groups of Urdu-speaking people in other European cities (such as London and Paris). In reaching out to the Pakistani mosque and the Ambassador in the Hague, UCPR became known for its care of other

Pakistani and Urdu-speakers. Families and couples regularly give towards the needs of people in Pakistan. As well as financial remittances, UCPR regularly hosts Christian conventions (around Asian identity) and campaigns (on issues of social injustice). The diaconal ministry of UCPR has been built upon the networks and friendships of the charismatic pastor rather than the polity of Reformed denominations. The mixed character of the Church of Pakistan lies in the background of UCPR and the charismatic style of the pastoral leader ensure that the path into the Reformed church will have its challenges. UCPR principally connects people from the Punjab region through the Urdu language and the cultural attraction of their drums, songs and food. It was not without criticism from Dutch partners and young Urdu people that UCPR has enabled a cosmopolitan religious and cultural identity in the Rotterdam area.

VOR has developed its identity around the programmes of *Victory Outreach International* (of which it is highly protective). In a different way from UCPR, it has moved from dependence on personal relationships to organizational ones. UCPR sought support from church headquarters in Pakistan and the Netherlands but the pastoral leader tended to operate freely. VOR built a strong relationship with VOI headquarters in Los Angeles and the City Council in Rotterdam. This also reflects the organizing culture of the United States where the headquarters is based in Los Angeles. It is a flexible specialization model because of the way it contextualises the policies from the organisation of *Victory Outreach International* which is in many countries of the world. Their mission is international and activities are transnational. VOR plays a key part in Europe as its own region where it has started and supported new centres in Berlin and Bucharest. It also sends delegates to international conferences and raises funds for them. It seems that changes in leadership can override expectations of how historical and renewalist MCCs operate. When we observe their social ties and leadership style, VOR and UCPR do not behave as historical and renewalist MCCs might be expected. Historical MCCs tend to have relationships that arise from their wider organization and infrastructure of the

denomination whereas the relationships developed by leaders of renewalist MCCs replace formal policies and agreements. In 6.3.1 we noted that the development of pastoral leaders in the case-studies highlighted the strength gained from transnational structure or relationships.

The pastoral leader of GCI has built relationships with international leaders working in Kiev (Ukraine), Bogota (Columbia) as well as his homeland of Nigeria. Though the mixed international community exhibits the flags of many nations, the pastoral leader is deeply involved in wider roles in the Netherlands (e.g. foodbank, SKIN, Assemblies of God). The ministries of GCI and AMEN are both models of regional groups working transnationally. They have developed from out of a wide set of personal relationships of their pastoral leaders and both GCI and AMEN use up to three or four languages each week. The two communities differ in that GCI is actively bridging with different groups whereas AMEN bonds around people with African and French-speaking identity. The people in AMEN regularly contribute to the ‘La Sunamite’ foundation which can support local and global projects. The pastoral leader at AMEN travels to plant new churches and diaconal projects including initiatives in Kenya and the Republic of the Congo.

Where MCCs occupy the same property as other MCCs or Dutch churches, multi-functional models of ministry can develop greater social ties³⁵⁰ though, in practice, these relationships are not always positive. Half of the case studies share a physical building with other MCCs.³⁵¹ MEB provides space in a traditional church building for the Holland Methodist Church, UCPR receives the same from the Bergsingel GKN Kerk whereas AMEN shares a

³⁵⁰ Three of these case-studies are involved with other MCCs in renting out or leasing space in which to have fellowship, worship and serve. *Thugz Church* currently rents space from VOR, the *Holland Methodist Church* from MEB while UCPR rents from the *Bergsingel Kerk* but these relationships do not necessarily appear to create more capacity. Competition and conflict easily arises between barriers of language and different values. New and greater capacity seems to result from a range of organizations, associations and networks represented through MCCs in Rotterdam. They range from traditional ecclesial denominations (e.g. the head office of the Roman Catholic Diocese) to worldwide ministry networks (e.g. VOI that formed at the end of the twentieth century). Informal networks or fellowships often arise out of a number of churches with a shared and specific vision. By means of city-wide associations, MCCs are able to create a means of communicating and self-actualizing in their local context.

³⁵¹ Grant, *Gids*, 181.

modern workspace with RCCG. New initiatives and projects appear to be driven as much, if not more, through personal relationships rather than organizational or contractual behaviour. Through personal relationships MCCs can form attachments which involves their identity being politicised and/or meet new movements involved in reconciliation and renewal activities from other countries.³⁵² From these case-studies it appears that in Rotterdam the role of the leaders is highly significant in fostering community ‘togetherness’ and a wider set of relationships. A question behind the related concept to social capital of social cohesion is why some communities are able to organize on common objectives and others cannot mobilize their resources. It is possible that diaconal activities may be driven as much through personal relationships rather than organizational or contractual behaviour.

7.4 CONCLUSION

All MCCs are involved in *diakonia* that is caring for individuals as well as larger groups and for people within their own communities as well as beyond them in the wider world. MCCs contribute social capital within a dynamic urban landscape as well as transnationally. The relationships that exist in and beyond these communities are fundamental to the social impact and diaconal roles. When we focus on the public service and diaconal activities contributed by these MCCs, it becomes clear that they should be treated as communities that are connecting and integrating and not simply as activists.³⁵³ These social communities need to be understood in their own terms. Their diaconal service can be measured and we can note the nature of their social activities. The KASKI report has already claimed that their contribution to city’s health and well-being represent a sizable amount of municipality’s expenditure. MCCs are active in public service through their leaders and inter-generational connections. The inter-generational

³⁵² Levitt, “*You know, Abraham was really the first immigrant*”, 12-13.

³⁵³ Another companion term ‘spiritual capital’ has been coined to connect spirituality and religious faith with civic service. This attempt to build a bridge between religious studies and the social sciences requires further research to be undertaken to better distinguish spiritual from social capital.

nature of MCCs enabled them to serve those who most need it and their display of concern goes beyond kinship. Some MCCs recruit and organise large numbers of volunteers and others call upon substantial gifts to meet social needs in or beyond their community.

Both the direction and amount of capital invested in others could indicate a movement in these case studies from private religion (where one might imagine isolated religious migrants to be) to public religion (actively investing in people in need in their communities, local area, wider city or other countries). The leaders of MCCs have a significant role in building social capital. In two of the case-studies, however, they did not behave in the way that I expected having observed the wider field. They seemed to be investing in a style of public service that empowered others. One example was the planning and participating in a public protest against drug availability in the city and another was in an ‘inter-faith’ protest concerning acts of murder inspired by religious hatred. One MCC sought to organise with the City Council, police and local agencies and the other sought to work with their country’s ambassador, other Asian churches and the local mosque. In both cases, it represented an investment in personal relationships rather than in formal agreements. Their ties enabled them to undertake these public roles and for their voice was heard in Rotterdam and Pakistan. The leaders and members of these MCCs have built significant social capital and in the process their members have been empowered.

Though the case-studies are in a state of flux, these pastoral leaders demonstrate that their communities have a positive role in providing social service within the city. It is not at all obvious that MCCs as low income communities are disadvantaged (following Foley and Hoge) in producing social capital. The type of capital can be affected but not the commitment to serve. They demonstrate examples of bonding, bridging and linking social capital. When it comes to the delivery of social service, however, there often appears to be a relationship of dependency with the client. The perceived need to retain control of resources could be related to a marginal

identity. As new MCCs become established beyond the first generation they can grow in trust and awareness of others. Bonding capital may then develop into bridging or linking capital. The two case studies that exhibit 'linking' capital are reaching for relationships beyond other MCCs in order to engage with political and ecclesial power.

Reliance upon such relationships and informal ties create greater capacity to act on their fast-changing urban environments. They are highly involved in Rotterdam's inner-city areas and in other global urban centres where they have established relationships. The majority of their pastoral leaders do not have large incomes but they travel inside and outside of the Netherlands in order to serve MCCs in other cities. Not only is the number of these communities increasing in number but these leaders are in a position to channel resources, locally and globally, where they are most needed. Their transnational behaviour also seems to be affecting how others in these MCCs contextualize in the city. Whatever the type of transnational religious organization, these MCCs provide trans-national space and create for their members a second opportunity structure alongside that of the local context. Where their members are mainly first and second generation migrants, they are often connected through their relationships and resources to other cities. The direction of their *diakonia*, partly towards the new context and partly through transnational links, could feature more prominently.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

8.1 THE PROBLEM

Modern migration has accelerated the movement of new people and new religious expressions in Rotterdam. This has, among other things, resulted in the establishment of migrant Christian communities. From observing the case-studies and the wider field, it appears that some MCCs arose after their leaders had tried to join local churches while others came about through initiatives from Christians/churches on other continents. Rotterdam has a history of religious migrants but the scale of growth of recent MCCs represents a new and significant phenomenon. The Christian faith communities commonly experienced difficulties in getting established. Their leaders from Asia, Africa and South America struggled to find a foothold in this new urban world. They did not easily connect with the historical Christian traditions in the Netherlands and appeared out of step with the prevailing understanding of church and society.

Migrant Christian communities in the Netherlands have been the subject of academic inquiry since the 1990s, though attention on MCCs in Rotterdam is more recent. In describing MCCs researchers have struggled with terminology and categorizations. By the end of the twentieth century ‘allochtone’ was felt to be disrespectful to newcomers coming from the so-called ‘developing world’ and from those global regions where the Netherlands has had historical interests. The term *allochtone kerken* thereupon changed to *migranten kerken* as a description for the increasing number of worship communities whose leaders/members came from other countries. As the number of migrants increased and their access to state welfare grew, the term ‘migrant’ also gained a negative connotation, associated with those who potentially threatened the way of life in the Netherlands. Simultaneously, in academia the term ‘migrant’ was subject to critical inquiry, eloquently highlighted by Steven Vertovec’s notion of super-diversity. Following two high-profile assassinations, immigration became a heightened

political issue in the Netherlands and the term ‘migrant church’ began to fall out of favour. Also, though the number of MCCs in Rotterdam continued to grow rapidly, few employ ‘migrant’ as a marker of their identity. Some MCCs aligned themselves with established denominations while others promoted themselves as new movements or ‘international’ communities.

This thesis has been a quest for language and categories that adequately describes MCCs in a manner that does justice to their multifaceted nature and identity. Most studies on MCCs have taken an ‘etic’ approach to the field. In the social and behavioural sciences, ‘emic’ and ‘etic’ refer to two kinds of field research. ‘Emic’ views have arisen from within the group whereas ‘etic’ views were formed by observers outside of the group. Acquainted with studies on religion and migration, I did not feel at ease with other observers whose descriptions were simply couched in terms of ethnicity or a common land of origin. I found these terms unhelpful because they did not connect with how most MCCs described themselves. I did not know how to ascribe their identity but neither container concepts such as ethnicity nor nationality seemed to do justice to these multi-faceted communities that offered a spiritual home for migrants in Rotterdam. The fact that several of these MCCs were projecting themselves as missionary movements also suggested that something interesting was taking place in terms of identity construction.

My interest was to understand what happens to religious identity when migrants form or join these ‘migrant churches.’ I sensed that some MCCs adopted traditional concepts of church as ‘historical’ while others created ‘renewalist’ images of themselves.

Some MCCs appear to operate from the traditions and practices of a historic denomination while others represent the special interests of a new group with worldwide connections. MCCs can vary between religious organizations that make decisions within a political structure or religious-social family networks where decision-making takes place by

dominant leaders. My quest has been to search for adequate ways and terms to describe their identity. I took an ‘emic’ approach as my starting point: How do these groups express their values and vision to others? How do others identify with them? Do they relate to life in the port city or back to their countries of origin? Who do they connect with and how do they contribute to life in Rotterdam? On the basis of those findings, I endeavoured to find or refine theory to describe them.

In order to study the diversity among MCCs and their multifaceted identities, I selected six case studies which reflected the diversity of the field and employed the ecclesial frames of fellowship (*koinonia*), proclamation (*kerygma*) and service (*diakonia*) by which study, compare and contrast them. *Koinonia* was studied through the lenses of context and development, *kerygma* through the lenses of nomenclature and leadership whilst *diakonia* was studied through the lens of social service.

8.2 IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN MCCs

8.2.1 IDENTITY IN KOINONIA

Identity in *koinonia* is about observing MCCs in their context and development. The new context for this wide field of MCCs is not a simple or settled one. They have different backgrounds and their context also includes the historical events/influences and socio-economic conditions that affect them. In one case-study growing feelings of marginality may be related to a lack of government support whereas in another case-study it may be more related to the process of economic migration where people of different faiths have arrived from the same region of the world. I learned that context is not a single place because the leaders and members of MCCs invest in other cities and regions where their kin and spiritual families are based. It also became clear that it is better to think of the new context as an interactive process,

as both the communities (because of generational issues or new members) and the context change. Some leaders and members have projected and fought for their identity through the way they use music, food and other cultural artefacts. Cultural features in the group's life and background (such as soup or songs) can be influential in building up identity. Researchers have picked up on this by using ethnic categories to describe MCCs, but as I demonstrated, the category of ethnicity is not sophisticated enough to capture the dynamics within a community. I have therefore, adapting Rockquemore's theory on bi-racial identity, proposed to work with the notions of 'particular', 'merging' and 'multiform' identities. During the research I also observe the interplay between the membership composition of MCCs and their language politics, concluding that it is the choice and use of language that appears to set the direction.

As 'resident aliens' in Rotterdam, MCCs can neither afford to retreat into a ghetto or become uncritically absorbed into their host context. For these faith communities, language is an important 'carrier' of identity – whether it has been picked up from historical and colonial influences or from globalization and the internet. It acts both as badge and bridge of identity. Where language is used as a badge of identity, it expresses an exclusive element of identity as well as represent certain cultural (behavioural) elements. Where language is used more as a bridge, the use of the Dutch language together with other major languages can be seen as a sign of a 'double' adaptation – both to the host country and to the wider world.

I have observed how MCCs can take on different forms as a result of the different ways in which language is employed. In these case studies, language use has profoundly shaped their particular, merged or multiform identities. The dominant role of one language often leads to the buttressing or development of a *particular* identity. The dominant use of an indigenous language enables *merged* identities whereas the creative use of other languages alongside the indigenous one leads *multiform* communities to develop. The way that language(s) is used tends

to shape the composition of the community and is a dominant feature in the development of MCCs and their identity.

The search for physical and social space involves the need to interact with other churches and MCCs as well as with the local authorities. When renting space to or from another, it appears to be necessary to create distance between different cultural groups (for example, when MCCs use the same space for worship, cooking and eating together or when sound from one area of the building penetrates another). Where space is shared, the manner of the interactions may range between the experience of tension through basic cordiality and warm friendship. Splits within new MCCs are not uncommon. The level of financial commitment required to rent space can become an issue in relationships when the size of the MCC diminishes. When MCCs change their location to find more suitable space, they may also change their name.

Drawing on the works of Castells, Schreier and Levitt, I developed the terms of authorization, accommodation and agitation to describe their tactics of interaction. These tactics have had an influence as to whether and how long MCCs would increase, survive or diversify. In all but one of the case studies, agitation was the principal tactic used. While the pastoral leaders were often the chief actors, there were occasions when the stimulus to agitate came from the parent organisation or from the wider membership. Leaders and members of MCCs need to act and create their own space as they experience their new context of Rotterdam as foreign. In seeking for their own space and identity, MCCs do not always behave in ways consistent with the oft desired process of integration. Agitation became the principal behavioural tactic and suggests that development takes place as a response to a set of circumstances rather than by an attempt to impose them. I observed how new or creative expressions can come about from the agitation process.

The three terms are obviously of limited value since five out of the six case studies demonstrated agitation as their principal mode of behaviour and how they interact. Future research needs to look at what takes place in the agitation process. It seems that action by the leader or members against 'the other' is often undertaken to simply change the conditions.

8.2.2 IDENTITY IN KERYGMA

Identity in *kerygma* is about observing how MCCs express themselves. Their names and titles indicate whether these communities are 'structural' (around a pre-eminent organization) or 'intimate' (around a dominant ideal or vision). This distinction seems to reflect the basic contrast between the 'historical' and 'renewalist.' Alongside an analysis of nomenclature on the lines of 'structural versus intimate', the choice of language, the option whether or not to identify as a church and the MCCs' own aspirations regarding context and transnational connections prove to be important signifiers of identity. Most MCCs are heavily influenced by their pastoral leaders and it is not unusual for them to be under the influence of their founding leader for a long time. A change of pastoral leader or location can, for this reason, signal a change in identity.

The case studies suggest that a new title might indicate a change in how they invest their resources in the local area, the city, the region or the wider world. It is apparent that MCCs are not narrow ethnic constituencies. Their names indicate awareness of globalization in a variety of languages. Many MCCs disavow the ethnic labels that are used of them by local observers. Their public titles often point to a wider identity where they vary from trans-national actors, worldwide associations, international networks, diasporas or global communities with branches on other continents.

These case studies reveal world-related imagery in MCCs and indicate that a new contextualization may be taking place as their leaders give priority to the global community and

the promotion of a biblical worldview. If the contextualization of a migrant church involves an indigenising movement (coming into step) and a pilgrim movement (becoming out of step) in society, their use of biblical nomenclature suggests pastoral leaders see their identity more as pilgrims in the world rather than citizens of a country. The creation of networks and associations by leaders of MCCs suggests that there may be a felt-need for self-actualisation into a new global urban context.

A 'pilgrim' identity can be constructed upon a wide set of interests indicated in their public statements. When MCCs continue into their third generation of leadership, they often settle into 'indigenous' ways. Their migrant identity imposed by some observers can come into tension with their 'projected' pilgrim identity. With ongoing contextualization of the leaders and their communities their public titles or mission statements become modified. Over three generations they can lose or maintain the cult of being 'other' or 'migrant.' MCCs travel on a pilgrim path in their first three generations during which they construct an identity in relationship with its context which includes the city and its churches. It has become apparent that the use of migrant terminology, which was created to describe how migrants find a 'home away from home' or 'safe haven', cannot be permanent and is ultimately pejorative. Their identity is better described according to way they behave and relate to their context and to others rather than upon any essentialist categories. In a global world of 'super-diversity' it is possible that different kinds of people may identify with them and so create multiform communities. They are multifaceted communities with multiple identities which differ in their composition, generational cohorts and use of languages.

In describing MCCs as 'historical' or 'renewalist' in their vision and values, I saw a behavioural and psychological difference between those leaders who were connected with an existing structure and those who were called to be new actors. The challenge for leaders and members who are tied to structure is to become actors whereas those in less-structured

communities need to build relationships through which they can express their faith and vision. As the leader and members establish their own community, a change in the traditional or charismatic style of leadership may take place when the group enters into wider relationships. The use of Weberian categories for contrasting styles of leadership (traditional, rational or charismatic) offers a way of identifying reasons for change. Two MCCs and their leaders who had been active in Rotterdam for over twenty years may illustrate this. One leader finds himself moving from being charismatic to rational in an attempt to provide transparency and participation. The move from charismatic to rational style of leadership was necessary as his renewalist MCC developed its mission and statements from the structure and organisation of its international headquarters (the original parent body is in the United States). Another leader finds himself moving from traditional to charismatic as his historical MCC tried to hold to maintain a particular identity while being adopted by the Protestant Churches in the Netherlands (the original parent body is in Pakistan). A final observation is that among renewalist churches leadership is often shared between husband and wife where there is an understanding of specific ministries and roles for each partner.

8.2.3 IDENTITY IN DIAKONIA

Identity in *diakonia* is about observing how communities relate to others and serve others. Terminology from social capital proved a useful tool in describing their diaconal activities. Their relationships can be described as with those who are ‘like’ them (bonding), with those ‘unlike’ them (bridging) or with those ‘above’ them (linking). A large amount of social capital appears to be invested by these MCCs in their members and in relationships outside their community. In terms of the direction of social capital invested, MCCs may represent a new movement from private to public religion in the port city. MCCs may be considered to be a safe space for its migrant members to learn how participate in the public sphere. They have need of

the opportunity to engage in serving others. Having identified with a larger group and enjoy its 'safe haven' of fellowship, its migrant members learn how to bond, bridge or link in with higher authorities. They may endeavour to bond with multi-generational cohorts, bridge with other communities or link with other religious groups or secular powers. Though the case-studies are in a state of flux, these they clearly demonstrate that their communities have a positive role in providing social service within the city. Though low-income communities, it is not at all obvious that MCC are disadvantaged (following Foley and Hoge) in producing social capital. The type of capital can be affected but not the commitment to serve. They demonstrate numerous examples of bonding, bridging and linking social capital.

Their leaders appear to be central to creating social capacity in MCCs. The leadership also seems to have a significant role in building social cohesion. It appears that they develop weak rather than strong ties and personal relationships rather than formal agreements. Following Zijderveld's theory concerning organizational structure and Granovetter on social cohesion, further research could be made into how MCCs (as well as churches and other faith communities) operate over time as 'thick' or 'thin' organizations and networks. In terms of diaconal service, its delivery and direction tend to focus on those in the need in their group, within the city of Rotterdam and/or in other world cities or centres.

These migrant leaders are transnational actors in more than one country and want to make a contribution to the society where they are. The direction where they channel their resources differs as they empower people, make local connections and modify their context. They maintain transnational relationships and interests through their leaders and members who are highly mobile in the way they travel, communicate and live on a daily basis. They operate trans-nationally as they make commitments and invest in people who live in other centres of the world. The structure of each MCCs affects the way the group operates but all of these case-studies can be identified as trans-national in their relationships and activities.

8.2.4 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This thesis presents a study of identity construction. Within the arduous and often traumatic experience of migration, identity which is often formed in relationship to ‘the other’, is something that is precious but also open to modification. This study has sought to understand these processes. Several conceptual tools have been suggested for observing MCCs that can be focus for further reflection and discussion whether from ‘emic’ or ‘etic’ perspectives. We have recognised that some MCCs are more ready to contextualise and become more indigenous. Some members have agitated against certain ways in which they use language(s) and cultural artefacts. Some find ways to maintain their particular identity through use of specific languages and some maintain a multi-faceted character around a special interest (e.g. international or Moravian). One of these ways is through service expressed in trans-national relationships that may be accompanied by a kind of trans-national behaviour. Technology and travel has affected the way that people see the world, commit their time and invest their resources. Migrant leaders may be in touch with more than one locality but the longevity of pastoral leaders of MCCs is a notable expression of commitment to Rotterdam and its local neighbourhoods.

The perception that local churches and denominations in the Netherlands have of MCCs is in need of revision. This is especially the case where the use of ethnic-centred definitions is still current. While migration brings new people groups and religious communities into the city, there is need for a new vocabulary that values their presence and contribution. In a period when there is concern about loss of national identity and calls for clearer boundaries, it is better to avoid ethnic essentialism and to recognise MCCs by studying how they behave, what they say and how they serve.

I have indicated that we need new tools to interpret their composition, behaviour, leadership, statements and service. Though they are in a process of change, I contend that both

renewalist and historical MCCs seek to understand themselves as new pilgrim expressions or as modern missionary movements. They have demonstrated themselves to be social communities rather than merely social activists. The phenomenon of MCCs in Rotterdam's urban context, moreover, suggests that religion thrives in the experience of the 'pilgrim' or 'sojourner'.

As a sociological and religious phenomenon in Rotterdam, they deserve to be studied in a cross-disciplinary approach. The first MCCs in Rotterdam served a multi-generational group of migrants and showed themselves as particular or merging in their composition. In recent times, there is a trend for many MCCs to assume a multiform identity that is not dominated by any one group or by national boundaries. The aphorism that 'eleven o'clock Sunday morning is the most segregated hour' has been challenged and even turned on its head by the phenomenon of MCCs in Rotterdam. Martin Luther King was suggesting that in the United States of America in his life-time most African-Americans worshipped in communities that were composed of their own black people. Church growth experts went further to suggest that most people prefer to worship without crossing racial, linguistic or class barriers. In Rotterdam, many MCCs tell a different story where the manner, in which they describe who they are, what their mission is and how they carry it, is a mixed and interactive one with Rotterdam and the world.

APPENDIX I: Letter to Melake Selam Abba Tesfa Mariam Lake in Abudabi from Abba

Paulos, the Patriarch of Ethiopia, on 14 January 2005



Ref. No. P15/220/97
Date 14-1-2005

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ሊቀ ጳጳስ ዘአክሱም ወዕጫጌ ዘመንበረ
ተክለ ሃይማኖት
ABBA PAULOS
Patriarch of Ethiopia, Archbishop of
Axum and Echegue of the see of
St. Tekle Haimanot

Melake Selam Abba Tesfa Mariam Lake
Head of EOTC and Administrator of
Abudabi Debre Selam Holy Savior Church
Abudabi

The Parish Council Office of the Netherlands Debre Mewa St. Gabriel EOTC has written a letter dated December 28th 2004 በቁ.ደ.መ/ቀ/ገ/1/0/97 requesting to write you letter of transfer so that you would serve the followers of EOTC in Netherlands Amsterdam and Belgium - Brussels as head and permanent priest giving spiritual and social services.

In Accordance with the request you are transferred from united Arab Emeriates and assigned to serve in Netherlands - Amsterdam, Brussels - Belgium, as the head and permanent priest of EOTC earning the monthly salary allocated for the position effective January 9th 2005.

Therefore based on the Kale Awad, Canonical Proclamation of our Church, you are expected to fulfil the following duties.

- Spreading the Gospel,
- Strengthening the Parish Council,
- Organizing Sunday Schools,
- Accelerating Development Activities of the church,
- Coordinating, teaching, and giving religious services for the Ethiopians in Diaspora so that they live in harmony with their faith and noble culture.

We hope you will bring fruitful results by fulfilling the religious duties entrusted upon you.

God bless Ethiopia

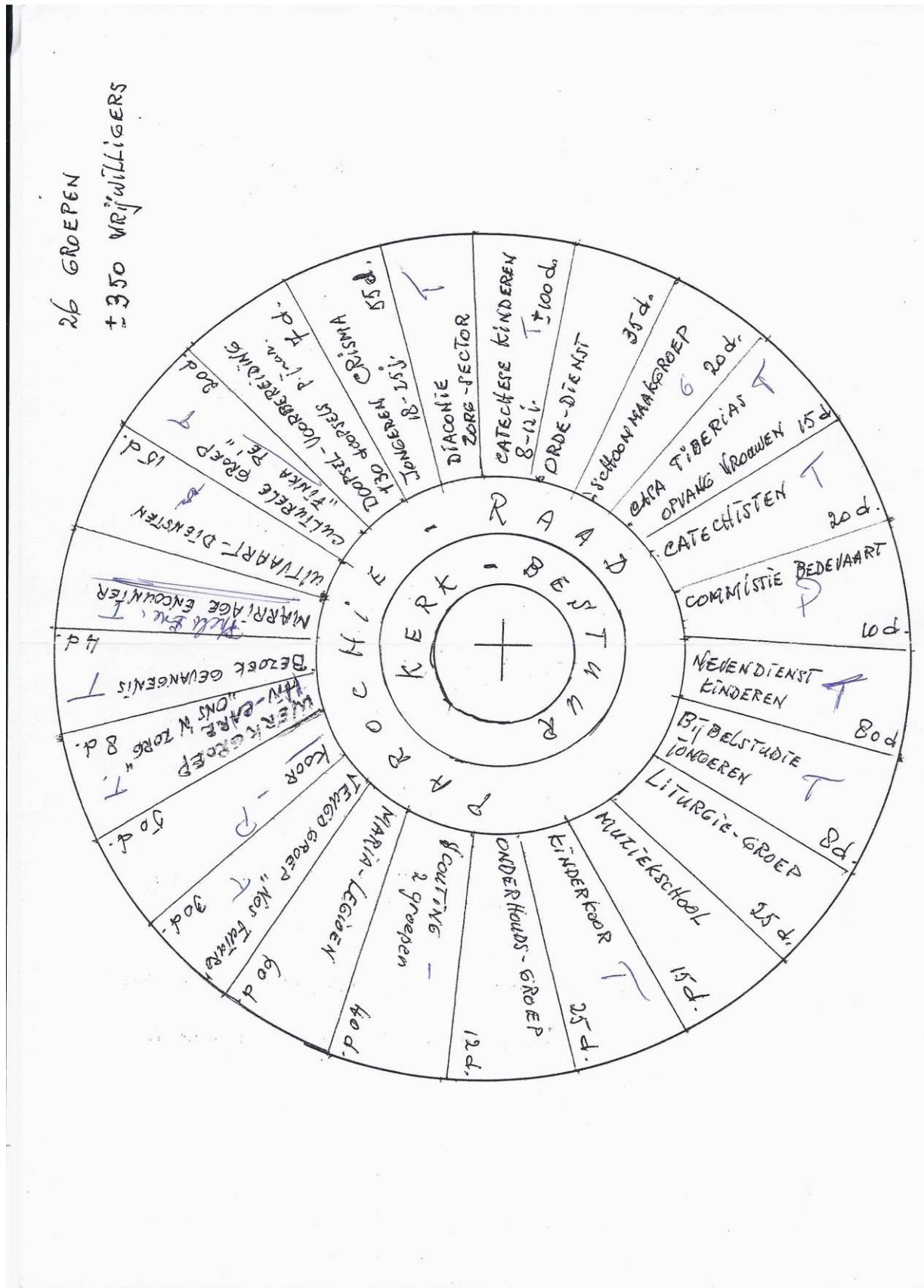
- C.C.
- Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
General Patriarchate
Addis Abeba
 - Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
Embassy in Netherlands
 - Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church
Parish Council in Netherlands
Amsterdam
 - Netherlands Debre Mewa St. Gabriel EOTC Administrator Office
 - Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Embassy in Belgium
 - EOTC Parish Council Office in Belgium
Belgium



Handwritten signature of Abba Paulos

አባ ጳውሎስ
ፓትርያርክ ርእሰ ሊቃነ ጳጳሳት ዘኢትዮጵያ
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ተክለ ሃይማኖት
Abba Paulos
Patriarch of Ethiopia, Archbishop of
Axum and Echegue of the See of
St. Tekle Haimanot

APPENDIX II: 'Wheel' of voluntary groups and activities that make up PCVRC



APPENDIX III: Diaconal service: relationship to those in need against direction of help

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| Relationship to those in need | Dependency | Personal Service | Community Development |
| | Empowerment | Personal Advocacy | Community Organizing |
| | | Individual | Collective |
| | | Direction of help | |

APPENDIX IV: Examples of *diakonia* in the field of MCCs in Rotterdam

(1) Service as *diakonia*

The Nigerian-initiated *Redeemed Christian Church of God* in Schiedam has a project called ‘Soul Kitchen’ where they prepare food and hand out clothes. The church is located in a community centre where they erect stalls on Queen’s Day and offer music and dance. In a similar ministry, the pastor of *Christian Family International* estimates that “about two hundred people pass through our hands including drug addicts who come here in order to get clothes and food.”¹

The port of Rotterdam calls for special attention to seafarers but another major change is that there are more Asian and African seafarers employed on ships sailing under European flags of convenience. In 2002 the Hope International Baptist Church registered the “African Seamans’ Assistance Network” (A.S.A.N.) as a charitable foundation. A young Ghanaian member of the church sought to make contact with African seaman. Newspapers, books, clothing and prayers are constantly welcomed. Other members of the church became involved in the management group of what was claimed to be the first African Seaman’s Mission in Europe. Lutheran Seaman’s churches from Nordic Europe were established in the twentieth century with a specific civic role in providing services to seafarers in the world port. In recent years tight security and checking procedures on one hand and less docking time for seafarers often stationed a long way from the city centre on the other have made their role more exacting. Though the Finnish Seaman’s Lutheran Church does not have a liturgy in Rotterdam every Sunday, its centre is open with a Finnish shop, café and sauna. Along with other Scandinavian Seamen’s churches their centres promote features of their national identity together with their

¹ Nana Opuku, interview by author, Rotterdam, 21 March 2005, written notes.

Lutheran traditions. In the last decade fewer seafarers visited the centre because of harbour and work restrictions and the centre has attracted more Finnish lorry-drivers than seafarers. Approximately 1500 per year ships sailing under the Danish flag were visited in port. Since the people belonging to this Danish community are more than three generations in the Netherlands, the Danish centre offers a variety of activities from lectures, concerts, traditional celebrations, meetings for Danish 'au pairs' and clubs for youth, ladies and men, sewing club and language lessons. All Seaman's churches are being challenged to modify their activities while continuing to try to serve the group they were originally established for. The Norwegian Church visited six hundred ships in 2005 but the priest commented "we deal less and less with seafarers and need to cooperate more with other Scandinavian churches."² The Norwegian centre serves students and young professionals who work for international companies together with Norwegian lorry drivers who can wash and have breakfast there.

(2) Advocacy as *diakonia*

A South African female elder in the Scots International Church visited the local health centre with a Congolese man who was suffering from severe abdominal pain. The statutory health service provider (GGD) refused at first to examine the man because he was not insured. With her language ability and knowledge of Dutch healthcare, the health service was persuaded that there was a system to care of him and that his condition warranted examination. People working in civic services can lack knowledge of their own systems that provide for, in this case, undocumented persons. There is therefore an essential educational aspect to advocacy that is required to challenge systems and enable people to communicate clearly and directly. The Eritrean Orthodox Church is associated with a foundation EGRO³ which is an association in

² Harald Sirnes, interview by author, Rotterdam, 20 July 2004, written notes.

³ Eritrees Gemeenschap Rotterdam Omgeving.

which most of its members are involved. There are no regular meetings but the association provides important information (e.g. passing on information about tuberculosis from the GGD health service). The Portuguese-speaking *Comunidad Christa Amsterdam & Rotterdam* is working with immigrant people and has forged a good relationship with the Brazilian consulate to obtain help with documents and legal advice and with an organization (IOM) which assists in paying for tickets and social work. The pastor of *Global Endtimes Generational Ministries* has been on a multicultural advisory group for the mayor of Eindhoven and given valuable support for projects on matters such as children and buildings.

People in poverty tend to live in cities and new forms of MCC tend to attract many on low incomes. Debt counselling is a necessary adjunct to the redistribution of furniture, refrigerators and washing machines to those who are in most need in the congregation at EICC. Levels of debt are a major concern to the pastor of EICC who compares living with debt in Rotterdam with his Asian experience: “In Japan you are required to have several thousand euros before credit is made available, but in the Netherlands, debt among young and low income people is particularly serious and banks should bear more responsibility.”⁴ The Dutch-led WM church helped people in the church who had financial problems by addressing the problem with other actors. “We are involved in debt counseling where it is as much as six or seven thousand euros involved and we try to offer help through the community.”⁵ Ethical and spiritual issues are often identified behind problems of debt where people cannot pay their rent and are threatened of being put out of their homes. It is possible to address these issues directly for those who are connected with MCCs. They are not only encouraged to pay debts back but provided with a larger picture and structure for their future lifestyle.

⁴ Jan Sjoerd Pasterkamp, interview by author, Rotterdam, 29 April 2004, written notes.

⁵ Dudley Monart, interview by author, Rotterdam, 5 April 2005, written notes.

In the church bible school, we tell them what the bible says about finance, how to tithe and how to get out of a problem. A lady who comes to church used to buy new clothes all the time. She had large debts until she understood about the Lord's view of managing your life. Now she saves and is not in debt. We show people that at the grocery store you buy what you need and not what you see.⁶

There are complex spiritual and emotional issues in advocacy work. The pastor of the first West African-initiated MCC, *Potter's Hand New Covenant Word International Ministries*, described how he faced problems of prostitution and people trafficking.

Women come out of prostitution were bound by evil spirits in Africa. They were covenanted to evil spirits in Africa and become afraid to die. I talk them out of their lost self-esteem and through private counseling encourage them not to be afraid of those spirits. They are able to stand and are encouraged to lodge a complaint against the traffickers. Fear alone can kill you. We take the fear out and give them faith. Healing and driving out spirits are dealt with one by one.⁷

(3) Development as *diakonia*

The *House of Hope* was established as a diaconal project of the *International Christian Fellowship* to build relationships of strength in the Tarwewijk neighbourhood. When asked 'How can we serve you?', people responded by describing their main needs as a lack of something to do, their children, drug addiction and a lack of connectedness and cohesion in the community. An open-house was started to provide a place where people can live, eat and

⁶ Dudley Monart, interview by author, Rotterdam, 5 April 2005, written notes.

⁷ Samuel Antiri, interview by author, Rotterdam, 4 April 2005, written notes.

discover community. About fifty people once a week use their food bank which is connected to the *Voedselbank*.⁸

Two initiatives working with vulnerable and undocumented people are ‘Plexat’ by members of the community of the *Roman Catholic Holy Trinity Church*, and ‘Mamre’ as an ecumenical project initiated by the *Scots International Church*. The Plexat project was initiated by Fr. Joop Visser and offers a house where refugees and those in process (especially the most vulnerable such as women and children) can have temporary accommodation and time to reflect. Volunteers will go shopping with people in the Plexat project or take them to the zoo. After consulting widely with professional agencies, the Mamre project began in 2000 as a hospitality initiative for uprooted people who were newcomers to the city. The hospitality meal and related activities in the church hall are supplemented with counselling, referrals, clothes, theatre, sport and special support groups.

It is notable that new MCCs with few material resources regularly envision having a centre to which the people they cater for can receive more holistic support. The Ethiopian diaspora in the Netherlands brings many calls for social assistance and though there is an Ethiopian Community Association with an office in Middelandstraat that offers some support, the Ethiopian pastor of *Mehaber Christian Church* spoke of his hopes to develop a ‘cultural centre’ to reach Amharic-speaking peoples and others.

We would provide social and legal help. Immigrant children are a bit behind educationally and we want to help them. We have teachers and people with an educational background who can help with language-learning... women’s counselling and legal advice could be freely available. It is very important to give good information to immigrants.⁹

⁸ Theo Visser, interview by author, Rotterdam, 4 October 2004, written notes.

⁹ Sony Shiferaw, interview by author, Rotterdam, 29 June 2004, written notes.

Many children's programmes are attended by children of new migrants and an example of this is the 'Super Power Children's Club' which meets every Saturday. In 1968 the *Filadelfia Church* building of FC was erected in the south of the city and twenty years later a youth wing was added. Several MCCs and local churches are co-operating in this initiative where children from forty-one nations are regularly attending. This development project recognizes the extreme challenges of poverty and related issues facing young people in the city. In the club, support, treatment and advice is available to both children and their parents.

(4) Organizing as *diakonia*

In 1998 the local resident's association of Cool and police highlighted problems of anti-social behaviour by several gangs of young people in the local neighbourhood. Through the relationship of the *Scots International Church* with the 'Atlantic Bridge' Christian youth agency, the community welcomed a 'Step dance' team from New York who engaged with troublesome young people. The success of the venture led to the team returning and working with other groups of young people in other areas of the city. This model of youth ministry was replicated elsewhere. Pastoral leaders of *Abundant Grace Ministries* noticed that the central issues facing young people were the increase in crime and drug addiction. "There has been dangerous fighting between rival gangs between the Indonesian Maluku tribe and a Dutch group" and in response to the perceived lack of activities for young people, AGM want to "start godly loving activity in the community such as a dance group."¹⁰

Some of the best organizing ministries are with migrant youth in the city. The Christian para-church organization "Youth with a Mission" established a project known as 'The Mall' to

¹⁰ Rose Fer, interview by author, Rotterdam, 31 May 2005, written notes.

organize after-school care and a community presence. Following the success of the centre with Antillean youth in the *Millinxbuurt* of Rotterdam South, the project was replicated in other areas of the city and with other ethnic groups. One youth worker, Setkin Sies, working with migrant young people described his experience:

We are in close contact with a group of twenty-five and thirty Antillean young people who are mostly from single parent homes, low social backgrounds and most have skipped school. One thirty-five year old was only in primary school and most of them are involved in criminal activity. They have low self-esteem, unemployed and have large debts. The longest here is between eight and nine years and before he was in Curacao living on the street. The girls are more motivated than the boys and don't have big problems. Having a child when you are seventeen years old is manageable. Most of the young people are between fifteen and thirty years old, speak Papiamentu and only a little Dutch. They are ashamed of their poor language and of making mistakes.¹¹

¹¹ Setkin Sies, interview by author, Rotterdam, 5 April 2006, written notes.

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SUMMARY IN DUTCH

Vanaf eind twintigste eeuw begon ik mij te realiseren dat Christelijke migrantengemeenschappen (CMGs) een nieuw en belangrijk fenomeen waren geworden in Rotterdam. In vier opeenvolgende jaren van interviews en veldwerk begon ik te zoeken naar analytische handvaten en categorieën om deze gemeenschappen te duiden. Om dit fenomeen te onderzoeken heb ik gebruik gemaakt van kwalitatieve onderzoeksmethoden waarmee ik CMGs in het stadsgewest Rotterdam heb onderzocht. Gedurende de periode 2003-2007 heb ik semi-structureerde interviews met meer dan zestig pastorale leiders gehouden en als deelnemer-waarnemer in hun bijeenkomsten geparticipeerd. Op basis daarvan heb zes CMGs gekozen als case-studies, die ik beschouw als representatief voor het veld. De veldwerkdata van deze case-studies heb ik geanalyseerd met theorieën uit de gebieden congregational studies en sociologie.

In het recente verleden is duidelijk geworden dat het gebruik van denominationele en etnisch/ raciale categorieën ontoereikend is om het fenomeen CMGs te bestuderen. Bovendien hebben de leiders van deze CMGs de term ‘migrant’ verworpen en willen beschouwd worden als ‘internationale’ gemeenschappen. Deze dissertatie onderzoekt op welke wijze CMGs een positieve identiteit construeren in een land dat hen vreemd is.

Hoofdstuk Een schetst de achtergrond van de onderzoeksvraag. Specifieke aandacht gaat uit naar de methode en bronnen die gebruikt zijn, en de vraag hoe het onderzoeksprobleem zich verhoudt tot de bredere academische discussies. Het onderzoek richt zich specifiek op de zoektocht naar categorieën die ons kunnen helpen om de identiteiten van en onderlinge verschillen tussen het groeiende aantal CMGs in Rotterdam te begrijpen.

Hoofdstuk Twee introduceert Rotterdam als een stad van migranten en als een stad die CMGs heeft ontvangen sinds het einde van de zestiende eeuw. Er wordt aandacht besteed aan recente economische en politieke aspecten van Rotterdam waarna een historisch en religieus overzicht wordt gegeven van hoe Christelijke migranten en migranten met andere

geloofsachtergronden zich hebben gevestigd in de havenstad. Rotterdam is een caleidoscopische ‘stad van aankomst’.

Hoofdstuk Drie schetst de variëteit aan uitingen binnen de wereldkerk, en vestigt de aandacht op de mismatch tussen traditionele ecclesiologische categorieën en nieuwe bewegingen die opgekomen zijn in dit tijdperk van wereldwijde migratie. In een bespreking van terminologie introduceer ik de door mij gehanteerde concepten van ‘historische’ en ‘vernieuwende’ (‘renewalist’) CMGs, en geef vervolgens een overzicht van hoe die verschillende tradities eruit zien in Rotterdam. Daarna worden zes case-studies (drie ‘historisch’ en drie ‘vernieuwend’) gepresenteerd, die de basis vormen voor dit onderzoek naar hoe deze gemeenschappen hun identiteit constueren.

Hoofdstuk Vier behandelt de theoretische aspecten die aan groepsidentiteiten ten grondslag liggen, in het bijzonder die van etniciteit, taal en generatie. Waar het de constructie van groepsidentiteit betreft, presenteer ik een analytische benadering die gebaseerd is op de methodologie van Michael Foley en Dean Hoge in de Verenigde Staten en Sjoukje Wartena in Nederland. Door middel van de drie raamwerken van koinonia, kerygma and diakonia, schets ik vervolgens de gebruikte vijf lenzen van context en ontwikkeling (binnen koinonia), leiderschap en publieke uitspraken (binnen kerygma) en maatschappelijke dienstverlening (binnen diakonia) en de theoretische overwegingen die deze impliceren.

Hoofdstuk Vijf gebruikt het raamwerk van koinonia (fellowship) om naar CMGs te kijken door de lenzen van context en ontwikkeling. Economische en politieke factoren (de context) zijn van invloed hoe gemeenschappen zich gedragen tijdens openbare bijeenkomsten en viering. Een typologie gebaseerd op een studie over bi-rationale identiteit is zodanig aangepast dat deze helpt om de ethnische samenstelling van gemeenschappen te duiden. Verdere reflectie identificeert drie basale categorieën van samenstelling van CMGs: specifiek (particular),

vermengend (merging) en veelvormig (multiform). De samenstelling van CMGs verandert door interactie met de context.

Voor het duiden van de ontwikkeling van CMGs wordt van een drievoudige typologie gebruikt gemaakt, die gebaseerd is op het werk van Castells, Schreiter en Levitt. Deze typologie helpt bij het duiden van gedrag in het ontwikkelen en vestigen van groepsidentiteit. Verdere reflectie identificeert drie typen gedrag: autoritair (authoritarian), inschikkelijk (accommodative) en agitatie (agitation). Mij viel op dat agitatie, geïnitieerd door de leiders en/of leden, een tactiek is die met enige regelmaat wordt ingezet om een 'nis' identiteit te creëren of om de relatie tegenover de moederorganisatie (hetzij een denominatie, hetzij een beweging) te herdefiniëren. Cruciale aspecten van identiteitsconstructie bleken het gebruik van taal te zijn, de relaties tussen de verschillende generationele cohorten binnen een gemeenschap, en de zoektocht naar ruimte (hetzij fysiek danwel sociaal). De context en ontwikkeling van CMGs wordt op cruciale wijze beïnvloed door zowel het gebruik van taal (of talen) als ook door de uitdaging van krapte op de markt wat betreft ruimte.

Hoofdstuk Zes gebruikt het raamwerk van kerygma (verkondiging) om te kijken naar CMGs door de lenzen van leiderschap en nomenclatuur. Waar het leiderschap betreft, heb ik bestudeerd hoe leiders zich verhouden tot hun gemeenschappen; daarbij heb ik gebruik gemaakt van Weber's typologie van zogenaamde traditionele, rationele en charismatische stijlen. Verdere reflectie op hoe sommige leiders hun leiderschapsstijl aanpassen en veranderen, omvat ook observaties over werving, training en rollen binnen leiderschap.

De nomenclatuur van CMGs is bestudeerd met behulp van de publieke titels en doelstellingen (mission statements) die zowel op de leider als de groep betrekking hebben, als ook op het proces van identiteitsvorming. Verdere bestudering van hoe deze titels worden gevormd, laat verschillende typen van betrokkenheid zien (hetzij ten opzichte van de moederorganisatie, hetzij ten opzichte van de lokale mensen hetzij ten aanzien zien

transnationale connecties). De leiders van CMGs fungeren als ‘ankers’ binnen hun gemeenschap en ‘acteurs’ binnen het schouwspel dat zich ontvouwt.

Hoofdstuk Zeven gebruikt het raamwerk van diakonia (maatschappelijke dienstverlening) om CMGs te bekijken door de lens van hun publieke activiteiten en relaties. In hun publieke activiteiten gebruik ik de zogenaamde social capital theory wat betreft samenbindend (bonding), overbruggend (bridging) en verbindend (linking) om een inschatting te maken van de richting en impact van het handelen en gedrag van CMGs. Ook sta ik stil bij de noties van op social capital en bij transnationale activiteiten. Met betrekking tot social capital nam ik waar hoe CMGs hulpbronnen delen met andere groepen (of die nu wel of niet op hen ‘lijken’) en dat er een link lijkt te zijn tussen het type social capital de leiderschapstijl. Wat betreft transnationale activiteiten lijken CMGs belangen in en verbindingen met andere steden en landen te hebben. Ik nam waar dat daar waar leiders banden hadden met leiders van andere CMGs of lokale kerken in Rotterdam, er sprake was van gedeelde belangen en maatschappelijke verbondenheid. Omdat persoonlijke relaties hierin een belangrijke rol spelen, beveel ik aan dat er aanvullend onderzoek nodig is naar de sociale cohesie. CMGs zijn voortdurend in beweging (in a state of flux). Hun vermogen om dienstbaar en invloedrijk te zijn in de stad lijkt verbonden te zijn met de persoonlijke relaties en informele banden van hun leiders.

Hoofdstuk Acht concludeert dat het vraagstuk van identiteitsconstructies in CMGs gerelateerd is aan de politieke en socio-economische context en aan het gedrag van de leiding in relatie tot gemeenschap, de moederorganisatie en transnationale connecties. Etnische en ecclesiologische categorieën voor CMGs in Rotterdam moeten kritisch worden bevraagd vanuit een ‘emic’ perspectief dat hun verhaal en bijdrage waardeert. Dit proefschrift is een zoektocht naar nieuwe conceptuele en analytische categorieën voor het beschrijven van de identiteit van CMGs gebaseerd op de manier waarop ze zichzelf begrijpen en presenteren. Het aanvankelijke onderscheid dat ik aanbracht tussen ‘historische’ en ‘vernieuwende’ CMGs kan wel ten dele de

gedragmatige en psychologische verschillen tussen CMGs (en lokale kerken) verklaren, maar vormen niet het hele verhaal. De groei en ontwikkeling van CMGs is in grote mate het gevolg van de toegenomen wereldwijde migratie en de toegenomen persoonlijke banden tussen lokale leiders. Terwijl dit schouwspel van CMGs in Rotterdam zich steeds verder ontvouwt, constateert dit onderzoek veranderingen in leiderschapsstijlen, toegenomen mogelijkheden om hen te dienen die hulpbehoevend zijn, het ter discussie stellen van de verminderde fysieke of sociale ruimte en leden van CMGs die leven vanuit transnationale relaties. Het lijkt erop dat, zowel wat betreft CMGs als wat betreft lokale kerken, religie opbloeit vanuit de ervaring van het 'pelgrim' zijn.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Robert Alasdair Calvert was born on 22 September 1955 in Portsmouth, England, before his family moved north in 1960 and settled in Langholm, Scotland. Like his father, Robert was ordained as a minister of the Church of Scotland. Since 1983 he has served three city congregations: Glasgow, Drumchapel St. Mark's (for twelve years), the Scots International Church Rotterdam (for nineteen years) and the Steeple Church Dundee (since 2014). He gained the degrees of Bachelor of Science at the University of Dundee (1974-77), Bachelor of Divinity (with honours) at the University of Edinburgh (1979-82) and Doctor of Ministry at the Eastern Baptist Seminary, Philadelphia (1998-2000). Since the turn of the twenty-first century, Robert has been a board member of SKIN (*Samen Kerken in Nederlands*) which represents the interests of MCCs in the Netherlands. He was a founder member of the board of SKIN-Rotterdam and published the first guide to MCCs in Rotterdam in 2007 (at the conclusion of the fieldwork for this thesis). Since 2001 Robert has co-ordinated the 'Cities' Hope for Europe network for the European Evangelical Alliance and has been invited to organize consultations in many European cities. He has served on the international 'Board of Regents' for the Bakke Graduate University, Seattle, from 2002 to 2012 and regularly lectures on 'Urban Ministry' at the Tyndale Theological Seminary, Amsterdam. Robert is married to Lesley-Ann and live in Dundee, Scotland, where they first met. They have four children, Simeon, Zoe, Benjamin and Daniel who together with their seven grand-children live as far apart as the Netherlands and California.

Quaestiones Infinitae

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