

# **Introducing Prisoners to Worship: Ritual-Liturgical Strategies A Study of Catholic Services in Secure State Institutions within the Netherlands<sup>1</sup>**

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## **1. Subject, title and structure of my PHD dissertation**

My PHD dissertation is about how the Roman Catholic liturgy is currently celebrated within secure state institutions within the Netherlands. Liturgical scholars have hardly ever explored this aspect of the Catholic liturgy, until now.

The Dutch title of my dissertation, *Invoeren in vieren*, should in my view be translated into English in the progressive present because only such a grammatical form is capable of expressing the process of introduction during the actual celebration of the liturgy. So *Introducing prisoners to worship* would seem to be a satisfying translation. The second part of the title names one of the main instruments used in this introduction process: *the ritual-liturgical strategy*. My dissertation aims to study Roman Catholic liturgy in secure state institutions within the Netherlands and to examine, describe, and evaluate the ritual and liturgical strategies prison chaplains use to make the liturgy more accessible and more 'relevant' to their congregations.

The dissertation has a threefold structure. Part I is dedicated to a broad exploration of the research field, i.e. the Roman Catholic liturgy in secure state institutions within the Netherlands. Part II presents the fieldwork I carried out and forms 'the heart of the matter': the services I observed and examined. Part III of the dissertation is where I answer the research questions in the form of an evaluation and consider the future prospects of the Catholic liturgy in secure state institutions within the Netherlands.

## **2. Part I – Exploring the research field: Roman Catholic liturgy in secure state institutions within the Netherlands**

I start with a brief presentation of the definitions of ritual and liturgy I use. After this I go on to explain, why, from the perspective of modern liturgical

<sup>1</sup> This is a summary of the PHD dissertation *Invoeren in vieren: ritueel-liturgische strategieën. Een onderzoek naar de katholieke kerkdiensten in inrichtingen van justitie in Nederland* (Edited by the author, printed and manufactured in the Netherlands by Drukkerij Berne BV, Heeswijk, 2011, ISBN 978-90-78039-22-8). The PHD defense has taken place at Tilburg University, December 7, 2011; 16.15 hours. His supervisor was prof. dr. Paul Post.

and ritual studies, it is right to call my study a ritual-liturgical study. By using this somewhat tautological term I am arguing that

(...) liturgy is not only put more consistently and systematically into the broader context of ritual, thereby declaring liturgical study to be a study of ritual, but one can also hear the double context of human and cultural conditions.<sup>2</sup> (Part I, Chapter 2, § 2.1-2.2)

The modern ritual-liturgical panorama can successively be characterized as consisting of the following three ritual-liturgical domains:

- (A) 'high church liturgy';
- (B) more or less fluid specialized liturgy;
- (C) secular and liquid ritual of modern society, due to far-reaching events.

Catholic liturgy in secure state institutions within the Netherlands takes place mainly in domain (B) and has more or less 'open' connections with domains (A) and (C).<sup>3</sup> (Part I, Chapter 2, figure 1 and § 2.3)

These open network connections between the three domains guarantee the possibility of a so-called reciprocal movement from society and its surrounding culture towards ritual and liturgy on the one hand, and from the church and the liturgy towards society on the other. This reciprocal movement has repercussions for the configuration of the form and content of the liturgy.<sup>4</sup> The more successful the reciprocal movement, the more inclusive the configuration of the liturgy. The dynamics of this reciprocal movement may be seen in terms of a basic pastoral strategy. (Part I, Chapter 2, § 2.4)

In the view of Michel de Certeau,<sup>5</sup> strategies are connected with 'the calculation (or manipulation) of power relationships' by state institutions, commercial, economic, political or ideological organizations, scientific 'authorities' and experts. They are developed to ensure their 'own place' in society, from where they can 'manage' others who enter their fields of power. Opposing strategies are the control and survival tactics powerless people use to avoid whatever those with power wish to do to them. Strategies and tactics together define the practice of people in everyday life.<sup>6</sup> De Certeau writes about these strategic,

<sup>2</sup> P. POST: 'Life cycle rituals: a liturgical perspective', in *Questions liturgiques/Studies in liturgy* 83 (2002) 16.

<sup>3</sup> P. POST: 'Perspectieven van vloeibaar ritueel', in A.H.M. VAN IERSEL & J.D.W. EERBEEK (red.): *Handboek justitiepastoraat. Context, theologie en praktijk van het protestants en rooms-katholiek justitiepastoraat* (Budel 2009) 113-143, p. 116.

<sup>4</sup> M. HOONDEERT: *Om de parochie. Ritueel-muzikale bewegingen in de marge van de parochie. Gregoriaans, Taizé, Jongerenkoren* (Heeswijk 2006) 200-201.

<sup>5</sup> M. DE CERTEAU: *The practice of everyday life* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1984; English translation by Steven Rendall; orig. 1980).

<sup>6</sup> DE CERTEAU: *The practice of everyday life* XIX and 35-37.

tactical and practical concepts in connection with cultural and ritual repertoires. In cultural science and in ritual studies they are further developed into concepts of meaning and appropriation.<sup>7</sup> Pastoral and liturgical actions can also be studied in terms of strategies and tactics, meaning and appropriation. Strategy, as derived from De Certeau's theory, is the key-concept of my study.

In this study I focus on the strategies Catholic ministers use in their services in order to make them 'relevant' and meaningful for worshippers. I call them ritual-liturgical strategies. In this way, I can distinguish them from other possible pastoral strategies and show that they are primarily linked to liturgical pastoral care and to liturgical ritual.

In respect of the official, formal and normative Roman Catholic view on liturgy, the ritual-liturgical strategies Catholic ministers use are complex and stratified. The Roman Catholic Church expects all its ministers to perform correctly the rites as given in the official liturgical books. In terms of De Certeau, Catholic prison chaplains distance themselves from the prescribed rite and create new ritual as they implement their strategies. At the same time, the latter take on a tactical dimension. This clearly shows the position Catholic chaplains hold when celebrating the liturgy in secure state institutions: they act as 'ritual brokers',<sup>8</sup> intermediaries between the Church with its liturgical precepts on the one hand and churchgoers on the other.

In this study, without overlooking the tactical dimension, I seek to use the concept of ritual-liturgical strategy in a more 'open' way. As for a working definition, any ritual-liturgical strategy will focus primarily on the following:

- (1a) ritual action;
- (1b) a tactical dimension in respect of the prescribed Roman Catholic rite;
- (2) a special pastoral liturgical setting, e.g. a secure state institution;
- (3) the minister's ideas and views of the liturgy;
- (4) coming consciously or intuitively into being;
- (5) being embedded in a broader pastoral program or arising from it;
- (6) a firm goal as in our case: contributing to an inclusive configuration of the liturgy;
- (7a) iterative and dialectical interaction with the congregation as it appropriates the liturgy to its own use;
- (7b) provoking new or corrected strategies. (Part I, Chapter 2, § 2.5)

It would be unlikely for the Catholic liturgy in secure state institutions within the Netherlands to be an exact replica of the normal parish liturgy of the Ro-

<sup>7</sup> R. CHARTIER: *Cultural history between practices and representations* (New York 1988); W. FRIJHOFF: 'Toeëigening: van bezitsdrang naar betekenisgeving', in *Trajecta* 6 (1997) 99-118, p. 108.

<sup>8</sup> G. ROOIJAKKERS: *Rituele repertoires. Volkscultuur in oostelijk Noord-Brabant 1559-1853* (Nijmegen 1994) 84-85.

man Catholic Church as celebrated every Sunday.<sup>9</sup> The church status of the worshippers ‘within the walls’ differs so much from worshippers in an average parish. Ritual-liturgical strategies are therefore an excellent means of exploring this particular field of liturgy. They largely determine both the shape and the contents of Catholic services held in secure state institutions within the Netherlands, focusing as they do on ‘relevant’ ritual and meaningful ritual actions. Four research questions arise as follows:

- (1) Which ritual-liturgical strategies do Catholic ministers employ in these liturgical celebrations?
- (2) How does this affect the worshippers in terms of their reaction: do they indeed appropriate the church services as ‘relevant’ and meaningful for their own lives?
- (3) How do the strategies employed affect the ritual?
- (4) How are the ritual-liturgical strategies to be considered in proportion to the Roman Catholic liturgical tradition?

The goal of this study is threefold being undertaken as follows:

- (a) To describe the Catholic liturgy in secure state institutions within the Netherlands.
- (b) To discover which ritual-liturgical strategies Catholic ministers use to introduce their congregation to worship.
- (c) To add to the liturgical expertise of Catholic prison chaplains. (Part I, Chapter 2, § 3)

I have chosen a qualitative approach to my subject. Firstly, because I want to see for myself, what the ministers do in the liturgy, and because I want to have them tell me about their ritual actions. Secondly, because I am interested in the ritual-liturgical strategies ministers employ in the church services they hold. Ritual-liturgical strategies define to a considerable extent not only the shape and contents, but also the qualities and characteristics of any particular liturgical celebration. Thirdly, because the subject itself most suits a qualitative exploration since it is a new and still unexplored field of study.<sup>10</sup> The qualitative method, employed in this study, is the ethnographical one. The ethnography I intend to offer in this dissertation will be a ritual-liturgical ethnography, since its main interest is liturgical ritual. The ethnographical method offers several research instruments as follows:

- (1) participant observation;
- (2) ethnographical field notes;
- (3) interviews;
- (4) documents;

<sup>9</sup> TH. VAN DUN & S. OENEMA (red.): *Liturgisch werkeboek voor justitiepastores* (Den Haag 1997) Preface, 1.

<sup>10</sup> HOONDEERT: *Om de parochie* 72-73.

- (5) artifacts.

Three predominant, preliminary questions underlie any possible ritual-liturgical ethnography as follows:

- (1) What does a person, in our case: the Catholic minister, or one of the worshippers, say they should be doing?
- (2) What do the Catholic minister or members of the congregation say they are doing?
- (3) And from the observer's point of view: what are they actually doing?<sup>11</sup>

Such ethnographical questions could be put to work for a scholar study of liturgy by making use of the liturgical research design Paul Post developed.<sup>12</sup> The liturgical research design offers starting points for such a scholar study on four levels, in which there is interference between ritual-liturgical issues as follows:

- (1) Interference between the *cultus* and the surrounding anthropological culture.
- (2) Interference between primary written sources of liturgy and secondary written sources emanating from the *magisterium* or from theologians about the liturgy.
- (3) Interference between more or less official, public or personal meaning and appropriation, with the possibility of distinguishing between these two points of origin (see above on De Certeau).
- (4) Interference in continuity and discontinuity as between past, present and future.

In my study, the third level of interference, i.e. as between meaning and appropriation, is important because it gives me an opportunity to sound out the reactions of churchgoers to the ritual-liturgical strategies of the ministers involved. (Part I, Chapter 2, figure 2 and § 4)

In the Netherlands, there are about eighty secure institutions run by the state.<sup>13</sup> If we count the privately run secure institutions, there are even more. To mark out the research field, I had to select a limited number of institutions. The four criteria I used to arrive at this selection were as follows:

- (1) A choice had to be made to include all of the kinds of secure state institutions within the Netherlands of which there are five different types as follows:
  - a) forensic clinics;

<sup>11</sup> M. STRINGER: *On the perception of worship. The ethnography of worship in four Christian congregations in Manchester* (Birmingham 1999) 50.

<sup>12</sup> P. POST: 'Interference and intuition: on the characteristic nature of research design in liturgical studies', in *Questions liturgiques/Studies in liturgy* 81 (2000) 48-65.

<sup>13</sup> DIENST JUSTITIEËLE INRICHTINGEN: *Map 2009* (= Article no.: DJ1/CC/2009/36, April 2009, 09-0103) (Den Haag 2009).

- b) young offenders institutions;
  - c) houses of detention;
  - d) proper prisons;
  - e) custodial centers for foreigners.
- (2) The geographical distribution of the secure state institutions was selected to cover the northern, middle and southern parts of the country.
- (3) The secure institutions chosen had to represent both genders.
- (4) Every ministry from among the corps of Roman Catholic prison chaplains within the Netherlands had to be represented.

This fourfold selection resulted in my choosing eight institutions that I visited during the period from September 2008 till April 2009 for my field of research. (Part I, Chapter 2, § 5)

Prison chaplaincy has to deal with several contexts as follows:

- (1) **The specialized context.** This context has to do with the Church status of the worshippers. After a brief inventory, I came to the conclusion that most worshippers at Catholic services, whether or not they regard themselves as being ‘Christians’, should be considered as pre-catechumens or neo-catechumens. Though their faith is not very articulate, they are eager to learn and especially to experience faith. Surveys from the years 2000 and 2003 report that their motivation for going to church whilst in the secure state institution is 70% purely religious.<sup>14</sup> (Part I, Chapter 2, figure 3 and § 6.1)
- (2) **The formal context.** Prison chaplains in the Netherlands are not only church ministers but also civil servants. They are state employees working in a national prison chaplaincy service in which several denominations i.e. Catholics, Protestants, Humanists, Muslims, Jews, Hindus and Buddhists are organized into corps of their own. Each corps has its own daily and ideological head chaplain who represents the so-called ‘Missionary Authority’. The Dutch Minister for Security and Justice appoints Roman Catholic prison chaplains and the diocesan bishop supplies them.
- (3) **The institutional context.** As employees, prison chaplains have to deal with management. This comes especially in the form of the official appointed to liaise between the institution and the chaplains and the institution and the head chaplain. The local secure institution facilitates the work of the prison chaplain both materially and financially. In turn, the prison

<sup>14</sup> L. SPRUIT, T. BERNTS & C. WOLDRINGH: *Geestelijke verzorging in justitiële inrichtingen. Een onderzoek bij directeuren, geestelijk verzorgers en ingeslotenen in het gevangeniswezen, jeugdinstellingen en tbs-klinieken* (Nijmegen 2003) 95-98, p. 97; also L. SPRUIT: ‘Het religieus profiel van gedetineerden, met het oog op herstelgericht pastoraat’, in VAN IERSEL & EERBEEK (red.): *Handboek justitiepastoraat* 167; A. FLIERMAN: *De kwaliteit van het justitiepastoraat. Empirisch-theologisch onderzoek naar de opvattingen van de katholieke justitiepastores over het justitiepastoraat* (Den Haag/Nijmegen 2000) 50-51.

chaplain has to organize his own work within the institution, stick to the rules and agreed protocol, and consult with the said official. (Part I, Chapter 2, § 6.2)

There are also specific contexts that are more or less typical of the Protestant and Roman Catholic prison chaplaincy. The practice of Protestant and Catholic ministers alternating in weekly celebrations is growing in secure state institutions within the Netherlands. This entails creating some kind of an ecumenical and liturgical covenant, so that the services have more or less the same shape whilst retaining characteristic Protestant or Catholic features peculiar to their own congregations. So the question arises: to what extent are the services in the secure state institutions ecumenical in design? To deal properly with this it would be necessary to compare both Protestant and Catholic services and that would require an additional quite separate study.

Another specific contextual question is connected to the influence of globalism on secure state institutions in today's society. Nowadays, as in many other countries, secure state institutions within the Netherlands are melting pots of culture and language. Coming from abroad, many worshippers in Catholic services in secure state institutions within the Netherlands neither speak nor understand Dutch. Given that this is so, how do ministers deal with this modern, multicultural and linguistic problem in church services?

In proper prisons condemned inmates undergo punishment. That is the main feature of the most direct context they live in. A liturgy that takes this peculiar context into consideration should, therefore, by its very nature be penitential. Strategically speaking, how do Catholic ministers in secure state institutions within the Netherlands handle this when performing ritual? Earlier studies proved that the desire of the inmates for forgiveness and reconciliation on the one hand, and the somewhat reserved attitude of the prison chaplains in this matter on the other, was incongruent.<sup>15</sup> (Part I, Chapter 2, § 6.3)

The 'liturgical process' that takes place in secure state institutions within the Netherlands is an interactive one. The bishop, who has given the Catholic prison chaplain his mission, is the first liturgical *actant* in this process, albeit in the background. The bishop expects the prison chaplain to celebrate the liturgy according to the regulations and prescripts of the official Catholic liturgical books. Correctly performed, Catholic ritual guarantees denominative representation. Indeed, the liturgy is a living visiting card of the Roman Catholic Church in the secure institution: the *lex orandi* of the Church expresses her *lex credendi*

<sup>15</sup> FLIERMAN: *De kwaliteit van het justitiepastoraat* 35-36; P. OSKAMP: *Overleven achter steen en staal. Vieringen en geloofsbelevingen in de bajes onderzocht* (Zoetermeer 2004) 87-92 and recommendation 7, 102-103; H. HEYEN & E. ZONNE: *Heute von ‚Sünde‘ sprechen/ nicht sprechen? Praktisch-theologische Untersuchungen im Kontext von Kirche, Sonderschule und Jugendgefängnis. Praktische Theologie interdisziplinär*. Band 2 (Wenen/Zürich/Berlijn 2009) 65-77, 80.

and demonstrates her legitimacy. Having received his commission, the head chaplain's expectations are the same as those of the bishop. He too should be considered a liturgical *actant* in the background.

Catholic prison chaplains as liturgical *actants* are in the foreground trying to meet the expectations of both the bishop and the head chaplain. At the same time they strive to create services that are 'relevant' and meaningful to the worshippers. It will after all imply creativity, experimental liturgy and deliberate deviation from the prescribed rite. As liturgical minister and *actant* in the foreground the Catholic prison chaplain is accompanied by his volunteers, mostly a group of faithful from the Catholic or Protestant parish in the neighborhood. In this respect the Christian prison chaplaincy is indeed ecumenical with Protestant and Catholic chaplains often sharing their volunteers. The volunteers in their turn have their own expectations of the service. They hope that the detained worshippers will undergo a transformation in church and discover how to change their lives. The churchgoers are of course also *actants* in the foreground with expectations of their own, that often correspond to those the volunteers cherish and aspire to. As written testimonies are scarce, those who do not attend the actual church service will have only a vague idea of the results of the 'liturgical process'. (Part I, Chapter 2, § 7)

This brings me to a short survey of the literature we do have. Firstly, there is a primary source: the *Liturgical workbook for prison chaplains*,<sup>16</sup> published in the 1990s as an internal document for both the Protestant and the Catholic prison chaplaincies. It is a collection of liturgical texts with hardly any reference to any corresponding ritual. As secondary sources we have two explicit liturgical studies.<sup>17</sup> In addition, we must mention three surveys published in 2000, 2003 and 2010.<sup>18</sup> Most interesting document is a policy paper drawn up by the former head chaplain who held the position from 2002 till 2011. The document is called *Policy scope for liturgy*.<sup>19</sup> It describes precisely all the authorizations that the Netherlands Conference of Catholic Bishops wishes to concede to Catholic prison chaplains and the regulations and prescripts they have to observe when celebrating the liturgy. From the perspective of ethnography, both the *Workbook* and the *Policy scope* are important insider documents.

Nowhere in this literature can we find any mention of ritual-liturgical strategies. Yet we can find some ritual-liturgical strategic tendencies, and beginnings,

<sup>16</sup> VAN DUN & OENEMA: *Liturgisch werkboek voor justitiepastores*.

<sup>17</sup> M. STERK & M. BARNARD: 'Kerk binnen de muren. Liturgie in justitiële inrichtingen, geïllustreerd aan acht Paasdiensten', in *Jaarboek voor liturgie-onderzoek* 17 (2001) 271-294; OSKAMP: *Overleven achter steen en staal*.

<sup>18</sup> FLIERMAN: *De kwaliteit van het justitiepastoraat*, SPRUIT, BERNTS & WOLDRINGH: *Geestelijke verzorging in justitiële inrichtingen*, L. OLIEMEULEN, M. VAN LUIJTELAAR, S. AL SHAMMA & J. WOLF: *Geestelijke verzorging in detentie. Visie van ingeslotenen op behoefte en aanbod* (Nijmegen/Den Haag 2010).

<sup>19</sup> A.H.M. VAN IERSEL: *Beleidskader betreffende liturgie en bediening van sacramenten in het RK justitiepastoraat in inrichtingen van justitie in Nederland* (Den Haag 2004).



which can help us to focus on further investigation. A beginning has been made towards the implementation of a reciprocal movement, towards an ecumenical orientation, and towards a flexible but responsible handling of the liturgical traditions of the churches.<sup>20</sup> The following tendencies may be identified: a tendency towards therapy and coping,<sup>21</sup> a tendency towards contextualization,<sup>22</sup> and a tendency towards mystagogy.<sup>23</sup> (Part I, Chapter 2, § 8)

### 3. Part II – Empirical: eight church services I investigated

Part II consists of nine chapters. Chapter one is mainly technical and dedicated to the development of a format according to which the other eight chapters have been written. I have adopted and adapted the format from two scholars who used it in the 1970s to study two Catholic liturgical celebrations in Amsterdam.<sup>24</sup>

Every descriptive chapter of Part II starts with some introductory details about the data of my visits to the secure institution involved and a description of the church premises with maps and photographs. Then I go on to record my observations of the service I attended.

A first attempt at analyzing what I experienced according to the format follows. The format yields seven sections as listed below:

- (1) the use the minister and congregation make of the ‘liturgical space’, that is, the chapel;
- (2) the structure of the service and the preparations for it;
- (3) the ritual as such;
- (4) the use and handling of vestments, utensils and paraphernalia;
- (5) the division of roles, participation of the congregation, and interaction between worshippers and minister;
- (6) the experiences of both the minister and the worshippers during the service;
- (7) my own impressions.

For balance there is a list of possible ritual-liturgical strategies found and of ritual themes connected with them. In every descriptive chapter I let the ministers and some of the worshippers, both detainees and volunteers, speak for

<sup>20</sup> VAN DUN & OENEMA: *Liturgisch werkboek voor justitiepastores* 1-2.

<sup>21</sup> STERK & BARNARD: ‘Kerk binnen de muren’ 278.

<sup>22</sup> OSKAMP: *Overleven achter steen en staal* 14, 55-61, 65-67 and 77-79.

<sup>23</sup> VAN IERSEL: *Beleidskader betreffende liturgie* 1.

<sup>24</sup> P.G. VAN HOOIJDONK & H.A.J. WEGMAN: *Zij breken hetzelfde brood. Een kritische wegwijzer bij de viering van de eucharistie op basis van een liturgie-historische en -sociologische analyse* (Zeist 1972).

themselves about the questions at hand. In all of the secure state institutions, I held two half-structured interviews with the minister, one before and one after the church service I had observed. Where possible, I also held half-structured interviews with three detainees who were worshippers, and one of the volunteers. In one case (Part II, Chapter 5) I interviewed members of staff as well. (Part II, Chapter 1)

**September 2008**, I started my fieldwork. In this month I visited a forensic clinic. The Catholic liturgy in the clinic was labeled an *agape* after an early-Christian model. In fact, the minister, who was seconded to the clinic for some time, had adopted its liturgical conventions. The Catholic liturgy he led was very ecumenical in shape. What were his intentions?

Though the minister believes strongly in ecumenism, more importantly, being a lay minister, he was able to make legitimate the ritual meal he intended to hold. He had developed his own theological, liturgical and historical theory on the matter. His ritual-liturgical strategies were explicitly meant to support this legitimization. Instead of hosts he used matzos and instead of wine he used grape juice. He wore no liturgical vestments. The congregation was seated alongside a large table just as at the Lord's Supper in a Protestant church. Both Protestant and Catholic worshippers at this service recognized the shape of the official liturgy of their own churches. The Protestant churchgoers called this service 'the Lord's Supper', the Catholics a 'Eucharist'. Seen from the perspective of his ritual-liturgical strategies, the minister, seeking to avoid any priestly behavior, refused to drink from the main cup. This earned him an open rebuke when one of the worshippers reacted strongly.

Other ritual-liturgical strategies the minister employed were intended to build an open table community in order to facilitate the worshippers having a ritual encounter with God and with one another. In most secure state institutions it is customary to drink some coffee after the service. At the clinic, this was done in advance of the service. It had a remarkable and surprising effect. While people were waiting for each other, the intended table community came into being. Besides this, as the coffee was drunk in another room, far away from the church, when the time came to celebrate the liturgy, the worshippers went to church together as a single group. Churchgoing in this context had become spontaneous ritual.

During the service I was confronted with a special ritual also common to services in secure state institutions within the Netherlands: worshippers lighting candles as a form of ritualized prayer. Ministers seem to want to emphasize that this is meant to be a purely popular affair, as they do not generally partake of this ritual. (Part II, Chapter 2)

**October 2008**, I attended a service in a young offenders institution. In the early afternoon of Sunday October 5 the minister celebrated liturgy with eleven young girls. It was a simple Liturgy of the Word, consisting of praise songs,

prayers and a single reading from Scripture. The texts of the praise songs were visualized by means of a PowerPoint Presentation. The minister did not wear a proper liturgical vestment but was formally dressed in black that he thought more fitting for the occasion. Of significance in this case is the fact that the minister does not have a proper church at his disposal. He has to conduct the services in a large visitors room where he has to fit up a little 'holy corner', as he put it. The single reading from the Scriptures was left up to one of the worshippers. As for the intercessions, the minister asked the worshippers what they wanted to pray for. I only saw this being done once or twice during my field-work. Everywhere else the ministers themselves formulated the intercessions.

The heart of the liturgy was actually the creation of a ritual event. The minister invited all the worshippers to anoint their hands and after that to lay them upon each other's heads. He himself did this to one of the worshippers. In his own words, the minister's ritual-liturgical strategy is to introduce the worshippers from service to service to the faith, not by catechetical teaching, but by such ritual events as described here. The minister even called his liturgical doings 'an introduction'. Liturgy is not only theoretically 'celebration' and feast, but also a means of experiencing the good things God has to offer mankind.

In that respect the minister has an outstanding and contextualized view of penance. The penitential rites, normally at the beginning of the service, were postponed to just before the reading from the *Bible*. The minister wants the congregation to listen anew to the Word of God, as if for the first time. He tries to impose on the worshippers a kind of feeling of renewal that delivers them from their past and opens up a new way to God. (Part II, Chapter 3)

**November 2008**, I went to a male house of detention. As one of the few priests that work as a prison chaplain, the minister celebrated Mass together with his congregation. A renowned Dutch ecclesiastical firm had fitted up this institution's chapel professionally. The minister's strategy was to make deliberate ritual and liturgical use of the fittings and fixtures.

Next to the chapel, there was a meeting room, with tables and chairs, a television set and a bar. A large baptismal font marked the transition from this secular space to the chapel. Between the altar and the seats for the congregation was a large open space. Here, at a given point in the service, the worshippers entering the chapel could bless themselves with holy water and ritually light their candles before an image of the Virgin Mary. In terms of religious phenomenology, this open space is considered a profane zone. Here the minister prayed and sang with the congregation and held his sermon. A third sacred zone around the altar was marked out on the floor by means of a strip. Apart from the *Gospel* reader, the minister was the only one to enter this sacred zone. The minister only went into this 'sanctuary' to perform the priestly ritual i.e. the actions proper to the Mass: the absolution after the penitential rite, the offering, the Eucharistic prayer, the breaking of the bread and the final blessing. This disposition gave the celebration a peculiar dynamic. As in Old Testament days, the

minister went from the forecourt of the congregation into the Tabernacle for a ritual meeting with God and returned with spiritual and sacramental welfare for the congregation. This going to and from the altar should be regarded as a mystagogical instrument.

Another mystagogical instrument in use is that of singing together. There was much singing in this church service. Not only does the minister like it, he uses it strategically to 'open' the worshippers up to the mystery they are celebrating. This is why the minister prefers to sing praise songs with the congregation. During the Mass the minister explains a lot and translates the traditional liturgical idioms into the kind of everyday language the worshippers can understand. As a lot of singing costs time and the service may not last for more than an hour at the most, the minister reduces the amount of ritual in the Mass to its most basic forms.

Not many of the inmates speak or understand Dutch in this house of detention. Parts of the songs that are sung, therefore, are in other languages. The one and only reading from Holy Scripture, mostly taken from the *Gospels*, is read again and again, in Dutch, English, and Spanish and sometimes in another language as well. The text of this reading is inserted in several languages into the service booklet that is handed out to the worshippers. The twofold or threefold repetition of the *Gospel* leaves no time for a second lesson. Readers are chosen from among the inmates. (Part II, Chapter 4)

**December 2008**, in Advent, I visited a proper prison for male inmates. The minister in this institution is an ordained deacon. He intended to celebrate a Liturgy of Penance in preparation for Christmas. That was his main ritual-liturgical strategy. Another strategy was to follow strictly the prescribed Roman rite, which he supposed to be the same as for a 'normal' Liturgy of the Word. Both strategies were bound to clash. His sermon was intended as an examination of conscience, in preparation for confession and absolution. Despite this, the minister began the liturgy, as in a 'normal' Sunday service, with the penitential rite. By the time he got to the sermon, of course, there was nothing left to confess, as that had already been done in the opening penitential rite.

There were two readings. The sacristan read the first reading, from the *Old Testament*. The minister himself read the second from the *Gospels* with all possible ritual. Whilst the sacristan read the first reading from his service booklet, the minister himself used a huge *Bible* that rested on the altar during the service. The *Bible* really formed the focal point of this liturgy as well as its main ritual element. Because of the importance of the book, the fitting up of the altar was arranged as in the old days, when Mass was still celebrated with one's back to the congregation. The huge *Bible* dominated the entire altar so that the latter could not be used for any other ritual purpose. The Communion Service that followed the Liturgy of Penance was, therefore, not a service at all but a simple distribution of the host comparable to the communion rite for the sick in its

shortest form. Most of the time the minister led the church service standing behind the pulpit. This made for a very static liturgy indeed.

To get the congregation to feel the presence of God, the minister employed a special ritual-liturgical strategy. On several occasions he stepped backwards and bowed praying silently for himself. The congregation was obviously familiar with this peculiar ritual behavior because nobody seemed to think it strange. In the interviews worshippers told me later that they perceived this as being ‘really holy conduct’. The minister made strategic use of the few church hymns he has to promote congregational participation. (Part II, Chapter 5)

**January 2009**, a house of detention for females was the subject of my field research. Here the minister is a woman. The service she had prepared was a Liturgy of the Word, followed by a fully elaborated Communion Service. On the Sunday I visited the institution, a choir from outside was present, as is usually the case, singing polyphony in several foreign languages. For the minister it was a means of meeting this polyglot community. The problem was that neither the members of the choir nor the minister herself could understand exactly what was being sung. Some of the songs chosen were liturgically unsuitable.

This case illustrated very well the significance of the use of foreign languages in praying, reading and singing. In this institution there is always one reading from the *Bible*, mostly taken from the *Gospels*, in several languages, Dutch, English and Spanish. Before the services begin, the minister always invites some of the worshippers to read. This morning she had failed to do that. So she had to invite somebody during the service itself. A Surinamese woman responded. A Surinamese song was being used to open the service, which made her eager to read. She had experienced that as a token of respect for the Surinamese women present. At the end of the service she showed her gratitude by initiating a dance.

Ritually and liturgically the minister makes strategic use of the prescribed order of the Roman rite. She discovered that for most of the foreign women in the house of detention the Roman rite is both recognizable and an international instrument of communication or a ‘language’ of its own. For the same reason, the minister wears a liturgical vestment making it clear to everybody present that she has a ritual function.

Before the service began, the minister greeted every member of the congregation personally. She did this standing in the doorway that opens onto the chapel so that no one could enter without passing her. This is one of the minister’s ritual-liturgical strategies. She wants every churchgoer to know that she is a welcome and respected member of the congregation. The minister does not seek to distance herself from the worshippers. She also involves herself in their ritual: when the time comes to light the candles, she joins the end of the procession to the image of the Virgin Mary and lights a votive candle of her own. The main theme of the services this minister holds is to offer empathic help to

the detained women 'to rise' in life, in the various senses of the word, according to her pastoral motto: *Talita qumi*' (*Marc* 5, 41). (Part II, Chapter 6)

**February 2009**, it was time to visit a prison for females. The minister in this prison is also a woman. Many imprisoned women came to church, perhaps because of the coffee after the service she had recently introduced. The relatively small chapel was overcrowded. The service went off chaotically. In the eyes of the minister and one of her volunteers it looked like the churchgoers had come along for the sole purpose of meeting each other over a cup of coffee. The ritual-liturgical strategies the minister employed to involve them in the liturgy were not very effective. Nevertheless, there were moments when the worshippers thought meaningfully and kept quiet, prayed silently, or involved themselves enthusiastically in the ritual lighting of candles and in formulating intercessions.

The minister had problems addressing the congregation in an inspiring and restful way. One of her ritual-liturgical strategies was to avoid complicated ritual and to reduce the liturgical action to a merely practical and what she assumed to be an understandable level. It made the liturgy less inviting, static, and wordy. Another strategy, which acted to intensify the effects of the former, was to celebrate a polyglot liturgy. Except for some prayers, that were in fact Dutch poems, everything the minister said to the congregation in Dutch, she repeated in English and Spanish as well. Her command of the latter, however, was so lacking in fluency as to cause laughter and irritation among the worshippers. It should be said here that in doing so the minister showed great courage, as none of the other ministers, who cooperated in my research, had dared to do what she did.

In this liturgical celebration, as was the case in the young offenders institution, the penitential rite was postponed until just before the reading from the Scriptures. The reasons the minister gave for doing this were much the same. She also thought that performing the penitential rite at this particular point in the service meant worshippers would undergo a moment of spiritual cleansing, conversion and a new beginning before listening to the Word of God.

Though the minister did not favor ritual much, she performed strong ritual at the intercessions, which took place immediately after the congregation had lit their candles. She invited the worshippers to formulate the intentions for the intercessions themselves. Favorite amongst the ritual-liturgical strategies of this minister in all the services she held was to light a special candle on the altar at every individual intention. This allowed the churchgoers to feel that with God people could pass from darkness to light. This was demonstrated visually: the radiance of the candles the worshippers lit and the candles that were lit on the altar gradually formed a pair of arms embracing the entire congregation. (Part II, Chapter 7)

**March 2009**, I visited a second house of detention for men. In the first house of detention I visited, the minister was a priest. It seemed, therefore, fitting to visit a second house of detention where the liturgy was to be led by a lay minister. The service in this institution consisted of the Liturgy of the Word followed by a fully elaborated Communion Service. In the Prayer before Communion, the minister explicitly contextualized the Communion Service by giving it the meaning of a penitential rite. The minister has developed some ritual-liturgical strategies to implement a reciprocal movement. The faith, spiritual and life experience of the congregation forms the starting point for the preparations of the church service. Strategically he makes the congregation jointly responsible for the success of the service. In fact the minister uses the liturgy to spark off in the worshippers a dramatic process of reflection in order to help them to improve their lives. He began this process by welcoming the worshippers in person and admitting them to one of the sacred zones of the church i.e. the zone around the altar, in order for them to open the service themselves by lighting candles in front of the icons of Christ Pantocrator and the Blessed Virgin Mary.

For this minister ritual and symbolism are entities in their own right that should be allowed to speak for themselves. Ritual is simply performed and symbols are simply present: neither requires any further explanation. It looks a bit mystagogical, but when you detach ritual from symbols, you reduce them to mere actions and church decorations. The minister does not even go as far as reading from the *Bible* he has laid out open on the altar. To the minister the book is too holy to use. He would rather have the reader read the *Gospel* from the service booklet handed out to the congregation in advance. This way of reading from the Scriptures renders the reverence the minister shows for the *Bible* counterproductive, as the link with this particular and symbolic book is lost.

What was unusual in this case was the use of PowerPoint Presentations during the liturgy. This was done with more sophistication than in the young offenders institution. There the presentation was merely to display texts of praise songs and the Lord's Prayer with apt illustrations in the background. Here it was almost a self-supporting liturgy of its own alongside the diverse rituals of the liturgical celebration itself. The PowerPoint Presentation began with bell ringing while the churchgoers arrived. It tracked the liturgy step-by-step either illustrating what was happening or showing the texts of the church hymns and prayers. After the sermon, another presentation was built into the main PowerPoint frame. This was like a mini movie with sound, specially made to emphasize the main ideas the minister had spoken of in his sermon. This was a very modest beginning of what seems possible, if PowerPoint Presentations are going to be introduced into the liturgy as ritual-liturgical tools. One disadvantage was that of the minister having to operate the remote control from behind the altar. Because of its frequent use, the PowerPoint Presentation confined him to that position most of the time. This had the effect of removing the dynamics from the liturgical celebration. (Part II, Chapter 8)

**April 2009**, the focus of my research was the liturgy on a secure state institution in the form of a prison ship where illegal foreign nationals are kept in custody. The principal ritual-liturgical strategy of the lay prison chaplain, himself a native speaker from abroad, was to firmly contextualize the current situation of the illegals on board. His intention is to create a community, which he experiences as the *familia Dei* within the liturgy as well as before and after it. Consequently, he addresses the worshippers during the service as ‘brothers and sisters’. By doing so, the illegals, whose main problem is that they belong nowhere, get the impression that at least they belong to God. Of course, this strategy creates a strong reciprocal movement. As a result, the minister really does see the congregation as being the People of God. In his opinion all the worshippers are entitled to contribute to the liturgy in word and deed. This means that whenever they ask him for an opportunity to do so, he always gives them the necessary leeway.

Another consequence is that the minister consults several members of the congregation about what to do in church. He introduced some Zairian ritual into the liturgical celebration and, because his congregation is largely composed of Francophone Africans, he reads the *Gospel* in French. As the *Bible* the minister brought in solemnly was a Spanish *Bible* this had a rather peculiar effect on the ritual. In the eyes of the congregation, reading the *Gospel* in French from it would look odd. So the minister put the *Bible* on the altar and proceeded to read the *Gospel* from his own service booklet.

The minister also used ritual-liturgical strategies with mystagogical potential. The minister used the ritual as well as the congregational singing to support his preaching. In the eyes of the minister, liturgy is a paschal celebration. In celebrating the liturgy, the Christian community testifies to its belief in the resurrection of Christ. The minister uses African metaphors to illustrate the preaching of the living Christ as a hut that people can dwell in. The poles supporting the hut are the rituals of singing and performing. When they pray, he and the worshippers, especially those of African origin, can be clearly seen to be testifying to the resurrection of Christ. They do not close their eyes but keep them wide open as they stand before the living and undivided Holy Trinity. (Part II, Chapter 9)

#### **4. Part III – Evaluation and prospects for the Catholic liturgy in secure state institutions within the Netherlands**

Part III consists of three chapters. The first outlines the contents of Part III. The four research questions I formulated in Part I provide the format of Part III (above, § 2). In the various sections of the second chapter an evaluation and a discussion of future prospects provide answers to the questions posed. The third chapter is about the *Liturgia condenda*, delineating the possible contours of Catholic liturgy in the secure state institutions in the Netherlands of the future.



How such a liturgy might look is the subject of recommendations directed towards the Dutch Roman Catholic prison chaplains, the head chaplain and his assistants and the ‘Missionary Authority’, that is, the Netherlands Conference of Catholic Bishops.

I first provide an answer to my initial research question: ‘which ritual-liturgical strategies do Catholic ministers employ in the liturgical celebrations?’ in chapter 2 of Part III. It opens with an inventory and qualification of the ritual-liturgical strategies found in Part II. I was inspired to sketch this inventory and qualification because of the strategic tendencies and beginnings I found in the literature, especially in the two available documents written by insiders, the *Liturgical workbook for prison chaplains* and the *Policy scope* (see above under § 2).

Let me start by making a few remarks and drawing some preliminary conclusions. Seven of the eight ministers that cooperated in my study neither support, nor implement ritually or liturgically, the strategic tendency towards an ecumenical orientation of the Catholic liturgy in secure state institutions within the Netherlands. That goes for the therapeutic tendency as well. The function of ‘celebration’, i.e. of feast and pause, typical for ritual, has the upper hand. In church the spiritual atmosphere has to be good and problems have to be left outside. In fact this tendency goes so far as to render the ministers reserved about guilt, criminality, sin and penance right up to the penitential rite. This means a lack of therapy to deal with reality, indeed, the suppression of reality, or, at the very least, keeping silent about it. When prison chaplains use ritual to act therapeutically, they do so not during the church service, but outside of it, in an individual pastoral conversation, or in a ritual-liturgical response to catastrophe.

Most of the strategies employed by the ministers involve implementing a reciprocal movement, from potential worshippers in the liturgy towards the church and from the church towards the worshippers. It is remarkable that the second movement is stronger than the first. In fact, the worshippers cannot contribute much to the liturgy, either in terms of preparation or in performance, and much less in evaluation of it.

This movement from the church to the worshippers is intensified by a second relatively large group of strategies that has a more explicit mystagogical quality. Actually, both groups of strategies, those meant to implement a reciprocal movement, and those more explicitly mystagogical, are related to each other. As such they should be considered as exponents of one and the same basic and ‘open’ movement of inviting people to partake in the services and of introducing them to worship. Essential to helping along this process are similarly related strategies of contextualization and of adaptation of the liturgical tradition of the Roman Catholic Church.

All of these ritual-liturgical strategies can be found without exception in the cases I studied. This leads to the conclusion that there is no great difference between the various types of secure state institutions with regard to the ritual-liturgical strategies employed. Everywhere ministers operate in the same way.

Though one has to discern differing types of liturgy – Liturgy of the Word, whether or not combined with a Communion Service, *agape*, Eucharist, depending on whether ministers are ordained or not – through the strategies employed, all these different types of liturgy are designed in the same way in terms of scenario and contents. Obviously, it does not matter much where ministers celebrate the liturgy. This implies that they ride roughshod over the context the worshippers live in; though it is precisely this context that largely defines any ‘relevance’ the liturgy may have for them.

Taken together, we can think of the ritual-liturgical strategies the individual ministers use as elements of a kind of blueprint. The outlines of this blueprint are contextualization, recontextualization and adaptation of the liturgical tradition. The contents are formed by implementation of the reciprocal movement and the mystagogical extrapolation. Because the ritual is defined by the ritual-liturgical strategies chosen by the individual ministers (see Part II), the liturgy in secure state institutions within the Netherlands can be characterized and qualified in terms of a reciprocal movement, a mystagogical orientation, contextualization, and a flexible approach to the liturgical tradition. (see Part III, Chapter 2, § 1)

The ministers are inclined to consider themselves as mystagogues, acting as strategists deploying their individual strategies. Yet they are not mystagogues in the classical meaning of the word. A ‘classical mystagogue’ lets the ritual speak for itself. Explanation of the ritual experienced may follow in another setting where necessary. Though their ritual-liturgical strategic activity proves that the ministers give substantial attention to ritual, they start their preparations of the services so to speak in a rather safe way by looking first into the texts of the prescribed Scriptural readings and searching for other suitable texts to explain those. What is more, the ministers do their utmost during the service to explain the liturgical texts as well as the ritual. Rather than mystagogues, they should be considered ‘mystagogical arrangers’,<sup>25</sup> who with rituals, texts, atmosphere, and, last but not least, their own pastoral attitudes, create some mystagogically valuable situations. (Part III, Chapter 2, § 2)

In Part III Chapter 2 section three, I answer my second research question: ‘how do the worshippers respond?’ Do they in fact appropriate the church services as being ‘relevant’ and meaningful to their own lives? The ritual-liturgical strategies the ministers developed and employed produce an effect. As I said above, ritual-liturgical strategies define the ritual actions performed in any liturgy. Reactions of worshippers develop through positive or negative appropriation and collective or personal meaning that may vary during the service. Generally speaking, the appropriation and meaning they give to the ritual are perceptible by their attitudes and behavior. Discovering what these are with any degree of

<sup>25</sup> G. GROENER: *Ingenijd en toegewijd. Profiel en vorming van de parochiepastor* (Zoetermeer 2003) 348 and 354-360.

certitude is, therefore, a complicated process. Attitudes and behavioral patterns of members of a congregation may be a product of education. We are, after all, on our best behavior in church. Alternatively, they may be dictated by a consumer attitude. Nevertheless, I gained the impression that most of the churchgoers had already developed a purely positive attitude towards the services in advance. Their previous experiences with the services in secure state institutions within the Netherlands make them think the next one has to be ‘relevant’ and meaningful to them as well. An explicitly negative reaction to what ministers did such as I saw in the forensic clinic (above, § 3), is utterly exceptional.

Total certainty about any appropriation on the part of the worshippers can only be obtained by listening to what they have to say about it themselves. My own informants, made up of detained worshippers and volunteers, confirm this positive impression I have gained. In church, worshippers long for forgiveness and reconciliation, a feeling of freedom, and a life changing experience. In church they experience salvation. It can be described in the words of one of my informants: ‘I feel lifted up by the liturgy and helped to transcend the rather vulgar and crude type of life available in a house of detention’. This then is the ‘relevance’ of the church service and the volunteers interviewed and the members of staff all agree. (Part III, Chapter 2, § 3)

In Part III Chapter 2 section four, I provide an initial answer to my third research question: ‘what effect do the strategies employed have on the ritual?’ (Part III, Chapter 2, § 4). There are two ways in to dealing with this question. The structure of the services I have observed and studied provides the first way in. Having already dealt in detail in Part II with the scenarios of the liturgies I researched, here I think it sufficient to look at just the broad outlines. The themes I set apart for further study in Part III, as outlined in the chapters contained in Part II, provide the second way in. These themes fall into the following three clusters:

- (1) Themes related to contextualizing and recontextualizing as follows:
  - a) space and time and connected to the latter: silence;
  - b) the polyglot character of the liturgy;
  - c) the celebration of penance;
  - d) the use of CDs and of PowerPoint presentations.
- (2) The second cluster to do with the ritual of the Liturgy of the Word.
- (3) The third cluster to do with the Liturgy of the Table as follows:
  - a) the *agape*;
  - b) the Communion Service;
  - c) the Eucharist.

The structure of the church services I researched in secure state institutions within the Netherlands shows innovation in the official order of the Catholic liturgy and four forms of deviation from it.

The innovation that is particularly common is the ritualization of the widespread, popular and devotional habit among Catholics of lighting candles. The lighting of candles is turned into a collective and fixed ritual in church services in secure state institutions. For many members of the congregation this forms a climax to the service.

I found the following deviations from the prescribed order:

- a) Postponement of the penitential rite till just before the reading of the Scriptures.
- b) The habit of having just one, almost exclusively, *Gospel* reading.
- c) Leaving the worshippers to do the reading.
- d) Regardless of the type of liturgy having the intercessions conclude the service.

These intercessions often take the form of the president of the liturgical celebration praying for the congregation. Though it is normal that the intercessions of the community conclude the Liturgy of the Word, it is not correct to postpone these prayers till the very end of the liturgy just before the final blessing when an *agape*, or Communion Service, or Eucharist is celebrated. That this disposition is common use in the Catholic liturgy in secure state institutions within the Netherlands leads to a peculiar conclusion. Since most of the Dutch Catholic prison chaplains are lay ministers, the Liturgy of the Word forms the basic liturgical model. The starting point for shaping the liturgical celebration is not, as usual, the Eucharist, from which several ritual elements have been left out, but the Liturgy of the Word, to which several Eucharistic elements have been added. (Part III, Chapter 2, § 4.2)

The first contextualizing and recontextualizing theme we have to discuss is the 'liturgical space', that is, the chapel within the secure institution. Three positions can be held on this matter. Firstly, the management of the secure institution simply does not have at its disposal a room suitable for liturgical services. Secondly, there is a chapel available for Christian liturgical use. Thirdly, the available 'liturgical space' has to be shared by all denominations present within the secure institution. The particular position people adopt depends on the architectural possibilities of the institution and allows for little flexibility.

Nevertheless some important observations can be made about the conditions, and the fittings and fixtures of a 'liturgical space' in a secure state institution in terms of ritual, anthropology, theology, and philosophy. Of paramount importance is that the room used for the chapel has to be big enough to perform the ritual and to house all of the worshippers. It has to be fitted up with a certain basic sacral surrounding and have a *heterotopic* function within the institution. The latter means that the 'liturgical space' in a secure institution, itself a heterotopy in society i.e. a place for people with deviant behavior, should be a

place, where detained worshippers can visualize and dream of a better future.<sup>26</sup> (Part III, Chapter 2, § 4.3.1.1)

Time is a basic ritual dimension. Rituals take place in space and time but ritual also has the potential to connect people with time. Whilst ritual is always present, it can actualize past time and reach out into the future so that ritual time encompasses both *anamneses* and *eschaton*. From the mystagogical perspective and that of introducing prisoners to worship, therefore, celebrating the liturgy at just the right point in the liturgical cycle assumes an importance not always easily achieved in the setting of a secure state institution. Time is mostly a fixed contextual factor. The day and hour of a liturgical celebration is fixed in nearly unchangeable daily program schedules that not only define what is possible in liturgical time but also limit how long the liturgical celebration may take. Although ministers do not complain, they easily run out of time.

A different time factor concerns the amount of liturgical preparation and performance time the national service for prison chaplaincy allows prison chaplains. The time allowed for preparation in their job description would appear to be insufficient. (Part III, Chapter 2, § 4.3.1.2)

Silence is a factor related to space and time and is an important ritual-liturgical element. Nevertheless, silence was hardly ever used during the liturgies I observed. For mystagogical purposes silence during the liturgy is of the utmost importance and furthers the active participation of the congregation. It can, however, also be used to control time. Moments of silence may vary in length lasting longer when there is enough time or shorter when time is lacking. (Part III, Chapter 2, § 4.3.1.3)

The Catholic liturgy was polyglot in nearly every secure institution I visited. A variety of different languages were used to sing praise songs and church hymns. The single reading from the *Gospel* was first in Dutch and then repeated in several other languages. Moreover, the service booklet the ministers handed out to the congregation contained many more translations of the reading and of some prayers, especially the *Our Father*.

The importance of such ‘linguaging’ is that worshippers from abroad, who do not speak or understand Dutch, get the feeling that they really do form part of the church community. From this perspective ‘linguaging’ serves to implement the reciprocal movement. Nevertheless, one could ask whether all the possibilities the liturgy offers are being fully utilized. The polyglot nature of these liturgies now has a disproportionate impact on the ritual element.

Moreover, besides verbal ‘linguaging’ there is another ‘language’ that could be ‘spoken’, namely, the ‘language’ of symbols. This, however, is a ‘language’ that

<sup>26</sup> P. POST: *Voorbij het kerkgebouw. De speelruimte van een ander sacraal domein* (Heeswijk 2010) 100-111, p.103 and 105.

is hardly ever used in a universal way capable of being understood by all who attend worship. (Part III, Chapter 2, § 4.3.2)

In secure state institutions especially the penitential rite should be contextualized and thus give the liturgy a character of its own. This is not now the case. Apart from a few exceptions, most ministers in secure state institutions avoid being open about the punishment and penance the congregation must undergo. From the mystagogical perspective I discuss in this section how to improve the penitential practice by means of using confession texts shaped like the traditional *Confiteor*. The following special features contained in the *Confiteor* illustrate why I am in favor of such confession texts:

- a) personal in nature (*'singularis culpans'*);
- b) self-confronting;
- c) confession of guilt;
- d) in the midst of the whole congregation;
- e) simultaneous confession of guilt by fellow worshippers;
- f) confessing sinners are not set apart and shamed;
- g) an understanding, caring and forgiving community of fellow, confessing sinners is on hand to support you.

The sacramental celebration of confession poses a major problem in the secure state institutions within the Netherlands I visited. This has to do both with the spiritual climate in the Western world and the fact that few Dutch Catholic prison chaplains are ordained priests. One of the cases I came across offers an interesting solution to this problem. The minister, though only ordained a deacon, celebrated an elaborate Liturgy of Penance and Reconciliation. Notwithstanding the fact that the essential elements were not in the right order, this liturgical celebration was recognizably 'sacramental'. Remembering the words of Jesus: 'Ask and you shall be given' (*Mathew 7, 7-8*), he showed that worshippers could at least pray together for forgiveness. The classical theological *dictum Ecclesia supplet*, i.e. the Church supplies, should be sufficient to make up for whatever is lacking. (Part III, Chapter 2, § 4.3.3)

A final contextualizing theme is the use of CDs and PowerPoint presentations in church. The use of CDs can offer a near unlimited musical repertoire to sing or to listen to. PowerPoint Presentations would seem to offer as yet unheard of possibilities for future ritual. In the electronic world of today people are looking for images, beat, and performance visuals using light-pulses, fast videos and so-called flashes as found on the internet. Such a combination is known as a 'spectacle' and it has high ritual potential.<sup>27</sup> In the secure state institutions I visited a

<sup>27</sup> T. SAMPLE: *The spectacle of worship in a wired world: electronic culture and the gathered people of God* (Nashville 1998) 52; M. BARNARD: *Liturgie voorbij de liturgische beweging. Over 'Praise and Worship', Thomasvieringen, kerkdiensten in migrantenkerken en ritualiteit op het internet* (Zoetermeer 2006) 48-49.

sophisticated and technically perfect PowerPoint Presentation could present such a ‘spectacle’ in a condensed digital form where it would have been impossible to perform a live ‘spectacle’. Today this is no more than a future prospect. The PowerPoint Presentations I saw were still in a more or less primitive state. No doubt the shape of Catholic liturgical ritual in secure state institutions will develop considerably once these presentations have become more enhanced. (Part III, Chapter 2, § 4.3.4)

The second cluster of themes is dedicated to the Liturgy of the Word. Of these, I have focused on the main ritual of the Liturgy of the Word, i.e. the *Bible* reading, and on the music used in church. During the Catholic liturgy in secure state institutions within the Netherlands it is common practice for only one Scriptural lesson to be read, usually taken from one of the *Gospels*. The reason for this, according to the minister in the young offenders prison, is the difficulty the congregation would have with more than one reading. Other chaplains gave as the main reason: having to repeat the *Gospel* reading. In this section I will go on to discuss the views of other scholars on this matter.<sup>28</sup> Whatever other proposals are made in the literature nowadays concerning the schedule of liturgical readings, at least two are always proposed: one from the *Old Testament* and one from the *New Testament*. Here I should make the remark that it is not always thought necessary to make the *Gospel* reading the most important one. From a mystagogical point of view, it would seem important for the individual believers to be able to see their lives through the hermeneutic of the Biblical history of salvation in its entirety. In this way their lives become part of this everlasting salvation history between God and man.

As to the practice of inviting detained worshippers to function as lectors, having just one reading taken from the *Gospels* contradicts the Catholic liturgical tradition. The arguments in favor given by the ministers did not convince me. By doing things in this way any connection between the *Gospel* reading and the ensuing homily is lost. Besides, having prisoners act as lectors could be seen to be out of keeping with the sacred nature of the *Bible* texts they are about to read. (Part III, Chapter 2, § 4.4.1)

There was live singing in most of the church services I attended. The community itself accompanied by a volunteer playing the piano, or an invited choir does this. Singing together and listening together to vocal or instrumental music are strong instruments in building up a community.<sup>29</sup> With or without musicians, in some secure state institutions detainees form choirs made up of their fellow inmates. These are very popular and eagerly accompany the singing of hymns in church. In the light of future ritual development great prospects may lie ahead for such musicians. Maybe somewhere in the future typical evangelical

<sup>28</sup> J. VAN DER LAAN: *Elementaire Bijbellezingen. Nieuw leesrooster voor de eredienst* (Zoetermeer 2004); G.-H. VAN KOOTEN: *Het oecumenisch leesrooster (1977-2010). Geschiedenis, filosofie en impact* (= Netherlands studies in ritual and liturgy 6) (Tilburg/Groningen 2007).

<sup>29</sup> HOONDEERT: *Om de parochie* 195.

ritual such as praise and worship and experience and flow will overwhelm traditional Catholic ritual.<sup>30</sup> In five cases there was a growing preference for the singing of praise songs because the worshippers like to sing this kind of religious music. Two CDs with music for praise and worship have already been specially published for liturgical celebrations in secure state institutions. Once again it is time for me to make a critical remark: the massive Church pressure the evangelical movement exerts on the faithful may endanger the reciprocal movement pursued in so many ritual-liturgical strategies. (Part III, Chapter 2, § 4.4.2)

The third and last cluster of themes is dedicated to the Liturgy of the Table. In the first section I discuss the *agape* celebration I observed in the forensic clinic (above, § 3). This celebration conformed to the liturgical practice of the clinic. The minister who led the celebration was inspired to hold an *agape* because *Policy scope* (above, § 2) signaled an intention to investigate and design such *agape* celebrations as an alternative to Communion Services or Eucharistic Celebrations. Whilst this remains an intention, however, to this day it has not been implemented.<sup>31</sup>

The *Policy scope* clearly states that in these alternative liturgies neither hosts and wine, nor normal dishes should be served. These strictures cause an immediate problem. It means that one is very limited as to choice especially since the latter condition does after all imply the use of food is purely symbolic. What options are left apart from bread and wine, or grape juice as ‘the fruit of the vine’? Despite the minister in the forensic clinic using matzos and grape juice, the Protestant worshippers recognized the liturgy as being a celebration of the Lord’s Supper and the Catholics as a celebration of the Eucharist. (Part III, Chapter 2, § 4.5.1)

Again, in an instruction in the *Policy scope*, Dutch Catholic prison chaplains are discouraged from celebrating Communion Services. An *agape* such as the one we just discussed is meant to replace these. To give Catholic churchgoers the chance to fulfill their Sunday obligation, the Communion Service is only permitted as an independent ritual after the Liturgy of the Word, sometime after the last Eucharist celebrated in the secure state institution. Given the fact that in most secure state institutions within the Netherlands the Eucharist is seldom celebrated, if at all because of a lack of priests working as prison chaplains, the instruction becomes meaningless. A second instruction does have greater validity, however, namely, that ministers may never refuse Communion to any of the faithful who ask for it and are in a state of grace. As many churchgoers in secure state institutions are longing for Communion, it would seem wiser to cele-

<sup>30</sup> BARNARD: *Liturgie voorbij de liturgische beweging* 54.

<sup>31</sup> VAN IERSEL: *Beleidskader betreffende liturgie* VI, 9.



brate a Communion Service connected to the Liturgy of the Word instead of some ambiguous *agape*.<sup>32</sup> (Part III, Chapter 2, § 4.5.2)

In secure state institutions within the Netherlands, celebrating the Eucharist poses a major problem. At an international conference of head chaplains in Rome, Pope Benedict xvi tried to stimulate the frequent celebration in secure state institutions of both confession and the Eucharist.<sup>33</sup> In so doing he failed to take into consideration the point of view of some Dutch bishops. They are convinced that denominative representation by the priestly ministry is not necessary for the Church to be able to provide an active presence in secure state institutions within the Netherlands. This standpoint not only affects the Eucharist but also the administration of most of the sacraments.

Theologically and ecclesiologicaly, however, this problem of the lack of priests does indeed affect the very existence of the Church within in secure state institutions within the Netherlands. If one can say with the encyclical *Ecclesia de Eucharistia* of Pope John-Paul II that the Church becomes herself through the celebration of the ultimate form of her *lex orandi*, i.e. the Eucharist, the opposite is also true: where the Church fails to celebrate the Eucharist, she loses the ultimate form of her *lex credendi*, that is: her identity as the Church of Jesus Christ. What the Church must not do is deprive prisoners of the Eucharist.<sup>34</sup>

Miraculous amongst the church services I observed was indeed one celebration of the Eucharist. The questions arising from this Eucharistic celebration have to do with how much freedom a priest has in changing the ritual and the forms of the liturgy. I observed the president of the Eucharist reduce the complex ritual down to what he considers to be ‘the heart of the matter’. He translated and explained the liturgical forms into what he thought were an understandable level for the worshippers. He considers the liturgy as ‘a sacred play’ in which he takes the principal part. Besides this, he sees himself as the play’s director, able to change scenes and libretti at will. The underlying ritual-liturgical strategy here is clearly mystagogical. Unfortunately, because all the changes the priest made to the ritual and the liturgical texts, coupled with all the explanations and interpretations he gave were counterproductive, the mystagogical impact was reduced to nil.

Lastly, we come to the substantial rituals and liturgical texts that constitute the Eucharist and express the fullness of both the *lex orandi* and the *lex credendi*. Changing those rituals and texts may imply a change of content in both of these *leges*. The rituals and texts at the heart of the Eucharist and the other sacraments are holy and inviolable, because theologically speaking from an ecclesiological and liturgical point of view they constitute the foundations of the Catholic lit-

<sup>32</sup> VAN IERSEL: *Beleidskader betreffende liturgie* IV, 8.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *RKKerk.nl. Blad voor katholiek Nederland* 5/14 (2007) 15.

<sup>34</sup> JOANNES-PAULUS II: *Ecclesia de Eucharistia* (April 17 2003) Chapters 2 and 4.

urgy and act as a guarantee of the universality of the local church community and her Christian identity. (Part III, Chapter 2, § 4.5.3)

Finally, I deal with my fourth research question: ‘how are the ritual-liturgical strategies to be considered in proportion to the Roman Catholic liturgical tradition?’ In this section I elaborate the concept of the Catholic prison chaplain as ‘ritual broker’ (see above under § 2) and try to establish the relationship between this concept and the Catholic liturgical tradition. I also look at whether and to what extent the Church authorities appreciate the ‘ritual broker’ – they are not very enthusiastic about it – and what strategies they are using to try and sabotage it.

My conclusion is that, even if we take into account future developments, the Catholic liturgy as celebrated nowadays in secure state institutions within the Netherlands remains within the broad, lively, and dynamic stream that constitutes the ‘band width’ of the Roman Catholic liturgical tradition. Despite deviations from the prescribed order of the Roman Catholic liturgy due to contextualization and experimentation, as to their form and content, the scenarios followed by the ministers I observed could even be termed ‘traditional’. (Part III, § 4.6)