

Observations from Within, Observations from Without The Dutch in Anthropological Perspective

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Prior to the 1950s, the ethnography of the Netherlands was virtually a *terra incognita*. Dutch anthropologists usually conducted research in the tropics and foreign ethnographers did not do fieldwork in the country either. It was only in the 1950s and 1960s that native and foreign anthropologists hesitantly began to carry out research pertaining to Dutch society and culture. The 1970s were a take-off period, in which the number of anthropological publications on the Dutch steadily increased. The present review article describes the rise and growth, the theoretical and methodological approaches, and the themes of this subfield. It also discusses some of the pros and cons of endogenous ethnography.

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Introduction

Obviously, there is no such thing as *the* anthropology of the Netherlands. In regard of theory, methodology, and subject matters, the range of approaches is simply too diverse. Moreover, there is no strong tradition of "anthropology at home" or "endogenous ethnography" in the Netherlands. It was only in the 1970s that a growing number of Dutch and some foreign anthropologists began conducting research and publishing about various groups and segments of Dutch society. Previously, Dutch anthropologists predominantly did fieldwork in the tropics, and in the colonies of the East Indies, Surinam and Papua New Guinea in particular. In the academic division of labor, research into Dutch society and culture was more or less the preserve of sociologists, social geographers, historians and folklorists.

The repatriation of anthropology in the Netherlands, which occurred later than in most other European countries, can be attributed to several factors. Firstly, decolonization processes all but barred access for anthropologists to

the newly independent states and thereupon many had to find new fieldwork locations, and usually these were found closer to home. Secondly, less funding became available for ethnography in the tropics, while at the same time, government and non-governmental organizations increasingly financed applied and policy research at home, for example regarding ethnic minorities, marginal groupings, crime and so forth. Thirdly, anthropologists in academia realized that anthropology is the study of *all* human societies and cultures — including their own. New education and research programs were initiated, attracting scores of students, many of whom found employment in applied and policy research (van Ginkel 1994b).

This paper will review the ethnographic literature pertaining to the Netherlands. Generally, three broad streams can be discerned: historical anthropology, the ethnography of the social fringe and the ethnography of ethnic minorities. The literature on ethnic minorities is quite extensive, and will not be reviewed here since it has already been the subject of other review articles (see, for instance, van Niekirk

3). Historical ethnography usually takes a diachronic or processual perspective, covering elements over a relatively long span of time. The ethnography of marginal groupings generally concentrates on specific social categories, and either misses a historical dimension or, as a short-term (post-World War II) perspective, presents the main findings of anthropologists belonging to these two 'schools'. It briefly dwell on the scanty ethnographic literature produced before the 1970s.¹

predecessors and Early Ethnographers

Of course, there are authors who can be considered anthropologists or ethnographers *avant la lettre*. For instance, in his seminal book *The barassment of Riches* (1987: 9), the historian Simon Schama states that 18th century Netherlands. It was Rutb Benedict who conducted a war-time study of Dutch culture 'at a distance' (van Ginkel 1992b, 1993a). This work, written in 1944 in assignment and under the aegis of the Office of War Information in Washington, remained unpublished. It was Benedict's task to produce a document for the American army in which she had to outline the Dutch national character. This document had to instruct the American soldiers how to behave when liberating the Dutch population from the German occupation army. Benedict interviewed Dutch war refugees and immigrants and consulted various written documents, but was often unable to conduct fieldwork in the country. Nor did the first Dutch cultural anthropologists to write on his compatriots conduct fieldwork. H. Th. Fischer (1947) based his article on the Dutch kinship system entirely on the available literature. In this post-war period, it was still no general practice among Dutch anthropologists to enter the field and conduct participant observation.

It was only in the early 1950s that the Dutch/American married couple John and Dorothy Keur did extended anthropological fieldwork in a Dutch hamlet, Anderen, located in the province of Drenthe. Their ethnography, entitled *The Deeply Rooted* (1955), in many respects resembles the work of Dutch sociographers. It

tried to discern Frisian, Saxon and Frisian elements and character traits in the Dutch population. Under Steimetz's successor, Henri Nicolaas ter Veen, and his students, sociography became a form of applied social science. Their studies were often concerned with the consequences of the enclosure of the Zuider Sea, land reclamations, and the coping strategies and social organization of the settlers in the reclaimed *polders*. However, by the mid-1950s the heyday of sociography was over. Modern sociologists criticized its empiricism and this new generation found inspiration in American functional sociology and its theories of the middle range. Sociography fell apart into three separate disciplines: sociology, social geography and anthropology.

In the meanwhile, cultural anthropologists had for the first time shown an interest in the Netherlands. It was Rutb Benedict who conducted a war-time study of Dutch culture 'at a distance' (van Ginkel 1992b, 1993a). This work, written in 1944 in assignment and under the aegis of the Office of War Information in Washington, remained unpublished. It was Benedict's task to produce a document for the American army in which she had to outline the Dutch national character. This document had to instruct the American soldiers how to behave when liberating the Dutch population from the German occupation army. Benedict interviewed Dutch war refugees and immigrants and consulted various written documents, but was often unable to conduct fieldwork in the country.

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Gradually, however, the anthropological way of conducting research at home became accepted. Some sociologists even began to apply participant observation in their own research. In the 1960s, several anthropological studies on Dutch village communities were published. Hettij Nooy-Palm (1964, 1968) carried out fieldwork in Staphorst, a relatively closed community which then still maintained its traditional customs and costumes. Her monograph, entitled *Staphorster volk* (Staphorst People), is an example of a holistic community study about "real people", but lacks a clear research question or problem and is mainly descriptive and

rather descriptive and covers a wide range of topics dominating social life in the village. But unlike sociographers, the Keurs based their book almost entirely on participant observation. This was, however, not an easy task. Initially, the villagers considered the Keurs "snooper" and reported about his pole conflicts when doing fieldwork in the colonization community of Swifterbant in the *polder* of Eastern Flevoland, which was reclaimed after World War II. Here he studied the formation of formal organizations (for example churches and associations), and the development of friendship relations and social networks (1966, 1975, 1981).

Although endogenous ethnography gained acceptance in academe, these initial research projects were little more than side-tracks. The overwhelming majority of Dutch anthropologists still went to the tropics to conduct fieldwork. Even for Kobben and his collaborators, Nooy-Palm and Kloos, the Netherlands provided a temporary fieldwork site which they switched again for research locations further afield. It was only in the 1970s that the Netherlands was put more firmly on the ethnographic map.

Take-Off: the 1970s

Jeremy Boissevain, appointed professor of social anthropology at the University of Amsterdam in 1966, stimulated ethnographic research in Europe. He established the Department of European and Mediterranean Studies and initiated a research project in the Alblaswaard, a rural area in the province of South-Holland. Three anthropologists did fieldwork in the Alblaswaard, each studying a particular community. Two of them obtained a Ph.D. degree: Lodewijk Brunt (1974) with a dissertation focusing on the relationships between autochthons and urban migrants in the village of Struumkerken (a pseudonym) and Jofada Verrips (1978) with a dissertation on the relationships between and within various religious groupings in the dairy-farming community of Ottoland and their respective worldviews. Both books are in a way examples of political anthropology and concern sitting power balances. Brunt describes the confrontations between

(for example farmers, fishermen, barges), privileges, witchcraft, feasts, rituals and identities. I will address these subjects separately.

Religion, Pillarization, and Morals

In the Netherlands, a large proportion of the population is Protestant or Roman Catholic. There are various denominations of Protestantism, ranging from liberal *Hervernoed* (which used to be the state church) to orthodox *Gereformerd*, with several sub-denominations. These religions were not only important in shaping worldviews, but also had a profound impact on social life, especially since the late 19th century. Many organizations (for example political parties, associations and unions) were affiliated to churches. This phenomenon is known as *verzuim* (pillarization). Anthropologists in the Netherlands (along with sociologists and historians) have developed a keen research interest in religion and pillarization (and post-World War II depillarization and deprofessionalization processes). Although social life in many respects became divided as a consequence of pillarization, this was at the same time an integrative process, since it led to denser social relations and networks within a pillar. One of the main objectives of the pillars' leaders was to seek integration in the nation.

As we have seen, some of the earliest examples of Dutch endo-ethnography cover these subjects. Brunt (1972) maintains that, contrary to what is often claimed, the emancipation of *Gereformeerden* was not a movement of small people (*kleine luyden*) and that this demonstration was not a unity. A distinction must be made between strictly doctrinaire Calvinists and neo-Calvinists. Tennekes (1969) describes the world-view of a conservative variant of Dutch Calvinism, the *Oud-Gereformeerden* in view of Max Weber's thesis about the selective affinity between Calvinism and capitalism. He claims that this thesis does not apply to the *Oud-Gereformeerden*; they do not believe that economic success proves one's election but that only the right religious experience does. In another article, Tennekes (1988) examines the updating of the religious discourse among Dutch Protestants since the 1960s. He states that in this discourse, the image of God turned from a

insular descriptors of communities and social categories which were typical of most contemporary mainstream American and European ethnographies. Jeremy Boissevain also encouraged his colleagues to look "beyond the community" and devote attention to social processes, while at the same time maintaining "real people" and their transactions in the picture (Boissevain 1977; Boissevain & Friedl 1977).

Thus, ethnographers studying Dutch society and culture devoted much attention to social processes, the embeddedness of social configurations in larger entities and acting individuals. In doing so, they were in the vanguard of developments in anthropology which began to turn away from structural functionalism. However, their work has had little impact in the international anthropological arena, because most of it was published in Dutch. It is striking that it was only in the late 1980s that an attempt was made to put the Netherlands in the international ethnographic map. Sydel Sivanman had urged Jeremy Boissevain to do so and as a result, a collection of essays entitled *Dutch Dilemmas* (Boissevain & Verrips 1989), was published. As a whole, the contributions constitute a sample of the various types of endo-

ethnography in the Netherlands.

Today, historical anthropology and the ethnography of the social fringe are still the two most important foci in the anthropology of the Netherlands. (At least, if we disregard ethnic minority studies, which is an important sub-field in Dutch anthropology generally.) In the following two sections, I will outline the main research subjects and results of both 'schools' (or, rather, "styles") of endogenous or endo-ethnography. The next section briefly deals with anthropological views of Dutch society and culture from the perspective of foreigners, which is followed by reflections on the pros and cons of doing ethnographic research in one's own country.

Historical Anthropology

Although classifications are always arbitrary to some extent, the following are the major themes in ethnohistorical studies pertaining to the Netherlands: religion, elites, entrepreneurs

of Sociology. Besides their editorial involvement in two books on anthropological research methods (Brunt 1977; Bouw *et al.* 1982), and one on urban anthropological studies in Dutch settings (Bovenkerk & Brunt 1982), Bovenkerk (1978) edited a book on ethnic minorities and racial discrimination in the Netherlands, which was one of the first publications in this field and stimulated research. For example, Bovenkerk and several of his colleagues published on Italian ice-cream producers and vendors (Bovenkerk *et al.* 1983), while a collection of essays on ethnic relations in the city of Utrecht appeared in 1985 (Bovenkerk *et al.* 1985). Other pioneers in the field of ethnic minority studies were Andre Kobbén and Jeremy Boissevain, and today quite a few anthropologists are involved in this specialism. It is not in the least because of the widely available funding in the 1970s and 1980s that this subdiscipline has become relatively popular. Of course, it also gave anthropologists an opportunity to study other cultures close to home.

The number of historical anthropologists also expanded. Verrips' book was paradigmatic. It became an example for those conducting ethno-historical community studies, and for scholarly work on relations and conflicts between members of local-level religious denominations, as well. His historical or processual anthropology was further stimulated through the publication of a social history journal's special issue on "historicizing anthropology" (*Uijtschift voor sociale geschiedenis*, vol. 6, 1980). It contained several contributions by anthropologists on Dutch society and culture, including a programmatic essay by Anton Blok (1980). Blok also published a booklet entitled *Antropologische perspectieven* (Anthropological Perspectives, 1977), which can be regarded as an introduction into (historical) anthropology. This subfield of ethnohistory implied more or less a return to sociology, since it was heavily influenced by the work of the German sociologist Norbert Elias and his Dutch compatriot Johan Goudsblom. This branch of research focuses on the sociogenesis of social-cultural phenomena and on social linkages and the interactions between various levels of social integration. Thus, Dutch ethnography turned away early from the static, slice-of-time and

localities and urbanites against the backdrop of the local power structure and the way in which it changed as a consequence of internal and external developments. With the increasing importance of agriculture, the technonous farmers' hegemonic power declined and new economic interest-groups filled a power vacuum. The newcomers became ritable competitors in the local political arena and new relationships developed.

In the second part of the 1970s, Brunt and colleagues Frank Bovenkerk, both trained in Amsterdam but holding positions in Utrecht, wrote and edited several books with a programmatic character. In 1976, they published *Binnen de industriële samenleving* (Inside Out and *steden en ondersteden: de antropologie van de industriële samenleving* (Inside Out and the anthropology of the urban environment, 1976). In their book they urged anthropologists to study modern industrial society and in particular the *feiland*, that is, social fringe groupings. With these groupings, they had in mind the thieves, addicts and drug dealers, prostitutes, alcoholics, murderers and other shady social categories, but also mayors, taxi drivers and so forth. As we shall see shortly, their advice was ed by several ethnographers. Bovenkerk and Brunt were inspired by the Chicago School

to a God who legitimizes the struggle for social justice. Vertips (1973) deals with a conflict between two groupings within the *Gereformeerde* church of Otjoland. He shows that his factional strife which on the face of it dealt with the religious "truth" was inextricably intertwined with the rise of modern, liberal theology and the conservative resistance to it, and so with the bad economic situation of these areas. Hak (1991) focuses on local pillarization processes in the fishing-town of Urk, where the number of Protestant denominations rose from 3 in 1947 to 10 in 1988.

"This is only a small sample of ethnographic work on such local-level processes and power struggles in Protestant communities. Any few community studies – if any – leave the subject of religion and pillarization untouched. part of the literature deals with more specific topics. Miedema (1979) examines the reasons for the high incidence of enforced marriages among orthodox Calvinists in the Netherlands. e claims that several factors combine to keep ie realms of worldliness and religiosity apart, hich allows for premarital intercourse. Vertips discusses some 20th century cases of manslaughter committed by Calvinists as pathological elaborations of Calvinist representations in articular (1987, 1991b).

Mart Bax is among the most prolific endomographers. His work focuses on relations of power and dependency among Roman Catholics in the province of North-Brabant. He coined the concept of "religious regimens", which provides a model for studying the mutual conditioning of processes of power and meaning. The majority of his articles concern the confrontation between the Roman Catholic church and the state, and between and within religious groupings (usually between religious specialists and lay-people), as well. In analyzing these power struggles and factional processes, Bax emphasizes the relative autonomy of religious processes vis-à-vis other social processes and aims to bring power back into the study of religion. He devotes special attention to transformations in devotional practices, such as pilgrimages and also describes changes in a mon-

astery (Bax 1963, 1985a, 1985b, 1986, 1987, 1988a, 1989a, 1989b, 1990a, 1990b, 1992, 1994). Ton Duijnnes devotes attention to pillarization processes within the Roman Catholic population, and to Catholic leaders, networks, movements and parties, as well. He uses net-work analyses and theoretical concepts adapted from the literature on social movements and collective action. Regarding the Catholic community of Arnhem, the provincial capital of Gelderland, he is particularly concerned with the role of entrepreneurial elites, their financial resources and the significance of ideologies in mobilizing and organizing the local Catholics (Duijnnes 1991, Duijnnes & Felling 1989).

Peter Meurkens' ethnographic work on Catholics in the Kempen (a region in the province of North-Brabant) between 1840 and 1910 describes, among many other things, their transformation of North-Brabant) between 1840 and 1910. In particular, the religious and community elites launched civilizing, moralizing and disciplining offensives so as to change public morality. Similar offensives which aimed at bringing about the virtuous behavior of people from all walks of life, are also described by other authors, for both Protestant milieus (Vertips-Roukens 1987, Heislout 1995; van Ginckel 1995b) and Catholic milieus (Kab 1994). Most authors writing about this particular subject are influenced by Norbert Elias's civilization

Local and Regional Elites
Kitty Vertips-Roukens portrays shifting power balances between local populations and elites, especially concerning the relationships between large land-owners and tenants, in a Salland village (province of Overijssel) against the background of local and national developments (1982). Commercialization of agriculture brought about class-relationships, but these became more diffuse with processes of social integration. She further analyzes the socio-economic aspects of Overijssel's agricultural changes (1983b) ethnographic writings with respect to the rise and fall of an agrarian elite in the eastern part of the province of Gelderland bears a family resemblance to Vertips-Roukens's work. He shows how a category of over-

ers of large-landowners turned into a landed gentry (the *Schoften*), but lost its power as a consequence of internal and external processes, leading to its marginalization in the 1930s. This decline was accelerated as a result of an endogamous marriage system and conspicuous consumption.

The Limburg and Frisian nobilities have also been the subject of anthropological scrutiny and Dick van den Bosch (1979, 1981) and Yme Kuiper (1993), respectively. Both authors devote considerable attention to 18th and 19th centuries transformations concerning the political and governmental influence of noblemen, their land ownership as a source of wealth and power and their culture as a means of distinction vis-à-vis other social groupings. Both conclude that in the course of time there was a rapprochement with bourgeois elites, although the nobility succeeded in maintaining some cultural distance through their exclusive lifestyle. Heidi Dahles (1988, 1990a) devotes attention to one of the favorite pastimes of the nobility and other elites: hunting. She focuses on the changing classifications of hunters (both of categories of game and hunters), their perceptions and legitimizations of the hunt, their relationships with one another and their behavioral codes. According to Dahles, the hunt must be regarded a ritual means of distinction and identification. She shows how hunters respond to the growing public opposition to their activities. Dahles also goes into the cultural meaning of poaching (1991). In her ethnography, she combines a processual perspective with notions from symbolic anthropology.

Entrepreneurs and Occupational Cultures

As we have seen above, farmers figure prominently in the work of Dutch anthropologists doing research in their own society. It is no coincidence that in the 1970s this occupational category began to attract considerable attention. During this decade, peasant studies were quite popular in Dutch anthropology, following trends in American anthropology. An early example of this kind of writing is Jolanda Vertips's essay on the decline of small-scale farming in the South-Holland village of Otjoland (1975).

Bax and Nieuwenhuis (1980) present an examination of a Brabant peasant emancipation movement.

Several anthropologists have held (or still hold) jobs at the Sociology Department of Wageningen University, a university specializing in studies related to agriculture. They include Kitty Vertips-Roukens (whose work is mentioned above), Gerrit Wildenbeest, Nadette Somers (1991) Ph.D. dissertation concerns small-scale family firms and their survival strategies from the 1880s to the 1980s. She further deals with the problems and possibilities of agricultural extension. Henk de Haan (1993, 1995) also develops the theme of (small-scale) family farming in the Netherlands, with its specific kinship, property and inheritance patterns. He describes how these patterns are transformed as a consequence of commercialization and modernization processes, using examples from the eastern part of the country, and Twente (province of Overijssel) in particular. Jolanda Vertips studies the problem of solidarity in the occupational community of bargemen in the 20th century (1989, 1991a). Scores of barges-masters' associations have arisen and rapidly disappeared according to a similar pattern and few in existence today can pride themselves on a relatively long life. The reason why mutual solidarity cannot be sustained in the form of stable associations is the internal differentiation of the occupational community and the ambivalence of the barges concerning their individual and collective coping strategies, especially when the economic tide is changing. Another topic concerns the naming of the barges, and the "hidden meaning" of these names (Vertips 1990).

A small number of Dutch anthropologists is involved in maritime anthropology. Durk Hak writes about fishermen in the Frisian village of Lemmer (1988) and on the former island of Urk (1991). His work is rather descriptive and does not seem to be informed by a specific research

question or problem. Most of Rob van Ginkel's

publications concern the use of marine common property resources. He deals with the transi-

on from capture to culture shellfish fisheries in the Zeeland town of Xersekse and shows that, contrary to what the theory of the "tragedy of

re commons" and similar propositions predict, the commons is not a penance

re enclosure of the commons is not a penance. More recently he has been concerned with the

fishermen of the North-Holland island of Texel, and Ginkel shows that commons tragedies can

only be understood when contextualized. Moreover, due to their resilience and adaptive strat-

gies, Texel fishermen coped with both ecological and economic problems (1993b, 1994a, 1995c,

1996a, 1997b). In addition, van Ginkel deals with fishermen's collective action problems

(1991b, 1996b). Don Kalb describes the vicissitudes of Bra-

ma shoe-makers in the early 20th century

adustrialization process (1991, 1994). Among other things, he devotes attention to class expe-

riences and protests. In his Ph.D. dissertation, besides dealing with the shoe-

makers again — describes and analyzes the early 20th century industrialization process in the Brabant city of Breda, and theorizes on

ryiders' illegal activities as a social protest

against power holders such as the church, the clergy and land owners. His work on infamy is

an example of symbolic anthropology. In the past, the positions of midwives (van der Borg

1992; Abraham-van der Mark 1993) and prosti-

tutes (Huitzing 1983) were ambiguous and henceforth they were also struck by the stigma

of infamy. The anthropological-historical writings of

William de Blécourt cover a wide range of topics related to the phenomenon of witchcraft and

witchcraft accusations, scolding, fortune-tell-

ers, healers and quack doctors in the northern

16th until the 20th centuries (1990, 1991, 1993,

1994, 1995; de Blécourt & Peereboom 1991; de

Blécourt & de Waardt 1990, 1991). De Blécourt

distinguishes four different types of witchcraft: Bewitching (doing harm by witchcraft), un-

witching (counter-witchcraft), witching (enrich-

Feasts, Rituals, and Identities

In 1983, a collection of essays entitled *Feest en*

ritueel in Europa (Feast and Ritual in Europe)

appeared (Koster *et al.* 1983). It contains sever-

al contributions with respect to the Nether-

lands. Most of these deal with local or regional

feasts and rituals and the participation of and

the confrontations between various groupings. For

example, articles are included on ritualization

in a Catholic village, various feasts in Brabant,

marriage feasts and funerals in Twente (prov-

ince of Overijssel) and eastern Gelderland, and

on Carnaval in the city of Den Bosch.

Jeremy Boissevain, who has been important

in stimulating research into feasts and rituals

in the Netherlands, indicates that there is a

revitalization of the celebration of Dutch feasts,

which are often invented traditions or renewals

of old feasts (1991). The contributors to this

booklet edited by Boissevain illustrate this in

their descriptions of various ritual celebrations.

Boissevain (1983, 1991) maintains that these

celebrations are important vehicles for the ex-

pression of identity.

This claim is substantiated by van Ginkel's

(1994d, 1995d) essays on the celebration of local

feasts on the island of Texel. These constitute a

counterpoint in the process of nation and state

formation. Increasingly, Texans express local

consciousness through an articulation of local-

ness. Similarly, people from the southern prov-

ince of Limburg also began to articulate the

identity more strongly during this process, which

gave rise to regional chauvinism (Goltstein

1986). They pride themselves in their own cul-

ture, folklore, dialect and history.

Ethnography of the Social Fringe

The ethnography of the social fringe (or urban

anthropology), propagated by Lodewijk Brunt

and Frank Bovenkerk, has yielded several in-

teresting studies concerning subcultures in the

periphery of Dutch society. These studies per-

tain to post-World War II developments or to

contemporary situations. The major topics are:

criminal subcultures, prostitutes and sexual

minorities, gender, occupational and corporate

cultures, sectarians, psychotic people and eu-

thanasia.

Discrimination, Racism, and Fascism

Along with the arrival of ethnic minorities from

the (ex-)colonies, labor migrants from the Med-

iterranean, political asylum-seekers and refu-

gees, there was a growing demand for knowl-

edge with respect to these immigrants. Amongst

others, anthropologists began to fill the void by

conducting applied and policy research. Follow-

ing the genesis of a multi-ethnic society, the

phenomenon of discrimination arose. In 1978,

Bovenkerk edited a collection of essays dealing

with various forms of prejudice and discrimina-

tion. The book contains ten articles on these

subjects, covering such themes as the exclusion

of ethnic minorities on the labor and housing

market, and the attitude of bus passengers, the

number and labor unions towards minorities (Bo-

venkerk 1978). Abraham-van der Mark (1985)

describes the perception of minorities by Dutch

people in an Amsterdam workers' neighbour-

Some anthropologists have conducted re-

search into extreme right-wing political parties

and movements, and fascism. For instance, an

ethnography about the *Nederlandse Volks-Unie*

(literally: Dutch People's Union) examines the

backgrounds of racial discrimination and prej-

udices, the rise of this political party, its leader

and his followers (Bouw *et al.* 1982). Van Don-

seelaar (1991, 1993) presents data on the rise

and decline of various post-war right-wing ex-

tremist movements and parties, the social back-

grounds of their adherents, their leaders and

the internal controversies and conflicts which

brought about schisms and fragmentation. Civ-

en the widespread public opposition, fascist and

racist leaders face a dilemma: in public, they

have to play down their fascist and racist mo-

tives and this leads to an estrangement from

their followers. It is precisely this tension be-

tween the public face of "decency" and the

groups' internal emphasis on ideological princi-

ples which brings about tensions and conflicts.

So far, these parties have been small and many

have been ephemeral. Nonetheless, some per-

sist and van Donseelaar points out how they

adapt to these problems. Most of these parties

are "single-issue" movements, that is, they link

social problems to the presence of ethnic minor-

ities.

Urban Life-Styles

While working at the University of Utrecht,

Frank Bovenkerk and Lodewijk Brunt strongly

promoted urban ethnography in the Nether-

lands. They focus on phenomena occurring in

cities — and on the city — and on the

nature of urban settings — an anthropology of the

city (Bovenkerk 1985; Brunt 1985, 1996). The-

oretically, they are oriented towards American

urban anthropology and ethnography, but they

also use the writings of, amongst others, Brvin

Goffman and Ulf Hannerz. Brunt became a

professor of urban sociology at the University of

Amsterdam. At the University of Leiden a small

number of anthropologists study urban life-

styles, using a biographical approach.

Thaddæus Müller (1993, 1997) conducts re-

search into the intimate and erotic aspects of

social interactions in the Amsterdam public

domain. Criticizing the predominant social sci-

ice view of the city as a locus of shallowness and loneliness, Müller shows that urbanites do many respects maintain positive or "warm" civil relationships. He argues that there are free modes of involvement in urban public spaces: civil inattention, civil attention and active civil attention. In his view, it is civil attention which makes for the "warmness" of the city's public places.

Karen Wuerz reports on the material cultural symbols, participation and the perception of insecurity in the cities of Groningen and The Hague (1989, 1993). Increasingly, the inhabitants of specific old neighborhoods feel unsafe. They lament about the demise of a community spirit, and opt for communication strategies which mark off the familiar from the unknown.

La van Doorn (1994) did fieldwork among homeless in the city of Utrecht. The homeless are socially excluded. She describes their life-styles and perspectives, their modes of behavior, survival strategies and adaptations. Van Doorn presents a typology in which three types of homeless people are distinguished: the relatively homeless, the experienced homeless and the homeless with a psychiatric background.

or each of these categories she gives policy recommendations.

Time and Criminal Milieus

the anthropological methodological repertoire apparently well-suited to study criminals. Some anthropologists, for example Frank Boonkerk, have even become criminologists. He writes on organized crime and the sex and milking businesses (1991), and details the life-ory of a Dutch woman who served as a go-between for Colombian narcotics cartels (1995). edwijk Brunt also frequently publishes in the field of criminology, for example on fraud by people on the dole (Brunt *et al.* 1993), and on the relation between anxiety and delinquency in urban settings (Brunt 1993). Several authors describe and analyze small-time juvenile crime and urban milieus, for example vandalism (e.g., van Laar & Müller 1991), and mugging (Vogel 1993). Other instances of criminal ethnography

plate to the life-styles of drug addicts and

dealers, and their ways of coping with anti-narcotics policies and the police in the cities of Utrecht and Amsterdam (Verbrack 1984; van Gemert 1988).

Gerben Kroese and Richard Staring (1993), who have done research among the inmates of five prisons, study robbers' motives, choices, perceptions of violence and "work" styles from a rational choice perspective. On the basis of criminal careers, they present a typology of robbers. They discern "desperates", "beginners", and "professionals". These categories differ with respect to their attitude towards prestige, preparation of their attitude towards prestige, preparation of robberies, willingness to use violence towards detention. Based on interviews, psychiatric and police reports, van Gemert (1994) sums up the motives of murderers of (older) homosexual men and sketches profiles of the (potential) offenders. Most of these murderers are committed by young male prostitutes.

Sex and Gender Domains

Several anthropologists devote attention to prostitution and prostitutes. Paul van Gelder researches the interactions of Rotterdam street prostitutes and their clientele, among other things in view of the dangers related to AIDS (van Gelder & Kaplan 1992). Sari van der Poel deals with the prostitution policies of municipalities, and the emancipatory movement of professional prostitutes (1995). She also portrays the life-worlds of young male homosexual prostitutes in Amsterdam in the AIDS-era (1991, 1992). She analyzes male prostitution as a commercial service-oriented business, outlines the prostitutes' attempts to professionalize, draws a typology according to their careers and to stigmatization.

Mieke de Waal (1982) has written an ethnography on transvestites and transsexuals in which she sums up the problems these sexual minorities face, the ways in which they try to cope with them, the dilemmas of either "coming out" or hiding their sexual identities and the motives and choices of drag queens to undergo a gender operation or not. De Waal states that transvestites constitute a more heterogeneous category than transsexuals. Their dressing up

preneurs.

Occupational and Corporate Cultures

Against the background of the Dutch sex-gender system, Anna Aalten discusses the ways in which female industrialists sought and seek to combine their female gender identity with their entrepreneurial activities, two conditions which are often considered incompatible (1989, 1991). In order to show how these women have lived and resolved this "contradiction", Aalten presents a number of life-stories and describes the activities of an organization of female entrepreneurs.

in their social environment.

has little to do with gender-identity, but a lot with sexual fetishism. On gender issues, there are several publications by anthropologists. Mieke de Waal (1985, 1989, 1993) studies high school girls in the city of Utrecht, their friendships with one another and with boys, their worldviews and modes of dressing. More specifically, de Waal poses the question of why these girls lose their advantage over boys in school achievements during their puberty. She shows that this has to do with contradictory, gender-related expectations with-in their social environment.

tionships (Staring 1997). Some anthropologists specialize in the relationship (Strating 1997). On culture and management". Most publications concern theoretical or methodological issues (cf., e.g., Koot 1991, Koot & Hogema 1990, Tennekens & Wels 1990). There are few examples of ethnographic research projects. An exception is Verweij's dissertation on planning and policy processes at Utrecht University (1987). However, it is to be expected that this subfield of anthropology will yield several publications on the culture of specific organizations in the near future.

Secularism, Psychotic People, and Butuanasias Religion has attracted considerable attention from historical anthropologists, but to a lesser extent from ethnographers who do research in contemporary Dutch society and culture. There are some publications concerning sects and small religious movements such as Jehovah's Witnesses and Mormons. Singelenberg (1989, 1990) concentrates on processes of group formation and boundary maintenance of the Jehovah's Witnesses and their cultural codes, for instance their rejection of blood transfusions. Medical anthropology has recently become an important subdiscipline in the Netherlands, which even has its own journal (*Medische antropologie*). Much work focuses on specific health problems of ethnic minorities, but there are also publications about Dutch natives. For instance, Els van Dongen's (1994) work deals with psychotic patients in a psychiatric hospital in the South of the Netherlands. She regards psychosis as a culturally defined illness and describes the social meaning of medicine, analyses the socio-cultural dimensions of interactions and conversations between patients and health workers, the self-diagnosis of schizophrenics and their attitudes towards physical contact. Robert Pool (1996) studied voluntary euthanasia practices, a hotly debated issue in the Netherlands. He interviewed and observed physicians, nurses and patients and their kin in an Amsterdam hospital. The jurist and cultural anthropologist Anne-Mei The conducted similar research in a Groningen hospital, focusing

Bax, Mart 1983. "Us" Catholics and "Them" Catholics in Dutch Brabant: The Dialectics of a Religious and Social Process. *Anthropological Quarterly* 56: 167-178.

Bax, Mart 1985a. Popular Devotions, Power, and Religious Regimes in Catholic Dutch Brabant. In: *Ethnology* 24: 215-227.

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merely suggesting possible research avenues, and surely many more could be made.

Scholars from other disciplinary backgrounds are already beginning to cover some of these subjects. Several of them use anthropological

methodologies and theoretical approaches. I have not covered this rapidly expanding literature, but suffice it to say that part of it is quite

interesting. As yet, the implications of this development for endo-ethnography are unclear,

but sometimes it would seem that there is a blurring of disciplinary genres. The future will

learn whether anthropologists in the Netherlands studying their own society and culture

can continue to add a specific dimension with their methodological, conceptual and theoretical

cal repertoire vis-a-vis other scholars.

Notes

1. This article is a thoroughly revised version of an

article in Dutch (van Ginkel 1995a), which presents

a review of anthropological literature, mostly written in Dutch. The present article does not refer to

most important ethnographic monographs and articles, referring to versions in English if available.

2. (Usually, Ph.D. dissertations contain a summary in English, and articles in Dutch journals

are often abstracted in English.)

Most of this literature is in Dutch (for an overview, see van Ginkel 1995b:56, n. 2; for publications in

English, see Kloos 1969; Brunt 1973, 1975; Boudewijnse 1994). Usually, monographs contain a section on methodology.

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and transsexuals, school girls, male and female prostitutes, bank robbers, policemen and postal workers, shoemakers, artists, doctors and sects, nuns, and so forth. In other words, this extraterrestrial anthropologist would think that Dutch society is made up of a raggle-taggle crowd. Of course, it is quite legitimate to devote attention to the social fringe, but given the dominance of this focus it harbors the danger of tribalizing and exoticizing the Netherlands. On the other hand, one dimension of anthropology is to show that what appears to be exceptional and quaint is in fact quite ordinary, whereas the seemingly ordinary can turn out to be special and exotic.

In ethnographic studies of the Netherlands, the former has been shown sufficiently, but the latter needs clarification. This type of ethnography could direct itself towards everyday existence, the routines and life-styles in suburbia,

the behavioral standards, attitudes and morals of (sub)urban citizens, their social relations,

sources of income, and leisure activities. In other words, what is behind the façades of their

tidy homes? There is also a need for more anthropological knowledge concerning power-

ful institutions, groupings and persons. For example, in a socio-cultural sense we know very

little about politicians and political parties, civil servants of various administrative levels,

the judiciary and the Bar, the organizations of employers and employees, environmentalists,

multinational corporations, banks and insurance companies (and their personnel), the medical profession and medical institutions. In re-

gard of policy and administration, anthropologists usually study their impact, but not the

ways in which they come about and how in fact policy is made and how administration is run.

Nor do we know much about national identity formation, state symbolism, and the language

of politics. What also seems to be lacking is an anthropological view of the specificities of Dutch

culture and society in comparison with other societies and cultures. Though by now there is

a body of detailed ethnographies, anthropologists have not synthesized these and data from

Dutch society and culture. Of course, I am

tinge has an applied or policy dimension, concerns contemporary phenomena or recent history and is rather descriptive. Historical anthropology is to a certain extent more theoretical and describes long-term processes or past socio-cultural aspects of Dutch society.

Internationally, ethnographic studies on the Netherlands are not well-known. Though for-

how a greater interest in Dutch society and culture, it would be an exaggeration to say that

attracts huge attention. Foreign fieldworkers are still quite exceptional in the Netherlands.

at the same time, few Dutch authors publish in international anthropological journals. This

oes for Dutch anthropology in general, though the number of English-language publications is

expanding quite rapidly. This is a consequence of the 'publish or perish' policy and the demand

to publish internationally in Dutch academe. It

must be said, however, that it is not easy for

Netherlands in international anthropological journals, which does not stimulate anthropolog-

ical writing: it is often modest and refrains from grand theorizing. At the same time it is

horough, serious and reliable; it is not confined to disciplinary boundaries, and it shows a keen

eye for complex processes and contexts (Boissevain & Blok 1984: 341). However, most high-

ranking journals demand theory, not just thorough ethnography.

Although the Netherlands is no longer an

anthropological *terra incognita*, there are still many blank spots on its ethnographic map. And

what has been mapped constitutes a curious mixture of details. The imaginary and anthropo-

logical study of Dutch society and culture on the basis of these publications would

lead to conclude that it consists of a range of ethnic minorities, racists and fascists, junkies,

drug addicts and drug-pushers, hunters, poach-

ers, fishermen, barges, farmers, transvestites

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