

The emergence of religious sites in China: The Catholic Church, meeting point for migrants in Shenzhen

*A qualitative study on social capital of migrants in the St. Anthony's
Catholic Church in Shenzhen*

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‘For where two or three have gathered together in My name, I am there in their midst’.

Matthew 18:20

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2. Abstract

Shenzhen is a new developed urban area that has transformed rapidly from a fishing village to a metropolis with almost 15 million inhabitants. Therefore, due to employment opportunities many migrants from all over China came to Shenzhen to live and work. The question is what can connect all those migrants in a city of 15 million inhabitants? The Shenzhen Municipal Bureau of Religious Affairs is trying to provide more religious sites for different migrant groups. The migrants could meet each other and create more connections between people in Shenzhen. This thesis explores how the Catholic Church in Shenzhen can contribute to social capital for migrants.

Keywords

Social capital, Catholic Church, migrants, Shenzhen, China

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3. Introduction

Shenzhen is a new developed urban area created after the Chinese economic reform in 1978. This new urban area is called a new town. A new town is a city or town that is designed from scratch and built in a short period of time. This distinguishes a new town from a normal city that gradually has grown and evolved over time. Additionally, a new town is mostly the result of a political top-down decision. The building of a new city from scratch is a heroic enterprise that challenges the architect or planner to find the ideal shape for the urban according to the state of the art planning ideas (INTI, 2012). Many new towns were planned in order to control and regulate urban growth in Western Europe. It is shocking, however, how many of these planned cities are nowadays regarded as economically or socially unsuccessful (INTI, 2012). In the next 20 years, about 280 million Chinese peasants will go to the cities attracted by the offer of jobs and opportunities in the city. The degree of urbanization grows from 50 percent now to seventy percent in 2030. Therefore, China will change from a rural society to an urban society. This modernization project will affect the lives of hundreds of people in China. Societies were radically changed in the twentieth century because of population growth and industrial expansion.

Shenzhen is an urban area that has transformed rapidly from a fishing village to a metropolis. In 1980, the Chinese government decided to give Shenzhen the status of Special Economic Zone. Since that time, Shenzhen has become a metropolis with almost 15 million inhabitants. Therefore, due to employment opportunities many migrants from all over China came to Shenzhen to live and work. Moreover, Shenzhen is shifting the economic activities. In the past, the city was mostly based on manufacturing but currently the service sector has gained importance. According to statistics, around 82% of the total population in Shenzhen is a migrant (INTI, 2012). The government of Shenzhen is now investing in a better living climate for migrants. The migrants invest, work, study and live in Shenzhen and are therefore becoming more important for the city. One of the ways the government tries to make connections between all the different migrant groups is religion. The Ethnic and Religious Section of the governance of Shenzhen announced that they will invest in managing religious sites and protecting the religious freedom of citizens. Lately, the Shenzhen Municipal Bureau of Religious Affairs announced to provide English services for migrants. The largest Catholic Church of Shenzhen, the St. Anthony's Church in the Futian District will be the place where different migrant groups meet each other. Therefore, in this thesis the role of the Catholic Church for migrants is investigated.

The first missionaries came to China in the 13th century to bring the Catholic faith. However, through an accumulation of misfortunes the mission was only for a short period. Later, in the 16th century, there is again an attempt of Christian missionary. This time Jesuits, Franciscans and Dominicans came to China to bring the faith to the Chinese population. For centuries, Christianity has been a religion that was officially not accepted but was tolerated in China (Moody, 2013). This all changed when Mao Zedong published the Manifesto of the Three Published Independent Present in 1950. The Chinese government feared political interference by the Catholic Church, so the Chinese government wanted to have a Catholic Church that is not connected with the Vatican. The Vatican did not agree with this change because the Vatican sees itself as a universal Church, apart from national borders. In the following years, many foreign missionaries fled the country. Christians were persecuted, arrested and some even sentenced to death. The atheist Chinese state, led by Mao Zedong, established a private Catholic Church in 1957: the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association (CPCA). This association controls and leads the Catholic Church in China. Consequently, there is the official Catholic Church that is willing to cooperate with the Patriotic Association and the underground Catholic Church wants to remain loyal to Rome. Since the end of the eighties, there is a rapprochement process between the two Churches. As a result, the separation is much less clear and there are now priests who belong to both groups. However, a possible fusion between the two Churches is undoubtedly far away and will be a long-term process (Moody, 2013). Shenzhen is a new developed city and the Chinese government is planning and building Catholic Churches in Shenzhen. What is the role of the Catholic Church in this city, which is dominated by migrants?

3.1 Problem definition

In Shenzhen, enormous social and economic changes have taken place over the last decades. One is the massive inflow of migrants to Shenzhen. About 82% of the total population in Shenzhen is a migrant. The question is: what can connect all those migrants in a city of 15 million inhabitants? In the introduction, it is said that Shenzhen Municipal Bureau of Religious Affairs is trying to provide English services in the Church. Therefore, different migrant groups could meet each other and more social connections between people in Shenzhen are created.

The concept of social capital is used to describe the differences in social connections between people. It is used more and more in scientific research and in policies of governments. In these reports, social capital is seen as an important condition for connecting people with each other and to integrate in society. Putnam (2000) distinguishes the concept of social capital in two kinds of capital, participative capital and network capital. The participative capital is based on the capital that emerges when people are socially involved in the society. Network capital emerges when people obtain relations with each other. Putnam (2000) distinguishes two functions of social capital. Social capital binds people together (bonding) and but could also build bridges between people (bridging). In most recent research, the societal role and function of Churches is investigated by looking at the activities organized in the Church and to what extent these could contribute to the integration between different groups in society. This research is mainly based on the participate capital that could be created in Churches. In this thesis, the focus will be on the network capital that is created in the Church. The main aim is to investigate the role of the Catholic Church for migrants in this new city. Therefore, the research question in this research will be: **How does the Catholic Church in Shenzhen contribute to social capital for migrants?**

3.2 Scientific relevance

Much research has been done about Churches in Europe and the United States, but little or non research is done about Churches in China, especially not in a new town such as Shenzhen. In social sciences, there is an academic debate about the importance of social capital in society, but in this debate the role of religion is neglected. This thesis tries to contribute to this discussion, by investigating how religion can contribute to social capital for migrants in Shenzhen.

3.3. Social relevance

There has been a long discussion about the place religion should or could play in the Chinese society. The importance of the concept of social capital is used to describe the possible role the Catholic Church could play for migrants. However, little research is done about the social involvement of different groups that are present within the religious institutions. The social relevance of the social networks that are created in the Church for migrants is not investigated enough. This thesis has social relevance because it explores the contribution of religion in the Chinese society. The importance of religion in the creation of social networks for migrants in Shenzhen is not researched yet. Hopefully, the results will contribute in the debate about the possible role of religious communities in a new town such as Shenzhen.

4. Theoretical framework

In the theoretical framework different topics will be discussed about social capital and religion. First, the function of religion is presented. Second, rapid economic development of China and Shenzhen is discussed. Third, the concept of social capital is outlined. Later, the social capital that is created in the Church is presented. Finally, there will be a short conclusion of the literature.

4.1 The function of religion for migrants

Hagan & Ebaugh (2003) state that the role of religion in the migration process has been ignored by researchers in the sociology of religion. They point out that migrants use religion in different stages of the migration process and that religion plays an important role in the lives of migrants. The main function of religion for migrants is to confront the instability of their lives as a migrant in a new city. Migrants could find in the Church a social institution that is supporting their social and economic needs, whereas others stay away from religious gatherings to avoid negative outcomes such as prejudice and gossip (Fresnoza-flot, 2010). The main role of religion for migrants is a place of enabling social and economic benefits. Fresnoza-flot (2010) did research about the religious influence of the Catholic Church of Filipino migrants in the world. In these religious places there is exchange of information, goods and emotional support. The Filipino Catholic Church is a place of religious and ethical identity and the Church is experienced as an important social institution supporting the Filipino migrants. However, others experience the Catholic Church as an institution to stay

away from because they want to avoid negative effects. Some migrants experience the Catholic Church as place of social control with gossip and prejudgment (Campani 1993). Migrants come to a new city and have to deal with a new culture and habits. Some migrants see the Church not as a place of progression but represents isolation and sadness in this new city. They need space to integrate in the new society and to meet local people. Therefore, the Catholic Church is seen as a moral institution with social behavior of their home country and it does not suit to their new way of life. However, almost all migrants experience the importance of religion in the beginning of their settlement in a new city.

Hagan & Ebaugh (2003) state that there are different stages in the migration process. Most migration researchers focus mainly on economic motivations and social networks to explain the decision to migrate. There is little concern about the role of religious institutions in immigrant settlement. Hagan & Ebaugh (2003) say that migrants rely on religion when they experience little control over the situation they confront in a new place. Thus, religion could be seen as an important resource used by migrant groups as a source of support.

Nevertheless, like said before, the function of religion of migrants can sometimes also have disadvantages for migrants. Morris, Vokes and Chang (2007) interviewed South-Korean families who left South Korea with hope for a better life in Christchurch, New Zealand. They wanted to escape the negative aspects of South-Korean society like crowdedness and pollution. They came to New Zealand with the intention to become full participants in the New Zealand society. Furthermore, they hoped that they could contribute something to the society of New Zealand. However, many South-Koreans did not feel comfortable in this new place. The majority only relied on the South-Korean community for economic and social support and the central site of this support is the South-Korean Church in Christchurch.

Consequently, the South-Korean community is a place of exclusion for the mainstream society. In the end, many migrants experienced different degrees of harassment, discrimination and social exclusion. For example, a large number has been unable to find work. They need to take jobs that are supplied by South-Korean owned businesses. Thus, the Church is a place of social exclusion and many of these new migrants have been able to find only social support amongst other South-Koreans (Morris, Vokes and Chang, 2007). As a result, the South-Korean Church provides the only economic, social and personal support available in this new country for the South-Korean migrants. Therefore, for the South-Korean migrants the Church is the central institution in their lives in Christchurch.

In conclusion, case studies showed different perspectives of the possible function of religion for migrants. Migrants could find in the Church a social institution that is supporting their social and economic interest, whereas others stay away from religious meetings to avoid negative effects such as social exclusion or isolation (Fresnoza-flot, 2010). Therefore, migrants can experience different degrees of discrimination due to the exclusiveness of the Church. In conclusion, a Church is not only for spiritual support but also for the formation of social capital (Mensah, 2009). However, not much research has been done about the function of religion in China in the case of the Catholic Church. How is the function of the Church for migrants in Shenzhen? Do they also experience the Church as a social institution that is supporting their social and economic interest? The rapid economic development of China and Shenzhen is discussed in the next chapter. Due to this economic development, many migrants came to Shenzhen.

4.2 Rapid economic development

China, and in particular Shenzhen, has gone through a massive economic transition over the last decades. Putnam (2000) analyses the fall of the industrial economy and the society of big companies as a turning point. As cities become larger and more fragmented, the relationships with strangers become an increasingly important interaction between people. In cities, two major trends can be distinguished with respect to the decline of social capital. First, the structure of the cities changed. Baldassare and Wilson (1995) state that cities have become bigger because of the urbanization and more sprawled because of the suburbanization. They state that the economy of the Fordist economy made mass production possible. People could flock to cities in order to live and work. The result of suburbanization was that neighborhoods were arranged on welfare. The wealthier people moved from the central part of the city to the suburbs because of better living conditions outside the city center. This trend was mainly due to technological advances and increasing economic prosperity for the more rich people. For instance, people who could afford a car could travel a longer distance and therefore did not have to live next to their work. Social capital has declined in cities because people have longer commutes and therefore have less time for social activities (Putnam, 2000). In a post Fordism economy the mass production is replaced by a more flexible production. A major trend is the increasing social segregation in cities. The social segregation ensures that people in neighborhoods have more social capital based on bonding and less on bridging. Neighborhoods are generally more homogeneous and ranked by income and race. Putnam (2000) states that in cities the social involvement and social capital declined. Today, in this

consumer society people choose to go shopping alone instead of going to the Church with family or relatives. Traditional institutions such as the Church have been replaced by activities that are more modern. But does the analyse of Putnam (2000) also count for a factory city like Shenzhen? Or is there a general lack of social capital in a fast growing city of migrants? They are building many religious sites in Shenzhen, while according to Putnam (2000) this old institute is in decline. The question is how the Catholic Church can contribute to social capital for migrants. First, social capital as a concept is outlined.

4.3 Social capital

As discussed earlier, social capital is mentioned as an important indicator to look at the amount of trust in a community or between individuals and why people are less connected with each other (Putnam, 2000) and social capital is an important condition for successful development of societies and economic growth (Fukuyama, 2001). For example, Putnam (2000) sees social capital as an important exponent to function in the modern society. In the social science the attention to the role of social resources, civil engagement and social networks are investigated by the concept of social capital. Social capital would have beneficial effects on social, economic and political developments in neighborhoods or cities. Therefore, in this thesis the role of the Catholic Church for migrants in Shenzhen is investigated by the concept of social capital. Social capital has become a popular concept in academic research, yet it remains unclear what social capital as a concept is. In this chapter, the main authors who wrote about social capital from various academic disciplines are discussed. However, social capital is viewed from different perspectives and therefore one definition of the concept of social capital is difficult to make. It also depends on the perspective of the function of social capital. Bourdieu (1986) sees social capital as a part of social structures. Granovetter (1973), Portes (1993) and Coleman (1988) define social capital as part of social networks. However, the way they define the social networks is different. In the end, Putnam (2000) sees social capital as part of the society.

Social capital as part of social structures

Bourdieu (1986) states that networks are particularly relevant when people have strong ties with each other. He sees social capital as: *the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition* (Bourdieu, 1986). For Bourdieu (1986) the amount of social capital that a person has depends on the resources that

people can mobilize through their social connections or group membership. The amount of social capital that someone has is based on two things: the extensiveness of the network of social relationships that the person can mobilize and the volume of economic, cultural or symbolic capital that persons are connected to. Bourdieu (1986) states that there are different types of capital and people are constantly accumulating capital. It is about social capital, economic capital, cultural capital and symbolic capital. People move on in different fields in society and in any field they pursue maximum accumulation of capital that is important. For example, social capital is the product of social investment strategy in social relations that are useful in the short or long term. Bourdieu (1986) sees social capital as a form of capital but at the same time closely associated with other forms of capital: economic and cultural capital. It is about mobilizing the cultural, economic and symbolic capital of others through social connections and networks. He sees social capital as part of its complex social topology, where everything revolves around the positions of individuals, especially defined in terms of economic, cultural and social capital. Human activity is for him after all, primarily aimed at controlling and accumulating various types of capital. In general, Bourdieu (1986) sees social capital as a concept that refers to social relationships between people and groups and social resources that are derived from it. Therefore, Bourdieu (1986) sees social capital as part of social structures.

Social capital as part of social networks

The sociologist Granovetter (1973) did in particular research about the social networks between people. According to him, people have different types of social relationships with each other. Relationships between people can consist of two types: weak or strong ties. The strength of a connection between people is dependent on the amount of time, emotional intensity and services. According to Granovetter (1973) weak ties and strong ties have different functions. Strong ties are relationships with friends and family which are important for group bonding and emotional support. A strong bond promotes social cohesion within the social network and forms a dense network. Therefore, information stays within this social network. However, weak ties can achieve a larger scale and thus reach more people. Weak ties are characterized by a low degree of intensity, frequency and reciprocity. It implies contacts between people who do not belong within their inner social network. The weak ties build bridges between different people and they are suitable to distribute and gain information, services and emotional support.

However, Coleman (1988) defines social capital in a more functional way. He defines social capital as: *a variety of entities with two elements in common: They all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain action of actors whether persons or corporate actors-within the structure* (Coleman 1988 p. 98). He uses an economic approach to define social capital. Coleman (1988) sees social capital as more productive and functional. Coleman (1988) distinguishes three types of sources of social capital: commitments, expectations and trustworthiness of social structures, information and sanctions. First, the social structures are characterized by connections between people and reliability. Both are dependent on the need of people to support but also on the presence of alternative resources. Second, source of information channels is necessary within social relationships. As more information is available about the reliability of another person, the easier social relationships are created. Final, the creation of sanctions leads to norms that are followed within certain networks. Reward promotes namely compliance with the standards and punishment encourages deviant behaviour (Coleman, 1988). Coleman (1988) sees that the formation of social capital is easier when there are strong social networks, stability of the social structure and a (religious) ideology. Important here is that there are multiple relationships between people: single and multiple relationships. In single relations, people are connected in one context such as being family. Multiple relationships are relationships in which persons are linked in more than one context, for example if they are family and members of the same religious association. For multiple relationships, people have several resources they can share with each other. Coleman (1988) states that in these multiple relationships the most social capital is created between people.

In contrast to the approach of Bourdieu (1986), where interactions are facilitated by social norms within a social context, the economist Coleman (1988) is more focusing on the individual acts. He sees the acts as independently and rational and people only help each other by obtaining profits for themselves. He sees social capital as part of social networks and identifies certain aspects of the social structure used to their function. The function of social capital consists of the value of aspects of the social structure that represent the interest of the actors. Coleman (1988) sees social capital as productive when certain economic aims are made possible, without social capital these goals would not be possible. This is consistent with the vision of Bourdieu (1986). He sees social capital as an outcome of the relations between different actors. In addition, Granovetter (1973) argues that not only strong ties but also weak ties are important for social networks of people because these ties build bridges

between different social networks. However, weak ties are only relevant for people if they need other social networks that not exist in their strong ties. In this case, weak ties mainly contribute to bridging capital and strong ties to bonding capital.

In contrast with Granovetter (1973) and Coleman (1988), the sociologist Alejandro Portes (1998) interprets social capital not at the level of the individual or society, but at the level of the community. He stresses that membership in social structures and networks in society yields several advantages. To possess social capital people need to be connected with each other. Portes (1998) developed his vision of social capital from a specific interest in the forms in which the social structure affects economic activity. He distinguishes four sources of support that arise from different types of networks and structures. The first source is about the norms and values in society. This allows people to offer assistance to each other without obtaining benefits from it. The second source refers to the solidarity which forms groups. For example, this implies that people with the same ethnic or within the same religious group are more solidary with each other. The third resource support person's motives to do something for another. People who offer help because in the future they expect something in return. In the fourth source, it is about anonymous relationships between people. This reciprocal relationship occurs when two persons are in the same community. Mobilizing resources is dependent on the network in which individuals live, there is a difference between people who are helped from altruistic motives and people who are helped by instrumental motives. In fact, in order to receive social capital people need to be connected with each other.

Portes (1993) found that the group-based solidarity is stronger within a migrant community and the cultural differences between the migrants and the native community is higher than among other groups. This is because the prejudices about communities with stronger cultural differences are bigger than in communities that are more similar to the native population. However, social capital can generate negative effects in certain circumstances. For example, it can exclude other people who are not in the group. Because close ties within group members may form a barrier for others to gain access to the group. Second, individual freedom can be limited within the group as the social control becomes too strict. When certain social norms apply in a community, there is a threat for individual freedom. Therefore, Portes (1993) warns of the risks of the praised multiple relationships by Coleman (1988) because it can restrict the personal freedom of individuals in a group.

Social capital as part of society

Putnam (2000) sees social capital as part of the society. He did research on the social capital in the United States of America. He tries to point out that groups of associations in America greatly shrink and therefore social capital in society is changing. Putnam (2000) states that social capital consists of social networks and the involvement of citizens in the community. He argues that societies function better if there is sufficient social capital. The decline of social capital is a troubling development in society. Putnam (2000) states that: *Social capital refers to the connections among individuals-social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them.* The above definitions of social capital mainly refer to the social networks between individuals and the connections within and between groups. Putnam (2000) interprets the concept of social capital at a higher level. He distinguishes two types of capital: participatory and network capital. The participatory capital embraces the social capital that arises when a person is socially involved with a community. Network capital arises when people have relationships with each other. Social networks are only part of social capital if there is reciprocity and norms of expectation. These norms of expectation are informal links between people that produce social resources. Social resources that can be formed for example of the provision of services but also to obtain information and knowledge extracted from developing contacts and building trust (Putnam, 2000). Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1988) are indicating that the concept social capital is at a more individual level, while Putnam (2000) uses the term primarily at the collective level.

Putnam (2000) states that social relationships can have a bonding and a bridging function between people. Social networks between people, who are focused inward, concentrate more on their own social group. Social networks that have a bridging function, involve connections between people from different social, ethnic and economic backgrounds. Therefore, these networks build bridges between heterogeneous groups instead of connecting people within a homogeneous group. Putnam (2000) suggests that different forms of social networks, under certain circumstances, may have positive social impacts. Thus, bonding social capital may increase the amount of solidarity and reciprocity between individuals within the group. These networks provide social and emotional support. Bridging social capital can obtain new networks with people, who may possess knowledge and information that is not present in their group. Putnam (2000) assumes that the bridge building is less developed as the bonds between individuals within their own circle are less strong, the loss of a unifying social capital can make bigger divisions between people.

In conclusion, it is clear that there are various ways to define the concept of social capital. Additionally, the concept of social capital is operationalized in many different ways. Bourdieu (1989) shows that social capital is a part of a complex social structure. The sociologist Granovetter (1973) states that people have different types of social relationships with each other. Relationships between people can consist of two types: weak or strong ties. The strength of a connection between people is dependent on the amount of time, emotional intensity and services. Coleman (1988) provides a more economical and functional description of the concept at the level of the individual. Portes (1993) states the importance of social networks from a cultural perspective. Moreover, Putnam (2000) attaches more importance of social capital for the creation of a civil society and indicates that social capital as part of society. Nevertheless, there are also similarities between the different theories about social capital. For instance, they all attach importance to the development of social networks among people and they assume that social capital facilitates cooperation between individuals, groups or communities. They all also refer to the importance of the social resources that are obtained from social structures and social networks.

4.4 Social capital and the Church

The importance of religion for migrants and social capital are already mentioned. There have been several studies on social capital within Churches. Current research on social capital within Churches shows that Church members are important in generating social capital in society. Besides the religious reasons, a variety of social activities is organized in Churches that support people and bringing them in contact with each other. Research about social capital has been done and in particular about participation capital in society. Research shows that those religious institutions are responsible for a large proportion of the participation in society.

According to Putnam (2000) volunteer work done by religious organizations is of great importance for the generation of social capital. It is one of the most important ways to build social capital. Doing volunteer work is leading to more trust between people inside the group but also outside the group because it leads to an increased confidence in other people and more trust between different groups. Putnam (2000) distinguishes two types of social capital: bonding and bridging. Bonding capital concerns the close relationships and networks within a homogeneous group; bridging capital is about the relationships and networks with people outside their own group (Putnam 2000). With bonding capital the relationships and contacts

are very close and intense with the group members. The relationships and contacts based on bridging are looser. Therefore, Granovetter (1973) distinguishes strong ties, bonding, and weak ties, bridging. Especially bridging capital is seen as a generator of social capital. Bridging capital would lead to increased confidence in other people and more trust between different groups.

The degree of bonding and bridging capital is present within a group differs, even in the different denominations there are differences (Strømsnes 2008). In addition, there are huge differences between the Church members from diverse institutes. They all operate differently in their own religious movement. Conservative denominations especially have bonding capital whereas the mainstream and the liberal denominations have more bridging capital. Those conservative denominations have more bonding capital than bridging capital due to the theological background that they have. The members are very active and focused mainly on the community. Within these Churches the focus is on their own events and people in the Church which arises bonding capital and less bridging capital. Therefore, Christians that are more conservative have less trust in people outside their own group. Nevertheless, the theological position of a religious community can only partly explain why some Christians have less bridging or bonding capital than others. The level of age, education and income explains also an important part (Strømsnes 2008). For example, people who have a high education level have more social networks than people with a lower level of education. When people are older, they have more time to do volunteer work than younger people. Furthermore, people with a higher income have more time to do volunteer work than people with a lower income.

Another interesting classification to explain the amount of bonding and bridging capital is created by Ammerman (2000). In a model, three different types of Churches are presented: the evangelistic, member orientated and activist. According to this model, evangelistic Churches are strongly focused on bringing the gospel to people outside the Church. They focus more on bridging capital. Member oriented Churches are focused on their own members and on organizing all kinds of activities inside the Church for their members. The goal is mainly to create a community. Activist Churches are focused on the elimination of social injustice in society. Member oriented Churches have more bonding capital while the activist Churches are mainly focused on bridging capital. Ammerman (2000) explains that the

three Churches overlap. A Church is never completely evangelistic oriented. It is always a mixture of the three forms is, with one dominant form.

4.5 Conclusion literature

The city of Shenzhen has faced rapid developments. First, the economy is shifting from a manufacturing towards a more knowledge based economy. The demand towards these requirements of employees are changing since jobs in a knowledge based economy require higher educated and skilled employees. Second, the city has to deal with many migrants who come to the city because of job opportunities. Social capital is mentioned as an important indicator for trust in a community or between individuals. It explains why people are less connected with each other and social capital is an important indicator for successful development of societies and economic growth.

The Church could play an important role in the contribution of social capital for migrants. Migrants could find in the Church a social institution that is supporting their social and economic interest, whereas others stay away from religious gatherings to avoid social exclusion (Fresnoza-flot, 2010). The Church can also be a place where migrants experience different degrees of discrimination. In conclusion, Churches are not only for spiritual support but also for the formation of social capital (Mensah, 2009). The function of the Church could be investigated by using the concept of social capital.

Many researchers wrote about the concept of social capital. Bourdieu (1986) explains social capital as part of social structures. Granovetter (1973), Portes (1993) and Coleman (1988) see social capital as part of social networks. In contrast, Putnam (2000) sees social capital as part of the society. Putnam (2000) distinguishes two types of capital, participative capital and network capital. The participatory capital embraces the social capital that arises when persons are socially involved in the community. Network capital arises when people have relationships with each other. Research on social capital shows that Church members are important in generating social capital. Besides the religious reasons, a variety of social activities is organized in the Church that supports people and bringing them in contact with each other. Those religious institutions are responsible for a large proportion of the participation in society. Based on the discussed literature, the Catholic Church in Shenzhen could play an important role in the lives of migrants who live in Shenzhen. It could be a

perfect place for migrants not only for religious motives but also for functional reasons such as obtaining information, services and emotional support.

In concluding on the theories discussed above, the indicators that will be used for this research are social networks, civil engagement and social resources to investigate the social capital of migrants in the Catholic Church in Shenzhen. These indicators will give insights in the connections, functions and resources of these networks in the network capital between individual en groups within the Church. But also the participate capital is investigated by looking at the societal role that the Church has and in what way it contributes to more civil engagement.

5. Research question

The theoretical framework shows that the concept of social capital in recent decades is increasingly important in scientific research. Research has revealed that social capital may be an important condition for successful functioning of a society. A number of recent studies has demonstrated the societal role and function of Churches in different cities based on the concept of social capital. These studies have examined both the religious and non-religious activities of Churches and examined how these activities could contribute to the social capital of individuals.

Interviews and observations will be made to investigate how the Catholic Church in Shenzhen contributes to social capital for migrants. This thesis examines the social activities of the Church visitors at the level of the community and it studies social networks at the level of the individual. Much research has been done in Churches in Europe and the United States but little or non research is done in Churches in China, especially not in a new town such as Shenzhen.

The main research question will be:

How does the Catholic Church in Shenzhen contribute to social capital for migrants?

The subquestions to answer the research question are:

Who are the Church visitors and what kind of activities do they attend?

Which social networks are created by attending activities in the Church?

To what extent do social resources emerge from social networks?

To what extent does the Church fulfil a societal role?

To what extent has social capital a bonding or a bridging function for Church visitors?

The first subquestion will answer what kind of people visit the Church and what activities they attend. In the second part, three indicators of social capital are discussed. The social networks of the Church visitors are investigated. The second indicator, social resources, will provide more information about the possible economic, social and functional support that people receive through these social networks. Finally, there will be focus on the societal role of the Church for migrants. The Church could provide civil engagement for migrants. The Church plays an important role in society by organizing social activities. The three indicators investigate how the Catholic Church in Shenzhen contributes to social capital for migrants. In the last subquestion, the function of social capital is explored by looking at the function of social capital. Is the social capital of migrants more based on bonding or bridging?

6. Methods

In this thesis, the disciplines of sociology and human geography will be used. The discipline of sociology is applicable because the role of social capital in the Church and the use of social capital is studied. This corresponds with the definition of the discipline of sociology. This discipline is also defined as the science of society, where the social environment is examined. Moreover, this study also relates to the discipline of human geography because of the importance of relations across space and place. In this case, people with different ethnic background come together at one place, the Church. The research question is a combination of both disciplines: social capital refers to the discipline of sociology. The other discipline

discusses the importance of place and space thus the relation between the Church and the city Shenzhen. However, the focus of this research will be on the discipline of sociology.

6.1 Research method

In this thesis, a qualitative research strategy is used. This strategy is chosen because information about the motives, backgrounds and their actions is necessary to answer the main research question. The concept of social capital could also be measured by using a quantitative research strategy. The qualitative research is a strategy that focusses on exploring the underlying thoughts and motives of people who visit the Church. The research population will consist of Church visitors who attend the Church mass and activities regularly.

In this thesis a case study is used, the research is focused on a single research object: the Catholic Church for migrants in Shenzhen. Interviews will be held and observations will be done to investigate how the Catholic Church in Shenzhen contributes to social capital for migrants. Therefore, the aim of the study focuses on a Church that organizes social and societal relevant activities for migrants in Shenzhen. Using the internet, I looked for a migrant Church in Shenzhen. First, I used the Chinese site map.baidu.com, through street view, and ‘walked’ virtually through the city looking for a Catholic Church. However, no Churches were found in the street view. Via google.com, I started looking for Catholic Churches in Shenzhen. The first finding revealed that the St. Anthony’s Church is the biggest and most important Catholic Church for migrants in Shenzhen. This is a new Church, completed in 2004, where both Chinese and international migrants come. This is unique, as it is the only Catholic Church in Shenzhen that offers a Chinese and English mass.

Furthermore, on weblogs people state that this Catholic Church is organizing various activities, both in Chinese and in English. It is not only focussed on religious activities, but also on social and societal events.

The indicators in this thesis are social networks, social resources and societal role of the Church. The Church that will be investigated is the St. Anthony’s Catholic Church in Shenzhen. During weekdays, a Chinese mass is offered at 7:30 AM. On Saturday and Sunday morning the mass is at 10:30 AM. An English Mass is every Sunday at 2:00 PM. The St Anthony’s Church is located at number 65, Nonglin Road, Futian District in Shenzhen.

Image 1. The St. Anthony's Catholic Church outside.



Source: Own collecting, 2014.

Image 2: The St. Anthony's Catholic Church inside.



Source: <http://www.foreignercn.com/yellowpages/store-2176-album-1782.html>

Image 3: The St. Anthony Catholic Church inside.



Source: <http://www.foreignercn.com/yellowpages/store-2176-album-1782.html>

The territory of the Church has 4 acres. The Church takes only a small amount of space within these 4 acres. First, in the entrance to the territory, there is a small bookshop where people can buy Catholic articles like rosaries, images and Bibles. On the other side, there is a little pool with a statute of Maria, where people can pray to her. At the back of the Church, there is playground for young children. Next to the playground there is a small garden with benches where persons can hang out after activities. Additionally, there is a large parking garage under the Church, where visitors can park their car. At the sides of the Church there are a number of houses, for priests, nuns and other people who have a connection with the Church.

6.2 Research population

Collecting respondents began on the first Sunday when I arrived in Shenzhen. The first visit was during the English mass. Before and after the Mass, people gave me a big welcome to the Church. I explained the reason for my stay in Shenzhen. Immediately a number of people offered help by giving information about the activities in the Church. At day one I already had two interviews done after the Mass. Later, most visits were not by appointment but arose by themselves. I went many times to the Chinese mass in the morning and every Sunday to the English mass. First, I interviewed the people who were living in the Church or who played an important role by organizing activities. Especially the priests and nuns made it possible to get to know more people in the Church.

6.3 Research Instruments

In this study, the research instruments are semi-structured interviews and observations. Semi-structured interviews are chosen as a method because it explores the background and motivations of the visitors of the Church. The questionnaire is used for all respondents, however, some questions were more highlighted when a person was not very clear about some answers. I usually let the respondent speak openly about his/her life and experiences without interrupting too much. Therefore, the respondents gave rich and detailed information. Moreover, observations have been made during activities. These were mainly participant observation, so the researcher could experience how it is to be in the community. It also helped to understand better why migrants go to the Church. However, during the English speaking activities the role of the researcher was very active, whereas in the Chinese speaking activities the role was more passive due to the difficulty with the language. There

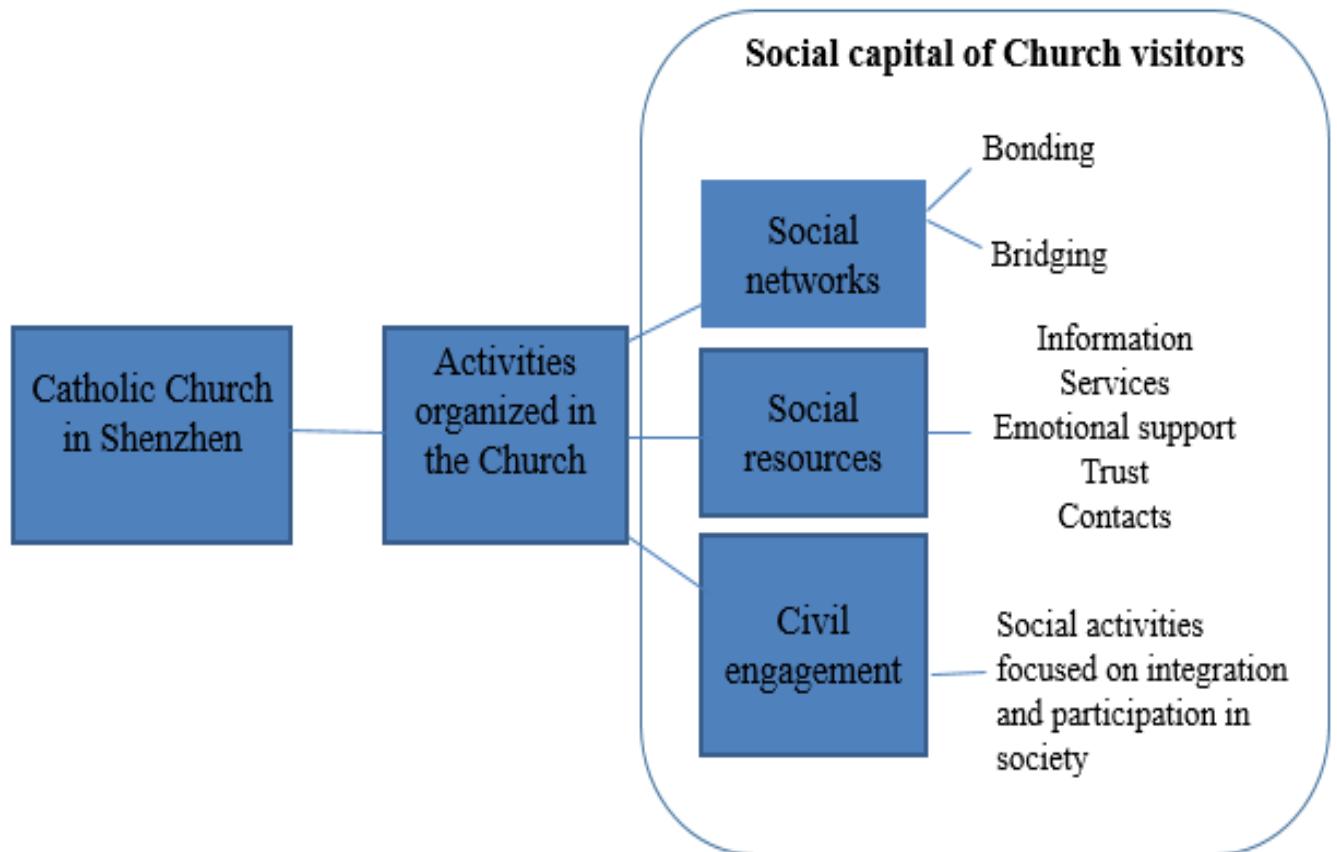
are a number of observations made in and outside the Church. The observations were not planned but were created during activities in the Church. First, the Chinese and English Mass is visited several times. Secondly, observations are made during Bible study and practice of the choir before the Sunday mass. Finally, a BBQ meeting is observed where both people from the Chinese and English speaking communities were present. However, some activities could not be observed due my short stay in Shenzhen or could not be attend because of other appointments such as activities as the Couples for Christ and charity events. During the observations, I made short notes after the activity and sometimes during the activity. I looked at different aspects during the activity. First, what are the characteristics of people who attend the activities. Second, I focussed on what kind of information people shared. Third, I concentrated to what extent certain groups were visible during the activities.

6.4 Operationalization

The concept that is used in this research is social capital, in the form of bonding and bridging. The indicators used for these concepts are social networks, social resources and the societal role of the Church. These indicators are based on the theories described in the theoretical framework. The first subquestion will give an answer to what kind of people visit the Church and what activities they attend. There will be special attention on the general information of the respondent namely: age, gender, nationality, and place of origin, duration of stay in Shenzhen, educational level, profession and marital status and children. In addition, people are asked what kind of different groups they distinguish in the Church. To answer the second subquestion, the indicator social networks is used. The purpose of this subquestion is to find out how these social networks between Church visitors look like. It will examine if Church visitors have strong or weak social relationships with each other.

In the third subquestion, the second indicator will be investigated. To what extent Church visitors give or receive social resources from these social networks. The third indicator will look to what extent social and societal activities take place in the Church and how the Church plays a role for migrants in society. In the last subquestion, the concepts of bonding and bridging are discussed. The social capital of Church visitors consists of the three indicators, social networks, social resources and the societal role of the Church. Therefore, it is important to understand whether this social capital has a more bonding function with their own group or more a bridging function, when people from different kinds of groups are connected. In figure 1 the conceptual scheme of the research is presented.

Figure 1. Conceptual scheme.



In figure 1 the conceptual scheme is shown. This thesis is about a Catholic Church in Shenzhen. Many migrants visit activities organized in this Church. The research question is how does the Catholic Church in Shenzhen contribute to social capital for migrants. As discussed in the theoretical framework, in this thesis social capital is investigated by three indicators: social networks, social resources and the civil engagement. First, social networks are created in the Church during the activities. However, the social networks in the Church can have a bonding function with the own group or a bridging function with other groups (Putnam, 2000). Second, the indicator social resources will provide more information about the possible resources Church visitors receive during the activities in the Church. These social resources consist of information, services, emotional support, trust and contacts. Third, the civil engagement is part of the social capital of Church visitors. The Catholic Church could provide civil engagement for people in Shenzhen. These activities are focused on the integration and participation of the migrants in society. The three indicators together contain the social capital of Church visitors. In conclusion, the three indicators investigate how the Catholic Church in Shenzhen contributes to social capital for migrants.

7. Results

Most of the interviews were taken in the Church, in the so called VIP room. Normally in this room the activities take place and this is a place where I could speak more private. In addition, some interviews were taken at people's home or in a restaurant nearby the Church. For the Chinese speaking people I used translators. These translators were people from the Church who could speak Chinese and English. Likewise, in the English speaking community the interviews were held in English. The interviews vary from 20 to 50 minutes. In appendix 1 and 2 the interview questions in English and Chinese are presented. All of the interviews are recorded and transcribed. During the activities, observations were made by writing key notes and by making pictures. Later these key notes were written out in a small story and the pictures were used by illustrating the activities. First, I went many times to the Chinese masses during the weekdays and in the weekend and every Sunday to the English mass. I asked people in the Church which activities are organized and which activities they attend. Then I visited these activities alone or with a translator and observed the activity or participated in it.

Now, the results of the interviews and observations are discussed. This chapter should provide insight how the Catholic Church in Shenzhen contributes to social capital for migrants. On Sunday around 500 people were attending the mass in Chinese and 400 in English. For this research 29 people have been interviewed. Moreover, observations have been made during the activities within and outside the Church. The definition of the group is left quite open in the investigation so far. It turns out to be difficult to define this group because the group of Church visitors is quite diverse. However, during the interviews people said that there is a distinction between three groups in the Church. The first group is the Church community, the Christians, and the people outside the Church, the non-Christians. Second, in the community two groups exist: the Chinese and the English speaking community. Third, there were groups within the English community.

First, the people experience that there are two groups, one group within the Church, the Christians and one group outside the Church, the non-Christians. They say that they did not feel better than the non-Christians but experience more a difference in the way they live their lives. Especially in activities such as charity, the group experienced that the Christians, as a group, have to help the non-Christians in the world. In the Chinese community there is a mix of people who come from different provinces and places in China. In the English community

people come from everywhere in the world. Therefore, I asked people to indicate what they experience as their own group and they all made the distinction between the Chinese community and the English community. In the Chinese community most of the people come from the Futian district or neighborhoods nearby the Church. They visit the Church that is most close to their home. In the English community people travel more time to visit the Church because it is the only Church in Shenzhen that offers an English mass. Therefore, they live in different places in Shenzhen and some travel more than one hour to come to the Church. Others come from villages or cities in the province Guangdong. This person explains why he travels so far to visit the St. Anthony's Catholic Church:

Respondent 10: I live close to a village in the city Guangzhou. It takes me two hours to travel to here.... it is very far away because I travel in total four hours... but this Church is the only Church who has an English mass so that is why I come here every Sunday. Now I visit the Church here for 2 years and now I feel connected to this place and it is no problem for me.

The interviewees are between the age 21 and 72. In the English-speaking community almost all the people are from childhood Christian while in the Chinese community many people are baptized later in their life or were not yet baptized. The people who visit the English mass on Sunday and attend the English speaking activities in the Church have an incredible number of different nationalities. There were people from all continents in the world: Asia, North America, South America, Europe, Africa and Australia. In the Chinese community, all the people have the Chinese nationality, but originally they come from other places in China than Shenzhen. The diversity of places where the migrants come originally from was tremendous. From the most north province of China, Mongolia, to the most south province in China Hainan. Many provinces in China were mentioned when I asked where the migrants originally came from.

I was surprised by the diversity of people during the activities in the Church. In the beginning of the research I did not expect this variety. Therefore, I searched for people with different nationalities to interview in order to obtain a representative group of people who represent the Church visitors who visit the St. Anthony's Catholic Church in Shenzhen. During the interviews, Church visitors distinguished different groups in the Church. For example, there is a Chinese and an English speaking community. Furthermore, there are three different groups within the English group: the French, Philippians and the Americans. For instance, it was not easy to talk to the French people because there were in the beginning not interested

to be interviewed. Therefore, I made much effort to speak with these people in order to make my research more representative. Moreover, during the interviews I found out that there are differences in social socioeconomic status and the length of residence between Church visitors in Shenzhen. For example, in the Philippian group there are differences in profession between males and females. Philippian males have a higher socioeconomic status than the Philippian females. Therefore, I tried to speak many people with different social economic backgrounds in order to obtain a better understanding of the diversity of the Church visitors. Moreover, in table 1 there is seen that the years of residents in Shenzhen is very diverse. Some are only two weeks in Shenzhen and others more than 20 years. In conclusion, the diversity of the Church visitors in terms of nationality, economic status and length of residence in Shenzhen is high. Therefore, through the interviews and the observations during the activities I tried to give a representative image of the Church visitors in the St. Anthony's Catholic Church in Shenzhen. In table 1 there is an overview of the interviewed people.

Table 1. Overview of the interviewed people.

	Male/female	Age	Nationality	Profession	Length of residence in Shenzhen
Respondent 1	Male	38	Indonesian	General manager by an international fashion company	6
Respondent 2	Male	48	Chinese	Chef	12
Respondent 3	Male	40	Chinese	Priest	20
Respondent 4	Male	55	Chinese	Chef	15
Respondent 5	Female	28	Chinese	Bank employee	5
Respondent 6	Male	30	Chinese	Bank employee	3
Respondent 7	Male	50	French	Car engineer	8
Respondent 8	Male	48	French	Architect	2
Respondent 9	Female	72	Irish	Nun	Lives in Hong Kong
Respondent 10	Male	38	Philippine	Technical engineer	Lives close to Guangzhou
Respondent 11	Female	66	Australian	Retired	1
Respondent 12	Male	30	American	Architect	3
Respondent 13	Female	46	Philippine	Project manager	Lives in Dongguan

Respondent 14	Male	46	Chinese	Electrician	17
Respondent 15	Female	26	Philippine	Maid	2 weeks
Respondent 16	Female	22	Chinese	Web editor	2
Respondent 17	Male	40	Chinese	Chef	6
Respondent 18	Female	30	Chinese	Product planner	20
Respondent 19	Female	21	Chinese	Student	1
Respondent 20	Female	23	Colombia	Maid	2
Respondent 21	Male	33	American	Project leader	2
Respondent 22	Female	26	Philippine	Maid	2
Respondent 23	Female	26	Philippine	English teacher	2
Respondent 24	Male	42	Italian	Architect	5
Respondent 25	Female	28	Chinese	Student	4
Respondent 26	Male	26	Chinese	Associate System Engineer	2
Respondent 27	Female	21	Chinese	Student	5
Respondent 28	Female	22	Congo	Cleaner	2
Respondent 29	Male	42	German	General manager in a car company	3

All the respondents visit the St. Anthony's Catholic Church regularly. The people who are involved in the Chinese community come to the Church about two until seven days a week. In the English speaking community people visit the Church one to three times a week. Some people only come to the Church for the holy mass. The mass is in the morning on weekdays or in the afternoon in the weekends. However, most of them attend not only the mass but also the activities organized in the Church. A few actually live in the Church. Within the Church there are apartments for priests, nuns or migrants who need accommodation. These people are also most involved in activities organized in the Church because they live nearby. The results to answer the research question will now be discussed by each subquestion. The research question is: How does the Catholic Church in Shenzhen contribute to social capital for migrants? As discussed in the theoretical framework, in this thesis social capital is

investigated by three indicators: social networks, social resources and the civil engagement. First, the Church visitors and their activities in the Church are discussed.

7.1 The Church visitors and the activities

Who are the Church visitors and what kind of activities do they attend?

This part of the results focuses on the personal characteristics of the Church visitors and about the distinction that could be made between different groups. First, during the interviews general information is asked about the age, gender, nationality, and place of origin, duration of stay in Shenzhen, educational level, profession and marital status and children. There will be a focus on the differences between the Chinese speaking community and the English speaking community. Moreover, within the English speaking community three different groups could also be distinguished. A relatively young population attends activities in the Church. The average age of people who are interviewed is 35 years old. Of all the interviewees, 48% are women and 52% are male. I interviewed 10 people who considered themselves as member of the Chinese community, 16 who belong to the English speaking community and 3 who are Chinese but are involved in both communities. The average stay of the people in Shenzhen who are interviewed is 6 years.

All people who are interviewed in the Chinese community have the Chinese nationality, but none of them are born in Shenzhen. They all come from different places in China. They went to Shenzhen to search for work or better education opportunities. Sometimes, they come with the whole family but most of the time they just go on their own to Shenzhen. The place of origin, their hometown, is very diverse in terms of size, location and culture. The migrants come from small villages in the most northern province North Inner Mongolia and from cities in the most south province in China, Hainan. Nevertheless, there is also a huge diversity where people come from within the same province. When I asked them where they are from, they all began to talk about their province of origin and the hometown they are from, although some people live almost their whole life in Shenzhen. A nun, who is involved in the community from the beginning said the following: *In the beginning of Shenzhen none of the people could speak Cantonese, unless they were from the province of Guangdong. Now everyone is from other parts of China, they are all migrants. The biggest majority is from somewhere else and if you asked them, they would say another province than Guangdong. In the past people came on bicycle to the service, but look at it now. All big cars.. Mercedes..*

BMW... I mean look at all that money, the big money here. All the Chinese want is English teaching for the children, the community has changed completely.

The interviewees see themselves as an inhabitant of Shenzhen and they are very proud of it. Nevertheless, in the end, they do not feel such a strong connection with Shenzhen as with their hometown. This makes it difficult to make a distinction between the different groups. However, an amount of people comes from the province in Shenzhen, Guangdong, or provinces nearby Guangdong like Hunan and Hubei. In the duration of stay, especially the young migrants are just a couple of weeks or some years living in Shenzhen. The older migrants are living a longer time in Shenzhen. Most of the migrants have some educational background but most of them only finished secondary school. However, especially the younger migrants have bachelor degrees obtained in university or in high school. The professions of the people are very diverse and are all located near Shenzhen. In marital status it was interesting that the elderly are almost all married and have one child. The younger migrants, who are single, are looking for a partner in the Church to marry and to start a family in the future.

In the English speaking community the variety of nationalities is enormous. People come from countries from all over the world and the community is therefore very diverse in terms of nationality. Interviews were held with people from Indonesia, Philippines, United States of America, Colombia, Congo, Australia, Ireland, France, Germany and Italy. They usually lived in big cities in their home country and then moved to China to work as in expat in an international company in Shenzhen. The majority of the Church visitors is living in Shenzhen just a couple of years. In general, the level of education is higher than in the Chinese community. Most of them who come from America, Europe and Australia have a degree in high college or university. Their positions in the companies are high; they work as a manager or as a project leader. People who come from Asia, Africa and South America are lower educated and have lower positions in their company. The marital status is diverse; most of the migrants are either single or married. The younger migrants are most of the time single and the older expats are most of the time married with two or more children. Almost all expats are married to a person with the same nationality. It is interesting that families in the English communities have two or more children. This was in contrast with the Chinese community where couples have none or only one child. People in the English speaking community have many different nationalities. Nevertheless, three groups could be defined based on amount of people during the mass service and based on observations during activities. The three groups

are: the Americans, Philippines and the French people. This is not only based on the relative numbers but also because these three groups were most visible during the activities. For example, during the Mass service the French people and the Philippian people are sitting together as a group. The Americans are not sitting next to each other as the French and the Philippines do but there are many Americans present during activities. Furthermore, Americans do not stick together because they live in Shenzhen longer and know more people in the Church. Second, intermarriage occurred with mainly American men and Asian women. Therefore, this group sticks less with each other than the other two groups.

The majority of the Church visitors who have the American nationality are men between the age of thirty and fifty. They come from big cities like New York, Boston and Los Angeles. The Americans are high educated people because their company in America sends them for six or more years as an expat. They work in different international companies, mainly in commercial sectors such as banking and commercial. The marital status is single or in relationship. The Americans are in Shenzhen a longer time than the other groups and therefore some inter marriage between Asian women has occurred. This is mainly because they stayed many years in Shenzhen and therefore know more people in the city and in the Church. Also because most of the time they went as a single to Shenzhen.

People with the Philippian nationality are between 21 and 46 years old, with more women than men. They come from the capital of the Philippines, Manila. The duration of stay for the women is shorter than the women in the two other groups. Some are just a couple of weeks in Shenzhen and others some years. In the Philippian group there is a distinction between lower educated and higher educated people. The women mainly work in the kindergarten, as a maid or as an English teacher in primary school. However, the men are higher educated and work in Chinese companies as engineers or project managers. Most of the time the men are higher educated and better paid. It is interesting that most of the Philippine people are alone in Shenzhen. This is mainly because the Philippines are closely located to Shenzhen but also because they have just a contract for a couple of months or years. The younger migrants, especially the women, are single. Most of the older men are already married in the Philippines and have a wife with many children back home. They support this big family by working in Shenzhen and they visit their families one or two times a year.

People who have the French nationality are between thirty and fifty years old. The duration of stay in Shenzhen is two until eight years. The level of education is high, especially of the

men. They have bachelor and master degrees in business administration, architecture and industrial design. The men are working for French car companies such as Renault and Peugeot and for companies in architecture in France. They were sent to Shenzhen as an expat to help and support the companies in China. In the next future they will return to France or another place where the company sends them. All French people are married and always with a French person. The French parents have two or sometimes five children.

In the St. Anthony's Catholic Church, many activities are organized with a religious, societal or social purpose. All replied that they attend the mass weekly. In the Chinese community, people go to the mass two or more times a week. In the English community most people go only to the English mass on Sunday in the afternoon. In the Church, there are activities organized in Chinese. There are catechism classes on Thursday, bible study on Wednesday and reflection on Sunday's liturgy on Sunday. For the English community, the religious activity is mainly the mass on Sunday. There are also more informal meetings such as BBQs, dinners after the Sunday mass and choir practice on Sunday before the mass. During these meetings, both the Chinese and English community meet each other.

Also outside the Church there are activities organized but they are more exclusive. For example, the French and Philippines go almost every Sunday after the mass to a restaurant to have dinner with each other. Although it is open for people with other nationalities, it has an exclusive character due to the language and culture. In the interviews activities are mentioned such as Couples of Christ. Couples of Christ are activities for young Christians who are single or are in a relationship. In the activity Singles of Christ, adolescents who are still single, are invited in these meeting to meet other single people. In the activity Couple of Christ, Christian couples are prepared for marriage.

In this thesis, I will focus mainly on three different kinds of activities. First, the religious activities such as the mass are discussed. Second, social activities are described. For example the BBQ and a dinner after the mass show that there are different groups in the English community. Third, the societal activities like charity meetings are discussed. During the Chinese mass I experienced the Chinese community as one big family meeting. All people are sitting next to each other and no one was sitting alone. I could not see a distinction between people based on ethnicity or income during the mass. Furthermore, people do not experience different groups within the Chinese community. Image 4 illustrates how people are interacting during the Chinese mass.

Image 4. During the Chinese mass.



Source: Own collecting, 2014.

During the English mass I experienced segregation between groups. First, there are many people sitting alone. These people choose to sit alone because they do not know many people or just because they prefer this. Moreover, especially the French and Philippian people are sitting as a group. The Philippian people are sitting more at the left side of the Church, whereas the French people are sitting more at the right side. The American people are also sitting next to each other, but are less fixed on one place. Image 5 is to illustrate how different groups and people are sitting during the mass. Furthermore, Philippian people dominated the choir during the English mass. In image 6 the choir group during the English mass is shown.

Image 5. During the English mass.



Source: Own collecting, 2014.

Image 6. The choir after the English mass.



Source: Own collecting, 2014.

The next activity which is observed is the BBQ, this is organized during Easter and Christmas. This activity is open for both the Chinese and English community. However, most of the people who come to this activity are Chinese and East-Asian people from the English community. People speak Chinese and sometimes English with each other. It is interesting to see that people from South-east Asia can get along with the Chinese people. Respondent 1 said the following about this kind of activities: *Those people who come are from south East Asia, like Singapore, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, can mix very well because we are from the same area. We are different than the so called white people from Europe or America. They have their own group. For example, as you noticed there is one big community of French speaking people. They always stick together. Two years ago when we started the catechism for the first communion and they insist that everything should be in French. But we said we don't have a French speaking catechism. So it did not happen. So you have the white people, like the Americans they stick together and Italian people but also some from Africa.*

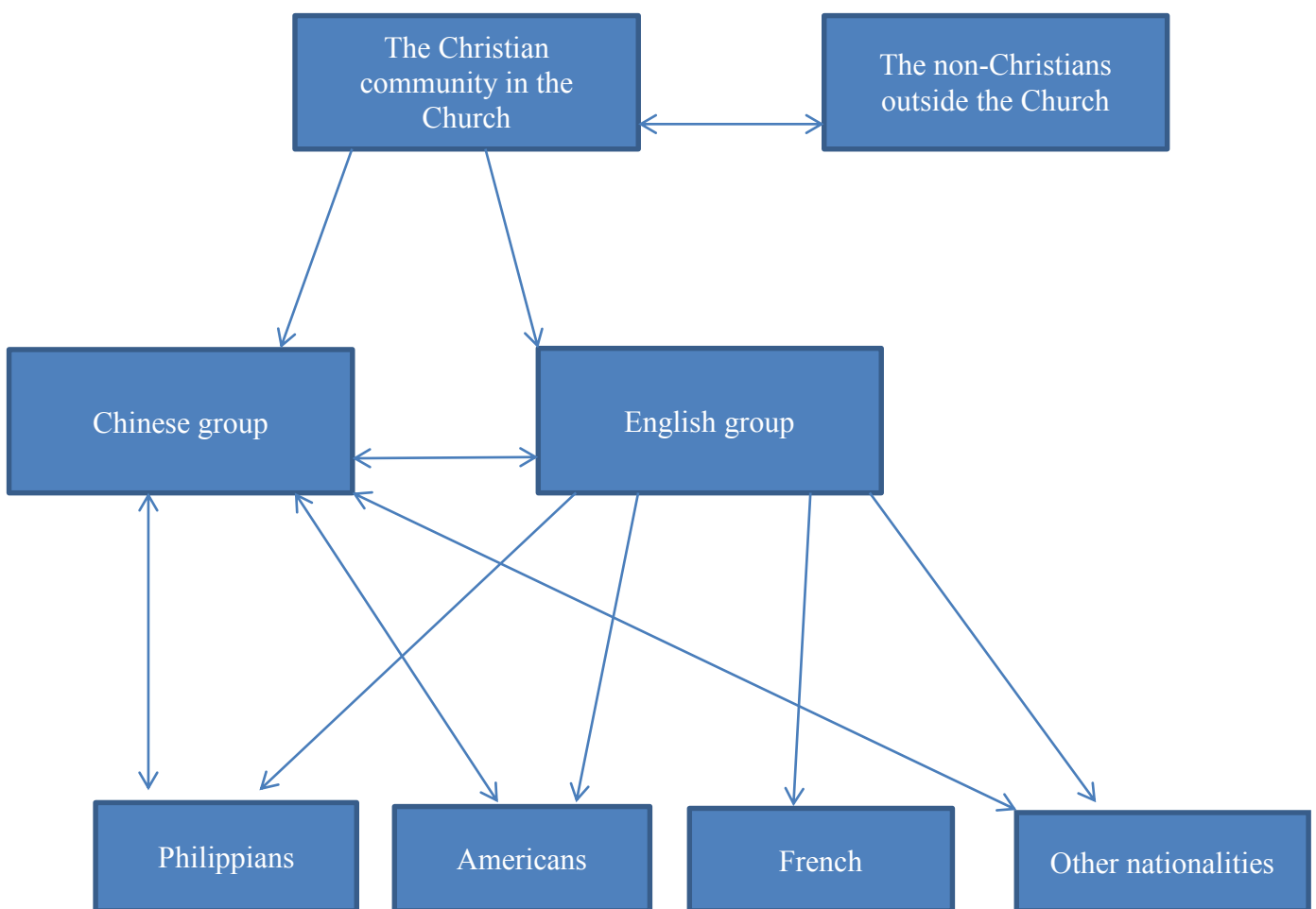
Image 7. During the BBQ with the Chinese and English community.



Source: Own collecting, 2014.

In figure 2 the relational scheme of networks of different kinds of groups is presented. The relational scheme between different groups in the Church is presented. First, there is a distinction between the Christians and the non-Christians. Second, there is a difference between the Chinese and the English group. Third, within the English group there are three groups: the French, Americans and the Philippians.

Figure 2. Relational scheme of the networks between different kinds of groups in the Church.



7.2 Social networks

Which social networks are created by attending activities in the Church?

This chapter will describe how the Church visitors meet each other and what kind of relationships they have inside and outside the Church. The people know about the St. Antony's Catholic Church because they heard about it from other people who already go to the Church. In both communities people know about the Church because persons in their hometown recommended to visit the Church. Sometimes they meet people who go to the Church in Shenzhen regularly and are taken to the Church by them. However, persons describe these networks as weak ties.

Most interviewees say that they do the same thing to other people, so they also invite people to go to activities in the Church. It is interesting to hear that especially people who are converted sometimes take non-religious persons to the Church. They want to do the same what other people did to them. Other people from outside were mainly invited to the Mass or informal meetings such as the BBQ. For example, during the BBQ friends and relatives were invited and the activity was open for people without a religious background. Persons who are invited for religious activities are mainly people who are interested in religion such as Christianity.

All interviewees indicate that they have contact with others during the visit of an activity in the Church. The amount of contact varies according to the kind and duration of the activity. For example, during the mass there is little or none contact with each other but with the bible study or the BBQ there is more time and opportunity to speak and interact. Persons also indicate that they know four or more persons very well in the Church. However, the connection is different with each person; someone can get better along with someone than the other. The interviewees say that this difference has nothing to do with religion but more with a personal preference for a person. The strongest ties are experienced during the activities, when there is a small amount of people during the activity. Persons really get to know each other's background and friendships are developed here.

Most of the interviewees indicate that they see the people they meet in the Church also outside the Church. They consider them as brothers and sisters in their religion. It is interesting that distance is also important in the amount of intensity of the relationship. In the

Chinese community most of the people come from Shenzhen to visit the Church. They have some very good friends that they also meet outside the Church; however most of them see each other only during the activities in the Church. Quote of an Indonesian expat: *Well, I think I met more good friends here through the Church and the English mass I met many people, good friends. I mean I have friends outside but I would not classify them as them as good friends...I mean there are friends but different. It is about we share the same faith and then we meet regularly each other on Sunday. We only need once a week, because it makes every meeting very meaningful. So in that way it ... I also, through this Church I met Indonesian people and expats who are working here in Shenzhen. So it is...I must say that my best friends I see and meet here in the Church.*

The Church visitors also say that they have more contact with people who visit the Church or have the Catholic belief. They experience the contact with other people outside the Church as more superficial. They experience differences in the way of life between Christians and non-Christian people. Chinese people in the Church really experience more a difference in norms and values in the Chinese society. In the English community people experience more difficulties with the Chinese culture such as the Chinese language. They indicate that language and culture barriers are an obstacle in making contact with the local Chinese people. Especially people who are converted or just baptized are very open to meet new people in the Church. Their inner circle amazingly increased with Christians after their conversion to Christianity. However, they still have relatives or friends outside the community but the amount and intensity of these contacts has declined. The relationship with other Christians is considered to be warmer.

In conclusion, it appears that there are several social networks between the Church visitors. In the Church there are mainly strong ties between people but also weak ties. In both the English and Chinese speaking community people go alone or with their family to the Church masses and activities. People make contact with each other; this is dependent on the kind and the duration of the activity. In the Chinese speaking group the strong ties between people are more based on the click with a person and in the English speaking group it is more based on nationality. Important is that strong ties occur when individuals participate in an activity besides the mass. The number of contacts with other Christians increased as people go to visit activities in the Church. This was mainly because they feel a connection between each other based on the same way of life.

7.3 Social resources

To what extent do social resources emerge from social networks?

In this chapter the results are presented to what extent these social networks in the Church result in social resources. They visit the Church mainly for three reasons: religious, social and economic purposes. First, almost all said they come to the Church to worship God and to deepening and learn more about the faith. Second, they want to know new people and maintain their existing contacts. Third, social networks help to find work for migrants and to obtain services. It is striking that especially the visitors who are younger or just converted do attach much importance to the motive to gain knowledge about the faith, whereas older people attach more importance to the social and economic motives.

This is also reflected in the answers of the interviewees what they talk about during the activities. For instance, especially the younger people indicate that in the conversations they have there is an exchange of knowledge and information about the faith. They ask advice and information from the elderly, especially from the priest and sisters, to obtain more knowledge about the faith. The conversations are mainly about issues both the Chinese and English community are dealing with. Most of the time the migrants live alone in Shenzhen, they miss their family and their friends back home. In the Chinese community they are mainly concerned about finding a job or getting services such as cheap English lessons for their child. The family in their hometown is dependent on the money they receive from the migrants who live in Shenzhen. In the English community they talk more about emotional issues such as missing their family and friends back home. This expat describes it like this: *I come every Sunday here, I want to improve my faith. I live alone in Shenzhen, I have 4 kids and a wife in the Philippines. It is hard for me to live here, emotionally. I am sometimes emotionally weak, the community helps me to meet people who can help me and understand me. There are maybe some groups in the community but when we are together we interact. The Church is a place for releasing the pressure in this big and anonymous city.*

They experience these contacts and conversations as very important in their lives. Besides the talks about religion, there are also a lot of conversations about personal and everyday subjects. Church visitors talk about subjects of their daily life such as work, family, children and health. Among the younger people there are more conversation about study, work and love. In the interviews but also during the activities people are very open about their personal lives and many personal stories are told. Especially in meetings such as the bible study or

when people get to know each other more, many personal stories are told. The reason why they have contact with other people in the Church is related to the motives to visit the Church. There are religious and social motivations to talk with each other. Through the conversations the people exchange experiences and knowledge about the faith. Moreover, the majority of the persons indicate that they have contact with each other in order to maintain their social contacts in the Church. Some say they feel lonely in the city as a newcomer and they search for social contacts to find good company.

Others say they are very happy with the contacts in order to share their problems in a practical way like to offer or receive help. For example, help with obtaining a job or receiving help for practical issues such as moving to another house. Nevertheless, it was also about mental help, to be able to share the daily problems. In the English community it was really based on nationality where people obtain help from. This quote illustrates it: *Secondly, we also, within our friends group, we help each other. Usually is that when somebody is in need of help like me, although I know those French people will help me I would not ask help from them. Because one thing, first I will ask help from people from Indonesia, because we are from the same country. If I don't get that from them I will ask the people from other parts of Asia and the last will be the French. Because at in the end of the day we are in a foreign land, we are away from home. So, we try to make the best of out of this place. One way is to stick together and communicate with those people who come from the same area as we do.*

Moreover, the Church plays an important role in providing and offering economic services. For example, there is a high demand for cheap and good English education for Chinese children. For parents in the Chinese community education is very important for their only child. One very important aspect is to learn English. A Chinese mother said the following: *There are many Philippines here, and I heard from other Chinese mothers that they are teaching English in kindergartens because we that our children learn English. It is very expensive here in China the education and I work many hours to get the best education for my child. The Church is a place where I can find people who can give good education for my child, for his future this is important.* However, expats also obtain Chinese lessons from the social networks. They experience that learning Chinese is essential for living in Shenzhen because the majority of the population in Shenzhen cannot speak English or another language. Some go to Shenzhen University or to small learning centres. However, at the end they find it very costly and inefficient to go to these places. Most of them use the social networks and social resources that are available in the Church to obtain cheap Chinese

lessons. In conclusion, the main resources resulting from social networks within the Church consist of receiving religious knowledge, maintaining social contacts and receiving economic services.

7.4 Societal role

To what extent does the Church fulfil a societal role?

The experience of the people in the Church about the societal role is based on general information gathered during the interviews and observations. Church visitors indicate that they feel very connected with the Church community. They all gave similar answers to the question what role the Church plays in their lives. Everyone is saying that the Church plays a major role in their lives. The Church serves as a meeting place for them in a big and anonymous city. They indicate that they feel in the Church as a second home and that peace is found inside the Church. In addition, another important reason is to gain more knowledge about Christianity.

First, the people experience that the Church fulfils a societal role in the way that the Church is an important meeting point for migrants in Shenzhen. It does not matter which background a person has, people feel very welcome in the Church. It is a place where they can experience of feeling of being home in this anonymous city. Especially the expats experienced that they feel different in Shenzhen because they are foreigners. They are treated differently as a foreigner. They say that there are not many places in Shenzhen where different migrants groups can meet each other. This is illustrated by the following quote: Respondent 25: *The Church is for me really a place where I can be myself and feel like being home. For me it is not only about meeting my friends or for religious reasons ... it is also about a place to feel connected to people even if I don't know them. This Church is open for everybody and therefore many different kind of people come here. When I am here during the mass or an activity I feel part of a community. I really miss this in Shenzhen because it is a very anonymous city. Only in the Church I feel comfortable to be myself and to feel like home.*

Second, with special occasions like Christmas and Easter, the Church organizes charity activities. The Chinese and English community combine their strength and collect food and clothes for people in China or in the world. For example, during the mass at Christmas time people are invited to give money and goods. With the money projects in different parts of the world are supported. These are especially projects for building schools for young children in developing countries. Second, the goods that are collected go to the poor people in Shenzhen

and China. For example, in poor parts of China where it is very cold, many warm clothes are collected. At the end, many these cloths are sent to those places. Nevertheless, the best part of the charity activities is experienced by taking food and money to the homeless people in Shenzhen. But it is not only about giving money. In addition, Church visitors make a chat with poor people in Shenzhen. The whole community is involved in these projects and these activities are considered as very valuable.

A man with the Chinese nationality said the following about charity activities organized in the Church: *Yes we help each other, sometimes social help like, like if we conduct charity for people in China. During the time before Christmas we always collect old clothing and then distribute them for the poor people in parts of China who need warm clothes. But also during the charity meetings I feel a sort of connection between people I never felt before. All different kinds of people come together and helps the poor people. I cannot speak English but in the Church I feel connected also with the foreigners. In my normal life they are far away for me but here I feel there are my brothers and sisters.*

In conclusion, it appears that the Church plays an important societal role for migrants in Shenzhen. It is a very open Church so people with many different nationalities come to this place. It is an important place where people have social contact with different kinds of people. The persons find it important to build relationships with each other, to share and provide assistance to each other's problems. They mainly rely on each other if help is needed in practical and mental needs. Second, during societal activities such as charity it contributes not only to a better life for the Christians but also for the non-Christians in Shenzhen. The whole community is involved in these projects and these activities are considered as very valuable for themselves and for society.

7.5 Bonding and bridging function

To what extent has social capital a bonding or a bridging function for Church visitors?

This chapter is about whether the social capital has a bonding or a more bridging function for Church visitors. As already stated in the previous chapter, social capital is created in the form of social networks among visitors, the use of social resources and fulfilling a societal role for Church visitors. This chapter describes if the social capital has a more bonding function with their own group or a more bridging function between groups. Putnam (2000) states that social capital with a bonding function is very important for a group. These social networks, resources and societal role are focussed on their own social group.

Furthermore, the results show that there are strong and weak ties developed between Church visitors. In the Church, most people have strong ties with each other. They spend their time and energy in developing and maintaining these ties. The strongest ties occur when Church visitors, besides the Mass, also participate in other activities in the Church. In this way the ties are stronger because they can put more time and energy in relationships. This is because Church visitors meet and speak with each other more often. The strong ties between Church visitors consist mainly of people that they also meet outside the Church. This contact consists of daily talk, but also about discussing religious knowledge and information about work and accommodation. Because the identity of the own group is derived from religion, these conversations and contact have a bonding function and strengthen their own identity. For them, investing in bonding social capital is important because they have chosen voluntarily for Christianity and want to strengthen their identity as a Christian. People invest less time in their weak ties in the Church and with people outside the Church that are not Christian. They invest lots of their time in close friends and family who also visit activities in the Church. The exchange of topics about everyday life is more important as a bonding function between Church visitors because it makes people trust each other more. Therefore, trust has a stronger bonding function than the exchange of religious knowledge. The interviews revealed that offering and receiving practical and mental help are an important part in maintaining social contacts within the community. In addition, several persons indicate implicitly that social ties are maintained because these social contacts make sure that they receive social and practical support when they need it.

Furthermore, a number of activities in the Church have a bonding function. It can be concluded that there exist a number of activities focused on independence and participation of the group in society. Therefore, these activities have a bonding function. For example, the Chinese lessons are focused on strengthening the independence of the expats living in China. The Chinese parents can offer their child a better education by obtaining good English lessons. Activities such as the Mass and BBQ have more a bonding function than a bridging function because during these activities there are mainly people going who know each other well. It is told that the identity of the own group is derived from the religion and the people outside the group are considered non-Christians. Social capital with a bridging function involves commitments between people of different social-economic or ethnic background. Therefore, these networks build bridges between heterogeneous groups instead of connecting people within a homogeneous group (Putnam, 2000). The previous section has shown that

most of the links between the Church visitors are strong and have a bonding function. However, a relationship based on bridging occurs mainly between the English and Chinese community and between Christians and non-Christians.

For instance, charity activities bring the different groups within the Church together in order to support the people who need help outside the Church. Within these activities, ethnic or social-economic background is not important. People who do not know each other meet during these charity activities. These bridges are built based on the Christian duty to help other people who are in need of clothes, money or mental support. However, these activities only occur during the time of Christmas and Easter. Therefore, the amount of social capital based on bridging is small. Second, this social capital has barely a bridging function in the form of social networks and social resources with non-Christians but only for the civil engagement for Church visitors.

Social capital based on bridging occurs mainly between the different groups in the English and Chinese community. Both communities have separate activities due to language problems communication is very difficult. However, some people who speak both languages build bridges between the two communities. For example, these people help migrants in the English community to find work. In the Chinese community there is a great demand for good housekeepers and English teachers. Especially for Philippian women, the Church is an important place to find work as a maid or English teacher. In this case, bridges are built between different groups and resources are exchanged.

In conclusion, the strong links between the visitors have a bonding function because they maintain their relationships by exchanging knowledge and information about faith and about daily life. In addition, participation in activities aimed to strengthen these ties amongst themselves. Building religious knowledge can be a bonding function, but it appears not to be a strong bonding with other groups in the Church. The bonding is very strong when people develop trust by the exchange of practical and emotional help. This help consist of talking about the daily problems or by picking someone up at a metro station to go to the Church. Furthermore, emotional help supports expats who are living alone in the place. The results show that this practical and emotional help have a stronger bonding function than the exchange of religious knowledge. Most of the social capital of Church visitors has a bonding function. However, there are also relationships established based on the bridging function.

The answers of the Church visitors reveal that the exchange of work and information has a bridging function between the Chinese community and groups in the English community.

8. Conclusion

Now the research question will be answered. The main question is: **How does the Catholic Church in Shenzhen contribute to social capital for migrants?**

The Church visitors who attend activities at the St. Anthony's Catholic Church in Shenzhen have very diverse backgrounds. However, three groups could be distinguished. The first group is the Church community, the Christians, and the people outside the Church, the non-Christians. Second, in the community two groups exist, the Chinese and the English speaking community. Third, there were groups within the English speaking group: the French, Philippines and the Americans. The activities varied from religious activities such as the Mass and bible study, to more informal activities such as the monthly BBQ and the yearly charity meetings. The social capital of Church visitors consists of social networks, social resources and civil engagement created during the activities. The social networks among the people consist of strong and weak ties, but most Church visitors have strong ties with each other. Investing in social relationships is an important part of the Church visit.

In these relationships the theory of Granovetter (1973) about the strong ties and weak ties corresponds to the social networks that are created in the Church. The strength of the tie is dependent on the amount of time, emotional intensity and the offering of help. This also has to do with building trust between the people in the Church. Maintaining these strong ties is important because this is a part of the Christian's faith. However, it also extracts benefits from these social networks. These benefits consist of gaining religious knowledge, getting functional and emotional help and receiving trust that provides a safe feeling. Social networks are largely made within the Church with members of the own group. The identity of the Chinese group is based on religion whereas in the English speaking group, it is more based on nationality. The social resources have mainly a bonding function for this group but also a bridging function. Building religious knowledge is important but receiving functional and emotional help has a stronger bonding function. For example, for the expats the Church is a place to talk about emotional issues such as missing their family and friends back home. Granovetter (1973) believes that strong and weak ties have different functions. Strong links are functional for group bonding and support. This research has shown that giving and getting support constitutes as an important social resource for Church visitors. The results show that

trust and support are the two most important resources for the group. The information remains primarily within their own social circle. In addition to the strong bonds, there are also weak bonds between Church visitors. Weak ties are bonds between people who do not belong to the same social group. This research has shown that there are weak relationships between people from different groups. According to Granovetter (1973), weak ties are only relevant if they are bridges to other social networks that can provide resources. This also applies to other Church visitors, they have few weak relationships with people from other social groups because social capital of the own group gives them more benefits. This is mainly because other social groups do not match with their background or interest and therefore provide fewer benefits. These social networks are not only to realize benefits, as is the theory of Coleman (1988) suggested, but are used to achieve common goals in the community. Furthermore, the social resources increase the independence and participation of the group of expats. For instance, English lessons help Chinese families to obtain good and cheap education for their child. Social networks and social resources have more a bonding function whereas social activities such as charity have a bonding and bridging function. By organizing various activities in charity, the Church fulfils a societal role and empowers the social engagement of the migrants.

Portes (1993) states that the group-based solidarity is stronger within a migrant community and the cultural differences between the migrants and the native community is higher than among other groups. Therefore, Portes (1993) warns against the risks by the Coleman (1988) praised multiple relationships. It can restrict the personal freedoms of individuals in a group. In this thesis the Church visitors distinguish themselves from other non-Christians. However, within the group there was also a distinction between people based on nationality. The Chinese and English community are two separate communities. In addition, there are also several groups within the English community based on nationality. However, the different groups experience cohesion based on bounded solidarity, this means that people with the same religion have solidarity with each other

In this thesis, the results show that making bridges between different groups within the Church is possible. However, it is more difficult between the Church visitors and non-Christians. This corresponds with the theory of Bourdieu (1989), who states that Christians are acting in a different field. There is a creation of a habit in this group that structures the ways of thinking and acting of persons. The symbolic capital that is accumulated in the field

is the knowledge of the Christian faith. Christians in the community have a high status when they gained a lot of knowledge. Besides the cultural capital, which is accumulated in the field, the collection of social capital is also an important element within the community. Investing in relationships is considered important to build trust within the community.

According to Putnam (2000) social resources consist of the delivery of services, but also of obtaining information and knowledge, developing contacts and building trust. The social resources that have emerged in this research are: gaining religious knowledge, building trust and receiving practical and emotional help. The bonding social capital indeed increases the amount of group solidarity. Bridging social capital can provide new information and networks and in this case used primarily between the Chinese and English speaking community. According to Putnam (2000) societies function better when there is enough social capital between people because it makes it easier to have relationships with each other. The research revealed that the Church visitors mainly stick to the identity of their own group. In conclusion, social networks and social resources have a bonding function whereas charity has a bonding and a bridging function. The results in this thesis show that the Church plays an important role in the lives of migrants in Shenzhen. Especially the expats point out that the Church is an important place to confront the instability of their lives as a migrant in a new city. For the Chinese migrants, the Church is an important place to obtain services and contacts.

However, Fresnoza-flot (2010) state that there could also be negative outcomes for migrants being part of a Church community. Some migrants could experience the Catholic Church as place of social control (Campani 1993). Nevertheless, in this research the Church visitors did not experience negative outcomes of being part of the Church community. This was mainly because the Catholic Church was not a place for people with one ethical background. There are different groups within the Church who interact with each other. They offer each other social and economic support. For example, the Chinese migrants rely on the Church mainly on economic and social motivations. In the English community, it is more based on social motivations. Thus, religion could be seen as an important resource used by migrants. This research showed there is more diversity within a religious community. The literature is mainly focused on one particular ethnic group in a Church. In this Church in Shenzhen, the diversity of nationalities was enormous. Therefore, the Church community was not a place of exclusion for the mainstream society. In contrast, it is a place that helps migrants to live and to integrate in a new society. None of the people experienced degrees of discrimination or

social exclusion. On the contrary, a large number of Church visitors found friends and a job in the Church. Case studies showed the different perspectives of the possible function of religion for migrants. In this thesis migrants find in the Church a social institution that is supporting their social and economic interest.

Appendix 1.

Interview social capital of Church visitors

1. Introduction

(Information about the project and goal of research)

2. General questions

Topic 1: general information about the church visitor

- What is your name? –
- How old are you? –
- Where are you from? –
- In which places did you live in China?
- When did you come to Shenzhen and why?
- Where do you live in Shenzhen?
- Which neighborhoods have you lived in Shenzhen?
- Do you like the neighborhood you live in now?
- What is your level of education?
- What is your profession?
- Where do you work in Shenzhen?
- Are you single or married?
- Do you have children?
- What does your social circle of contacts look like?

Topic 2: General information about the church visit/participation in the community

- How often do you visit this church?
- How do you come to this church (transportation)?
- Is this the only church that you visit?
- How did you know about this church?
- Why are you visiting this church?

Topic 3: Activities in the church

- What activities are organized in the church?

- What meetings and activities do you visit in the church?
- Do you visit the activities with a specific reason or purpose?
- Are you going alone or with others to the activities?
- How often do you go to these meetings?
- Which meetings are most important for you?
- What do these contacts with people mean for you?
- Who is present during the meetings?
- Could you describe the people who visit the activities?

Topic 4: Social networks

- Do you know a lot of people in the church?
- Do you want to know more people?
- How do you feel when you are with these people?
- Could you describe the people you know from church?
- What kind of relationship do you have with the people from the church?
- Do you see these people also outside the church?
- Do some people in the church need help?
- How could you help sometimes people in the community?
- Do people sometimes help you?

Appendix 2

Interview social capital of Church visitors in Chinese

关于礼拜者的访谈

2. 常见问题

主题一: 关于教堂来访者的基本信息 (general information about the church visitor)

- 您的名字? –
- 您的年纪? –
- 您的籍贯? –
- 您曾经居住过哪些地方?
- 您什么时候来到深圳, 为什么选择来深圳?
- 您深圳的住址?
- 您居住过深圳的哪些社区?
- 您喜欢您现在居住的社区吗?
- 您的学历?
- 您的职业?
- 您的工作地址?
- 您是已婚或单身?
- 您有子女吗?
- 您平时有什么社交活动, 以及您的社交圈是什么样的?

主题二: 参与教堂活动的基本情况 (General information about the church visit/participation in the community)

- 您多久来一次这个教堂?
- 您是怎么过来的 (交通方式)?
- 这是您在深圳唯一会来的教堂吗?
- 您是怎么知道这个教堂的?
- 您为什么选择来这个教堂?

主题三：教堂里组织的活动

- 教堂里有哪些活动?
 - 您会参加教堂里的哪些活动?
 - 您选择参加这些活动有什么特别的原因吗?
 - 您平时是一个人过来还是和别人一起?
- 您多久参加一次这里的活动?
- 教堂中的哪种活动对您最重要?
 - 与周围的人交流对您意味着什么?
 - 您参加的教堂活动一般有谁出席?
 - 您能简单地描述一下和您一起参加活动的人吗?

主题四：社交联系

- 您认识这个教堂里的多少人?
- 您愿意认识更多的人吗?
- 和这些人在一起的时候，您有什么感受？
- 您能描述一下您通过教堂活动认识的人吗?
- 您和这些新认识的朋友关系怎么样?
- 您们会在教堂之外的地方一起聚会吗?
- 教会中是否有人需要帮助?
- 您是怎样帮助他们的?
- 也有人为您提供帮助吗?

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