ERC Consolidator Grant 2015  
Research proposal [Part B1]

GROUPS AND VIOLENCE  
A MICRO-SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH PROGRAMME

Acronym: GROUPVIOLENCE

PI: Don Weenink  
Host institution: Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research, University of Amsterdam  
Proposal duration in months: 60

Abstract (1,981 characters)

The Group Violence research programme aims to understand how group behaviour affects the likelihood and severity of violence in public space. While the prevailing social scientific focus remains on individual perpetrators and background factors, the empirical reality of public violence is one of multiple attackers, multiple victims and multiple bystanders. The research proposed here furthers the study of violence with a novel theory that identifies how group behaviour affects the outcome of antagonistic situations – and with comparative empirical studies to test the theory. The central question is how and to what extent 1) mutual alignment of attention and action, and 2) a sense of moral community enable group members to commit violence. Project 1 (PI and post-doc) considers mutual alignment down to the minutest detail, based on close-up qualitative and quantitative video analyses of sequences of bodily cues. Based on judicial case files, project 2 (PI and assistants) will quantitatively analyse mutual alignment in an extensive range of violent interactions. Four PhD projects compare the role of mutual alignment and moral community in antagonistic situations in groups that differ from each other in these respects: police teams (project 3), street youth (4), football hooligans (5), and bouncers (6). Relying on an innovative method to reconstruct antagonistic situations by repeated and comparative qualitative interviewing, projects 3-6 will also relate the meanings of violence and masculine identity to the moral community of the group. Project 7 (PI and post-doc) uses qualitative and statistical analyses of the interview data generated in projects 3-6 for an extensive comparison of group behaviour in antagonistic situations. The ambition is to produce exemplary understanding of the crucial role that groups play in violence. This proposal shows how: through detailed and extensive comparative empirical testing that will further develop the new theory.
1. Introduction

Think of street violence. One probably imagines a perpetrator and/or a victim. So, too, does social science, which generally focuses on perpetrators and background factors. However, this picture is far from complete. Violence in public space mostly involves more people than only attackers and their victims. These others are often called bystanders. But in the flurry of action, bystanders do not only stand by. They may try to fuel the antagonism by repeating the insults expressed by the opposing parties, by shouting and cheering, by focussing attention on the scene, or by entering the fray themselves. Alternatively, they may try to intervene and engage in conciliatory action by urging others to calm down, by putting their bodies between the opponents, or by asking others for help. Or bystanders may remain aloof, which also impacts on how the interaction proceeds: their seemingly detached stance may legitimize the use of violence, or prolong it.

Social scientists have paid insufficient attention to these group processes – both conceptually and empirically. Although one-on-one fights are the exception in most forms of public violence, studies generally treat perpetrators as isolated individuals. And while studies that take group behaviour in violence more seriously have addressed collective identities and solidarity, none have empirically demonstrated the relationship between these group processes and violent behaviour. This programme will break new scientific ground by opening up to empirical investigation the relationships between group behaviour and violence.

**AIM**

To understand how group behaviour affects the likelihood and severity of violence.

Towards this end, I propose a novel micro-sociological theory of group violence as well as methods to test this theory and to develop it further. The theory builds on my prior micro-sociological work on youth violence (Weenink 2014, 2015).

Following Spierenburg (2009: 17), I define violence as: ‘all forms of intentional encroachment upon the physical integrity of the body’. Compared to extended definitions (symbolic or institutional violence, etc.), this restricted definition has the advantage of being more precise, straightforward and clear. It highlights what is specific about violence yet captures a broad variety of violent social activity. I define a group as persons who are mutually aware of their bodily co-presence and who feel that they belong together, sharing a social identity that distinguishes them from other persons who are also bodily co-present (the out-group).

How does group behaviour affect the likelihood and severity of violence? I answer this question by examining how groups influence emotional dynamics in antagonistic situations. In antagonistic situations, people do not attain mutual understanding but engage in confrontation, which produces emotional arousal: both parties feel tense and experience anger and fear. This emotional arousal will be referred to with Collins’s (2008) summary term ‘confrontational tension and fear’ or ‘tension/fear’ for short. The crucial point is that tension/fear forms a barrier that keeps people from turning violent (Collins 2008). Scholars agree that due to this tension/fear, most people do not easily commit violence (Levine et al. 2011; Grossman and Christensen 2008). This research programme analyses the crucial role that groups play in how and to what extent individual group members experience tension/fear, and how they may or may not overcome this barrier to engage in violent behaviour.

When groups encounter antagonistic situations, three reactions are possible:

1. The group may decrease tension/fear. They may do so by engaging in conciliatory or de-escalating behaviour, or alternatively, by backing up, giving in, leaving or avoiding the scene altogether.
2. The group may increase tension/fear. This happens when the group fuels the confrontation, responding to the opposing group through moves and countermoves, provocations and challenges. Tension/fear also increases when the group feels trapped or immobilised, a situation that I call confrontational paralysis. In both cases, the group may be attacked if the other group attains emotional dominance.
3. The group gains emotional dominance and finds a way to move beyond tension/fear. If this happens suddenly after a period of confrontational paralysis, the violence is likely to be ferocious (cf. Collins 2008).

My theory proposes that these three reactions are related to two features of group solidarity: mutual attention and action alignment (hereafter: mutual alignment) and the sense of belonging to a moral community (hereafter: moral community). Mutual alignment refers to the degree to which group members focus and adjust their attention and actions towards one another. A sense of moral community means group members feel distinct from and perhaps superior to other groups through their symbols (typical, exclusive, recognisable behaviour or material emblems) and moral boundaries (how the group considers itself as distinctively worthy and valuable). My earlier work on the emotional dynamics of extreme youth violence
indicates that these two features deserve greater conceptual and empirical attention as they seem to play key roles in how violent interactions unfold (Weenink 2014).

CENTRAL QUESTIONS
How, and to what extent, do mutual alignment and a sense of moral community affect the likelihood and severity of violence?

2. A novel micro-sociological theory of group violence

Mutual alignment
How do group members focus and adjust their attention and actions towards one another? Hochstetler (2001) identified three ways of mutual alignment. First, ‘incremental signalling’ concerns the use of small bodily or verbal cues to check whether others are receptive to the idea of a confrontation. Second, ‘target convergence’ comprises mutual and instantaneous recognition of a target. Finally, ‘establishing identity’ concerns recognising and appealing to group members’ reputations as capable of violence, thus turning past experiences into expectations of upcoming action. In these ways, mutual alignment can create a sense of belonging, of being together in the action. Mutual alignment may also contribute to situational asymmetries or tactical advantages if the other group is less aligned (Weenink 2015). First, mutual alignment may simply result in bringing more group members to the scene, thus outnumbering the other group. Second, it may enhance group manoeuvres to attain an advantageous position or to move the other party into a more vulnerable position. The notion of mutual alignment is a specification of Collins’ (2008) theory, in which supportive audiences that help to gain emotional dominance are seen as a pathway to circumvent tension/fear. I add that the sense that fellow group members will likely offer back-up may help to attain emotional dominance. Older interactionist analyses indicate that the presence of ‘third parties’ (bodily co-present persons who do not, at least initially, engage in physical harm) is related to more severe violence, particularly when they encourage the opponents, and even more so when they enter the fray themselves (Felson 1982; Luckenbill 1977; Felson and Steadman 1983). This effect is even stronger when the conflict is between members of different groups, gangs or lineages (Phillips and Cooney 2005).

When do group members retreat, look away or attempt to de-escalate? I propose that this happens in situations of low mutual alignment. Research on the behaviour of ‘bystanders’ suggests that weak, situational identities are associated with conciliatory actions, and that de-escalatory behaviour is a collective effort involving group norms that emphasise helping others (Levine et al. 2012; Levine et al. 2011). However, experiments show that strong identification with an in-group leads to more in-group support of attackers’ behaviour, while weaker identification leads to less support and greater feelings of anger towards perpetrating group members (Gordijn et al. 2006). I thus propose that conciliatory norms may trigger helping behaviour particularly when mutual alignment and the sense of moral community are weak.

Sense of moral community
The more a group has distinctive group symbols and moral boundaries that separate it from other groups, the more likely that the confrontation will be experienced not just as an incident but as part of a history of confrontations through which the group has forged its moral identity. This moralising tendency affects the emotional salience of the confrontation and therefore the likelihood that the group fuels the antagonism. Alternatively, groups with a weak sense of moral community may be more likely to view other groups as equal, resulting in conciliatory action.

Groups that have a strong sense of moral community may simultaneously suffer from nagging but unacknowledged feelings of vulnerability and inferiority. Under these conditions, disidentification may arise, a process in which the group’s own negative emotions are projected onto the other group, perceived as both fearful and inferior (De Swaan 2015). In their study of racist street violence, Ray et al. (2004) show that unacknowledged feelings of humiliation and rejection among marginalised white men are projected as anger onto ethnic minorities. Experiments indicate that stronger social identities are associated with a greater likelihood of disidentification (Waytz and Epley 2012). In terms of the theory proposed here, disidentification may offer a pathway to circumventing tension/fear, enabling antagonists to reduce their opponents into non-human entities.

A group’s sense of moral community is related to the degree to which it attracts members who seek to defend, transform or develop a social identity. Previous studies have identified a relationship between violence and masculine identity (Taylor 2013), especially among men locked into structurally marginal positions. However, the role of groups in these processes – how they help to transform, direct and project negative feelings into disidentification with others, how positive emotions such as pride and enthusiasm arise from forging violent group identities, especially vis-à-vis out groups – has not been the focus of this work.
The current programme advances the state of the art by analysing the role that groups play in the relationships between violence, structural marginalisation and identity formation.

**Figure 1. Moral community and mutual alignment generate emotional dominance, providing pathways to overcome the tension/fear barrier in antagonistic situations.**

3. **Short outline of the research programme**

**Project 1: Sequences of bodily cues in violent interactions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question: How and to what extent are expressions of tension/fear, emotional dominance, and the enactment of mutual alignment related to the severity of violence?</th>
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Project 1 will advance our understanding of the relationship between solidarity and violence by showing precisely how group solidarity in the form of bodily and emotional mutual alignment affects violent interaction. It will focus on the minutiae of violent interactions through close-up, second-to-second qualitative and quantitative video analyses of sequences of bodily cues in 50 violent interactions. Project 1 samples on the dependent variable but allows for variation in the severity of violence: the amount, type, duration of harm-doing, and the number of attackers and victims involved. The data will consist of video fragments of violent interactions in public space retrieved from the internet and from CCTV recordings by the Amsterdam and Rotterdam police (access to this material is granted). Based on a pilot study I am conducting and on existing coding schemes for emotions such as fear, anger and dominance (Klusemann 2009), project 1 will develop a procedure for coding these emotions in bodily cues. The material must meet the following criteria: 1) the incident should be captured by at least two recordings from a different angle; 2) the incident should involve at least four people; 3) the recordings must allow for an analysis of bodily movements and facial expressions of all individuals involved; 4) both recordings should start at least half a minute before the actual physical harm-doing takes place and continue until it has stopped; 5) additional written information on the incident should be available in the form of case files, police reports, media coverage or other digital sources. A preliminary internet search indicated that it is reasonable to expect that the above sample size can be attained, also given the available CCTV footage. Project 1 will be conducted by the PI, a post-doctoral researcher and a research assistant.

**Project 2: Mutual alignment and situational asymmetry in violent interactions**

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<tr>
<th>Questions: How are mutual alignment and situational asymmetry achieved, and how and to what extent do they affect the severity of the violence?</th>
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Project 2 will advance our understanding of violence by showing how group behaviour can create situational advantages that affect the course of violent interactions. While project 1 zooms in, project 2 zooms out to examine an extensive range of 200 violent situations, thus offering a triangulation of the findings. The data
consists of judicial case files. My earlier works (Weenink 2014, 2015) based on these data show that they are a rich source of information on violent interactions. Access to the material is already secured, as the Netherlands Judiciary has positively advised on this project. The analysis will focus on how mutual alignment by groups creates situational asymmetry, which in turn may fuel emotional dominance, enabling the move towards violence. Building on my prior work, various forms of situational asymmetry will be considered and related to the severity of violence (as in project 1). For instance, differences between the size of the groups; the extent to which group members are able to manoeuvre into advantageous positions or to move the other party into vulnerable positions; differences in the intimacy of ties between group members in the opposing parties; and differences between parties’ mobilisation of members possessing effective fighting techniques (e.g. karate or kick-boxing) or weapons, controlling for alcohol use, gender, age, etc. Project 2 will be conducted by the PI and two research assistants.

Projects 3-6: Comparative studies of group behaviour in antagonistic situations
Projects 3-6 will further our understanding of how antagonistic situations and violence are experienced by group members. While earlier studies have addressed the experience of fear in violence, it remains unclear how tension/fear develops during antagonistic situations, and how it may be transformed into feelings of emotional dominance under the influence of group dynamics. While prior work on violence has pointed to the importance of solidarity and collective identity, projects 3-6 will show how exactly they inform actual behaviour. These projects will also advance our current knowledge on the relationship between violence and masculinity by approaching the issue as a group process, understood as part of the sense of moral community and how it is enacted in antagonism. Finally, most ethnographic studies intensively observe single groups; projects 3-6 are explicitly comparative in scope.

Each of these projects compares groups of a similar type: 5 police teams in project 3, 5 groups of delinquent street youth in project 4, 5 groups of football hooligans in project 5, and 7 smaller groups of bouncers in project 6. All of these groups regularly encounter antagonistic situations. They are of interest because they differ from one another in the conceptual elements of the theory. Police teams have been trained in mutual alignment; football hooligan groups are known for their strong sense of moral community; delinquent youth street groups are generally rather loose, while bouncers, like police teams, are selected for their abilities to mutually align with colleagues but probably have weaker moral communities. Furthermore, these groups offer contrasting cases for the salience of masculine identity formation, also because they differ regarding the inclusion of female members. As all groups have been previously studied, they offer good test-cases to demonstrate how the research programme advances current knowledge.

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<th>Questions</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1. How are tension/fear and emotional dominance experienced by group members during antagonistic situations, and how do they relate to the possible outcomes of these situations?</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>2. How are mutual alignment and sense of moral community enacted preceding and during antagonistic situations and how do they relate to the possible outcomes of these situations?</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3. How do group members give meaning to antagonism and violence and how do these meanings relate to masculine identity and the moral community of the group?</strong></td>
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The data will primarily consist of qualitative interviews. Interviewing will be preceded by two months of observation of each group to gain a primary understanding of its sense of moral community (moral symbols, sense of uniqueness, boundary drawing, feelings of superiority) and how its members engage in mutual alignment. First, the interviews will aim to reconstruct, with as much detail and precision as possible, four antagonistic situations for each group: 1) one that ended without violence, 2) one in which confrontational paralysis appeared and which eventually may or may not have ended violently, 3) one in which the group started to commit violence first, and 4) one in which the group was attacked by another group. Prior research indicates that interviewees are capable of talking about the details of violent interactions as these are emotionally intense moments (Brookman et al. 2011). Second, questions will be posed about the experience of tension/fear, mutual alignment and moral community in each of these four situations. For each group, these reconstructions of the four antagonistic situations will then be the focus of a second round of shorter interviews, in which the interviewees will be asked to provide additional or contrasting information to verify the reconstruction. Projects 3, 4 and 5 will each yield detailed reconstructions of the role of tension/fear, mutual alignment, emotional dominance and moral community in 20 antagonistic situations (5 groups that each experienced four antagonistic situations per project). Project 6 will yield 28 reconstructions (7 groups). Finally, interviewees will be asked about how they perceive the role and impact of antagonistic situations and violence in their lives, as well as questions about masculine identity and possible anxieties surrounding identity issues. Projects 3-6 will involve 4 PhD students, supervised by the PI.
Project 7: Overall comparative analysis of group behaviour in antagonistic situations

Questions: How and to what extent are the experience of tension/fear, a sense of moral community, and mutual alignment related to the outcome of antagonistic situations? How and to what extent do these relationships differ between groups?

This project synthesizes the findings of the four PhD projects and pursues systematic comparative analysis of how different groups react to antagonistic situations. The proposed theory will be tested and further expanded by an extensive range of group behaviour, thereby furthering the scope of projects 3-6. Carried out by the PI and a post-doc, project 7 will be based on the comparative qualitative and quantitative analyses (multinomial logistic regression) of the 88 antagonistic situations reconstructed in projects 3-6.

Collaboration

Established experts have agreed to contribute to the research programme as co-supervisors for projects 3-6. Given their contacts and experience, they will also facilitate access to the studied groups. Edward van der Torre (Dutch Police Academy) has conducted ethnographic research on police teams; Marie Rosenkrantz Lindegaard (Netherlands Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement) on delinquent and violent street youth; Ramón Spaaij (University of Amsterdam and Victoria University, Melbourne) on football hooligans; and Ton Nabben (University of Amsterdam, Bonger Institute of Criminology) on bouncers.

The programme will also benefit from collaboration with members of the ‘Interactionist Approaches to Violence Workshop’, consisting of sociologists, social psychologists and criminologists from the UK (Mark Levine, University of Exeter), Denmark (Poul Poder and colleagues, University of Copenhagen) and the Netherlands (Wim Bernasco, Marie Rosenkrantz Lindegaard, Netherlands Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement). We will meet regularly to discuss theoretical work as well as the coding and analysis of data. An international conference in the programme’s fifth year will gather 30 experts on violence.

Bibliography (abbreviated titles)

Section b: Curriculum Vitae

Personal details

Date and place of birth: August 24, 1968, Rotterdam, the Netherlands
ORCID: http://orcid.org/0000-0002-7681-1403
URL: http://www.uva.nl/profile/d.weenink

I received my master’s degree in Sociology (cum laude) at the University of Amsterdam (UvA) in 1999, after combining part-time study with employment as a financial policy advisor. I defended my doctoral thesis *Upper Middle-Class Resources of Power in the Education Arena: Dutch Elite Schools in an Age of Globalization* at the University of Amsterdam in February 2005.

Work experience since completing PhD

August 2013–present: assistant professor of Sociology, Department of Sociology, UvA
October 2005–July 2013: assistant professor of Sociology, Wageningen University (WUR)

Grants and awards

2011: selected member of Young College, forum for leading researchers at Wageningen University
2011: grant of K€200 by NWO in its Open Competition Round for the PhD project ‘Inequality in Sentencing Types: the Importance of Institutionalized Decision-making’, with Peter Mascini (Erasmus University Rotterdam)
2008: K€10 education bonus by WUR Education Board for excellence in teaching
2008: personal grant of K€200, Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research VENI programme for excellent researchers
1999: four-year PhD grant, Amsterdam School for Social Scientific Research (UvA)
1999: Klaas van der Veen Prize for best master’s thesis in Sociology and Anthropology at UvA in 1999

Editorial and reviewing activities

2007–2012: executive editor of the Dutch refereed academic journal *Sociologie*
2006–2007: editor of the Dutch refereed academic journal *Sociologie*
2006–2013: reviewer for *American Journal of Sociology; European Journal of Cultural Studies; European Journal of Criminology; International Sociology; Journal of Urban Education; Medische Antropologie; Poetics; Social Movement Studies; Sociologie; Sociology; Sociétés et Jeunesses en Difficulté; Tijdschrift voor Criminologie*

Memberships


Supervisory responsibilities since October 2005

2014–present: co-supervisor of PhD student Mert Kayhan, with Jan Rath, Dept. of Sociology, UvA
2013–present: co-supervisor of PhD student Tito Bachmayer, with Giselinde Kuipers, Dept. of Sociology, UvA
2012–present: co-supervisor of PhD student Irene van Oorschot, with Peter Mascini, Dept. of Sociology, Erasmus University Rotterdam, PhD expected, graduation September 2016
2006–2012: co-supervision of three PhD students, Petra Derkzen (PhD awarded 2008), Wietze Nauta (2009), Paul Swagemakers (2008) at Rural Sociology Group, WUR
2006–present: supervision of 31 MSc theses

Teaching activities (full courses only)
2014–present: ‘Sociology of the Body, Emotions and Culture’, for 25 master students in Sociology at UvA
2013–present: ‘Classical Sociology I’ and ‘Classical Sociology II’, for 100 bachelor students in Sociology at UvA
2013–present: ‘Violence and Culture’, for 25 bachelor students in Sociology at UvA
2005–2012 ‘Sociology’, introductory course for 250 to 300 bachelor students, enrolled in various social-scientific bachelor study programmes at WUR
2008–2012: ‘Advanced Social Theory’, for 15 to 20 research master and PhD students at WUR
2012: ‘Introduction to Sociology for Life Science Students’, for 15 to 20 bachelor students enrolled in life science study programmes at WUR
2009–2012: ‘Contemporary Works in Social Theory’, for 10 bachelor students at WUR

Institutional responsibilities
2014: member of application committee for PhD students, Cultural Sociology Group at UvA
2012: member of committee on research preparing merger of the chair groups Rural Sociology and Sociology and Anthropology of Development at WUR
2009–2012: chair of library committee, Social Sciences Group, WUR
2010–2012: member of Wageningen Graduate School for Social Sciences committee on publication policy and criteria
2006–2012: member of education committee of the bachelor and master study programme Health and Society at WUR
2008: member of committee to develop the research master course Advanced Social Theory at WUR
2008: member of committee to revise the curriculum of the bachelor study programme International Development Studies at WUR
2007: member of application committee for assistant professor in methodology at WUR

Contributions to public debate/membership of advisory committees
2014: interviews on extreme youth violence on national and local Dutch and Flemish Radio 1, national newspapers (De Volkskrant, NRC) and regional newspapers
2012: interviews on the Haren riot in Dutch and Flemish national (De Volkskrant, NRC, Het Nieuwsblad) and regional newspapers as well as on national television (Hart van Nederland) and radio (Radio 1)
2006-2011: over 80 citations in Dutch national and regional newspapers or magazines on various research themes. About 20 of these citations were on newspaper front pages.
2009: three television interviews on inequality in judicial sentencing in national (NOVA; Ontbijt-TV) and local Amsterdam (AT5) television
2009: member of advisory board to implement a pupil appointment system to inhibit further educational segregation of deprived children in Amsterdam Oost
Appendix: All on-going and submitted grants and funding of the PI (Funding ID)

On-going grants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project Title</th>
<th>Funding source</th>
<th>Amount (Euros)</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Role of the PI</th>
<th>Relation to current ERC proposal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inequality in Sentencing Types</td>
<td>Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td>2012-16</td>
<td>Co-promotor</td>
<td>Neither in topic nor in method</td>
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</table>

Applications

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Project Title</th>
<th>Funding source</th>
<th>Amount (Euros)</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Role of the PI</th>
<th>Relation to current ERC proposal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not applicable</td>
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</table>
Section c: Early achievements track-record

Over the past decade, my professional commitments have allowed me to develop competencies that will contribute to the success of the proposed research programme.

First of all, I have a proven track record for systematizing theories of various kinds so that they lend themselves to empirical evaluation, while retaining conceptual depth and accuracy. For instance, as a specification of Bourdieu’s work, I introduced the concept of ‘cosmopolitan capital’ to analyse how parents prepare their children for a globalizing world. The article in Sociology has now been cited 114 times. Another example is my 2014 article in the British Journal of Sociology, in which I advance conceptual precision of Collins’ (2008) micro-sociological theory based on systematic empirical evaluation. A final example is my 2015 article in Sociological Forum, where, based on an extensive review of research, I formulate two new ideal types of street violence which I then employ in precise empirical analyses.

My prior and ongoing research has given me mastery over a variety of methods of data collection and techniques of data analysis. In my PhD research, I collected survey data from 1,529 pupils and 819 parents and conducted 50 interviews with parents, teachers and school managers. The methods of data analysis ranged from structural equation modelling and multi-level logistic regression modelling to the coding of interview material on the basis of sensitizing concepts using ATLAS.ti. Virtually all of my publications rely on combinations of qualitative and quantitative research methods.

My research spans a broad range of socially relevant empirical domains, including education, judicial inequality, social cohesion and violence. This is also reflected in the range of PhD theses I have supervised over the years. My extensive experience in teaching sociological theory has allowed me to contribute to the theoretical debates in these different domains.

All in all, my in-depth knowledge of a broad spectrum of theoretical approaches and experience with a wide range of methods and techniques of data collection and analysis demonstrate my intellectual flexibility and have contributed to my creativity as a researcher.

Selection of ten representative articles (ranking scores based on five-year impact scores 2013)


Books or contributions to books


Invited lectures, working visits and other collaborations

2015, October 2-3: ‘Interactional Approaches to Violence’ workshop, University of Copenhagen
2014, October 30, invited lecture, ‘Culture of Inequality’ conference, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam
2013, December, 17-19: invited working visit to Zentrum für interdisziplinäre Forschung, Universität Bielefeld, to discuss work in progress with, among others, sociologist Volker Schmidt
2013, June 3-4: local organizer, with Gert Spaargaren, seminar on practice theory at WUR, with key note speakers Theodore Schatzki (Social Philosophy, Kentucky) and Elizabeth Shove (Sociology, Lancaster University)
2013, April 15-19: working visit to Randall Collins, Sociology Department, University of Pennsylvania, to discuss work in progress. Randall Collins was the 2012 president of the American Sociological Association and author of, among others, Violence: A Micro-Sociological Theory.
2013, January 25-27: invited lecture at the ‘Elites, Education and Globalization’ seminar, organized by the research group Sociology of Education and Culture, Uppsala University
2012, November 9-10: invited lecture, ‘Soziale Ungleichheit und transnationales Kapital’ conference, organized by Jürgen Gerhards, Silke Hans and Sören Carlson at the Institut für Soziologie, Freie Universität Berlin
2003, June-July: local organizer of the summer school ‘Integrating Sociological Theory and Research’ of the European Consortium for Sociological Research, with Jelle Visser, University of Amsterdam

Grants and awards: see section b, Curriculum vitae.