

Case study: the Bethelkerk

A Global Sense of Place: Place-based Approaches to Development



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1. Introduction

The course '*A Global Sense of Place: Place-based approaches to development*' took place in period 5 in an online setting as the Netherlands is currently in an 'intelligent' lockdown due to the coronavirus. The course introduced us to key concepts of various prominent thinkers in relation to sustainable place-based development. Thereby providing a critical overview of their approaches and discourses (WUR, n.d.).

This paper aims to conceptualize the 'Bethelkerk' throughout time by analysing aspects of the theories of Doreen Massey and Arturo Escobar. A sense of place differs based on the social and geographical context discussed in their theories. In short, the research question of this paper is 'what is the sense of place of the Bethelkerk?'.

I chose this topic for several reasons but mainly because I have a strong personal relationship to the location itself – my parents were married here, I got baptized here, and my mother is involved in the transformation of the church further discussed in chapter 2. The 'Bethelkerk' is located in a neighbourhood, in which I grew up, in The Hague. This building consists of three parts: the church, the sexton house and an extension. The church was built in 1938 and served until 2013. Then it was on the nomination to be demolished, however the community rebelled and won, thereby preventing the demolition of this building. Today the 'Bethelkerk' houses 'Stichting Amadeus', a recreational, activity and meeting centre.

The following chapter describes the case study throughout time. Chapter 3 discusses the theory of Doreen Massey. Then chapter 4 discusses the theory of Arturo Escobar. Chapter 5 conceptualizes and links the theories to the case study. The final chapter will conclude this paper.

2. The Bethelkerk

This chapter discusses the timeline regarding the urbanization of the neighbourhood in which the 'Bethelkerk' is located.

2.1. Location

This paper focusses its attention onto The Hague which is the third largest city of the Netherlands. The Hague is located directly next to the North Sea which can be seen in Image 1.

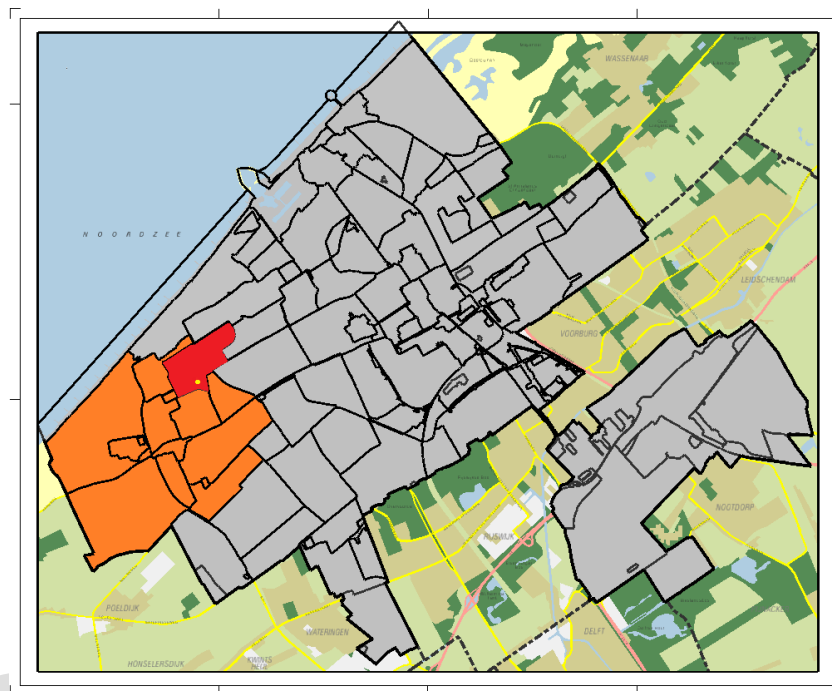


Image 1. The Hague (Den Haag, n.d.).

The city is famous for its monuments, political heart and the King's working palace. But this paper will focus on a less famous but still image-defining element of The Hague namely the 'Bethelkerk' (yellow dot in Image 1). The building consists of three parts: the church, the sexton house and an extension. It is located in the district 'Loosduinen' (coloured part in Image 1), neighbourhood 'Componistenbuurt'¹ (red part in Image 1) and borders the following streets: Händellaan, Mozartlaan and Traviatastraat (Stichting Bethel Blijft, 2017).

In Image 2, I demonstrate the section of the population of The Hague living in the focused area of this essay. Thereby demonstrating that most of this paper only relates to approximately 1% of the total population of The Hague.

Inwoners

Den Haag, aantal

539.040

2019

Bohemen, Meer en Bos, aantal

4.796

2019



Image 2. Population of The Hague and Bohemen (Dienst Publiekszaken, 2019)

¹ The red part also includes the neighbourhoods 'Bohemen' and 'Meer en Bos'.

A further indication of the age of people living in the area can be seen in Figure 1. In comparison to the average age in The Hague, a larger group of older people are living in this neighbourhood .

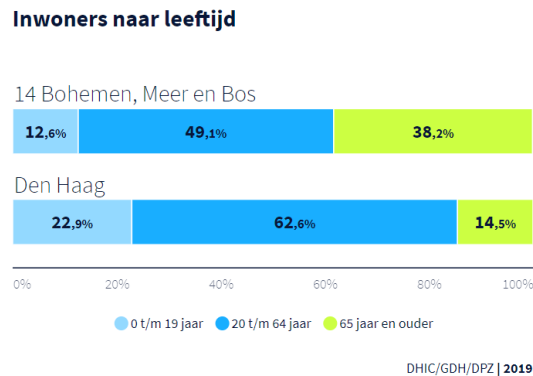


Figure 1. Population based on age - The Hague and Bohemen (DHIC/GDH/DPZ, 2019).

2.2. Timeline

In the late 1920's, de afdeling Stedelijke Ontwikkeling en Huisvesting² announced 'Plan West'. Herein a new neighbourhood called 'Bohemen'³ was designed. It is located in the far west of the city (Lemckert, 2005). This neighbourhood was built in the style of the Nieuwe Haagse School (Glaudemans, n.d.).

In the 1930s, the economy of our country has suffered a tremendous crisis. It was a time of doom and gloom filled with unemployment and hopelessness (Lemckert, 2005). In 1935 parts of the neighbourhood 'Bohemen' were completed. The housing in this new neighbourhood were off a high standard. Eventually Pastor Frits van Evert moved to this neighbourhood. This was the beginning of the conceptualization of a church nearby the neighbourhood - build in a similar style. On March 12th, 1938, the first stone was placed to symbolize the start of building the church. This stone was engraved with the text 'Dit is niet dan een huis gods' (Genesis 28:17)⁴. Later that year the church was finished and inaugurated on December 20th, 1938 (Bethelkerk.DenHaag.nl, n.d.). From this moment forward church services and bible studies took place.

Directly after World War II, the neighbourhood would be completed. It is estimated that the neighbourhood was finalized in 1955. The church became part of the neighbourhood 'Bohemen' instead of an island outside the neighbourhood (Glaudemans, n.d.). As seen in Image 3 the 'Bethelkerk' was separated from the neighbourhood.



Image 3. Bethelkerk, 1938. (Dienst Stadsontwikkeling en Volkshuisvesting, 1938).

² In translation it would be the Department of Urban Development & Housing.

³ Bohemen is a larger neighbourhood which is divided into 'Bohemen left and Bohemen right', the 'Componistenbuurt' is part of 'Bohemen left'.

⁴ Roughly translates to 'House of God'.

The following was written in the newspaper 'Het Vaderland' on 21 December 1938:

'Voorlopig staat de nieuwe kerk in de woestijn. Achter haar ligt een stuk grond dat voor haar is gereserveerd voor den bouw te gelegener tijd van een wijkgebouw voor 350 personen — dat nog tot de toekomstmuziek behoort — in deze buurt is alles muziek, want dat gebouw zal dan komen aan de Traviatastraat — achter de kerk liggen de kwekerijen met hun schitterende glasoppervlakten en er tegenover over de wetering staan een paar rijtjes huizen en voor de rest is het niets. Het is met recht een kerkgebouw met perspectief, met een toekomst, want behalve Kijkduin en de bewoners van het plan Bohemen zullen het inwoners van het oude Loosduinen moeten zijn, die ds F.K van Evert zijn gehoor zullen moeten verschaffen (Camfferman, 2017).'

This text roughly translates to the fact that the church is standing alone (Image 3). In the future, there will be housing surrounding the church. They will all be named after music — as the neighbourhood 'Componistenbuurt' is music related. From the church you can see the greenhouses as seen in Image 4. Therefore, it is a church with a perspective, with a future.



Image 4. Bethelkerk, about 1955 (Douwes, 1955).

In 1957, a youth-based campaign led to the collection of cash which was largely used for redecorating the space used for bible studies. However, four years later they realized that there was not enough space anymore for these discussions. It is unknown what exactly the reason behind the lack of space was. Therefore, in 1964, they started building the extension, which opened in May 1965 (Bethelkerk.DenHaag.nl, n.d.). The extension is called 'Gemeentecentrum', a place where meetings and activities for the neighbourhood took place. The church continued to serve the community until 2013 (Glaudemans, n.d.). This closure meant that both the church and the extension stopped providing their services, activities and meetings. It was officially closed on 16 June 2013.

In September 2014, the church went on sale (Voogel, personal communication, 2020). The Protestant congregation wanted to get rid of it because it was not used anymore. Therefore, the church was nominated for demolition. If the church would have been demolished, an apartment building would have been placed on its location (Glaudemans, n.d.). There was a potential buyer in 2015, however the buyer quickly disappeared. The buyer was not able to get a demolition permit as it was a condition stated within the purchase contract (Voogel, personal communication, 2020). To be exact, the church had a 'maatschappelijke bestemming'⁵ which means that the place needs to be used for a social purpose. If a buyer wants to build homes, the 'maatschappelijke bestemming' must be changed into a 'woonbestemming'⁶, as then it would no longer need to have a social purpose. This change had to be accepted by the municipality. That is

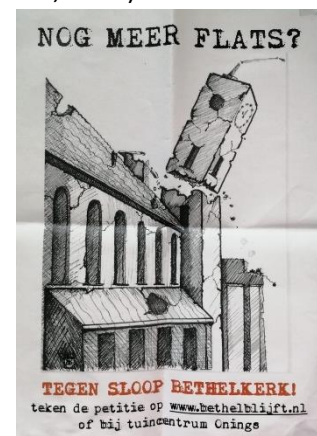


Image 5. Poster (Kok, n.d.).

⁵ Roughly translated as a social destination.

⁶ Roughly translated as a residential destination.

where the neighbourhood found room for protest. They protested with campaigns, posters and a website, seen in Image 5, all under the name 'Stichting Bethel Blijft (SBB)'.

As of 2016, the building has been vacant. However, in 2017, the property has been leased under the 'leegstandswet'⁷ to 'Divorce Housing'. This organization offers housing to those who temporarily need it. At the time, these people were often divorced males (Voogal, personal communication, 2020). Ultimately, the municipality complied with SBB and allowed them to come up with their own plan. Late 2017, a project developer with a social heart came forward who offered to buy the church and he did. He would endorse SBB to start activities focused at entertaining the neighbourhood within the church. SSB decided to remain in charge of the building while a new foundation was created named 'Stichting Amadeus'. This foundation is the user of the building and created a recreational, meeting and activity centre housed inside the church and its extension. Its motto is 'Voor de wijk, door de wijk, met vrijwilligers'⁸. The participation and the effort of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood to keep the building, is called by the municipality a form of 'Haagse kracht' (Kok, personal communication, 2020; Amadeus, n.d.). In 2021, the church, sexton house and extension will be remodelled as seen in Image 6 and 7. The church will remain intact and will be used by Stichting Amadeus as a community centre, while the sexton house and extension will be remodelled to connect to a similar height as the church. In this new section of the building, owner-occupied homes will be placed. This allows the developer to get a cashflow back. Therefore, in 2021, the building will need to become both 'maatschappelijke bestemming' and 'woonbestemming'. The neighbourhood is content with the negotiated solution.



Image 6. Drawing of new plans (Wetering, 2018).



Image 7. 3D-image of new plans (TMOJ, n.d.).

⁷ Roughly translated as vacancy law.

⁸ Roughly translated as 'For the neighbourhood, by the neighbourhood, with volunteers.'

2.3. Urbanization

In the previous subchapter, I introduce 'Plan West' which is technically a materialized plan to expand The Hague. The realization of 'Plan West' would create a more-luxury neighbourhood within The Hague. They started building the neighbourhood on an empty patch in 1931 and temporarily stopped in 1935. Three years later they would build a church within a years' time at the edge of the neighbourhood. After World War II they completed the neighbourhood. If an urban area needs to expand, the city will put pressure on the surrounding (natural) resources. Therefore, in the latter stage the greenhouses were pushed further away.

Urbanization is a process that involves the emergence and growth to urban areas (Vlahov & Galea, 2002). In general, the urban area is understood as a site of modernization and change while the rural area is understood as the locus of tradition and continuity with the past (Ferguson, 1997). However, there are many ways in which urbanization takes place. Most people assume that urbanization means a move from a rural area to an urban area. However, that is not the case because it is also (1) births exceed deaths in urban areas, (2) new urban areas emerge, and (3) existing urban areas expand. Urbanization and expansion of cities are recognized as unparalleled in human history (Zlotnik, 2018).

This form of urbanization as transpired in 'Plan West' is a form of expansion of the city of The Hague which can be seen in the following three images. This transformation goes from a relative rural area to an urban area. The red circle within the images display the location of the 'Bethelkerk'. Today, The Hague has even further expanded, and this neighbourhood is enclosed by other neighbourhoods as seen in Image 9 and 10. If urbanization continues to take place, cities will need to expand either horizontal 'in size' or vertical 'in height'.

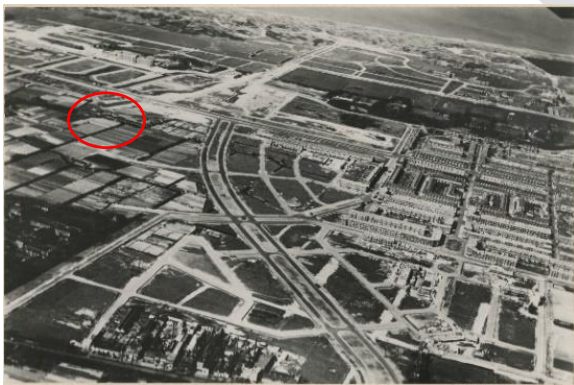


Image 8. Neighbourhood before the construction, 1930 (Haags Gemeentearchief, 1930).



Image 9. Aerial photograph, 1976 (Haags Gemeentearchief, 1976)



Image 10. Aerial photo, 2009 (Dienst Stedelijke Ontwikkeling, 2009)

3. Doreen Massey

This chapter describes the application of the theory of Doreen Massey. It will discuss her theory in depth and applies it to the case study.

3.1. Doreen Massey

Doreen Barbara Massey was born into a Manchester based working-class family on January 3rd, 1944. She had two older siblings. She grew up in post-WWII whereby Great Britain strived for a more just society. She gained a degree in regional science. This context, her life and study, likely shaped her perspectives and it may have been what spiked her interest in both social and spatial inequalities. However, she is famous for inspiring many generations with her work on space, place and power. She was able to inspire generations due to questioning assumptions, challenging ideas and carving her own discipline (Social Science Space, 2016). She was a powerhouse in her own right. She passed away in 2016 at the age of 72. Throughout her life, she enjoyed walking, birdwatching and the night sky. Overall, Doreen Massey can be described as a geographer, theorist and political activist (Featherstone, 2016).



Image 11. Doreen Massey (AAG, n.d.).

3.2. Identity of place

Doreen Massey strongly advocates the relational approach as it allows for a means to understand how individuals through history use and relate to landscapes (Isayev, 2017, p. 391). A relational approach means that places are not defined by geographic boundaries but are assemblages of social relations (Horlings, Nieto-Romero, Pisters, 2020). She differentiates between the concepts of place and space. In her idea place is where people come together and where identities are formed through these interactions. While space is the nodes of these various relations. This difference is illustrated in Bruno Latour's (1993) railway example, he wonders 'if a railway can be both local and global?'. He believes that it can indeed be both. In terms of 'space' - global relations are being able to connect with people from Amsterdam to Berlin. While in terms of 'place' - local connections are for example railway workers (Latour, 1993 as cited in Massey, 2004). According to Doreen Massey, there are three features which form the basis of the notion of place in terms of a relational understanding namely (1) Place as a process, whereby products of interrelations are constituted through interaction, (2) Place as multiple identities and (3) Place as always under construction (Jongerden, 2020). We could argue that a potential fourth feature could exist namely that place is always unique. As relations continue to be redefined, exactly the same relations do not exist in one place, therefore a place could be considered as unique (Massey, 1991 as cited in Baijense, 2013).

3.3. Application of the theory

Doreen Massey uses the concept of globalization to realize that 'everywhere is already linked with everywhere else' (Rodgers, 2004). Therefore, distance is no longer as significant as it once was. It is the movement and communication of people stretching out geographically which could be called the time-space compression. This compression is accelerated through the concept of globalization (Massey, 1994). In general, globalization is about the many processes that connect people who are far away from one another. Some people take charge of the reduction of distance while others do

not. Massey realizes that these processes are complex and go far beyond the simplification as used in this paper (Sreberny, 2011).

To view space as merely a backdrop to the temporal atmosphere does away with Massey's way of thinking. She sees place, space and time as relative to one another. Unlike Arturo Escobar, Massey distinguishes between place and space (Massey, 1994). It is important to grasp an understanding of the notion of place. Place in her eye's is where people come together, where identities are created in and through various interactions. As mentioned earlier, Doreen Massey distinguishes several features for the notion of place:

- Place as a process, whereby product of interrelations constituted through interaction;
- Place as multiple identities;
- Place as always under construction (Jongerden, 2020).

Doreen Massey's ideas of place could be reflected in a mind map. Front and centre should be the case study the 'Bethelkerk'. The notion of 'place' is strongly linked to interactions of people. Massey has two ideas on how people form relations. The first idea is if and how relationships are embedded in the spatial structuring of society (Massey, 1999). Massey argues that all social phenomena have a spatial form and thereby a relative spatial location. A social phenomenon could be construed as a social movement such as 'Stichting Bethel Blijft'. The multiplicity of inhabitants relations which bind communities and people to 'Stichting Bethel Blijft' can be local, global or anything in between - these relations are dynamic (Rodgers, 2004). The communities and people linked to 'Stichting Bethel Blijft' are considered to be nodes of various relationship. In the mind map they would be relatively further away from the centre. This would be called 'space' in Massey's opinion. The identity of the place 'Bethelkerk' is constructed and reproduced through the various interactions of people meeting in the location itself.

The second idea is that power is intrinsically embedded in the concept of various relationships. Thereby suggesting that power could be given or adapted to the spatial form itself through the relationships interacting at the place – the 'Bethelkerk' (Massey, 1999). As described in chapter 2, the neighbourhood was built in various stages. In a sense the 'Bethelkerk' itself was used for various purposes in various stages namely (1) 1938 – 2013, (2) 2013 – 2017, and (3) From 2018 – present. In the first period I would argue that the 'Bethelkerk' had a religious purpose as it served its community through Sunday services. From 1965 it also served the community through non-religious activities. In the second period the buildings were mainly empty. In the first years however, it is assumed that homeless people were inhabiting areas within the open space of the church, mainly to have a roof over their head. In 2017 divorced men lived inside the sexton house and the extension. This period is mainly marked by providing housing to people who may need it. The third period the building is used as a recreational, activity and meeting centre.

The various relationships formed at the different periods gave various degrees of power to the physical form. For example, in the second period (2013 – 2017), there were not really connections inside the physical form. So, there may not necessarily have been a collective identity, but there was an individual identity constructed through everyone's relation to the building itself. Near the end of this second period, however as written in chapter 2, the local community was strongly opposed to losing the image-defining church in their neighbourhood, they created SBB, a social movement, in which the neighbourhood's strong relationships to each other and the church itself gave strength to the movement. In The Hague we would call a bottom-up approach to a social movement 'Haagse Kracht'. There is power within the term 'Haagse Kracht'. If this is inserted in the social movement through the local communities, the physical form gains power as well.

To summarize the 'Bethelkerk' is shown to be a place constituted of the relationships of various people within the community. Throughout the history of the 'Bethelkerk', it has been shown that the building itself had multiple identities such as a religious purpose, providing housing, community centre etc.. Also, it gained power through the social movement. However, in general, the 'Bethelkerk' is always in flux. It will continue to evolve and therefore be unique to its time.

Glerum

4. Arturo Escobar

This chapter describes the application of the theory of Arturo Escobar. It will discuss his theory in depth and applies it to the case study.

4.1. Arturo Escobar

Arturo Escobar was born into a Colombian family in 1952. His family moved to Cali to secure and provide opportunities for the family. In his younger years he resented the idea that the Global South depended on the Global North, especially the United States of America. He mainly felt that the core characteristics of the Global North should not be inflicted on the Global South (White, 2018). Therefore, he critically looked at Truman's idea of changing our thinking of how to respond to development in the Global South (Hendriks, 2016). This context likely shaped his perspectives on 'place and space' in capitalist society. Today he is working as a Professor of Anthropology at the University of North Carolina. He remains well-known for his ideas on post development and social movements. Overall, Arturo Escobar can be described as an anthropologist.



Image 12. Arturo Escobar (Jongerden, 2020).

4.2. Glocal

According to Arturo Escobar, development is framed as a Western geopolitical idea that seeks to subordinate the Global South (Escobar, 2006). In his way of thinking the concept of globalization is intrinsically linked with the idea of development. Places have become somewhat irrelevant in a globalized world. Therefore, Escobar distinguishes a dichotomy within the concept of globalization namely the global and the local. In his eyes, places need to remain relevant. The global is associated with space, capital and history while the local is associated with place, labour and tradition (Escobar, 2001). This idea reinforces the feeling of us 'global' vs them 'local' (Escobar, 2006). But if we are serious about diversity, must we not resist this imaginary of a placeless world in which 'local cultures' are merely a manifestation of global conditions? Regardless culture remains alive within the idea of globalization. Escobar agrees with this idea, and it has become one of his key messages - local cultures do matter! He supports the idea of grassroots organization and/or social movements (Batterbury & Fernando, 2004). Therefore, he came up with the term 'glocal' which is a bridge between both the global and the local, of which social movements are a perfect example. Social movements practice their local identity within the global sphere. In general, social movements are a movement for the defence of place and culture. This means that they struggle over the environmental, social and political conditions of the existence of place (Escobar, Rocheleau & Kothari, 2002). So, there will always be a struggle for autonomy. Places remain physical with clear boundaries but together in a network or movement they can defend each other. In a sense they can defend the building but also the people (Escobar, 2001).

4.3. Application of the theory

The neighbourhood was built in various stages namely (1) 1931 - 1935, (2) 1938, and (3) after World War II as discussed in chapter 2. It was all built in the same style 'Nieuwe Haagse School'. This style is a local architectural style that flourished between 1918 and 1940. It is characterized by using straight-lined brick, protruding roofs and cubist shapes. Some accents were added to create a profound atmosphere such as chimneys, eaves, frames, balconies and bay windows (Glaudemans, n.d.).

Escobar's life has always depended to a degree on a dichotomy between 'us' vs 'them'. This is also represented in this case study. When the 'Bethelkerk' was nominated to be demolished, the neighbourhood stood up. The neighbourhood formed 'Stichting Bethel Blijft' which could be considered a (social) movement. In a sense SSB represents the 'us' versus the 'them' represented by the Protestant congregation. As Escobar has stated local identities do matter (Batterbury & Fernando, 2004). SBB constituted a collective identity – saving the church – to create their own place (Norget, 1997). SSB has various individual but two collective reasons for saving the church. The first collective reason was that they did not want to see an image-defining building disappear from the neighbourhood. The second collective reason was the fact that SBB did not want to see modern flat appear in the neighbourhood. They are two separate reasons which connect well together. They defended the representation of this building within the neighbourhood and succeeded, thereby leaving the neighbourhood completely in the 'Nieuwe Haagse School' architectural style. By keeping the building intact within the neighbourhood, they also protected the first stone placed in 1938 as seen in Image 13. An interesting discovery is the fact that behind this stone a certificate on parchment has been placed. In 2021, the transformation of the church will temporarily remove the stone and perhaps discover if the parchment is still there. If so, 'Stichting Amadeus' will likely display the parchment in their remodelled community centre. Overall SBB kept the neighbourhood's tradition alive. Indirectly SBB transformed the neighbourhood's past into a future perspective. Thereby Escobar defends the past by connecting it to the future or known as bridging the 'local' vs 'global' dichotomy which in his eyes is called 'glocal'.



Image 13. The first stone placed in 1938, 'Dit is niet dan een huis gods (Gen 28:17)' (Kok, 2020a).

After SBB managed to stop the demolition of the church – we could say that they won the resistance. They eventually became responsible for the physical building while the new foundation 'Stichting Amadeus' became responsible for everything what takes place inside the building. 'Stichting Amadeus' is fulfilling the role of organizing activities inside the church. The activities have a low threshold, allowing everyone in to participate. However, it is focused on the neighbourhood itself, particularly on the elderly. Thereby protecting the neighbourhood ('us') versus the others ('them'). By focusing on the elderly, 'Stichting Amadeus' serves a need for these people to reconnect with others who hold the 'Bethelkerk' in their heart. Also, it reduces the phenomenon 'lonely elderly'.

5. Linking the theories

The concept of globalization is reflected in the theories of Doreen Massey and Arturo Escobar. Both authors themselves are constituted through globalization. It makes sense that their ideas are based on the context of their lives. We should be aware that Doreen Massey grew up in the Global North while Arturo Escobar grew up in the Global South. Thereby their ideas will always be constructed differently as they grew up within different global discourses of the binary between the Global North and the Global South.

While applying their theories to the case study we can come to two ideas. On one hand, Massey and Escobar's theories could complement each other while on the other hand the theories contradict each other. However, we should be aware that it all depends on which aspects of their theory will be used for either option.

Firstly, Doreen Massey and Arturo Escobar work could complement each other. Both authors see globalization different. Regardless they have some overlapping points of view. In Massey's opinion a place is a product of globalization while in Escobar's opinion a place is a victim of globalization. However, in this case I would argue that its neither a victim nor a product of globalization. Both authors belief in some form of a network. In both their ideas the movement 'Stichting Bethel Blijft' can be considered a network. Massey would argue that people in 'Stichting Bethel Blijft' create meaning through their complex and intricate relations with each other, particular in relation to the building. Thereby creating power among this network, allowing a form of political action to exist. In terms of Escobar, a social movement could bridge the divide of globalization and thereby defend a local place. This form of defence is done through a resistance. A resistance could be a form of political action. Massey's idea of power in a network allows Escobar's social movement to take place or in terms of the case study: the idea of power within 'Stichting Bethel Blijft' – encouraged them to protest the demolition, resulting eventually in their win. This social movement is a local identity within the global sphere. Thereby blurring the ideas of both authors idea on the concept of globalization.

Secondly, Doreen Massey and Arturo Escobar work could contradict each other. Massey's ideas focus on the change of the concept of 'place' while Escobar ideas focus on the essence of the concept of 'place'. The main difference between both authors are that Massey is more fluid and dynamic in her thinking while Escobar is static. In a sense, both articulate a different idea of 'place' and therefore it may be difficult to link these theories as in the core they contrast each other. However, we should be aware that it makes sense that in the core they are different as they grew up in either a developed or developing country.

In short, the theories of Doreen Massey and Arturo Escobar both find a way to converge the global division of societies and economies. However, the theories itself are far apart from one and other. There are some overlapping aspects which strongly complement one another while removing the core idea of their theory as either a victim or a product of globalization. We need to move beyond thinking about the global dichotomy and find a way in which 'places' either converge or diverge societies. Hence, it expects prominent thinkers to move beyond their own context. However, we should debate if that would ever be possible as we are embodied with our own background.

6. Conclusion / Final remarks

As mentioned earlier, movement and communication of people are stretching out geographically. Thereby reducing the idea of distance. Both Massey and Escobar look differently at the concept of globalization which is also due to the place in which they grew up. However, this concrete case study exemplifies how these two theories fit well in their respective way of thinking in regards to the 'Bethelkerk'.

As the world becomes smaller, social movements are arising in unexpected places. 'Stichting Bethel Blijft' is one of those social movements. Generally social movements do not just enact a form of protest, they are also generating an identity through the interaction and knowledge shared between people. In this case it has been a highly visible expression of resistance towards the municipality and the Protestant congregation of The Hague. The neighbourhood prevented the tendency of replacing an image-defining building namely the 'Bethelkerk' with an apartment building. If a social movement or network is recognized in either theory, it can be built upon ('power') and engaged within the parameters of the theories. In this case the result of the social movement provided the community with tradition, stability and a strong community-based identity. The community's rootedness in the church represent their sense of place. This sense of place could lead to new community relations and social linkages.

Today, the rootedness and thereby the sense of place of the 'Bethelkerk' is best understood through the context 'defence of place' from Arturo Escobar's theory. However, I would argue that when the transformation is completed, the 'Bethelkerk' may be best understood through Massey's progressive eye. The 'Bethelkerk', like the past ('Het Vaderland, 1938'), once again will have a future perspective. I would argue that the theory fits best on the 'Bethelkerk' varies in time. But, right now, their sense of place is constructed through rootedness found in the community of the neighbourhood.

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