

The Dutch Evangelical Movement

The social and cultural influences on its growth



Arjan Schoemaker

S0991023

Leiden, January 2015

Master: Religion, Culture and Society
Leiden University Centre for the Study of Religion

Supervisor: Dr. Willem Hofstee

Second reader: Prof. Dr. E.G.E. van der Wall



Universiteit Leiden

The Dutch Evangelical Movement

The social and cultural influences on its growth

Leiden, January 2015

Photo front page: cip.nl

Content

Preface.....	3
1. Introduction.....	4
2. Social theories and the Evangelical movement.....	8
2.1. The evangelical movement as a New Religious Movement.....	8
2.2. The evangelical movement and secularization	10
2.2.1. The attritionist theory	11
2.2.2. The atrabilious theory	11
2.3. The evangelical movement and the Rational Choice Theory	13
2.4. Religious individualism	15
2.5. Evangelical Religion as lived and subjective	17
2.6. Conclusion	19
3. The Netherlands 1945-1980.....	20
3.1. A time of reconstruction (1945-1950).....	20
3.2. The civil fifties 1950-1959	22
3.2.1. The Cold War and the American connection	22
3.2.2. Pillarization in the 1950's	24
3.3. The Sixties.....	26
3.3.1. Growing prosperity and education.....	26
3.3.2. The world opens up: Television.....	28
3.3.3. Youth culture	28
3.3.4. De-pillarization and re-pillarization.....	29
3.4. Conclusion	30
4. Developments in the Evangelical Movement 1945 - 1980.....	31
4.1. The dawning period of the Evangelical Movement 1945-1965	32
4.1.1. Youth for Christ: a youth movement.....	32
4.1.2. Billy Graham: the Christian Kennedy.....	35
4.1.3. Tommy Lee Osborn: a faith 'healer'	38
4.2. Towards a movement (sub-pillar) – 1965-1980	39

4.2.1. Ben Hoekendijk: an evangelical entrepreneur	40
4.2.2. Mission Organizations	41
4.2.3. Evangelical broadcasting company	43
4.2.4. Evangelical Higher Education	44
4.3. Conclusion	45
5. Conclusions.....	47
Bibliography.....	51

Preface

In the four and a half years I have been working for EA-EZA (a merger of the Evangelical Alliance and Evangelical Missionary Alliance) I have seen many evangelical organizations that celebrated their fortieth or fiftieth anniversary. I have asked myself the question many times, why so many evangelical organizations started in the period roughly from the mid-fifties till the mid-seventies of the twentieth century. This research looks into the cultural and social factors that stimulated the growth of the evangelical movement after the Second World War in The Netherlands. This thesis contributes also to the answer of the question: how the religious landscape in The Netherlands has changed in the second half of the twentieth century and how these changes and the growth of the evangelical movement are connected with each other.

There are several people I want to thank for their support while conducting the research. First of all my thanks goes to Dr. Wim Hofstee for guiding me through the process of writing this thesis, with his useful remarks and insides. At the same time my thanks goes to Prof. Dr. Ernestien van der Wall for reading the thesis as the second reader. I also want to thank Tim Herbert who did an excellent job in correcting the English. Special thanks goes to Otto de Bruijne, Hans Keijzer, Peter Vlug, Ben Hoekendijk, Koos van Delden, Evert van de Poll and Bert Doorenbos who were more than willing to share their perspectives on the growth of the evangelical movement in the Netherlands and answered many of my questions. In this context I also want to thank Laura Dijkhuizen who gave valuable suggestions. I also want to thank my directors at EA-EZA Adri Veldwijk and Jan Wessels for the possibility to arrange my working schedule in a way I could complete this thesis. Last but definitely not least I want to thank my lovely wife Simone and my children, Tom, Tirza and Thijs for having patience with me and for giving me the opportunity to study at the university and to finish this thesis.

1. Introduction

Dutch religious landscape has changed tremendously after the Second World War. The 1947 census (Volkstelling 1947, 1947, p. 5) shows that eighty three percent of the population claimed to belong to a Christian denomination. In 1979 this number had decreased to fifty seven percent. (Dekker, Hart, & Peters, 1997, p. 12). In over thirty years the percentage of people not adhering to a church had more than doubled. This decrease in church adherence and attendance had already started at the end of the nineteenth century but accelerated significantly in the sixties and seventies of the twentieth century.

The American Professor of History at the free university of Amsterdam, James Kennedy, points out that the religious developments in post-war Netherlands can be divided into three periods: The first twenty years, 1945 – 1965, were the heydays of pillarization in Dutch society. The following twenty years, 1965-1985 can be characterized as religion as engagement and solidarity. These years were followed by a return to spirituality from 1985 (Kennedy, 2005, pp. 33-39). As often with classifications, this division of years might lead people to think that changes happened overnight. This ‘fortunately’ did not happen, as church attendance kept decreasing during the whole period.

But although there is a decrease of adherence in the traditional churches like the Catholic and Dutch reformed church, a new Christian movement started to appear after the War whose influence is felt in many churches today: the Evangelical and Pentecostal movement. Many evangelical foundations, which still exist, were established in the sixties or seventies, as there are the Evangelical Bible School, The Evangelical Broadcasting Company, The Evangelical Alliance, and The Evangelical Missionary Alliance, and many other para-church organizations, to name just a few. The Evangelical Address Guide (*Evangelische Adressengids*)¹ published by the Revival foundation (*Stichting Opwekking*) notes 1200 churches, 286 mission organizations and many others; from health care to evangelical holiday organizations.

How is it possible that, in a time of decreasing church adherence and church attendance, these organizations were founded, at the end of the sixties and in the beginning of the seventies and that the number of evangelical churches, mostly independent, were growing? The prime movers are to be found in social and cultural changes that occurred in the sixties; the democratization, individualization, rationalization and secularization, as we will see. The leading men of the movement would say: ‘the time was ripe for God to pour out His Holy Spirit on the Netherlands.’ (Vlug, 2014) (Hoekendijk, 2014). I leave that to them to say, but what was the motivation of these men and

¹ <http://www.evangelischeadressengids.nl/site/> (consulted 14 November 2014)

women, by whom were they influenced and what happened in Dutch society that made this growth possible? And what does that say about the religious changes in the Dutch society? These are the key questions of this thesis. Before the War the evangelical movement could only be found in relation to some independent small denominations like the Baptists, The Salvation Army, the Brethren, a small number of Pentecostals and in the para-church movement of Johannes de Heer, with his foundation the Searchlight (*Het Zoeklicht*).

But let me first answer the question: What exactly is the evangelical movement? What do I mean by it? Which characteristics does evangelicalism have? This is in itself a difficult question to answer. Especially in Dutch, the term evangelical (*evangelisch*) is not easy to define, because there are a lot of evangelical (*evangelische*) churches, and every one of them is different in appearance and in content. On the other hand there are people within the traditional churches, who would call themselves evangelical (*evangelisch*) without adhering to an evangelical church. The same is true for the term 'Pentecostal': what is it and who belongs to it? And are evangelicalism and Pentecostalism the same? The roots of evangelicalism go back to the reformation, to protestant pietism, the holiness movement and other orthodox groups (Klaver, 2008, p. 146). The word evangelical is used to designate the group of protestant Christians, who lay a strong focus on the authority of the Bible, on Jesus as redeemer through His crucifixion and resurrection, on the call for personal conversion, on a personal relation with Jesus and on social engagement (Klaver, 2008, p. 147). Miranda Klaver, anthropologist and theologian at the Free University of Amsterdam, suggests that a sociological definition is more appropriate than a theological definition because evangelicalism is an undercurrent in Christianity and often far from the official doctrines of the traditional church (Klaver, 2008, p. 147). A personal conversion is essential for an evangelical Christian, to repent from his or her sins and accept the offer Christ has made, and believing in the resurrection is crucial. The Pentecostals have added something to the conversion narrative. That is that after conversion, you have to be baptized with the Holy Spirit, which is expressed by speaking in tongues, meaning speaking an unknown, for the one pronouncing it, 'heavenly' language. One other feature of Pentecostalism is the emphasis on miracles like healing. Anderson suggests in his research of Pentecostalism using the family resemblance analogy (Anderson, 2010, p. 40), as it is hard to fit Pentecostalism into one definition, through its appearances in different forms, as is for Evangelicalism, but they all share the characteristics as mentioned above. Anton Harskamp, emeritus professor of social and cultural anthropology at Free University in Amsterdam, sees evangelicalism as the mainstream and Pentecostalism as a variant of evangelicalism (Harskamp, 2000, p. 135). In the book 'Handbook for Christian Netherlands' (*Handboek Christelijk Nederland*) the authors make a very detailed division between the different churches and organizations (Hoekstra & Ipenburg, 2008) From Pentecostal to the Holiness movement and from Evangelical to the End Time movement, and

though there are significant differences between these groups, they all have the specifications given by Miranda Klaver in common. A personal relationship with Christ, authority of the bible and mostly socially engaged. Hoekstra and Ipenburg do not make clear at all why they make the divisions and it seems they make the division in the evangelical and Pentecostal churches on an arbitrary basis and are definitely not exhaustive in listing the independent churches. On the basis of the broad definition all these organizations and churches belong to the wider evangelical movement. As mentioned before one observes people in traditional churches or in so called home churches that would qualify as evangelicals because they meet the criteria of the definition. So it seems appropriate to talk about a movement instead of a denomination, because evangelicals are not only in churches that call themselves evangelical or Pentecostal but also in for example the Revival Conference (*Opwekkingsconferentie*), where people from many different denominations are present. In the rest of my thesis I will talk about the evangelical movement and only mention Pentecostal when that is necessary for the argument.

The central question for this thesis is:

What social and cultural developments/factors stimulated the growth of the evangelical movement after 1945 and what does it say about the religious changes in Dutch society?

To conduct the research I have made use of the religion definition of Clifford Geertz who says: "Religion is a system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic (Geertz, 2008, p. 59)." In Geertz definition religion is a cultural system. Cultures form and create religion and when, as in this thesis, we are looking for what social developments might have stimulated the growth of the evangelical movement, Geertz' definition seems appropriate to the research question.

To answer the research question I have studied books² on the Dutch culture and developments in Dutch society after the War, starting with a focus on the socio-economic situation after the war, the Cold-War and the American connection, the pillarization and de-pillarization of society, and the Sixties. I further studied books³ on Dutch evangelicalism, and books⁴ on social

² Among others: *De eindeloze jaren zestig* – Hans Righart, *Verzuiling, pacificatie en kentering in de Nederlandse Politiek* – A. Lijphart, *Na de bevrijding* – Ad van Liempt, *Nederland, Links en de Koude Oorlog* – Joost Divendal a.o., *Four Centuries of Dutch-American relations* – Hans Krabbendam a.o.

³ Among others: *Wandelen in het licht* – H.C. Stoffels, *Een ondernemende beweging* – S.J. Vellinga.

⁴ Among others: *Acts of Faith* – Stark & Finke, *Lived Religion* – Meredith McGuire, *Religion and Social Theory* – Bryan S. Turner, *The sociology of religious movements* – Bainbridge, *Tussen stigma en charisma* – Paul Schnabel

theories of religious change and new religious movements. Besides literature study I have held seven open interviews with leading men⁵ in the evangelical movement, who were involved in founding several organizations. These interviews have been open interviews on purpose, because I wanted to hear their stories and deduce from them the historical links and compare these with what happened in society at large. I am aware of the fact that by interviewing men from inside the movement the image they give can be coloured by their religious perception. I have compensated for that by reading what scholars have said about the same issues.

To be able to answer the research question I will provide a theoretical framework in the second chapter, in which I discuss the concept of a new religious movement. Further an analysis of the secularization thesis, with special attention to the Rational Choice Theory of Stark & Finke, is laid out. The chapter finishes with the concept of 'Lived Religion' and the 'subjective turn' in society. I will argue that all of the concepts play an important role in the appearance and growth of the evangelical movement.

In the third chapter I will discuss the developments that took place in Dutch society from 1945 till the end of the seventies. This is the period when the evangelical movement started to appear and attract people. Attention will be given to the period after the War and the Cold War. Because the fifties are characterized as the heydays of Dutch pillarization, this concept will be discussed in particular. Extra attention will be given to the developments in The Sixties which have become the symbolic age of protest and liberation. How did these societal developments influence the evangelical movement?

The forth chapter will look at developments in the movement itself from a small insignificant movement to a strong and vibrant movement or sub-pillar in the protestant pillar of society. Attention will be given to Youth for Christ, Billy Graham, Tommy Lee Osborn, Ben Hoekendijk, several missionary organisations, the Evangelical Bible schools and the EO. There are many more to be mentioned, and some of them will be, but the names mentioned above have made the evangelical movement known to a wider public, have become 'iconic' for the movement and were inspiring for many others to follow their lead.

In the concluding fifth chapter I will summarize the findings of the research and give an answer to the research question and give recommendations for further research.

⁵ Otto de Bruijne – Artist, speaker, former director of Tear Fund Holland and program maker for the EO; Hans Keijzer – Founder and former director of the Evangelical Missionary Alliance; Ben Hoekendijk – Founder and former director of 'Ben Hoekendijks Evangelizations Campaigns' now the Revival Foundation (Stichting Opwekking); Peter Vlug – Former director of 'Stichting Opwekking'; Evert van der Poll – professor of religious studies and missiology ETF Leuven; Bert Doorenbos – Former director of the Evangelical Broadcasting company (EO) and director of 'Stichting Schreeuw om Leven'; Koos van Delden – Founder and former director of the 'Evangelische Hogeschool' in Amersfoort.

2. Social theories and the Evangelical movement

In the introductory chapter I proposed a working definition of the Evangelical movement. But how do we have to interpret the movement, what social and cultural development in Dutch culture stimulated its growth? And what does it say about the changes in the religious landscape in the Netherlands? To be able to answer these questions we need a theoretical framework. So before diving into the movement and the social and cultural circumstances that might have stimulated its growth, I will first discuss several social theories in order to provide a theoretical framework to which I will refer in this thesis when analysing the growth and attractiveness of the movement. In the first part I will introduce the concept of new religious movements voiced by, among others, Paul Schnabel and William Bainbridge, and the church-sect opposition question, to be able to place the movement in the spectrum of religious expressions. In the second part I will introduce different theories about religious change and how to research religion. The time under research is known as a time of secularisation and individualization, both concepts I will discuss together. Special attention will be given to the Rational Choice Theory of Rodney Stark & Roger Finke. I will argue that this theory is a special theory about the growth and decline of religious groups and movements and not a general theory and that it is therefore suitable to analyse the evangelical movement in The Netherlands. Lastly I will introduce Meredith McGuire's theory of researching religion as 'lived' as individual. I will do this in relation to the spiritual revolution and subjective turn in society as described by Paul Heelas & Linda Woodhead, as both theories put the individual or the self in the centre of its own religiosity.

2.1. The evangelical movement as a New Religious Movement

Where do we locate the evangelical movement in the whole spectrum of religious expressions? William S. Bainbridge, an American sociologist, has written at length about new religious movements. His analysis of the church-sect distinctions has been used by others like Paul Schnabel, a Dutch sociologist, to make a distinction between a church and its dissenting groups, called sects. He argues, that sects are groups, that stand in the same cultural tradition as the established churches, but are more intense and are in high-tension with their sociocultural environment (Bainbridge, 1997). Sects can be a result of schisms with the traditional churches or can be renewal movements.

Another characteristic of a sect is, that it withdraws itself from the surrounding world and has limited or no connection with the secular power, where a church has accepted the sociocultural environment and supports the secular power structures and its values (Stark & Bainbridge, 1979, p.

123). On a bell-curve of church-sect and their tension to the world the different groups can move up and down in time. A sect that starts as a high-tension group can in time become a low-tension church, as is the case with, for example, the Methodist church (Bainbridge, 1997).

The word sect, however, arouses negative connotations and is labelled with presuppositions and so the preferable term to describe sects would be 'new religious movements'. Schnabel states: "A New religious movement seem to be a fairly neutral term and offers enough to include the typical sects and the client cults (Schnabel, 1982, p. 84)." From this point on, I will therefore write about new religious movements instead of sects.

It seems that we can call the evangelical movement a new religious movement based on the outline given by Bainbridge and Schnabel. It is a deviant movement of an old religious tradition, namely protestant Christianity, that was capable of attracting adherents from different traditional denominations. In the period under research we will see that the movement stood in high tension with its sociocultural environment, especially with the traditional churches, and it had hardly any ties with the secular power.

As the evangelical movement can be seen as a new religious movement the question arises how the movement functions. Bainbridge talks about new religious movements as innovating and transforming groups. The innovating aspect deals here with the question of how the message of a movement is diffused in a certain environment or culture and how and especially why people would choose to affiliate with a movement: the religious affiliation question? The transforming aspect deals with the consequences of religious affiliation. How are people morally changed by the movement : the religious morality question (Bainbridge, 1997).

Bainbridge elaborates extensively on both aspects in his book 'The Sociology of Religious Movements (1997)'. He concludes the chapter on religious affiliation by arguing that in order to be successful as a religious movement, the movement needs to refer to concepts that are already known to possible adherents. But the message must be new enough to diffuse a message that it is something really new and better than the previous (Bainbridge, 1997, p. 177). Paul Schnabel seems to affirm this view in his dissertation, when he argues that new movements with Hindu roots are too alien compared to the religious traditions in the West to expect significant growth in the near future (Schnabel, 1982, p. 72). At the same time he sees growth potential for the new evangelical groups like Youth for Christ, Navigators and Campus Crusades which are new forms of an old tradition.

Concerning the moral question, Bainbridge concludes that religion is capable of changing people but that its changing power is not always clear and straightforward. It is for Bainbridge clear that the changing power of religion highly depends whether or not the believer is capable of embedding his faith in a network of community ties (Bainbridge, 1997, p. 298). Bainbridge does not

deny that individual faith can change a person but a social stimulating environment can increase the changing influence.

Both religious affiliation and religious morality will be referred to in the third and fourth chapter, in which the key historical developments in Dutch society and the evangelical movement will be described. A research of new religious movement should be done as Bryan Wilson states: "...in the social context in which it emerges and grows, as an expression of modernity, of radical contemporaneity, as well as a participatory reaction to it (Wilson, 1981, p. 229)." We will now turn to the social theories about religion, how it changes and how to look at religion from a sociological point of view.

2.2. The evangelical movement and secularization

A research of religious change in the Netherlands without discussing the secularization thesis is not complete. It is argued that Dutch society after World War II, and especially since the sixties of the twentieth century, becomes more and more secular. In research done, the Netherlands, together with Scandinavian countries and the Czech Republic, figures on top of the list of secularized countries in Europe.⁶ But what is actually understood by the term secularization?

The classic theory of secularization is the idea that through modernization religious adherence and religious institutions will diminish or will become of lesser importance to people. Fichter, a Catholic sociologist, argues that, "in the broadest term secularity is a negation of the spiritual and an affirmation of the material. (Fichter, 1983, p. 22)" The result is secularization and the religious institutions, the church, will have lesser influence on the daily life of people. It was Peter Berger, who in his book *The Sacred Canopy*, launched (or better re-launched) the classic theory of secularization in 1969. Through industrialization and modern living, people would not need their gods, rituals and moral community codes any more.

Different views on secularization exist. In the extreme view religion will ultimately disappear, because of scientific progress. This has been advocated by August Comte, the French philosopher (Furseth & Repstad, 2010, p. 84). However, today few sociologists think religion will completely disappear in favour of science. What remains are the moderate secularization thesis and those who critic the validity of the secularization thesis.

Bryan Turner, professor of sociology at the University of Western Sydney, states that, "secularization divides sociology in sociologists who sees secularization as a gain in personal freedom

⁶ E.g. in the Special Eurobarometer of 2005 on Social values, Science and Technology (http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_225_report_en.pdf): visited 29th of October 2014

and autonomy and those who see it as a loss of faith and authenticity (Turner, 1991, 135).” I want to discuss three visions on secularization, namely the attritionist theory of Bryan Wilson and the atrabilious theory of David Martin, based on what Bryan Turner writes about it (Turner, 1991, 134-154). Following that, I will give special attention to the Rational Choice Theory of Rodney Stark and Roger Finke (Stark & Finke, 2000), who deny secularization altogether. I will argue that this theory, although very Western in its outlook, is applicable to the evangelical movement in the Netherlands.

2.2.1. The attritionist theory

The attritionist theory is a moderate view of secularization. It does not say that religion will ultimately disappear, but that its impact on society and the social system will be less and less important. As religion is a social construction of symbols, the need for these symbols, and especially the necessity of religious symbols for society as a whole, will diminish through modernization; meaning industrialization, urbanization and rationalization.

This view of secularization is according to Bryan Turner best voiced by Bryan Wilson who argues: “Secularization relates to the diminution of the social significance of religion. Its application covers such things as, the sequestration by political powers of the property and facilities of religious agencies; the shift from religious to secular control of various of the erstwhile activities and functions of religion; the decline in the proportion of their time, energy and resources which men devote to super-empirical concerns; the decay of religious institutions; the supplanting, in matters of behaviour, of religious precepts by demands that accord with strictly technical criteria.” (Wilson, Religion in sociological perspective, 1982, p. 149) In this view, secularization is not something that happens in society but is a society changing phenomenon; a society that goes from a stable rural to a technical urban society (Turner, 1991, p. 143). In such a society religion loses its impact in and on the social system: in education, in politics, in cultural life etc. The theory is based on the idea that before modernization, in feudal times of landlords and peasants, the impact of the church on the people was all-present. In this theory the seed for secularization has been planted by the reformation and especially the Calvinistic variant. In an urban society people left their rural environment and with it the social control of the small community and also the gods are left behind.

2.2.2. The atrabilious theory

This alternative theory criticizes the attritionist view on several points, voiced by David Martin (Turner, 1991, pp. 144-145). The most important criticism, in my perspective, is the notion, that the

classic secularization theory assumes that people in feudal times were very religious. According to him the secularization thesis has taken elements of Catholic Christianity from before the reformation to define the secular which is very selective. Bryan Turner notes that the Catholic faith was the religion of the elite in the cities during the feudal times and that the church had hardly any influence on men in rural areas. So it is not just to compare that period of time with the present age. The second argument is that the attritionist view believes too much, that 'pre-modern' concepts as magic, superstition and 'irrational belief' have vanished in the industrialized societies. Thirdly David Martin argues that the political significance of Christianity has varied enormously. Secularization as far as it exists is not uniform or unilinear. Christianity, according to Martin, in the past may have been much weaker than commonly assumed, whereas Christianity in the present may be much stronger than attritionist view normally suggests (Martin, 1967).

How is the concept of secularization used in the church? The word secularization is often used by Christian ministers as the force behind the, in their eyes, deplorable state of the church. In general they believe that the decrease of church members is due to the fact that people have become less religious or are no longer interested in religion. However what they really talk about is secularization as meaning a decrease in church membership and church attendance. In that way the term secularization can still be used, but not in the connotation of people getting less religious in general. As statistics show, the Dutch left the traditional churches in big numbers. Between 1970 and 2000 the percentage of church adherence of the total Dutch populations decreased by twenty five percent (Becker & Hart, 2006, pp. 30-31). But did that mean people became less religious? Many Reformed (*synodaal gereformeerden*) and others left their church in sixties and seventies and ended up in free evangelical gatherings, as several interviewees stated. Otto de Bruijne says⁷: "concerning the more conscious church leaver, you could leave the church right or left. Many left and adhered to the society changing critical movements and many were going to the evangelical para-church organizations. Also the latter is a form of church abandonment (Bruijne, 2014). De Bruijne, being of a Reformed (*synodaal gereformeerd*) background and the son of a minister in this church, is saying here that the rise of the evangelical movement is one reason for church abandonment and thus for secularization in that particular sense of the word. Statistics however do not show a very strong rise of adherents to new evangelical or Pentecostal groups. There were of course some people ending up in the evangelical movement but most of the reformed church leavers no longer went to church (Becker & Hart, 2006, pp. 30-31). It should be noted here that figures of membership of the free groups, independent evangelical churches, are hard to measure especially in the awakening stage of

⁷ "Als het gaat om de meer bewuste kerkverlater, kon je links of rechts de kerk uit. Heel veel mensen gingen naar de kritische maatschappij veranderende bewegingen en heel veel gingen richting die evangelische para-kerkelijke organisaties, dus die buitenkerkelijk waren. Ook dat is ontkerkelijking." (Bruijne, 2014).

the movement in the Netherlands. Membership was and is often not even registered, let alone communicated to researchers. This makes it difficult to give an accurate estimate of membership.

Peter Berger, who was a proponent of the secularization thesis, in later years renounced this idea when he saw that religion is a persistent force in society. Stark & Finke quote an interview with Peter Berger in 1997, in which he says: "But I think it's (secularization) basically wrong. Most of the world today is certainly not secular. It's very religious (Stark & Finke, 2000, p. 79)," to state their point for a theory that is built on the total denial of the secularization thesis: the Rational Choice Theory, to which I now turn.

2.3. The evangelical movement and the Rational Choice Theory

Another way of looking at secularization has been developed by Stark & Finke in their book 'Acts of Faith' (Stark & Finke, 2000). In this book they present a theory of a religious economy, with analogy to daily economic life: the Rational Choice Theory. In this theory they explain that people make rational choices based on rewards they will perceive or expect to receive. The religious person is within his or her limits capable of making rational choices. Based on a rational consideration of the costs and benefits someone chooses his or her religious affiliation. Economically-expressed, people want to maximize their profit with as little as possible investment. In religious terms and focused on the evangelical movement this would mean: Which church gives me the highest reward for my adherence to the church? So religion becomes part of the marketplace where, according to Stark & Finke, the demand for religion is stable and where the supply side varies. By stating that the demand side of the religious spectrum is stable, they altogether reject the attritionist theory of secularization, and put the traditional theory of secularization to the graveyard: Rest in Peace (Stark & Finke, 2000, 57). They further state that people are always looking for explanations of existence, which include the terms of exchange with a god or gods (Stark & Finke, 2000, 91). Choosing a religion therefore depends on what god or gods demand in return for adherence of the individual.

Stark & Finke's Rational Choice Theory also deals, as does Bainbridge in his church-sect analysis, with the tension a new religious movement is in towards the wider sociocultural environment in relation to the extensiveness of the reward a member can obtain. Their argument goes as follows (Stark & Finke, 2000, pp. 143-145): every religious group can be located on a line of tension between the group and the sociocultural environment. With tension they mean the distinctiveness, separation and antagonism between the group and the outside world. They claim that churches are in low tension with the environment and that new religious movements, split off from the churches, are in higher tension with their environment. At the same time it is for members of a

new religious movement more expensive to belong to the movement, in the sense of time, money etc. than being a member of a church. Stark & Finke also state, that religious participation of new religious movements members is higher than participation of ordinary church members. They explain this also by referring to 'simple' economics. In economic science price is not the only determining factor for customers to buy a product, but also quality of the product is an important factor, these two combined determine the value for the customer. In other words because of the higher-tension towards the environment and the higher participation of members the promised reward must be of high quality. Two other dimensions of economic strategy are surprisingly not incorporated by Stark & Finke, which are the place and promotion dimensions. Is everything available in the right place for everybody to make a choice? And more important, especially in America, the promotion of the product. How is the religious supply presented to the religious rational human being? It is not only about what they offer but also how the package is offered. The evangelical movement has been capable of offering a new way of believing to church members by transforming, or contextualizing as people from inside the movement would say, the 'old Christian message'. At the same time they are capable of promoting their product in such a way that they made the religious product more attractive than the old time protestant tradition.

Going back to the tension of the movement towards the sociocultural environment, H.C. Stoffels, a sociologist at the Free University of Amsterdam, argues that, "the evangelical movement has a strong sense of us against them. They find themselves being at odds with the 'world' and being part of a spiritual warfare against forces who deliberately set out to destroy the movement (Stoffels, 1990, p. 39)."

Stark & Finke provide at the same time a theory explaining why some people are more likely to change religious affiliation than others. This depends on the social and religious capital of the person, they argue. Social capital contains investments people have made in relationships and the way they can rely on these relationships in time of need. "Social capital is interpersonal attachments. And by making religious choices people try to conserve their social capital." (Stark & Finke, 2000, 118-119). Religious capital contains the investment to get familiar with the religion they adhere to. "Religious capital consists of the degree of mastery of and attachment to a particular religious culture and in making religious choices try to conserve their religious capital" (Stark & Finke, 2000, 120-121). I will come back to the religious and social capital in chapter four.

The Rational Choice Theory is a Western, typically American Christian, construct and argues from a Western point of view of what religion is, how it works and how it is established, but it fails to explain the working of religion in non-western environments. Gregory Alles sees here a similarity between the evangelical soteriology and the Rational Choice Theory as both demand a personal decision (Alles, 2009, 95). The theory works in a free-market capitalistic environment in which

Christianity is the leading religion, together with a society in which the individual is more important than the collective and a democratic society in which freedom is highly valued. Change in religious affiliation between the different protestant denominations has become common, since the sixties in the Netherlands, when the pillars of the old order started to disintegrate as we will see further in this thesis. Inter-faith changes occur but have been relatively rare, even in the sixties and seventies other new religious movements from a non-western origin were arising. Research by Paul Schnabel shows that the number of adherents to these movements were relatively small (Schnabel, 1982, p. 71). In the same research Schnabel predicts that the evangelical movement will be growing in the future, because it has gained sympathy within the churches, is well organized and has a voice in media and politics (Schnabel, 1982, 72). Schnabel has been right as far as it concerns the growth of the movement. However evangelical and Pentecostal Christianity were new forms of Christianity that were not yet very well known in Dutch society. In terms of Stark & Finke the supply side of religion changed. At the supply side the religious offer was modified and transformed to meet the religious needs of the people. For the analysis of the evangelical movement in the Netherlands the Rational Choice Theory is a useful tool, as many leaders as well as others who became active in the evangelical movement came from the established churches. They changed their affiliation from the 'gereformeerde kerk' and other traditional churches as they made a rational calculation which denomination would give them the biggest reward.

Another critique is that the theory models choice within too many constraints (Alles, 2009, 96). According to Alles it is not a general theory of religion but a special one that mainly fits American religiosity of the last forty years. I think he is right for the first part that it is a special theory and not a general one. But it is a special theory that fits in a capitalistic, protestant environment and is from my perspective applicable to the evangelical movement in the Netherlands. Especially considering the fact that the evangelical movement in the Netherlands is strongly influenced by American evangelicalism, as we will see.

2.4. Religious individualism

As we have seen, the Rational Choice Theory places the autonomous individual in the centre of its research. This brings me to the individualization process that has taken place in Western societies. "Individualism is seen to be both the dominant ideology of capitalist society and a corrosive belief system which stands in opposition to collective and traditional modes of existence." (Turner, 1991, p. 155). In the early beginnings of sociology Karl Marx and later Max Weber have argued that Christianity was the most suitable religion for developing a capitalist society, because of its

individualistic nature. Religious individualism is said to have been able to develop because of Calvinistic theology (Turner, 1991, p. 161).

Individualism is a result of emancipation meaning that everybody is free to do what he or she needs and to pursue happiness for his or her life and to connect with those of interest. So individualism is about oneself and one's own individual rights (Turner, 1991, p. 161). The emancipation of the individual started to become more public in the fifties and sixties of the twentieth century. Hans Righart calls this period the 'decolonization of the civilian' (Righart, 1995, p. 267). The 'decolonization of the civilian' stands for a democratization process in Dutch culture that became vividly visible in the sixties. The post-war generation no longer obeyed or took for granted what people in authority claimed to be the truth or the way to operate. Authority structures were questioned and the young generations were looking for new ways that fitted their needs. The older generation of believers would answer to the why and how questions, because the pastor says it is like this or that. The baby boomers were questioning the institutions and authority of the church of their parents. It was no longer because the pastor said it is true, but what do I think is true and how can I experience the Divine.

Evangelicalism puts a strong emphasis on the individual and his or her experience with God. A participant in the movement is often asked when he or she was 'born-again', meaning when he or she converted. To have a personal relation with Jesus and a certainty of forgiveness of sins and certainty of a life after this earthly life are very important features of the movement. It is focused on a relation with the transcendent God who is often called 'Daddy' and who is expected to have a personal plan for everybody on this earth. This plan can be discovered by prayer and reading the Word of God, the Bible, which believers take literally or almost literally. If prayers are not being answered there might be sin in the life of the believer or a closed heart towards the work of the Holy Spirit. At the same time the evangelical movement points out that God has given gifts to every believer: the priesthood of every believer. This was and is visible in the many lay people in preaching and pastoral care. Many free evangelical churches operate with leaders who do not have a degree in theology or pastoral care. A lot of them function with a leadership team elected or appointed by the congregation.

H.C. Stoffels argues that the individual goes before the collective and faith before morality. (Stoffels, 1990, p. 39). It is all about personal faith that should be shared with others. What I have come to know, I should share with others. The movement therefore puts a strong emphasis on missions. It is expected of every believer that once he or she is saved or 'born-again' to go into the world and make disciples, following the great commandment of Jesus in Matthew 28:19. This is an individual duty as well as the duty of the church. In the sixties and seventies many missional organizations were founded, as will be shown in chapter four. So on two levels the individualization is

visible in the evangelical movement: first there is the spiritual side and the personal choice and personal relationship with Jesus and secondly there is the message that every individual, personally, is called to participate in the advancement of the message by evangelizing or in foreign mission.

The reward the individual believer is longing for might be summarized as: What is in it for me today? Or otherwise stated: does it work and does it fulfil my religious needs? This brings me to the theory, developed by Meredith McGuire in which she tries to make sense of all kinds of new spiritualities and how individuals experience their religiosity, called 'Lived religion'.

2.5. Evangelical Religion as lived and subjective

In apparent opposition to the Rational Choice Theory, 'Lived Religion' is a theory that tries to make sense of the diversities of individual believers. This theory has shifted the way sociologists look at religion today. Later on I will explain why this an apparently opposite theory to the Rational Choice Theory as both are very individual in nature. The lived religion theory of Meredith B. McGuire proposes to research individual religious practices in everyday life, instead of researching the official teachings of a religion, to grasp what individuals really belief and practice. She proposes the following question: "What if we think of religion, at the individual level, as an ever changing, multifaceted, often messy – even contradictory – amalgam of beliefs and practices that are not necessarily those religious institutions consider important (McGuire, 2008, p. 4)?" Stark & Finke look at the rational side of the individualistic choice of the individual to adhere to a certain religion. McGuire looks at the individualistic religious practices of any group. She argues that people perform all kinds of religious acts and rituals that do not match up with the official dogmas and regulations of the religion they belong to. In 2008 McGuire published the book 'Lived Religion' with the question: "How can we interpret the complex religious lives of modern individuals?" (McGuire, 2008, p. 6). In the introduction of the book she describes several examples of individuals who have constructed their 'own' religious practices, through bricolage - A term she introduces in the last chapter to denote the self-construction of the rituals.

In contrast to the traditional churches, the evangelical movement tries to see the whole person and has more embodied practices. McGuire argues, in the context of embodied religious experiences: "Any religion that speaks only to the cognitive aspect of adherents' experience (i.e., limited to their beliefs and thoughts) cannot address their emotional needs, their everyday experiences, or their whole persons (McGuire, 2008, p. 101)." Besides the rational part of the human she puts emphasize on the emotional needs of the individual believer. If a religion (e.g the protestant churches) cannot address the emotional and embodied experiences of the believer; he or she will not

be taken seriously as a whole person. The traditional protestant churches in the fifties and sixties of the twentieth century were on the conservative right, very dogmatic and were very cognitive in their orientation. On the progressive left the church became very horizontally orientated and focused on engaging in society for social justice and humanization of the world. The young generation in the sixties who left the traditional churches in search for a new way of believing, developed a spirituality that was highly individual and focused on fulfilling a felt need that the old status quo was not what they wanted. In their search they arrived at a form of Christianity that really worked. One that could be internalized and one in which the body plays a more important role. To surrender and prostrate oneself before God, singing with raised hands, speaking in unknown tongues, in which the body is much more involved than singing psalms and sitting in the pews statically. In the singing not only is the body more involved because of the raising of hands but it also taps in to the emotions. Through the personal and individual texts of the songs, believers have spiritual experiences (see chapter four).

McGuire's approach makes sense with regard to the evangelical movement. It constitutes an individualized way of Christian believing and is focused on a personal spirituality. The two words religiosity and spirituality are used interchangeably by McGuire (McGuire, 2008, 6). In this personal evangelical spirituality in which individual bible readings and so called private quiet times, times in which the believer reaches out to God, play an important role, different spiritualities and practices have developed, and an individual narrative is constructed.

This autonomous individual spirituality is part of a major subjective turn in society, a shift that took place since the sixties in modern culture, according to Heelas & Woodhead. (Heelas & Woodhead, 2005). They say that, "the subjective turn is a turn away from 'life-as' (life lived as a dutiful wife, father, husband, strong leader, self-made man etc.) to 'subjective life' (life lived in deep connection with the unique experiences of my self-in-relation)" (Heelas & Woodhead, 2005, p. 3). So it is a turn from objective roles to a subjective experience.

They use the terms 'life-as' and 'subjective life' to distinguish between religion and spirituality, in contrast to McGuire, who uses religion and spirituality interchangeably. According to Heelas & Woodhead, Christianity makes reverence to a transcendent external source and is part of the old order and therefore part of 'life-as' (Heelas & Woodhead, 2005, p. 6), and so religion. However I wish to argue, to extent the subjective-life thesis also to the spirituality of Christian developments and especially the spirituality of the evangelical movement, as it is also part of the culture in which the subjective turn took place. The focus of its spirituality is definitely on an external God or on Christ and is as such 'life-as' spirituality, according to the definition given by Heelas & Woodhead. But in its spirituality it can be very subjective. The evangelical movement is subject to a subjective life and the subjective turn in society, in which there is a deep connection as shown with personal experiences in relation to Jesus or God and ultimately also with the self. I argue that it is impossible to make a strict

separation, between 'life-as' and 'subjective-life', as Heelas & Woodhead do. Christian spirituality, in this case evangelical spirituality, is very subjective in the way that believers tell their own narrative of their personal life in relation to God. Anton Harskamp argues, that 'the (evangelical) believer is convinced to have found the unity of a deeper and true authentic self (Harskamp, 2000, p. 159). As we will see it is as Heelas & Woodhead stated that the subjective turn is about dreams, bodily experiences, feelings, sentiments etc. of the individual. (Heelas & Woodhead, 2005, p. 3) . It is here that the lived religion and subjective spirituality come together. Both are not coherent and many times do not make sense for scholars of religion, but it does in the eyes of the practitioner. The central question practitioners ask themselves is: Does it work? (McGuire, 2008, p. 84).

2.6. Conclusion

In this chapter I have constructed a theoretical framework in which the evangelical movement is seen as a new religious movement. A movement that refers to an old protestant tradition but has been able as we will see to cloth itself with new clothes so it appeared new and fresh to its adherents. I have introduced two main theories namely the Rational Choice Theory, that says that the religious individual makes rational choices based on expected rewards. A special 'economic' theory that puts the rational individual at the centre. The same is true for the 'Lived Religion' theory that tries to make sense of the 'messy' religiosity of modern men and the subjectivity of their religions. A paradox? No, subjective labelled ideas, feelings, emotions, and questions of what works and what do I gain from it, can be made on a rational basis. We will find both in the research of the evangelical movement.

3. The Netherlands 1945-1980

Having set the theoretical framework, it is time to explore the circumstances in which the evangelical movement started to grow. The aim of my thesis is to embed the growth of the evangelical movement after the Second World War in Dutch society. As Wilson states, a new religious movement must be researched in the social context in which it emerges (Wilson, 1981, p. 229). In this respect small facts can say a lot about large issues. So what were the prime social developments that characterized Dutch society from 1945 and beyond and what does that have to say about evangelical religion?

I will start just after the War, a time of reconstruction of the country, and through the 'civil fifties' (*Burgelijke jaren vijftig*) in which the old order seemed to be restored, to the sixties known for its social changes that ran into the seventies. The period under examination is vast and a lot has been written about every separate decade. Many subjects can be discussed, but I limit myself to the (in my opinion) relevant developments for the growth of the evangelical movement. At the end of every paragraph I will give an explanation why this is important in respect to the research question.

3.1. A time of reconstruction (1945-1950)

With the German capitulation on the 5th of May 1945 the Second World War had ended in the Netherlands. A time of reconstruction and rebuilding the country after five years of occupation could start. But where should you begin and how should society be re-organized? A country with a trauma of occupation where awful things had happened, how could you lead it and give it hope? Many people lost relatives, who were transported to Germany to work or died in a concentration camp.

Influential leaders and intellectuals had been taken hostage by the Germans and put in camps in St. Michielsgestel and Haaren. They were held hostage so the Germans could take reprisal actions against them, when the Dutch resistance executed actions against the Germans. In these camps interaction between the hostages from different backgrounds took place and plans were made for society after the war (De Keizer, 1979, p. 7). Coming out of a depression in the thirties, then the war, it was time to do things differently. The prime-minister Schermerhorn, himself a hostage in St. Michielsgestel, said in June 1945: "Creating new forms, in which the essential spiritual values that have carried our national life through the centuries, will when well governed come to new

expressions and if possible to new glory⁸ (Liempt, 2014, p. 101). The hostages' prime concern was an ethical awakening (De Keizer, 1979, p. 152), a way of achieving this was the founding of the 'Dutch folk movement (Nederlandse Volksbeweging)' (De Keizer, 1979, p. 169). However, this movement was not very successful and died in 1951, as the ideals were not achieved.

The old structures from before the war were reinstalled. The old pillars regained their previous strength. The old power structures were reinstated. Hans Blom, a Dutch historian, argues that for rebuilding the country the cooperation of the different pillars was necessary and that in the propaganda after the war, the slogan 'together we went through war, so together we need to rebuild', was used. "There was no time to experiment on whatever level of society (Blom J. , 1981, p. 315)." Unity was sought to rebuild the country. There was a shortage of many things. Making an end to the misery was top priority for the political leaders, as it was for the working class. Bosscher, a professor of contemporary history, describes a society where unity was the only way to regain what was lost and that unity would be the fastest way to it. Through this unity The Netherlands recovered economically amazingly fast (Bosscher, 1997, p. 216).

Despite the promoted unity, the leading elite was worried about the moral state of especially the young people: promiscuity from Dutch girls with Canadian soldiers, unwillingness of young men to work, dance mania, frequent cinema visits and excessive use of tobacco. Enjoying life and celebrating the newly regained freedom, was seen as a sign of the spiritual and moral crisis Dutch society was in. According to Van Liempt, a journalist who has written extensively about the War and the period after the War, an unorganized 'morality offensive' (*zedelijkheidsoffensief*) was initiated from the different pillars in society (Liempt, 2014, p. 133). The focus of this morality offensive was directed at the nuclear family. It was especially the Roman Catholic Church which was strong in fighting (in their eyes) immorality in society. The nuclear family should regain its former strength and the youth should be disciplined again.

This thinking of immorality and lawlessness is also found with the older interviewees like Peter Vlug and Hans Keijzer, who were born before the War and were in their teenage years when the War ended. When they talked about this period the focus is put on the lack of education of the children in school settings, but foremost the lack of education in the nuclear family. According to Peter Vlug many children were lacking any sense of belonging, security, love and were totally without moral boundaries, which he also saw when he joined the army (Vlug, 2014). Although their image of this period might be subjective and coloured by their religious affiliation in later years, they and the elite of the time depict a picture of a liberated country in which the youth wanted to celebrate its

⁸ Het scheppen van nieuwe vormen, waarin de wezenlijke geestelijke waarden, die ons volksleven door de eeuwen heen hebben gedragen, beheerst tot nieuwe uitdrukking en als het kan tot nieuwe heerlijkheid zullen komen.

newly found freedom, but was not given the chance to do it. The governing elite, born long before the war and with its old pillarized and moral thinking, did not know how to cope with it. And thus returned to the old way of doing things. Through the appeal for unity and restoring the old institutions it seemed the old situation had been put back in place. In these disturbing times just after the war the first American evangelical organization, namely YFC, came to the Netherlands. This organization was founded especially to give young people an alternative for the immoralities of bars, cinemas and other 'worldly entertainment' as we will see in the following chapter. They came at the right time to a country in distress, trying to find its way forward, and offered a new 'hope' after the devastations of the War.

3.2. The civil fifties 1950-1959

The fifties of the twentieth century is in the common memory known for its bourgeois mentality (*burgerlijkheid*). It was the time in which old family structures were restored. Father worked outside and mother was in charge of the house. Correctness, obedience and discipline were words by which this period is described by for example Hans Olink (Olink, 2002, p. 11). Another characteristic of the fifties is the sentence 'When happiness was normal' (*Toen was geluk heel gewoon*) (Slootweg, Van Beusekom, & De Kloet, 1974, p. 1). Family life was the norm, but under the surface of a cosy family the youth wanted something new and wanted to have their say. This would become more visible in the sixties. In the fifties the pillars were restored, and the old order seemed to be restored. However, a new danger was present and coming from the east: communism.

3.2.1. The Cold War and the American connection

Just following the Second World War a new war without fighting started: the Cold War. People just came out of misery and a new threat was present in their lives once again. The nuclear bombs on Japan and the knowledge that the Soviet Union had nuclear bombs were causes of a new fear. At the end of the forties and in the beginning of the fifties the Cold War was at its peak (Olink, 2002), (Koedijk, 1997). The Netherlands sought in this period the protection of its liberator, America, and joined to NATO, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1949. With its adherence the country gave up its neutral status which it had guarded for a hundred and fifty years. In a poll in 1947, sixty five percent of Dutch population would say that only America could guarantee lasting peace in Europe.

The Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1948 caused a growing awareness of the Red danger from the east in the leaders of the country. They started to mention and warn people about

communism. The Cold War was mostly a psychological war, in which images and words played an important role in the battle for the public opinion (Koedijk, 1997, p. 57). Koedijk argues, that a propaganda machine was established with the help of the American and British intelligence services to attack everything that smelled like communism and that the American congress even proposed to put a Marshall plan of ideas into place (Koedijk, 1997, pp. 59-60).

Since the liberation the Dutch felt a strong connection with its liberator America. Its army did not only liberate them, but its government also provided financial aid by the Marshall plan, which in the collective memory has become known as the plan that had rebuild Dutch society. The Dutch professor of economic history J.L. van Zanden, however, argues that in 1947, even before the Marshall plan was executed, Dutch productivity already reached its pre-war level (Zanden, 1998, p. 131). Looking back one can say that there was some self- interest of the Americans involved, like stopping the advancement of Soviet influence in Europe and creating a new market for American products. Nonetheless, the Marshall plan helped Europe and The Netherlands advance in rebuilding the country, and to stimulate European cooperation.

An issue that divided the population in the fifties was the placement of nuclear bombs in the Netherlands. The Netherlands were the first NATO country in Western Europe to have these on its soil (Everts, 1997, p. 101). A protest group Ban the Bomb (Ban de Bom) was formed which held several demonstrations and tried to influence the political and public opinion. The churches started to speak out and slowly took political stance against the bombs. In 1962 the synod of the Dutch Reformed church accepted a bill that said they were against the use of the nuclear bomb. The protest group, Ban the Bomb, attracted attention from the media, politics and public, but its influence, however, was not very big, because the overall sympathy was with the United States: our liberators. "With the argument, the Americans have liberated us, every opposition could by silenced." (Everts, 1997, p. 106)

Despite some exceptions, like the communists and an occasional dissident, there was a strong pro-American sentiment in the Netherlands. The Americans had brought us freedom and they would protect us from the Russians. They brought us cigarettes, chocolate and the youth adopted its music and its clothing. The youth were looking to America, as the land of dreams and wanted, out of fascination and admiration, to adopt the American way of life. Hans Olink states, "that this (American) way of life with its urbanization, secularization and globalization of culture and consumption patterns was about to burst out (Olink, 2002, p. 13)." America was an example where everything was better and bigger, not only economically and culturally but also ideologically. The US Embassy in The Hague could report back in 1952 that the Dutch were "perhaps closer ideologically to the United States than any people in Europe (Scott-Smith, 2009, p. 982)" This pro-American sentiment has played an important role in the welcoming of the evangelical preachers and

organizations to the Netherlands as we will see in the next chapter. Without this connection and sympathy for America the preachers and organizations would probably have found a less open audience. Beginning in the 1950's with the visits of Billy Graham and Tommy Lee Osborn, going into the sixties, what James C. Kennedy calls the heydays of Americanization, "the American rock music and American religion, most notably its evangelical form, challenged the social order (Kennedy, 2009, p. 940)."

3.2.2. Pillarization in the 1950's

The evangelical movement started to grow when the de-pillarization process in Dutch society started. Dutch society was known till the 1950's as a society divided into so called pillars. Several scholars⁹ from different scientific backgrounds have written about this phenomenon, but they do not agree at all on the fact, to which degree the society was shaped by these pillars. So what do we understand by pillarization? 'Pillarization is actually a system of intentionally organized and vertical ideological segmentation generated by structural links between ideology and religious and secular worldviews', as it is stated by Paul Dekker (Dekker, 1996, p. 325). Since the sixteenth century Dutch society has been divided in different groups or pillars. In 1917 this was politically institutionalized as part of the pacification politics, according to Arend Lijphart (Lijphart, 1988, p. 11), "the year of Pacification (Lijphart, 1988, p. 27)." Pacification politics consisted of a pillarized society, and an elite of the different pillars who cooperated to govern the masses, that obeyed and were passive concerning political matters. Lijphart confirms here, that pillarization is intentionally created as Dekker says. Hans Blom points out, "pillarization is the extent to which people consciously carry out, and are able to carry out, their socio-cultural and political activities in their own ideological circle (Blom J. , 2000, p. 157)." Dutch society was a segregated society in which the elite from every pillar secured the stability of the well-build system. That is why the Dutch on the one hand were very pillarized but on the other hand an example of democracy. Lijphart explains this referring to the three basic characteristics of pillarization in the Netherlands: a shared sense of nationalism among the members of the four pillars, the cross-cutting of religious and class cleavages, and political elitism (Lijphart, 1988, pp. 86-98).

Dutch society was divided into four main pillars: Protestants, Catholics, liberals and socialists. The latter two can be taken together in one 'general' pillar. Every pillar had its own schools, political party, broadcasting company, hospitals, sport clubs, shops and so forth. The life of a person took

⁹ Among others: Harry Post, professor of international law; Arend Lijphart, political scientist; Hans Blom, Historian; Paul Dekker, Political scientist; Staf Helleman, sociologist.

place within his or her pillar. For a protestant you went to a reformed church, voted CHU or ARP, went to the 'School with the Bible' and listened to and later watched the NCRV. Being part of one of the pillars and its ideology determined the social identification of a person. However, within the protestant pillar there were a whole range of sub pillars. Of course there was the Dutch Reformed church (*hervormde kerk*), the state church, and the different other reformed churches, from synodical reformed (*synodaal gereformeerd*), Christian reformed (*Christelijk gereformeerd*), to Liberated reformed (*vrijgemaakt gereformeerd*), established in 1944 and the different reformist churches (*reformatiorische kerken*). One of the interviewees, Hans Keijzer, said that after the war it was not done for a member of the Dutch Reformed church to buy something in a shop owned by a someone who did not belong to the same church, either a catholic or a member of the '*synodaal gereformeerd*' (Keijzer, 2014). Rather buy at a socialist shop than buy at a catholic shop. This was the atmosphere in the years before the war and during the first fifteen to twenty years after the war. Although this thesis is not about analysing the pillarization system in Dutch society, it must be noted that according to scholars as, among others, Hans Blom, pillarization is a metaphor for a very complex reality (Blom J. , 2000, p. 236) I am aware of this complexity but for the argument I will use the simplified pillarization thesis in which the Dutch society was divided in the four aforementioned pillars, with inside the protestant pillars several sub-pillars.

The growth of the evangelical movement took place within the protestant pillar. Vellenga points out, that "the recruitment field of the evangelical movement contains foremost people raised in orthodox-protestant churches. Almost two-thirds grew up in the Dutch reformed church (*Hervormde kerk*) and the reformed church (*synodaal gereformeerd*) and one tenth in other reformed churches (Vellenga, 1991, p. 115)." In his dissertation about new religious movements, Schnabel introduced the term 'voluntary church' (*vrijwilligheidskerken*) and their influence on the pacification politics (Schnabel, 1982, p. 279). Schnabel argues: "The imported churches are voluntary churches, meaning that the Netherlands is confronted now with tailor-made churches (Schnabel, 1982, p. 279)." In the time of pillarization there was a kind of 'gentlemen's agreement' that proselytizing in other churches was not done. The new foreign churches and movements, who saw the Netherlands as a mission field, touched upon this status quo. Most of these new movements advocated a membership or adherence on the basis of a personal choice, as we will see in the next chapter, instead of membership of a church on basis of the tradition. That is what Schnabel means by 'voluntary churches.' The evangelical 'voluntary churches' contributed to the destabilization of the protestant pillar and introduced the concept of an individual choice and commitment to religious affiliation. It is hard to prove empirically that these 'voluntary churches', in this case the evangelical movement, have contributed to the de-pillarization of Dutch society from the sixties, but they were most definitely a part of it.

The sixties of the twentieth century came and the pillarized Dutch society trembled on its foundation. The pillars in the society started to fall apart, something had started to develop in many areas of ordinary life. Otto de Bruijne used a typical metaphor for this period saying, “I was on my way from a suit with a tie to a turtleneck sweater with woollen socks in sandals” (Bruijne, 2014). There was a lot of change and renewal going on during these years, as we will see in the next paragraph on the sixties.

3.3. The Sixties

The sixties is the decade that has become the symbol of change in almost every area of society: politically, economically, socially and culturally. These changes did not happen overnight, as signs of change can be seen already in the fifties. Different scholars, e.g. Historians like J. Woltjer, E.H. Kossmann and H. Righart, argue therefore that the Sixties with a capital letter, the symbol of change, is longer than the decade. For this research I follow the periodization by Righart, who uses the period end fifties till 1977 as the endless sixties (Righart, 1995, p. 16). In the midst of this period the evangelical movement started to take root, and actually became a movement (Krabbendam, 2009, p. 1034). Many evangelical foundations (*stichtingen*) were established and till this day still exists. But what happened in society? Why did these changes and renewals occur and what was the influence on the religious landscape?

Hans Righart wrote a book about this period called: ‘The endless Sixties, A history of a generational conflict (Righart, 1995).’ His argument for the changes is clear from the title of the book. He sees the renewals in society as the result of a conflict between the pre-war generation and the baby boomers born just after the war, who were in their teens during the sixties. The new post-war generation grew up in a completely different situation to their parents, who had lived through the crisis in the 1930s and the war. There were felt tensions between the two generations, tensions that were felt and experienced by people in and outside the church. Tensions in social attachments can be a reason for people to search for religious fulfilment and possible adherence to a new religious movement, as Bainbridge argues (Bainbridge, 1997, p. 156). We will see further that the social attachments were severely weakened in the Sixties. What happened?

3.3.1. Growing prosperity and education

The Netherlands had economically advanced rapidly. Righart argues that the real industrialization of the Netherlands only began after the War and that this industrialization policy was a fruitful one

(Righart, 1995, pp. 36-38). With a restrictive wage policy the economy could grow fast in the years after the war. And in the sixties wages went up in three years by more than thirty percent. On top of that Saturday as a working day was abolished, which of course resulted in more free time. This extra free time could and was used to spend the extra money that was earned. Televisions, washing machines, freezers and cars entered the households. Mobility became easier which resulted in an urbanizing effect. Through mobility one could live where one had work and was no longer bound to the place where people grew up. To have a car, money and free time resulted in a new phenomenon, namely mass-recreation. To go by car and a caravan to a camping place in the weekend was one of the new ways of recreation. Otto de Bruijne called the towbar of a car a prosperity knob (*welvaartsknobel*) (Bruijne, 2014). The possibility of recreation resulted in a weekend culture in which people would go out for the weekend and no longer went to church.

The growing prosperity, industrialization and as a result urbanization caused a weakening of the social ties or bonds with family, friends and the church. Bainbridge argues: "It is unlikely for a person to join a new religious movement unless his or her attachments to people outside the movement are weak (Bainbridge, 1997, p. 158)." In the sixties these attachments became weaker because people moved and their ties became less important. A fragmentation of social life started to set in in which people meet other people in different settings. People you only meet at work, people you meet in the neighbourhood etc. and people you meet in religious gatherings. With the loosening of the social ties also the religious ties to the traditional church were weakened. However, as Stark & Finke argued, people try to compensate for lost social ties and religious ties. In making religious choices people try to keep their religious capital, but if this is weak people are more apt to re-affiliate than to convert (Stark & Finke, 2000, pp. 118-123). We see in this period that from the traditional churches people re-affiliate with evangelical churches, a renewal movement within Protestantism, and not so much with other new religious movements, like Baghwan or Hara Krishna (Schnabel, 1982).

At the same time education was democratized, universities were no longer the domain of the children of the elite, but were open to the working class too, which touched upon the elitist character of the universities. But not only were the universities more accessible, the new rising generation would receive more education in general than the previous generation had received. Through education people are stimulated to think and to read. In combination with the opening of the world through television, it is not surprising that the authority structures were challenged and questioned.

3.3.2. The world opens up: Television

One of the most revolutionary new products that entered the nuclear family, and became a commodity, was the television. Although broadcasting already started in the fifties, television only became a mass product for the working class in the sixties. It would be the most disrupting luxury that prosperity had brought, argues Righart (Righart, 1995, p. 100). Through television the way we see the world was opened in many aspects. First of all it opened a world beyond national borders that was only known from radio. Not only information from different parts of the world entered the living room, but the information was now accompanied by images. Images of hungry children, images from the Biafra war in Nigeria, the war in Vietnam, apartheid in South Africa, now entered the 'peaceful' family living room. Secondly the phenomenon of television was that now many people wanted to see everything that was broadcast. Till 1964 there was only one channel, so there was not much to choose from. This meant that members of the NCRV would look to programs from the KRO or Vara, which were all identity markers of a pillarized society. Television opened a window to get familiar with the ideologies of others and to put in perspective one's own ideology. Righart argues, "television knocked away the already weak partitioning walls of the pillarized house of the Netherlands (Righart, 1995, p. 107)." Otto de Bruijne also noted this during the interview conducted with him: "The broadcasting companies were pillarized, but television might have helped to de-pillarize Dutch society (Bruijne, 2014)." Hermann Von der Dunk, emeritus professor in contemporary history from Utrecht University, is more hesitant to pinpoint the exact influence of television on Dutch society (Dunk, 1986, p. 15), but he argues: "The imaging medium does not fit, other than press and radio, the straitjacket of pillarized information and didactics (Dunk, 1986, p. 10)." The influx of information people had access to, changed the way people were thinking, it broadened their world; a world that needed to be discovered and experienced. Evangelical missionary organizations would fill this need for exploration and discovering with the call to participate in the 'great commandment' of Jesus, as will be shown in the next chapter.

3.3.3. Youth culture

The early adopters of experiencing and discovering the world were the young adults: the baby boom generation. In this period due to more prosperity, more time, more education and the influence of popular culture from the United States a youth culture could develop. James Kennedy argues: "American cultural influences in the Netherlands were at their visible height during the 1960's. In popular culture, where American tastes in film, popular music, clothes, and other consumer items were widely appreciated and imitated (Kennedy, 2009, p. 939)." A proponent of this influence was

radio Veronica (since 1960) which popularized American and British popular music and was a symbol of rebellion, in bypassing the old institutionalized broadcasting station. The young wanted to discover the world and change things. Institutions such as the nuclear family, church, authority structures from the past were no longer sacred. The youth movement wanted to give their own content to their way of life. Authority was challenged and in retrospect the generation is called the 'protest generation' (Righart, 1995). "The world had to change", said Van De Poll (Van de Poll, 2014). This growing self-awareness of the young, also touched upon the youth in the churches. They wanted to interpret being a Christian in their own way. American missional organizations like Operation Mobilization (OM), Youth with a Mission (Ywam) and Youth for Christ connected to this new youth culture. OM and Ywam (Vellenga, 1991, pp. 202-222) recruited and mobilized many young adults for mission trips in Europe; e.g. volunteers for evangelizing during the Olympic Games in Munich. The young could do something about the world to bring the good news of Jesus. Youth for Christ would offer as the next chapter will show an alternative for the 'worldly entertainment' in the form of Christian coffee bars, where the young could meet.

3.3.4. De-pillarization and re-pillarization

Under the influence of the above mentioned factors: growing prosperity, more education, democratization, individualization, and secularization as church abandonment, a de-pillarization process started in Dutch society. This meant that the differences between the different pillars started to fade away, slowly but certainly. The result was that institutions formerly known as anchors of a pillar lost their influence and identity. Many people no longer identified with the ideology of their own pillar, though the ones who kept identifying themselves with the ideology were hardly influenced by the de-pillarization (Dekker, 1996, p. 338). As the old protestant pillar started to crumble, a re-pillarization took place on a much smaller scale. At the end of the sixties three new sub-pillars, namely the evangelical, the reformed (*reformatorische*) and liberated reformed (*vrijgemaakt gereformeerde*). Schools (Evangelical colleges, evangelical primary schools, reformed schools, Liberated reformed schools), a political party (RPF, 1975), a broadcasting company (evangelical broadcasting company) were established at the end of the sixties and the beginning of the seventies. Although this happened on a much smaller scale these pillars were and still are in a sense the result of the way Dutch society was constructed in pillars and a reaction on the de-confessionalization of the pillars.

3.4. Conclusion

In this chapter I have sketched the social developments in Dutch society from 1945 till the end of the 1970's. From initial disorder and tension after the War to reestablishment of the old pillarized order in the fifties. From the end of the war to a new tension from communism and the Soviet Union. From the fifties, in which the social and cultural influence from the United States on Dutch society was more and more prominent to a youth culture, protest generation and discovering of the world. From a country touched by war to a country with a well-established welfare state. From a country in which the ideological pillar directed people's life to a country where the individual could choose his or her ideology. From strong social ties to fragmented social relations because of industrialization and urbanization. From radio with only spoken words to accompanied images on television. From a low-educated to a well-educated society. A process of democratization, individualization and secularization, understood as church abandonment, was set in motion in which the old structure of pillars crumbled. A portion of the people in the protestant pillar re-affiliated by choosing to adhere to the evangelical movement, which in itself is influenced by the above mentioned factors as will be shown in the next chapter.

4. Developments in the Evangelical Movement 1945 - 1980

Before the Second World War there were already some evangelical groups in the Netherlands, mostly in the free churches like the Seventh Day Adventist, the Salvation Army, the Brethren, Baptist churches and the Assemblies of God, but they had little social relevance and were small in numbers (Boersema, 2005), (Klaver, 2011), (Stoffels, 1990). Movements that by the 'definition' can be called evangelical have been present within Protestantism since the seventeenth century (Vellenga, 1991, p. 128). This is made visible through several revival movements, which influenced the Dutch reformed church occasionally, like halfway through the eighteenth century, with several revivals like the Troubles in Nijkerk (*Nijkerkse beroeringen*) (Fekkes, 2008) and in the revival (*reveil*) movement (Wall, 2008, p. 22) of the mid nineteenth century. But we can only speak of evangelicalism as a movement after the Second World War (Klaver, 2011) (Boersema, 2005). Sipco Vellenga, sociologist of religion at Amsterdam University, argues: "The evangelical movement before the Second World War functioned in the margins of the established churches and organizations... The evangelical movement did not count any independent organizations at a social level before the war (Vellenga, 1991, p. 26)."

A person worth mentioning as important for the movement from before the War is Johannes de Heer, founder of '*Het Zoeklicht*' (The Searchlight). Inspired by the Adventists and the Salvation Army, he travelled through the country with a tent, preaching the message of free salvation and the approaching second coming of Christ. Salvation according to De Heer was for everybody and could be obtained by recognizing one's own sinfulness (Elsman, 1995, p. 97). It was and still is a millennial organization. Johannes de Heer, however, is for most known for his songbook, published in 1905, and still used by several congregations.

Pieter Boersema, professor of religious studies and missiology at Evangelical Theological Faculty in Leuven, divides the history of the evangelical movement in the Netherlands, after the War, in three periods (Boersema, 2005, pp. 164-165):

- 1945 – 1968 Spiritual renewal of the Evangelical Movement
- 1968 – 1989 Growth in self-awareness of the Evangelical Movement
- 1989 – 2002 Reflection by the Evangelical Movement on its position

Hans Krabbendam, researcher at the Roosevelt institute in Middelburg, draws the line in 1965 and calls the period from 1965 till 1990: "Towards a movement (Krabbendam, 2009, p. 1034)." This makes it clear that there are two distinct timeframes for the period under research in my thesis.

After the War, a new wave of evangelicalism, coming from the Anglo-Saxon world, started to wash ashore in the whole world and also in the Netherlands. In this dawning period there was a considerable influence coming from the United States. Evangelists like Billy Graham and Tommy Lee

Osborn came, but also several mission organizations, like Youth for Christ, Navigators, and others came to The Netherlands. Inspired by these American initiatives and their methods new 'Dutch' initiatives were started such as Maasbach's World Mission (*Maasbach Wereldzending*) and Ben Hoekendijk's evangelization campaigns (*Ben Hoekendijks Evangelisatiecampagnes*), I will call this first period from 1945 till 1965: "The dawning period of the Evangelical movement." The second period in which the Evangelical Broadcasting company, the Evangelical Colleges, different mission organizations and umbrella organizations, were founded, was a period of building an evangelical sub-pillar. This period I will call as Krabbendam argues: "Towards a movement."

In this chapter I will discuss Youth for Christ, Billy Graham and Tommy Lee Osborn in the dawning period of the movement, because as will be shown below, they were the prime initiators of the movement who laid the ground work and the seeds for later developments. Instead of YFC, I could have chosen the Navigators, but in the interviews conducted YFC was mentioned more often and they basically had the same focus. In the second part I will focus on Ben Hoekendijk's work, The Evangelical Colleges, the Evangelical Broadcasting Company, as representatives of a much wider range of persons and organizations, who have played a big role in constructing the evangelical movement, inspired by the former. To complete the picture I will also mention several mission and umbrella organizations, which came into existence between 1965 and 1980.

I will argue that the popularity of the evangelical movement is due to the 'lived' character of the movement and the subjectivity in which the people can construct their own personal narrative in the movement. At the same time the development into a movement is part of the democratization, individualization and secularization process within society at large and within the church on a minor scale. Being able to construct a personal narrative is part of the reward the evangelical movement gives to adherents, speaking in terms of the Rational Choice Theory.

4.1. The dawning period of the Evangelical Movement 1945-1965

4.1.1. Youth for Christ: a youth movement

Directly after the War the first American organization came to the Netherlands in 1946: Youth for Christ (YFC). YFC is one of the initiators of the evangelical movement in Netherlands. YFC started in the United States in 1943 with the aim to offer young adults an alternative for 'worldly' entertainment as bars, dancing and cinemas on Saturday evenings. Saturday evenings were the traditional family evenings, but with fathers at war in Europe, there were no traditional family nights

anymore. To avoid young adults falling into immorality, churches started to organize so called 'youth rallies', which were coordinated by YFC.

The first encounter with YFC in the Netherlands was in 1946 with a leadership team from America. YFC president Torrey Johnson justified the mission to the Netherlands, by saying that he had found "a church paralyzed by formal fundamentalism and dead orthodoxy... a nation recovering from the gaping wounds of a bloody war... young people hungry for God and the Gospel – moral casualties of WWII reaching out for reality (Krabbendam, 2009, p. 1030)." This clearly shows the motivation of YFC as they came to the Netherlands. They saw a church in Europe, not only in the Netherlands, that was dead. Freely interpreted; after the physical liberation it was time for a spiritual liberation of dead orthodoxy and formal fundamentalism, with no meaning, through American missionary efforts, and with the presumption that young people were hungry for spiritual things. Edward van de Kam, director of YFC till 2014, writes in his masters thesis on YFC: "soldiers who had fought to liberate Europe, wanted to go back to spread the Gospel (Kam, 2009, p. 18)."

Everywhere the Americans came, young people would stand in rows for hours to wait for them (Van Capelleveen, 1977, p. 9). These preachers brought something completely 'new' and created an alternative for the 'young male associations' (*knapenverenigingen*) and 'girls associations' (*meisjesverenigingen*) that were common in the traditional churches. This development can be labelled as the creation of an alternative Christian youth movement (Krabbendam, 2009, p. 1031), not only as an alternative for the youth associations of the traditional churches, but also an alternative for the upcoming youth culture in society.

Coming from the land of unlimited possibilities, a rich nation and most of all coming from the land that liberated the Netherlands from Nazi-Germany, the American preachers were most welcomed by the, mostly orthodox, Christian youth. Krabbendam notes, that during the visit in 1946, on thirty seven evenings, forty two meetings were held and fifty six thousand people were addressed with the message of YFC (Krabbendam, 2009, p. 1031). However, the church leaders were very sceptical of YFC, who brought, what they called, the 'Gospel of the Jazz' (Van Capelleveen, 1977, p. 9). Most traditional churches found YFC too simple, too direct and too frivolous.

YFC's message was one of repentance of sins and acceptance of Jesus' offer at the cross for your sins. The sinfulness of men was emphasized and a personal conversion should take place before someone could call him or herself a Christian. In meetings people were called to make a decision for Jesus and His redeeming work, in response to the so called 'altar call'. A person became a Christian "based on a spontaneous response, instead of, after a confession of faith after years of catechism lessons" (Krabbendam, 2009, p. 1031). YFC challenged the traditional churches by introducing a 'voluntary church', a church based on choice not on tradition. YFC's aim was to evangelize the youth in a contemporary way and to be a bridge to the church. The method they used was passed on to

national churches. They said: "You can do the same as we do (Van Capelleveen, 1977, p. 25)." YFC's motto was and still is: "Anchored to the Rock, geared to the times." In other words: connected to Jesus but also in tune with the times and environment in which YFC is in. Krabbendam points out: "YFC presented a 'Lived Religion' in which faith is an adventure and not merely a tradition (Krabbendam, 2009, p. 1031). He touches here on a crucial point, besides the forgiveness of sins and repentance, once a person was saved, he or she could have a personal relationship with God/Jesus and be at peace with God. The message that God cares about you, and the question, 'do you have peace with God?', attracted young people to see the American preachers. This question resonated in people's lives. It also resonated with some interviewees who 'gave their lives to Jesus' during the so called rallies, which were organized by Youth for Christ, e.g. Hans Keijzer and Otto de Bruijne. The latter was particularly touched by the question: 'Do you have peace with God?' (Bruijne, 2014). Besides these, rallies, youth camps and activities at schools were YFC core activities. Although many church leaders remained sceptical or were absolutely against the work of YFC, some pastors were enthusiastic and in the fifties the work of YFC grew. There were several national workers who travelled through the whole country and were welcomed by local committees, that would take care of organizing the meetings.

However, halfway through the sixties the concept was worn out. And YFC Netherlands had to reinvent itself. A new concept, in which 'coffee bars' played a central role, was launched. In these coffee bars youngsters were welcomed to discuss the issues of life. The coffee bars connected to the growing youth culture of the time. A culture of music, hanging out in bars, informal get together and a culture of discussion. (Vellenga, 1991, 141). These coffee bars were for Christian teenagers and young adults alternatives for the secular bars and discotheques.

In 1982, in a period that new religious movements were very often negatively labelled as sects, Paul Schnabel argues, about YFC and other evangelical youth organizations, Navigators and Campus Crusade, that they were in high tension with the traditional churches and in an even higher tension with society as a whole. He even argues, that YFC turned from an almost inner church movement to an (almost) sectarian movement and that in the future it would turn even more sectarian (Schnabel, 1982, p. 82). The latter part of its statement did not become reality. From the mid-eighties the relation between the churches and YFC became normalized and is by several traditional churches highly valued. One of the reasons YFC was called a sect, back in the seventies, was that they were very conservative on morality issues, especially concerning abortion, divorce, pre-marital sex, homosexuality etc. as the whole movement was at the time. Schnabel writes about YFC: "The criticism directed towards YFC right now is due to the manner they safeguard their morals, on homosexuality, marriage and pre-marital sex. They do not seem to have interest in political or social issues but their primary interest is the improvement of the individual (Schnabel, 1982, p. 46)." The

picture painted by Schnabel here was confirmed by the Van De Poll and De Bruijne, in the interviews conducted with them, in a more general way. Van De Poll calls the evangelical movement very moralistic in those days and De Bruijne pointed out that very few evangelicals were politically engaged. The appeal to a high ethical standard and abstinence of 'worldly' pleasures resonates with Bainbridge's question of religious transformation. In what sense is adherence to a new religious movement, in the present case the evangelical movement, or sympathizing with its ideas, capable of changing people's behavior? Bainbridge argues that transformation on ethics and morality occurs mostly, if personal faith is embedded in a network of community ties (Bainbridge, 1997, p. 298). Through the different local rallies and local workgroups these community ties were created by YFC and formed the counterpart of the dawning secularization and democratization. The same community ties were created by the coffee bars in the seventies. Schnabel argues, that the most successful movements are constituted around conviviality, faith and morality (*gezelligheid, geloof en moraal*) (Schnabel, 1982, p. 274). Through the conviviality of the coffee bars YFC was capable to create an atmosphere of constructing new social bonds with people.

4.1.2. Billy Graham: the Christian Kennedy

The most famous, almost iconic, person of the worldwide evangelical movement, is Billy Graham, son of a farmer from Charlotte, North Carolina, born on the 7th of November 1918. Graham started as a salesman of a brush factory and according to his lifelong friends, he was the best and most dedicated salesman this company ever had (Barnhart, 1972, pp. 12-13). He studied at the Florida Bible Institute and at Wheaton College in Chicago. Graham started his preaching career as a Baptist minister in Western Springs, Illinois. Not much later he started to work for the just founded organization YFC. In 1947 he started as a traveling evangelist, and in 1952 he founded his own association the 'Billy Graham Evangelistic Association'. Since 1946, when he first came to Europe, he travelled extensively around the world with his campaigns, addressing up to one million people at a time. He is a gifted speaker, a well-dressed good looking man, a salesman by profession, who could capture people's attention and who embodied the American dream. Van de Poll says, "Graham was a kind of Christian Kennedy (Van de Poll, 2014)."

Graham's main aim is (he is still alive) reaching the whole world with the gospel in participation with the existing churches. His message was based on the sinfulness of every human, repentance of sins, and receiving Jesus Christ in your heart. In his preaching he often attacked other religions and ideologies. One of the ideologies he spoke against was the communist ideology. He called it a pseudo religion, but other religious systems were under attack in his preaching as well. In a

published speech of 1952 he sees communism as punishment of God for the wickedness and sinfulness of the Western world. According to Graham communism is much worse than fascism and Nazism. "The only solution for the sinfulness of America and the rest of the Western world is to return to God (Houten, 1954, pp. 23-24)." Krabbendam points out, that "the goals of the American nation and its churches were compatible: both urgently resisted the threat of the materialistic and godless Soviet Union (Krabbendam, 2009, p. 1029)." Billy Graham and other evangelical Americans were concerned with the spiritual state of Europe after the War and were convinced that if people would not convert from their wickedness and turn to God, America and the Western world, would be destroyed. Joe E. Barnhart, emeritus professor of religious studies at the University of North Texas, calls Grahams philosophy: "Billy Graham's Christian Americanism." An intermingling of Christianity and politics, promoting the American ways of life, in which 'rugged individualism' and democracy play an important role in the God given country (Barnhart, 1972, pp. 227-240). These American values and beliefs needed to be exported. However, Graham's philosophy was that democracy could only be successful if people did accept Christ. "The gospel he preaches is the only hope for the entire globe (Barnhart, 1972, p. 234)."

With this message and conviction, Graham came to the Netherlands in 1954 to conduct a meeting in the Olympic Stadium of Amsterdam on the 22nd of June. Forty thousand people were present at this meeting and a choir of two thousand four hundred people accompanied the meeting. The greatness of the choir was something new by Dutch standards. It was the simplicity of the message of the evangelist and the worldly-sounding music which caused controversy not only within the churches but also in the press.¹⁰ Graham's ideal was to work together with existing churches. These local churches prepared the meetings in the country under supervision of someone from his organization. Many pastoral workers were trained to care for the new converts. After every speech, as was done by YFC, he did an 'altar call'. He would ask the audience to repent, commit themselves to Christ and make a stand to come forward and pray a sinner's prayer. Graham writes in his biography that he was surprised to see that the Netherlands still had an active church life compared with the rest of Europe. But nonetheless many converted during that day in the Olympic Stadium (Graham, 1997, pp. 256-257).

A year later in 1955 he came again to the Netherlands, to the Feyenoord stadium in Rotterdam, with the same concept. Around sixty thousand were present that day and the choir had grown to six thousand people (Polygoon, 1955). Five thousand responded to the altar call of Graham at the end of the service. And as in 1954 there were proponents and opponents of Graham's messages. The writer of the section '*Rondkijker*' in the youth journal of the youth movement of the

¹⁰ See the paragraph on Ben Hoekendijk for the importance of contemporary worship music on the evangelical movement.

orthodox reformed church (*gereformeerde gemeenten*) words it as follows: “If one looks at the crowds, that are gathered, ..., one would say, that there still is a need to hear the gospel. However, we are of the opinion that is all about the thrill, and the person of Graham, the suggestive orator (De rondkijker, 1955, 22).”¹¹ According to this unknown writer it is about the thrill, of being together with many people, with good music and a charismatic speaker. A completely different way of believing than in the tradition.

The two older interviewees Hans Keijzer and Peter Vlug were both present at this last meeting in the Kuip. Peter Vlug calls it the beginning of change of the Netherlands. The evangelical movement started after the War and the coming of Billy Graham to the Netherlands can be marked as a starting point (Vlug, 2014). People from every denomination came to these meetings, people of every age and even people from Belgium came to hear this new way of presenting the American evangelical message. Although the fifties are labelled as the heydays of pillarization of Dutch society, people of many churches were coming to listen. Why did they come? One of the answers might be that Graham had a tactic of working together with the local churches. He worked within the different protestant sub-pillars and addressed the pastors of the churches. These pastors were responsible for taking care of the newly converted Christians. By working together with Graham and importing the ‘voluntary church’ into their church, they helped create a market-based Protestantism.

Secondly, many people were searching for answers on big questions of life; is there a God?, if so why did he allow the War to happen etc. “Billy Graham was capable of giving people new hope (Vlug, 2014).” So just as YFC, Billy Graham, appealed to a felt tension in people’s lives. First of all the trauma of the War but also the new threat of communism and the by some perceived immorality were issues he talked about. Graham offered people a solution for the problems in their lives but also the solution for the problems in the world. At the same time he was capable of depicting a picture of the ‘American Dream’ of prosperity and wealth. Although Bainbridge argues, that relative deprivation is not a prime mover for people to join a new religious movement (Bainbridge, 1997, p. 167), I think that relative deprivation, longing for the American dream and a certain jealousy for what the Americans had, played a role, especially in the early stages when there was not yet a movement. People did look up to America’s riches and were therefore open to the American preachers and evangelists. With Billy Graham two stadiums were filled with people. With Tommy Lee Osborn even more people would show up.

What the lasting impact was and if the converts remained Christian is hard to determine. Some doubt it because the only people Graham reached they say, were already conservative

¹¹ Als men de geweldige mensenmassa beziet, die in de ijzeren kuip van beton en staal wat Stadion heet, waren samengestroomd, zou men zeggen, dat er toch nog wel behoefte bestaat om het evangelie te horen. We zijn echter van mening dat het voor het meest draait om de sensatie, om de persoon van Graham, de suggestieve redenaar.

Christians. Others like Vlug and Hoekendijk were very inspired by Graham and started to copy him in the way they did their campaigns. The fact is that the meetings in Amsterdam and Rotterdam were something new, from America, our liberators, and so worth investigating. As the secular press and Christian press covered these meetings, it was the first big exposure of evangelicalism in the Netherlands after the war. Evangelicalism went public, although it was size-wise still marginal, the seeds for the emerging of the movement had been planted. The 'voluntary church' or maybe better 'voluntary faith' came and was destined to stay. James Kennedy argues: "The coming to the Netherlands of the Billy Graham crusades in the mid-1950's heralded a new kind of religious engagement (Kennedy, 2009, p. 938)."

4.1.3. Tommy Lee Osborn: a faith 'healer'

Another American preacher who attracted much attention and a great audience in 1958 in The Hague and Groningen, was Tommy Lee Osborn. Osborn did not only preach forgiveness of sins but came with yet another 'new' message: Jesus is the same yesterday, today and tomorrow. The implication of this message for him was that the miracles mentioned in the Bible and performed by Jesus in the New Testament were still possible today. The focus of the meetings was on healing the sick and the weak. The NCRV reported about the meetings Osborn had held in Liège, Belgium, on the 18th of August 1958, which helped to make people curious to go to '*Het Malieveld*' in The Hague. According to the *Polygoon* journal¹², more than two hundred thousand people came to listen to Osborn from the 22nd of August till the 31st of August 1958. Others talk about more than one hundred thousand every day (Laan & Laan, 2007, 87). People from different social backgrounds and different ages all came to The Hague or Groningen to experience the miracles.

A documentary or better a promotion film called 'Holland Wonder' was made of the campaign by the Osborn organization and can be watched on YouTube¹³. The Dutch voiceover speaks of: "On the '*Malieveld*' the cool-headed conservative Dutch came together, driven by their hunger for the miraculous."¹⁴ On stage many people testified that they were healed from all kind of diseases like deafness, blindness, multiple sclerosis and many other diseases. But also people who would get out of their wheelchairs and walk. There is not much information from people who were supposed to be healed and what happened further. Scholars like, among others, Vellenga (Vellenga, 1991), Stoffels (Stoffels, 1990) and Krabbendam (Krabbendam, 2009) shortly mention Osborn as

¹² <http://in.beeldengeluid.nl/collectie/#/details/expressie/427077/false/true> : visited 18th of August 2014

¹³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GU3qcCmPSUA> : visited 18th of August 2014

¹⁴ "Op het malieveld dromden de bezadigde conservatieve Hollanders samen, gedreven door hun honger voor het wonderbaarlijke."

bringing a supplement to the evangelical message of personal conversion; namely physical and emotional healing, into the spectrum. Van Der Laan, emeritus professor of Pentecostalism at the Free University in Amsterdam, argues, that the Osborn campaign led to the establishment of several Pentecostal churches and that the number of Pentecostal Christians grew from 584 in 1947 to 7590 in 1960 (Laan & Laan, 2007).

All the above-mentioned scholars agree that the Osborn meetings inspired several people to start their own ministry. Osborn's translator during the 'Holland Wonder', Johan Maasbach started to organize so called 'Osborn meetings'. His organization, Johan Maasbach World Mission ended up at the periphery of the evangelical spectrum in the Netherlands although the organization still exists. Ben Hoekendijk, Osborn's second translator at the rallies, started the Ben Hoekendijk's evangelization campaigns (*Ben Hoekendijk's evangelisatiecampagnes*). In the interview conducted with Ben Hoekendijk he said: "Osborn has deeply impacted the Netherlands. He pointed the Calvinistic Dutch towards the Bible, by saying it is in the Bible so it is true. The Calvinistic Dutch could not go around that fact. This is for me a key to Osborn's success. And if you say you can be healed from your sickness you have a great marketing tool (Hoekendijk, 2014)." This exactly the point I made in the second chapter: The evangelical movement has been capable of marketing their product in such a way that people are attracted to check it out. The 'voluntary church' has caused a way of believing in which marketing your product has become essential. On the basis on the product, the promotion, the place of availability of the product and the price, people make a rational choice to go with it or leave it.

As mentioned with YFC and Billy Graham, direct results were not visible in big numbers, if we look at new churches or new 'Dutch' organization. Some Pentecostal churches were established, like Streams of Power (*Stromen van kracht*) and Power from Above (*Kracht van Omhoog*) and early adopters started with their own organizations. Just as in society, things seemed to be as before the war, but as in society under the surface things were changing and a new generation was coming, that wanted to do things differently. The seeds were laid for an individual subjective market based faith. The forces of democratization, individualization and secularization would come to the surface and change Dutch civil life as well as its religious landscape.

4.2. Towards a movement (sub-pillar) - 1965-1980

As has been shown in the previous chapter, the sixties of the twentieth century were a time of change. A democratization, individualization and secularization process started within society. Wealth was accumulated, people had more leisure time, the world opened up, access to information

became faster and easier and it was the time of an upcoming youth culture. In this period many initiatives were developed or came to growth and many entrepreneurs started their own ministry.

4.2.1. Ben Hoekendijk: an evangelical entrepreneur

One of these entrepreneurs who started, just after Osborn's healing campaigns, in 1959 with his own campaigns was Ben Hoekendijk: "Ben Hoekendijk's Evangelization Campaigns." With tent campaigns he travelled through the country, to recruit people for Jesus. In his tent he had a banner which said: 'Jesus saves and heals.' He removed the word 'heals', soon after he started, because he experienced that not everybody would be healed. "I know that Jesus heals, but I cannot use that as a certainty, come with your sick and healing will happen. I distanced myself from other people on this issue." (Hoekendijk, 2014).

With his wife, Wiesje Hoekendijk, who led worship services during the campaigns, they started to compile so called 'revival songs', which developed into the Revival Songbook (*Opwekkingsbundel*). This songbook became 'the' songbook for the evangelical movement. Every year till now songs are added and more and more churches, also the old traditional churches, are using this songbook now. The songs are typified by the easiness with which they can be sung. Simple melodies and words that can be remembered after singing them once. Hoekendijk said that he was inspired by Billy Graham and Tommy Lee Osborn to use a big choir and easy choruses (*koortjes*) to sing (Hoekendijk, 2014). In the beginning most songs were translated from English to Dutch, today more and more songs are written by Dutch Christian artists, although English translated songs are still dominant. The Revival Songbook (*Opwekkingsbundel*), in which, today, more than seven hundred songs are collected, presents many songs in which the individual nature of the movement is presented. Many songs are focused on me and I in relation to the Divine. Some examples: He is king of *my* heart (1), *I* put *my* trust in you (42), O Lord *my* God (407), *My* Jesus, *I* love you (392). In the songs the individual nature of the evangelical movement is very well expressed. Miranda Klaver wrote a dissertation about the semiotics of evangelical songs in the conversion process (Klaver, 2011). She argues that "the relation between music and the experience of the sacred reveals how the sacred is closely attached to the self. Worship music is thus an important resource for encountering God and celebrating an inwardly constituted faith (Klaver, 2011, p. 231)." The modernized Christian music culture is an essential component of the success of the evangelical movement. Ben Hoekendijk was aware of the power of music, when he first organized the 'One Way Day' in de '*Jaarbeurs*' in Utrecht in 1972, he used, as was done by Billy Graham, a big choir of several hundred men and women, to lead the worship services. Through the music people could have an encounter with the

divine. It was significantly different than the cognitive church services in the traditional churches. Modern music in which one could express her or himself and in which the material body was much more involved than sitting static in pews, and adhering to cognitive beliefs and opinions (McGuire, 2008, p. 115). The young visitors were representatives of a new generation that had a strong urge to experience a 'new' way of believing and for whom the 'life with Jesus, was a life as an adventure'. In the singing, speaking in tongues and healing services that were held by Hoekendijk, the link was made between individuals' materiality as humans and their spirituality (McGuire, 2008, p. 115).

Hoekendijk's organization really started to grow as it started to organize family camps during Pentecost weekends, starting in 1971 in Ede. The first camp was visited by five hundred people, but as years past more and more people came. Today more than fifty thousand Christians visit and twenty thousand Christians are camping at what is called the Revival conference (*Opwekkingsconferentie*); annually held in Biddinghuizen. At the beginning it was mainly Pentecostal Christians but nowadays Christians from every denomination are visiting the conference every year. It has become an institution in itself; in a 'camping' atmosphere, believers come to be 'filled up' again for the rest of the year. Camping together, talking together, eating together in a religious atmosphere with more than twenty thousand people, as a yearly returning ritual, or evangelical pilgrimage, is part of the embodied evangelical religious practice for many people. Almost the whole conference is run by volunteers. The work they do during the conference is a recurring annual religious ritual and is an integral part of their religious life; they do it for Jesus. It is part of the adventure of a 'lived religious life' with Jesus and an individual way of being able of doing something for His 'glory', in which the material body plays a big role.

Ben Hoekendijk's evangelization campaigns, later called Revival foundation (*Stichting Opwekking*), had and still has a lot of influence on the way the evangelical movement has developed and is developing. It has given the movement its songbook, its yearly conference and its magazine.

4.2.2. Mission Organizations

The time after the war till the seventies was also the time in which many mission organizations, organizations that recruit, mostly but not exclusively young adults, to give their lives to the proclamation of the gospel abroad or in the Netherlands, were established. It goes too far to mention them all and discuss them in length so I will only mention the bigger ones. C&MA Missions (Cama Zending) (1950) Open Doors (1955), Operation Mobilization (1963), Near East Ministries (1963), Overseas Missionary Fellowship (1966), Campus crusade for Christ, (*Instituut voor Evangelisatie*), today Agapè (1968), Wycliff Bible translators (1970), Youth with a Mission (1973), Tear Fund (1973).

Except for Open Doors (formerly called Crusades) and Near East Ministries, all the organizations are branches of Anglo-Saxon organizations, already existing in England or the United States. Jan van Capelleveen writes: "They (mission agencies) have called up their reflection in the countries of Europe and Asia."¹⁵ (Capelleveen, 1977, p. 25). This shows once more the importance the Anglo-Saxon world, and especially America, had on Dutch evangelicalism and the way it has taken shape.

As has been shown in chapter two, the evangelical movement is individualistic in two respects. First a personal choice for Jesus is expected to enter in a life of 'religious adventure', secondly this adventure is concretized in the 'great commandment' of Jesus, to go in this world and to make everybody his disciples (Matthew 28:19), as a commandment for every Christian. This was made concrete in the sixties and seventies by young people. Organizations as Operation Mobilization and Youth with a Mission mobilized teenagers and young adults to evangelize on short term trips in Europe. The world opened up through a growing prosperity, more leisure time and more information. People were asked to give part of their money and time for the good cause. Participating in the proclamation of gospel was, all of a sudden, open for anybody who called him or herself a Christian. No longer was it the privilege of theologically-trained missionaries. A democratization movement, in which lay people could do the same work as professionals, and in which emphasis was put on a personal experience (Vellenga, 1991, p. 228). An adventure with Jesus that resulted in an activist movement and an outburst of activities.

In 1973 the Evangelical Missionary Alliance was founded with the aim to bring these organizations together under one umbrella and to help the organizations work together and to provide practical services to them. Several years later the Evangelical Alliance (EA) was founded in 1979. The EA is like the EZA an umbrella organization of missional organizations and evangelical church denominations. The goal is to form a network in which organizations and churches work together to make the gospel visible in the Netherlands. Traditionally the EA focused on the Netherlands and the EZA on work abroad. In 2013 the two merged and continue under the name EA-EZA.

But what about the churches, as the above mentioned organizations were and are operating outside the traditional church lines? Many initiators of these organizations ended up in free independent evangelical churches, of which it is hard to figure out how many there are. The 'Evangelical address book' lists today 1200¹⁶. Hoekstra & Ipenburg give an overview of the Pentecostal and Evangelical churches that is far from extensive, but it indicates that many of these churches started somewhere in the beginning of the eighties (Hoekstra & Ipenburg, 2008, p. 315

¹⁵ "Ze (missionaire organisaties) hebben stuk voor stuk in de landen van Europa en Azië -- hun nationale spiegelbeeld opgeroepen."

¹⁶ <http://www.evangelischeadressengids.nl/site/kerkgemeente> (consulted 14 November 2014)

e.v.). In the sixties and seventies several denominations with an American background were established in the Netherlands, like the Church of the Nazarene since 1967 and the Christian and Missionary Alliance (CAMA) churches since 1975. It seems that first the para-church organizations were founded and in a later stage people would organize themselves in evangelical churches, as ties with the traditional churches were weakened.

4.2.3. Evangelical broadcasting company

What started small has grown out to be the symbol of the evangelical movement, or better the symbol of Christianity in the Netherlands in general, as Otto de Bruijne argued (Bruijne, 2014): The Evangelical Broadcasting Company (EO). In 1965 several people came together to discuss the possibility of founding a new broadcasting company that broadcasts an authentic Christian message. The NCRV, the Christian company, founded by Johannes de Heer besides others, was seen as becoming too liberal under the influence of liberalization in the mainline churches. The NCRV skipped programming choirs, Bible readings, prayer and other Christian programs. By several interviewees it was said, that evangelicals like Jan Kits and Jan van Oostveen, had tried to talk with the NCRV management, but were seen by the NCRV leaders as not being relevant. So these two men with the help of some others and with the help of Americans experts (Dorenbos, 2014) (Krabbendam, 2009, p. 1036) founded the EO. It broadcasted for the first time in April 1970 as a 'C-class' broadcasting company with fifteen thousand members. At its peak in the nineties, it had more than eight hundred thousand members and was the biggest public broadcasting company in the Netherlands. At present it has around six hundred thousand members. The EO has become the initiator of many new evangelical initiatives (Krabbendam, 2009, p. 1036). EO family days and EO youth days were organized, of which especially the EO youth days have seen an enormous growth from three thousand in 1974 to a filled Gelredome stadium in Arnhem with thirty thousand teenagers in 2014. These days are in a sense comparable with the days Ben Hoekendijk and now The Revival Foundation (*St. Opwekking*) organizes. It is about experiencing the divine in a modern way, with modern Christian music and good preachers in which the message of forgiveness of sins and repentance was brought.

In the early years of the focus of the EO was on programs that dispersed the evangelical message, of personal repentance and forgiveness. Although from a later date, symbolic for this message, was the program, 'May I talk to you for a moment' (*Mag ik even met je praten*) in which the individual conversion story of someone was used as a witness of what 'God' had done. We see again an individual approach, suggestive way of believing with personal stories, and again the help of

American experts to establish a part of the movement. Interesting to note is that within the board of the EO, the different orthodox protestant denominations, from Reformist churches (*gereformeerde gemeente*) to Pentecostals, came together. As tensions between the different protestants were very tense in this period, it is surprising to see cooperation in the board of the EO. According to Dorenbos, former director of the EO in the seventies: “The Bible was at the centre of the EO and everything we did was measured along that line (Dorenbos, 2014).” The EO has become the symbol not only for the evangelical movement but also for orthodox reformed groups.

4.2.4. Evangelical Higher Education

As the movement grew, a need was felt for higher evangelical education. In 1972 the Evangelical Bible College (*De evangelische bijbelschool*) was founded in Doorn in ‘*Het Brandpunt*’ the conference centre of *Het Zoeklicht* from Johannes de Heer. Students could follow a theological education of three years. Many graduates became pastors of Baptist churches, evangelical churches, etc., or became teachers of religion at Christian schools, or went abroad to do missionary work for the different mission organizations that had been established. Next to the theological education it equipped Christians of all denominations in the Evangelical Preparation Schools (*Evangelische Toerusting scholen*) for their personal lives. This is a course that took the attendees through the Bible in four years and gave them basic introductions in evangelical theology, with a strong emphasis on personal Bible reading. The theological program grew to a four year, fully recognized school for teachers of religion i.e. Christianity. In the nineties the program was incorporated into the School for Higher education in Ede. The ETS fused with the Evangelical Theological Academy (founded in 1984) into the Evangelical College in 2011.¹⁷

The Evangelical College (*Evangelische Hogeschool*) in Amersfoort was founded in 1977 by Koos van Delden, Willem Ouweneel, Willem Glashouwer and Frits Kerkhof, all men from different church denominations. The school came forth out of the foundation for the advancement of science based on the bible (*‘Stichting ter bevordering van de bijbelgetrouwe wetenschap’*). Investigations had been made to found an orthodox-protestant university, but this was not feasible. That is why, it was decided that a preparation year before university would be organized. The aim of this preparation year was and is to equip young adults for the rational university world and to safeguard students from losing their faith (Delden, 2014). So with the academic year of 1977 on the 5th of September the first preparation year started. Later a school for Higher Journalistic Education and a program to educate teachers of history, economy and theology were added. The EH also published a magazine

¹⁷ <http://www.evangelisch-college.nl/Geschiedenis.html> last visited 19 august 2014

called Bible and Science (*Bijbel en Wetenschap*) that promoted creationism. Students were made ready for higher education with an orthodox protestant background. According to Stoffels the fundamentals of the EH show a typical fundamentalist vision on the Bible and its authority in every aspect of life (Stoffels, 1990, 80). The EH was founded in a sense to counter the liberalization and rationalization of the universities. However, rationalization was used in its magazine to make the creation story of Genesis 1 acceptable to its readers and students.

With the foundation of these schools and the EO a new pillar became visible in Dutch society: an evangelical pillar. That was created as a reaction to the liberalization and horizontalization of the mainline churches as the Dutch reformed church, but also as a reaction to the moral shift in society with its sexual revolution, emancipation and rock 'n roll culture.

4.3. Conclusion

One of the characteristics of the evangelical movement is that it takes the Bible literally or almost literally. This was especially the case in the beginning of the movement in the Netherlands. Under inspiration of Billy Graham and Tommy Lee Osborn the revival of the movement started as we have seen before. They opened the way to a new understanding of the Biblical message in an orthodox way. They connected to the people in the Netherlands who were familiar with protestant Dutch Christianity and showed them through mass meetings, new ways of being Christian. Not in a traditional way but in a way that Jesus was personally involved in your daily life. To experience this personal involvement repentance from sin and dedication of your life were the only requirements and the adventure could begin, which is seen in Ben Hoekendijk's evangelization campaigns and the big number of mission organizations. At the same time we see the construction of a new sub-pillar in Dutch society, by founding Evangelical Schools and by founding an own broadcasting organization, the EO. Later also primary and secondary evangelical schools would be founded and with the founding of the RPF (reformed protestant federation), there was a political party, where politically active evangelicals could adhere to. It was in these awakening years not a real politically active movement, on the contrary the movement was in high tension with its environment, in moral issues. It was a very moralistic movement, as a counter reaction to the perceived immorality in society and liberalization in some traditional churches.

What are the numbers of people that consider themselves evangelical today? This is a question that is very hard to answer. If we look at the different Pentecostal and Evangelical churches, figures of 2005 show that around seventy thousand people adhere to these churches, while in 1970 only seventeen thousand members were registered (Becker & Hart, 2006, pp. 30-31.). However, this

figure is nothing more than an estimate, because many evangelical churches do not properly keep track of membership and do not report about it and in some churches you cannot even be a member. But this is not the only problem because as is made clear in the words about the EO and EH, it was not only Christians from Evangelical or Pentecostal churches involved in founding these organizations. Pastors and others from traditional churches were and are in governing bodies or in another way working for evangelical para-church organizations. There are estimates, by for example Krabbendam, that today eight hundred thousand Dutch believers identify as evangelicals (Krabbendam, 2009, p. 1037).

5. Conclusions

In the previous chapters the developments in Dutch culture and society, and the simultaneous development of the evangelical movement after 1945, have been discussed. Let me now return to the research question of this thesis and see what can be concluded from the previous. The research question, I posed was:

What social and cultural developments/factors stimulated the growth of the evangelical movement after 1945 and what does it say about the religious changes in Dutch society?

The first and most important conclusion that can be drawn is: The evangelical movement in the Netherlands is very strongly influenced by American Evangelicalism. The coming of the American evangelists Billy Graham and Tommy Lee Osborn and the organization YFC has been crucial for the development of what we now know as the Dutch evangelical movement. Motivated to give Dutch people new hope after a distressful time during the War and to provide an alternative for the 'ungodly' ideology of Soviet communism, American missionaries, preachers and organizations, brought a message of repentance of sin, forgiveness of sins, eternal life and healing. A life with Christ was the only solution to the dangers the world was facing. Although the immediate response to their message might not have been large in numbers, they laid the seeds for what later grew into a distinct movement. Inspired by the American preachers, young Dutch preachers as Ben Hoekendijk and Johan Maasbach started their own ministry. Influenced by American evangelicalism, Christian Protestantism has shown a vitality that not many would have thought in the beginning of the seventies. "The activities of Americans led to democratization of Protestantism in the Netherlands by challenging traditional ecclesiastical authorities, empowering common believers, and spreading this liberation in society. During the pioneering phase, between 1945-1965, young believers and the unchurched were mobilized, which caused some tension with both liberal and traditional theologians. During the second phase, from 1965 until 1990, these skills were used in effort to counter secularizing trends both within and outside the churches (Krabbendam, 2009, pp. 1027-1028)." In the second phase from 1965 the new founded organizations like Ben Hoekendijk's Evangelization Campaigns, but also the Evangelical Broadcasting Company and Evangelical Higher Education schools have developed an own interpretation of evangelicalism that resembles the American version, but is perceived as distinctly Dutch. James Kennedy point out: "We now understand that the Europeans (including the Dutch) did not swallow American cultural products but 'mediated' and 'creolizing' American products and making them identifiably Dutch (Kennedy, 2009, p. 932). Although the Dutch protestants have moulded American evangelicalism into a Dutch format,

we would not have an evangelical movement in the Netherlands as we now know it, without the influence of American evangelicalism.

Secondly, the evangelical movement, as a new religious movement within protestant Christianity, added a new product to the supply side of the religious protestant market. It offered a return on investment that attracted many, especially young people and established a so called 'voluntary church'. A church of individual choice, a way of individual faith and a way to go on an individual adventure with God, with the newly founded missionary organization. The democratization in many areas of society caused the young to start asking questions and developing their own new way of believing. By importing the 'voluntary church' a concept of choosing a certain way of believing was introduced, with the result that a person could not only choose a church but could also choose not to belong to a church. Although the concept of choosing has been present in Protestantism ever since the Reformation, it is very much emphasized by American evangelicalism. The freedom to choose one's own religion and or religious affiliation could also result in leaving the church. Secularization seen as church abandonment is then the logical result. So the introduction of the 'voluntary church' resulted in church abandonment. Further research into the relation between evangelicalism and secularization is needed to justify this claim. Especially after the Sixties, in which the cultural and social changes took place, the world opened up and freedom of choice in all areas of life became normal. People could create their own world. Without the democratization in this period the movement would most likely have remained small and marginal. The same is true for Dutch religion in general, it has become a marketplace in which you choose what fits best with what you need. The influence of American evangelism and culture, freedom of choice, has not only touched the protestant pillar in Dutch society, but has resulted in a marketplace of religion.

Thirdly, the evangelical movement has shown, with its emphasis on the individual and the individual experience of the Divine, to be part of the individualization process that has been visible in Dutch society since the Sixties. It was able to bring an as new perceived message to the orthodox protestant traditional institutionalized and sub-pillarized churches, in being a distinct new religious movement. A movement that was in high-tension with the other churches and was in the beginning not involved in so called 'earthly matters', like politics and scientific education. The only thing that was of essence to the movement was the spiritual well-being of the individual. 'Do you (singular) have peace with God?' was a central question that potential recruits would be asked. Disappointed in the traditional church, which was highly static in ritual, the recruits of the evangelical movement experienced a whole new world, through the worship services in contemporary music. In these services the person could participate with the whole body in singing, dancing, raising hands and seeking healing. Through these experiences the individual creates its own personal narrative and is on an individual adventure with Jesus, a way as 'lived religion'. Away from dogmas but with the Bible

in their hands as tour guide for the next step to make toward their way to eternal life or the return of Jesus. This turn away from dogmas can be placed against the background of the 'subjective turn' as Heelas & Woodhead pointed out, away from the traditional patterns as 'life as' to a 'subjective life.' Harskamp calls this: "a radical religious subjectivism (Harskamp, 2000, p. 146)." The emphasis is on the 'authentic self', found by conversion and accepting the work of Jesus. The evangelical movement tends to give attention to the person's feelings as the authority of the speaking of God in their lives. God and the individual are meeting each other in the experience of the individual. Status is given to the individual who 'seems' to have a strong relation with God, but in the end religious authority lies with the individual and his personal encounter with God. This subjectivism often results in divisions and interpersonal problems within the movement. Because of the individual and subjective nature of the movement conflicts can easily arise. Many different ideas about faith exist due to a lack of an 'objective' authority, which results in different evangelical groups (Harskamp, 2000, p. 148). The search for the authentic 'self' can also be explained by the Maslow pyramid, in which self-fulfilment is the final stage of need to be fulfilled. If everything is fulfilled, the last need that needs to be filled is self-realization. Through the accumulated wealth in the sixties and seventies, in which there was full employment and authority structures were abolished new horizons were to be discovered, the focus in society but also in religious practice shifted slowly to self-fulfilment.

Fourthly, the evangelical movement has, in a society where pillars were demolished, been able to create a new sub-pillar within the degrading protestant pillar in the Netherlands. As Vellenga already stated in 1991, the recruits from the evangelical movement came and come from the "strongly religious and churchly people (Vellenga, 1991, p. 227)." Within the protestant pillar a phenomenon exists that has become known as the 'circulation of saints'. Believers go from one church to another, if the pastures seem greener somewhere else, or in terms of Stark & Finke, if the spiritual reward is higher in another church. This all takes place within a protestant evangelical sub-pillar, which is identifiable by several institutions. First there is the founding of the EO, as a reaction against the liberalization of the NCRV, as a sign of authentic evangelical Christianity. The EO has become the identifier for orthodox evangelical Christianity today. Evangelical colleges were founded to prepare young people for evangelical ministry and to prepare them for the liberal scientific world of the universities. Many years later evangelical elementary and secondary school were founded. With the founding of the political party RPF in 1975, which attracted the political active evangelicals, the sub-pillar was 'completed.' For some adherents their whole life took and takes places in an evangelical environment. The entrepreneurs of the movement established foundations ('*stichtingen*') that were legally easily constructed and which gave full power to the board and the pioneer. So on the one hand these entrepreneurs wanted and liberated themselves of the authoritarian structures

of the church, but they recreated the same structures in the new organizations. By doing so they created new institutions and a new sub-pillar.

Religion in the Netherlands has shown resistance against what has been labelled the classic secularization thesis, in which religion would become less important in a time of modernity. Religion is still present in Dutch society, but has taken different forms. Religion has become a quest for the inner authentic self in what Harskamp calls the “new religious longing (Harskamp, 2000).” In a time of individualization, a time in which religion in the Netherlands has become a matter of choice, the longing for a new religious experience is evident. Religion has become a matter of the individual in its private life ‘behind the front door.’ By developing in an individual way religion has also become ‘subjective’. What is true for you, does not have to be true for me. Choices can be made on the religious marketplace and combinations of different traditions and religions are made. The central question seems to be: Does it work? This is true for the evangelical movement but also for religion in general in the Netherlands.

In this thesis I have focussed on the time from just after the war to around 1980. As an answer to the tensions from after the war, through the tensions of the Cold War, through the democratization, individualization and ‘secularization’ process in society in the Sixties, and under strong influence of American Evangelicalism, the evangelical movement took root in Dutch society. This root grew slowly but certainly. The growth in evangelical churches and adherents had just begun and would considerably increase in the following years. The movement changed significantly since this time. In the years covered by this research it was a movement that was moralistic and in tension with the environment, especially the traditional churches. In the last ten years these tensions have become less and less and it lost its sharp moralistic edges. The evangelical and Pentecostal churches and organizations in their sub-pillar have become an established and accepted movement in Dutch society. For further research it would be interesting to see why and how this came to pass, as scholars like Schnabel (Schnabel, 1982, p. 82) and Stoffels (Stoffels, 1990, p. 140), foresaw that the tensions with wider society would increase in time.

The evangelical movement is a diverse and disturbing movement that against the tide of church abandonment succeeded in attracting a significant number of people. It gave Protestantism in the Netherlands a new perceived way of being a Christian and liberated the believer or as Hans Righart would put it: by decolonizing the believer (Righart, 1995, p. 267).

Bibliography

- Anderson, A. (2010). *Varieties, Taxonomies, and Definitions*. In A. Anderson, M. Bergunder, A. Droogers, & C. Van Der Laan, *Studying Global Pentecostalism* (pp. 23-42). Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Bainbridge, W. S. (1997). *The sociology of new religious movements*. London: Routledge.
- Barnhart, J. E. (1972). *The Billy Graham Religion*. Philadelphia: Pilgrim Press.
- Becker, J., & Hart, J. d. (2006). *Godsdienstige Veranderingen in Nederland - Verschuivingen in de binding met de kerken de Christelijke traditie*. Den Haag: Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau.
- Blom, J. (1981). *Jaren van tucht en ascese*. In: Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden. Deel 96, 300-333.
- Blom, J. (2000). *Pillarisation in Perspective*. West European Politics Vol, 23, No.3, 153-164.
- Boersema, P. R. (2005). *The evangelical movement in the Netherlands - New Wine in new wineskins*. In E. Sengers(Ed.), *The Dutch and their Gods - Secularization and transformation of religion in the Netherlands since 1950* (pp. 163 - 180). Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren.
- Bosscher, D. (1997). *De jaren vijftig epischer geduid*. BMGN-Low Countries Historical Review vol.112 - 2, 209-226.
- Bruijne, O. d. (2014, June 26). Interview Otto de Bruijne. (A. Schoemaker, Interviewer)
- Capelleveen, J. v. (1977). *Verbreiding na de Tweede Wereldoorlog*. In J. v. Cappeleveen, H. Eschbach, P. Halma, S. Van Der Land, & J. Zijlstra, *De story van Youth for Christ* (pp. 21-30). Kampen.
- De Keizer, M. (1979). *De gijzelaars van Sint Michielsgestel - Een eliteberaad in oorlogstijd*. Alphen aan den Rijn: A.W. Sijthoff's Uitgeversmaatschappij bv.
- Dekker, G., Hart, J. d., & Peters, J. (1997). *God in Nederland 1966-1996*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Anthos.
- Dekker, P. (1996). *Depillarization, Deconfessionlization, and De-Ideologization: Empirical Trends in Dutch Society 1958-1992*. In: Review of Religious Research, Vol. 37, No.4, 325-341.
- Delden, K. v. (2014, May 30). Interview Koos van Delden. (A. Schoemaker, Interviewer)
- Dorenbos, B. (2014, August 26). (A. Schoemaker, Interviewer)
- Dunk, H. v. (1986). *Tussen welvaart en onrust. Nederland van 1955 tot 1973*. In: BMGN-Low Countries Historical Review, 2-22.
- Elsman, D. (1995). *Johannes de Heer, Evangelist in het licht van de wederkomst*. Zoetermeer.

- Everts, P. (1997). *Het maatschappelijk verzet tegen de kernbewapening; 'Ban de Bom'*. In: B. Schoemaker, & J. Janssen, *In de schaduw van de muur - Maatschappij en krijgsmacht rond 1960* (pp. 100-115). Den Haag: Sdu Uitgevers.
- Fekkes, J. (2008). *De Nijkerkse opwekkingsbeweging verdacht van 'geestdrijverij'*. In: E. v. Wall, & L. Wessels, *Een veelzijdige verstandhouding - Religie en Verlichting in Nederland 1650-1850* (pp. 119-134). Nijmegen.
- Fichter, J. H. (1983). *Youth in search of the sacred*. In: B. Wilson, *The social impact of New Religious Movements* (pp. 21-42). New York.
- Furseth, I., & Repstad, P. (2010). *An introduction to the sociology of religion*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Company.
- Geertz, C. (2008). *Religion as a cultural system*. In: M. Lambek, *A reader in the Anthropology of religion* (pp. 57-75). Oxford.
- Graham, B. (1997). *Zijn Biografie - Just as I am*. Apeldoorn: Novapres.
- Harskamp, A. v. (2000). *Het nieuwe religieuze verlangen*. Kampen.
- Heelas, P., & Woodhead, L. (2005). *The spiritual revolution - Why religion is giving way to spirituality*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing .
- Hoekendijk, B. (2014, May 23). Interview Ben Hoekendijk. (A. Schoemaker, Interviewer)
- Hoekstra, E., & Ipenburg, M. (2008). *Hanboek Christelijk Nederland - Kerken, gemeenten, samenkomsten en vergaderingen*. Kampen: Kok Uitgeverij.
- Houten, T. v. (1954). *Billy Graham een evangelist van onze tijd*. In: Lichtstralen op de akker der wereld, 55(1), 3-43.
- Kam, E. v. (2009). *Youth for Christ in Nederland - Een theologische onderbouwing voor een jongeren-evangelisatie-beweging*. Amsterdam: Masterthesis Vrije Universiteit.
- Keijzer, H. (2014, June 6). Interview Hans Keijzer . (A. Schoemaker, Interviewer)
- Kennedy, J. C. (2005). *Recent Dutch religious history and the limits of secularization*. In: E. Sengers, *The Dutch and their Gods Secularization and transformation of religion in the Netherlands since 1950* (pp. 27-42). Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren BV.
- Kennedy, J. C. (2009). *Cultural developments in the Dutch-American relationship*. In: H. Krabbendam, C. Van Minnen, & G. Scott-Smith, *Four Centuries of Dutch-American Relations 1609-2009* (pp. 931-948). Middelburg.
- Kennedy, J. C. (2009). *Cultural developments in the Dutch-American relationship since 1945*. In: H. Krabbendam, C. Van Minnen, & G. Scott-Smith, *Four Centuries of Dutch-American Relations 1609-2009* (pp. 931-948). Abbany.

- Klaver, M. (2008). *De evangelische beweging*. In: M. t. Borg, B. Erik, B. Marjo, K. Ymke, P. Rob, & (red), *Handboek Religie in Nederland - Perspectief - Overzicht - Debat* (pp. 146-159). Zoetermeer: Uitgeverij Meinema.
- Klaver, M. (2011). *This is my Desire - A semiotic perspective on conversion in an evangelical seeker church and a pentecostal church in the Netherlands*. Amsterdam.
- Koedijk, P. (1997). *Van 'Vrede en 'Vrijheid' tot 'Volk en Verdediging': veranderingen in anti-communistische psychologische oorlogsvoering in Nederland, 1950-1965*. In: B. Schoenmaker, & J. Janssen, *In de schaduw van de muur - Maatschappij en krijgsmacht rond 1960* (pp. 57-81). Den Haag.
- Krabbendam, H. (2009). *The American impact on Dutch religion*. In: H. Krabbendam, C. Van Minnen, & G. Scott-Smith, *Four Centuries of Dutch-American relations 1609-2009* (pp. 1027-1038). Middelburg.
- Laan, C. v., & Laan, P. v. (2007). *Toen de kracht Gods op mij viel - Honderd jaar pinksterbeweging in Nederland 1907-2007*. Kampen: Uitgeverij Kok.
- Liempt, A. v. (2014). *Na de bevrijding - De loodzware jaren 1945-1950*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Balans .
- Lijphart, A. (1988). *Verzuiling, Pacificatie en kentering in de Nederlandse Politiek*. Amsterdam: J.H. Bussy.
- McGuire, M. B. (2008). *Lived Religion - Faith and Practice in everyday life*. Oxford.
- Olink, H. (2002). *In strijd met de waarheid - De koude oorlog in Amsterdam 1956*. Amsterdam.
- Polygoon, J. (1955, May 30). *Billy Graham, massale evangelisatieavond in het Feyenoord stadion*. Retrieved August 13, 2014, from Archive.org: <https://archive.org/details/oi3238>
- Righart, H. (1995). *De eindeloze jaren zestig - Geschiedenis van een generatieconflict*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij De Arbeiderspers.
- Schnabel, P. (1982). *Tussen Stigma en Charisma - nieuwe religieuze bewegingen en geestelijke volksgezondheid*. Deventer: Van Loghum Slaterus.
- Scott-Smith, G. (2009). *American studies in the Netherlands*. In: H. Krabbendam, C. Van Minnen, & G. Scott-Smith, *Four Centuries of Dutch-American relations 1609-2009* (pp. 982-992). Albany.
- Slootweg, D., Van Beusekom, W., & De Kloet, C. (1974). *Ach ja...de jaren vijftig*. Amsterdam.
- Stark, R. W., & Bainbridge, W. (1979). *Of Churches, Sects and Cults*. In: *Journal of Scientific Study of Religion*, 18(2), 117-133.
- Stark, R., & Finke, R. (2000). *Acts of Faith - Explaining the Human Side of religion*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Stoffels, H. (1990). *Wandelen in het licht - Waarden, geloofsovertuigingen en sociale posities van Nederlandse evangelischen*. Kampen : Uitgeverij Kok.

- Turner, B. S. (1991). *Religion and Social Theory*. London: Sage Publications.
- Van Capelleveen, J. (1977). *Verbreiding na de tweede wereldoorlog*. In: J. v. Capelleveen, H. Eschbach, P. Halma, S. Van Der Land , & J. Zijlstra, *De story van Youth for Christ* (pp. 21-30). Kampen: Uitgeverij Kok.
- Van de Poll, E. (2014, September 2). (A. Schoemaker, Interviewer)
- Vellenga, S. (1991). *Een ondernemende beweging. De groei van de evanlische beweging in Nederland*. Amsterdam.
- Vlug, P. (2014, May 19). Interview Peter Vlug. (A. Schoemaker, Interviewer)
- Volkstelling 1947. (1947, May 31). Opgeroepen op August 14, 2014, van Volkstellingen.nl: <http://www.volkstellingen.nl/nl/volkstelling/jaartellingdeelview/VT1947B5/index.html>
- Wall, E. v. (2008). *Religie en Verlichting: Een veelzijdige verstandhouding*. In: E. v. Wall, & L. Wessels, *Een veelzijdige verstandhouding - Religie en Verlichting in Nederland 1650-1850* (pp. 13-35). Nijmegen.
- Wilson, B. (1981). *Time, Generations, and Sectarianism*. In: B. Wilson, *The social impact of new religious movements* (pp. 217-234). New York.
- Wilson, B. (1982). *Religion in sociological perspective*. Oxford.
- Zanden, J. L. (1998). *The economic history of the Netherlands 1914-1995 - A small open economy in the 'long' twentieth century*. London: Routledge.