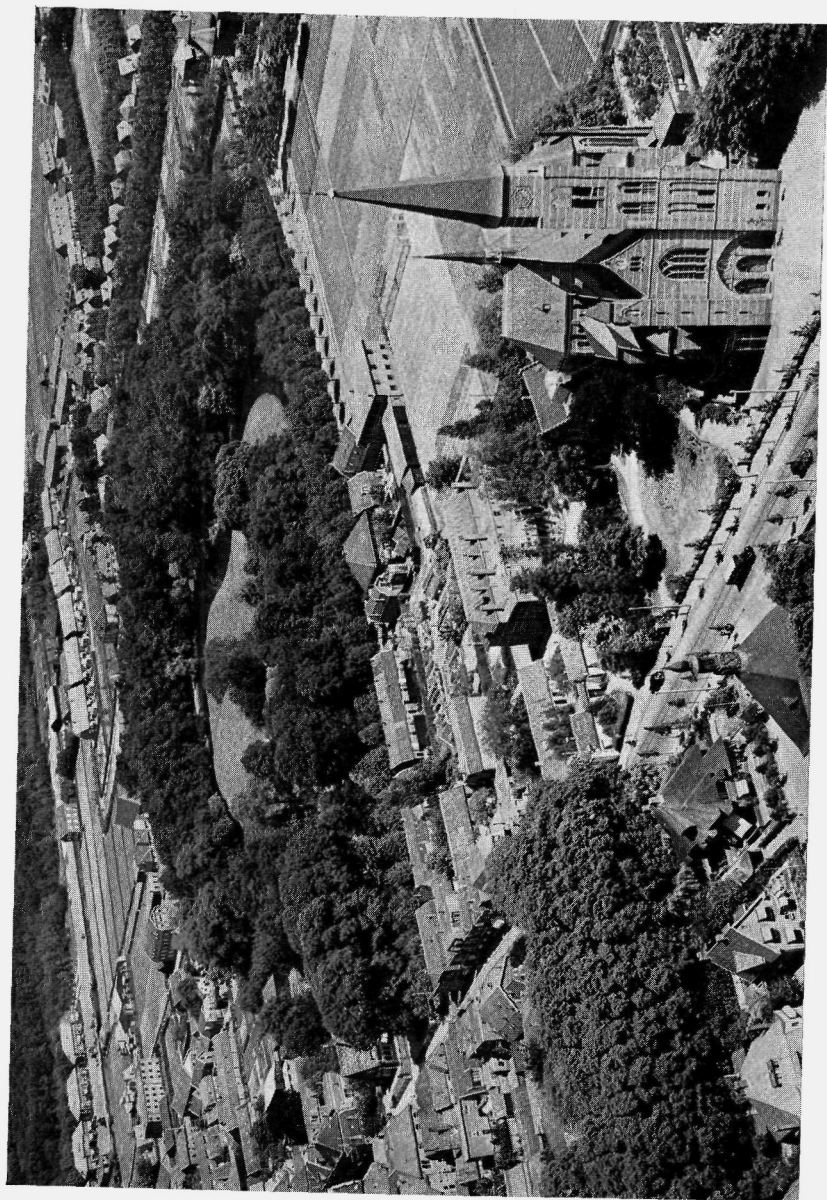


A DUTCH COMMUNITY

On doit le respect à un champ de blé non pour lui-même, mais parce que c'est de la nourriture pour les hommes. D'une manière analogue, on doit du respect à une collectivité, quelle qu'elle soit — une patrie, famille, ou toute autre —, non pas pour elle-même, mais comme nourriture d'un certain nombre d'âmes humaines.

SIMONE WEIL, *l'Enracinement*



SASSENHEIM BEFORE THE SECOND WORLD WAR

(Airphotograph by K.L.M.)

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A DUTCH COMMUNITY

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL STRUCTURE AND PROCESS
IN A BULB-GROWING REGION IN THE NETHERLANDS

by

I. GADOUREK

1956

H. E. STENFERT KROESE N.V. — LEIDEN

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

*Oh! I am come to the low countrie,
Och-on, och-on, och-rie!
Without a penny in my purse
To buy a meal to me.*

ROBERT BURNS, *Songs*

Acculturation is, no doubt, a unique process in human life. Many of us have vague memories of childhood when we were discovering the world for ourselves. On the other hand, probably only immigrants and resettled refugees know this process through conscious experience.

It may be considered a fortunate circumstance that the Head of the Department of Mental Health of the Netherlands' Institute of Preventive Medicine has entrusted a refugee from Czechoslovakia; immediately after his resettlement in the Netherlands, with a study of a local social structure and culture. In this way, a rather rare coalescence of the scientific objectives of a research institute with the personal objectives and interests of a research-worker could be achieved. By discovering for himself the intricacies and subtleties of his new social and cultural environment, the research-worker of foreign origin was expected to give his attention even to those aspects of society that were considered as commonplaces, as a matter of course, by the native inhabitants.

There were several reasons that made such a study of a Dutch community by an Institute of Preventive Medicine desirable. Due to the highly developed state of medical science, hygiene, and public health in the Netherlands, one realized that only by a thorough study of even the less significant causes of good health the mortality-rates could further be cut down and the well-being of the people raised. The growing awareness of the social roots of illness and of inadequate social and cultural environment as the causative factors of lower assets and potentialities of life was another stimulus. One came to realize the interplay of social, mental, and physical factors in the lives of men.

Before starting such a study of the multiple causes of maladjustment and illness, one wished one could chart the whole field of social and cultural events in order to make a comparison with other "normal" cultural groups possible. One felt that only such a procedure could lead to the fruitful application of the results and the findings from one culture-area (e.g., that of the United States with a highly developed social science) to another.

Besides these more general objectives one other circumstance was responsible for the choice of the specific community under study. As population pressure necessitates an intensified industrialization of the country, one was anxious to assist the emerging industrial man in his adjustment to his new environment. A series of industrial projects was launched under the initiative and supervision of Professor Dr. J. Koekebakker, the Head of the Department of Mental Health. One of these studies of human relations in industry took place in a small industrializing community. As the study progressed, it was decided to collect data about the larger population group in the centre of which the factory was placed. This had to be done independently of the human relations project.

Finally, one considered the present work as a testing case for the kind of data and conclusions a sociologist can offer. This was the reason why one tried to develop a more controlled analysis and to utilize methods that have been developed elsewhere for this kind of study.

The reader has probably already noted that the research project was based on several objectives which, in our opinion, could be harmonized in one basic issue; namely, to study the culture-pattern and the social structure and processes in a bulb-growing, industrializing community in the western part of the Netherlands by utilizing both description and analysis.

A work of such a scope could evidently not be performed by one person. We were fortunate in having the help of the administration and the staff of a modern, scientific institute. From its very start, the project was discussed and followed by a staff of research-workers of the Department of Mental Health.

In the course of the collection of data the author was mainly assisted by Mr. G. G. van Blokland, who was engaged on a part-time basis by the Institute. He was the main co-worker of Dutch origin on the project. Mr. G. G. van Blokland with cheerful optimism never lost confidence in the project and passed several explanatory remarks on typical Dutch customs to the writer.

Miss W. D. Groeneveld and Mr. L. C. de Raadt were engaged for the interview-campaign; each visited about fifty interviewees and shared our experiences of those days. Mr. K. Remmelts kindly helped us for more than a month with the coding of the data. Miss A. den Burger extracted the data from the Municipal Register. We profited from the technical skills of Mr. Gregoor of the *Geneeskundige Hoofd-inspectie* in The Hague during the tabulation of data.

Our work would, of course, be impossible without the active cooperation of the population and the guardians of their institutions. We are happy to be able to report that practically everywhere we

found a genuine understanding during our survey. We not only feel indebted for the countless cups of tea and coffee and other tokens of genuine hospitality, but also for the frankness and the sincere nature of the response to our questions. We hope that we did not break the confidence of the interviewees, even if we were not able to fulfil all the expectations that a survey like ours was likely to arouse in a population-group.

Besides the 404 persons of our sample, the cooperation was especially close with Mr. G. Stolwijk, the secretary of Sassenheim; with the *Arbeidsbureau* in Lisse; with the *Kamer van Koophandel* in Leyden; and with other individuals and institutions whose names would form a long list when being completed.

The text of this book has been revised by Mrs. Marjorie Schachter, Mrs. Cynthia Chrástek, and Mr. P. Boon. They all spent much time and energy to remove the most obvious mistakes. Mr. P. Boon and Mr. R. Doop also did the proofreading; Miss C. Horch collected some additional materials, drew up some of the figures, and revised the contingency tables.

To all these persons the author expresses his warmest thanks and gratitude for their cooperation, which has led to the successful completion of this study. He wishes to thank separately his wife, who not only willingly accepted the deprivations which intellectual work imposes upon family-life, but also cooperated in the project by doing a large part of the interviews and by revising the final text of this study. She also assisted the writer in his process of acculturation without which a deeper understanding of the culture-pattern under study could not be achieved.

Finally, we like to give a short instruction for the reader. Though the book is written to form a compact whole, we anticipate that it will possibly appeal to two categories of readers: (1) those interested in the social life of the community under study, and (2) those who are rather attracted by the methodological aspects of the study and by the interpretation of the life in this community in somewhat more sophisticated, sociological concepts. In order to satisfy the expectations of both groups, we decided to divide the subject matter into three parts. The intelligent layman, who is chiefly interested in the social life in this Dutch community, should centre his attention on Part I, which describes its history, its physical environment, its population, and its political, religious, economic, educational, and recreational institutions in common terms.

The sociologist, who is chiefly interested in the method that was pursued throughout this study, might eventually start with Part II which describes the research-objectives, defines some concepts and places them in a general frame of reference, describes the sampling

procedure and the techniques that were used in the field work as well as those applied to the process of evaluation of data.

Part III describes the community in terms of the sociological concepts we used. The causal associations of the main cultural and structural variables are discussed, the ongoing recent changes evaluated, and some social-pathological aspects are pointed out. A more personal and philosophical evaluation is given in the Conclusion.

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ERRATUM

Page 345: The title of TABLE 43 should read as follows:

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PART I
DESCRIPTION

CHAPTER I

THE FIRST APPROACH TO SASSENHEIM

A) GEOGRAPHICAL APPROACH

How to Come to Sassenheim. Most people in Holland and a few foreigners if asked about Sassenheim would associate it, if at all, with the coloured mosaïque of flower-fields in "that bulb-region between the Hague and Haarlem." Once upon a time, on a sunny Easter day, they probably took part in a merry procession into this district. This procession is held invariably every year as a national tribute to the spring and flowers symbolizing the glory of Holland's past. Some of them made use of the traditional Dutch means of communication, a bicycle and starting from the Hague or Haarlem followed one of the beautiful paths in the calm dunes, left it at Noordwijk, a renowned sea-resort, to join the noisy mass of people, who thronged on the roadways between the gay carpets of flowers. Others took a train which brought them to Heemstede near Haarlem, and began a merry journey on foot, passing through Bennebroek, Hillegom, Lisse, to finish their pilgrimage at Sassenheim, which is the southern outpost of the region situated along the old highroad connecting the city of Leyden with Haarlem. The still more fortunate among the visitors reached the village by car. They had to drive some five miles to come across from Leyden, or some ten miles from Haarlem. On these Sundays when the tulips and hyacinths are in bloom, the roads are crowded to such an extent, that it takes a few hours to cover this small distance. They might therefore prefer to travel more comfortably on a broad highway running from the Hague to Amsterdam. The holiday-makers combine the pleasures of flower-worship with a boat-ride. From Leyden, Haarlem, or Warmond they cross the delightful lake of De Kaag to land in a harbour in the North, which lies on the territory of our community. There they have a drink before starting on a short trip on foot to pay tribute to the flowers.

These are the several ways of reaching Sassenheim. In spite of the fact that the majority of visitors get a rather favourable picture of this community, it should be noted that it is but a very vague picture. Most people think of Sassenheim in terms of a larger territory from which it gets its significance. They understand by the "bulb-region"

a cluster of small agricultural communities the inhabitants of which live mainly from the bulb-growing industry. As these communities are not scattered throughout the country but are situated mainly in one definite area between Leyden and Haarlem, there is little reason not to use this term of 'region' in the more technical sense of our analysis.

Definition of Bulb-Region. There are also some other reasons why we should confine the term 'bulb-region' mainly to a chain of communities consisting of Bennebroek, Hillegom, Heemstede, Lisse, Sassenheim, Voorhout, Noordwijkerhout, and Noordwijk. The cultivation of bulbs cannot be transferred deliberately to any other area because it is largely dependent on natural conditions: the composition of soil and the level of the underground water. In both respects the above mentioned communities are favourably situated. They are located along a long strip of calcereous beach bank soil, a remnant of the chain of dunes which existed here hundreds of years ago. These sandy banks have only their sands in common with the dunes, which stretch several miles in westward direction, protecting the whole region against the sea at present. They cause no undulation in this flat, monotonous country, of which only the western part is slightly raised by the chain of the present dunes.

Composition of Soil. While there is practically no curvation in the region, there is somewhat more variety in its soils. The deep sandy banks are often interrupted by the patches of clay or peat which are often covered with a thin layer of sand. There are also differences in the content of calcium in the sand-soils themselves which are of great importance for the local bulb-growing industry. The scarcity of lands with calcium rich soils in places outside this region is the main reason for the comparative stability of this industry which remains confined mainly to this territory. Different amounts of calcium cause differences within this region, too. While in the northern parts the occasional visitor will find large fields of hyacinths and tulips he will look for them in vain at Sassenheim. The soil is not suitable for them, here. At Hillegom and Lisse the percentage of calcium varies from 0.5 to 3 p.c. It remains below 0.5 p.c. in most soils at Sassenheim, where non-calcareous excavated beach-bank soil predominates. The bulb-growers themselves would speak of the soil as of second class quality; they consider the calcareous beach-soils as the best and the non-excavated beach-plain sand-soils as of third class quality. It is doubtful whether other sorts of soils are at all suitable for the mass-production of bulb-flowers. The opinion of bulb-growers, based on common-sense and experience, which they willingly communicate to interested guests, was recently validated by experimental research. A series of experiments, held from 1935 to 1947, showed

that the yield of the hyacinth variety 'l'Innocence' on different soil types varied more than 30 p.c., other conditions being equal.¹

Hydrological Aspects. The composition of soils is not the only factor influencing the cultivation of bulb-flowers. The level of underground water is of equal importance. A stranger would soon learn by experience that it is not the force of custom or respect for the law which makes people strictly follow the crowded roads instead of going through the fields. A few hundred yards in any direction, canals or ditches prevent further walking. These ditches have an important function in this low country, for without them several fields at Sassenheim, which lie more than one yard below the sea-level, would be flooded during the rain periods. For centuries, the inhabitants have learned how to collect the surface-waters through this system of ditches, how to pump them into somewhat higher circular canals (the so-called "ringvaarten") either by means of windmills or other mechanical devices in order to divert them into the sea. However, only a few decades ago they learned to regulate the water-level in such a way that the maximal yield of their bulb-harvest could be secured. According to an experiment,² the same variety of hyacinth, as we mentioned above, yields in the same sort of soil different crops if the level of underground water varies. A deviation of only 10 cm from the optimal level of 50 cm is accompanied by a decrease in yield as high as 16 p.c. This relationship between the level of water and the fertility of soils, long ago assumed, was the main reason for replacing the traditional windmills by the more reliable steam-pumps which regulate the water-level according to the wishes of the growers and in spite of the incalculable whims of the weather.

Climate. Probably owing to the proximity of the sea there is scarcely any calm weather at Sassenheim. According to observations gathered at the nearest meteorological stations (Katwijk, Naaldwijk, Den Helder), most winds (about 20 p.c.) come from the south-west, bringing rains and sea-mists. Only about 10 p.c. of them come from the east after having travelled through the vast plains of Euro-Asia. This is why the amount of rainfall is higher here than in other parts of Europe amounting to about 730 mm (28.7 inches) each year. Because there are almost four times as many rainy days as sunny days (the sun shines on an average of about 1,800 hours

¹ See an excellent study published by the Foundation for Soil Survey of the Netherlands (Stichting voor Bodemkartering) in Wageningen, by Dr. K. v. D. MEER, *De Bloembollenstreek, Resultaten van een veldbodemkundig onderzoek in het bloembollengebied tussen Leiden en het Noordzeekanaal*, The Hague, 1952, with a thorough summary and charts in English.

² A. H. BLAUW, *De betekenis van den grondwaterstand voor de bloembollencultuur*, in *Verhandelingen der Kon. Ned. Academie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam*, afd. Natuurkunde, Tweede Sectie, deel XXXVII, no. 1, 1938, pp. 1—91.

each year) a good part of the rainfalls fails to evaporate. Consequently about one third of the rainfalls remains in the ground and has either to find its way to the sea through underground channels or must be removed artificially. As the greater part of the land in Sassenheim lies below sea-level, pumping is the only way to get rid of about 10,000 tons of superfluous water each year.¹

Surface. The occasional visitor coming to admire the bulb-fields in bloom has a good chance to enjoy sunny and dry weather, because spring is a relatively dry season. If he happens to come on such a sunny day he will marvel at the fresh, transparent atmosphere which is so reminiscent of the famous light-effects of Vermeer's paintings. Even in July the grass and the few remaining clusters of trees in the park of Sassenheim, around the old-fashioned Koningshuis and the Ter Leede Mansion are freshly green. The unpainted red-brick houses either display a variety of gables and roofs in the well-to-do quarters or they form long standardized blocks of houses which separate the village from the bulb-fields and pasture-lands. Herds of white and black cows form the main decoration in these pastures; the bulb-fields, although covered by bulb-flowers only in spring, are covered by gay gladioli in late summer. In the early spring and in the fall they are covered by straw to protect them against the frost while the low dense hedges protect them from winds which not only might break the tender flowers but also infect the plants with one of the infectious virus diseases.

The inhabitants of the village or those who come here for other purposes than holiday-making, know also another Sassenheim: a Sassenheim situated near a local swamp and infected with gnats which bother the inhabitants on the few summer evenings when there is no wind; a Sassenheim where a dirty grey replaced the gay colours, where the sky merges with the grey waters on the earth, and a cold, rainy wind alternates with fogs. They wait for weeks or months for the next sunny Sunday to go on a modest walk along the local harbour to the district road connecting the sea-resort of Noordwijk with the high-way to Amsterdam. Following this red brick road they walk along the green pastures of "polderland" which are the only substitute for natural scenery besides the small park in the center of the village where children and aged people congregate. When reaching the high-way they can enjoy a wider view on the village for they have reached — with the exception of the church- and water-towers — the highest point in the region, the viaduct, which connects both banks of the local canal.

¹ Most of the above mentioned data were communicated to us at the meteorological institute at De Bilt. The reader who is interested in this aspect of life in the Netherlands might consult e.g., M. J. DE BOSCH KEMPER, *De tegenwoordige staat van Nederland*, Utrecht 1950, pp. 11—16, or *Jaarcijfers voor Nederland 1947—1950*, Utrecht 1951, or directly the yearbooks which are published by the Koninklijk Nederlands Meteorologisch Instituut in de Bilt.

If they stop there and look back on the village, the first thing they will notice is a cluster of red buildings around the high tower of the Roman Catholic church whose roofs form a distinct line against the houses. More to the right, the lower tower of the Protestant church can be seen behind the high tops of the trees of Sassenheim's park. No houses can be seen in this direction because a row of low factory-buildings obscure the view. They spread along the left bank of the canal, just opposite the stony road which one takes to reach this place of observation. Behind the roofs, a plain cube of bricks with a small opening vaguely suggesting a window is all that reminds us of Teylingen, the ancient castle. Still nearer to us, some sixty yards from the bridge, the small house of the local dike-supervisor can be seen just at the point where a ditch joins the canal. On the other bank, some 100 yards away, an old farm-house can be seen near another ditch amidst the green pasture-land. Under its large old-fashioned roof of straw are three or four small windows. Attached to the house stands a large heap of hay about ten yards wide and about six yards high, covered by a movable thatched roof which is supported by six piles of old wood. Not more than ten cows are grazing and lying along the ditch.

Crossing the bridge in order to have a look at the eastern borders of Sassenheim, one finds a delightful view. Below the bridge, hidden behind the ditch of the canal and overshadowed by high poplar-trees another farm is situated. With the exception of a basement in white stones it is built completely of wooden planks painted green. The farmer must cross another ditch in order to reach the field behind his house which stretches to the near lake De Kaag. On a sunny summer day it is nice to see hundreds of sails reflected against the blue waters of the lake. Earlier in the year, instead of sails one notices only a wood of masts at the other side of the canal, just opposite the delightful farm-house: Sassenheim's "yacht-harbour."

One would look in vain for bulb-fields in these north-eastern parts of the village. Only after walking for another half an hour along this busy highway one would observe the plain bulb-sheds standing in the fields like huge massive blocks, reaching sometimes the size of large two-storey houses from which they are generally distinguished only by the lack of windows. From a distance even this difference can hardly be noticed because the growers whimsically paint windows on their sheds to break the dreary surface of the walls.

The inhabitants of the village would hardly follow the highway on their Sunday-walks. They would rather walk in the opposite direction, to Voorhout which is connected with Sassenheim to the west by the ruin of Teylingen. They would return through the modern Teylinger-street to Sassenheim enjoying the view of the bulb-fields at the left side of the street where no houses were erected because of the good quality of the soil.

These are the main leisure-walks which the people here enjoy on Sundays in addition to the usual visit to church. If they go to church they follow the Mainstreet (Hoofdstraat) to enter the Hervormde church in the center of the village or the Gereformeerde or Roman Catholic churches near the village-hall in the south-west. Even when following the Mainstreet for longer than a mile they would not leave the village behind. On both sides of the road houses can be seen which stretch up to the place

where the railroad Amsterdam—The Hague touches Sassenheim's territory.

After being caught by one of the frequent showers in this region, they would return to their houses which are situated along roads that are made of sand and paved. These roads give an efficient protection against the mud and lessen the discomforts of a rainy climate.

B) HISTORICAL APPROACH

There is another approach possible to Sassenheim, which a pensive, modern reader might prefer to the geographical one — the historical approach.

If he approaches Sassenheim in this way, then he has to go far back in time in order to follow its history.

First Historical Evidence. The first historical evidence of the existence of this village dates from the first millenium. As early as 993 A.D. one of the old feudal lords, Arnulf, mentions the name of the community (he speaks of Saxnem) in a donation charter according to which half of a local mansion would become the property of the well-known cloister of Egmont in North-Holland. In 1083, some hundred years later, this pledge was re-affirmed by Dirk the Fifth, the "Count of Holland".¹ Although not much more than the name of the village was preserved for us through the ensuing thousand years, it was enough to arouse the imagination of many historians and chroniclers as early as the eighteenth century. They used it as evidence for the theory that the ancient Saxons had their dwellings in these parts of the Netherlands. After centuries of discussion as to the correct interpretation of the meaning of this word (some ascribed to the ending "-heim" the meaning of "home" others thought more of a "ring" or a "colony") the contemporary historians came to the following conjectures:

Origin. Most probably the place known to us as Sassenheim owes its origin to one of the most important events in the history of Europe—the migration of nations in the fifth century. For several hundreds years this region used to be one of the most distant outposts of the Roman Empire on the European Continent. In the winter of 401—402, the commander of the Roman troops, Stilicho, was forced to retreat and to evacuate his garnisons under the growing pressure of the Germanic tribes. Among the latter the names of Quadi, Gauci, and Saxons are reported. The Saxons possessed the necessary skill of navigation and undertook marauding expeditions to Britain where

¹ Dr. F. W. N. HUGENHOLTZ, the lecturer in history at the University of Leyden, who kindly read the typescript of this historical section, passed some critical comments on the sources of our knowledge about these early times. Modern historians hesitate to recognize the genuine nature of the document from 1083, there seems to be a similar uncertainty about the date of origin of another donation charter (that of the Count Floris III quoted on p. 12). In spite of these limitations the existence of the place called Saxnem in these centuries can be assumed; the coinciding evidence of several sources clearly accounts for it.

the autochthonic population was rendered helpless against their raids because the Romans had retreated. Excavations in the proximity of our village (at Rijnsburg in 1913) brought to light Saxonian urns of the same type as those found in Britain and in North-West Germany. Historians assume that about the middle of the fifth century the migration of Saxons to Britain was intensified and that one of its important streams was via near-by Katwijk, where the sea had carved an opening in the dunes. Sassenheim was probably one of the settlements founded by the Saxons on their way to Britain about 450 A.D.

Even if we extend our imagination some fifteen centuries back we do not arrive at the time when people came to live here. Some other excavations in Sassenheim and in its vicinity suggest that people used to live in these parts even before the beginning of our era (about 2,000 or more years ago) though they have not been identified up to now.

Roman Time. Civilization began earlier here than in most other regions in Holland. Explanation may be sought partly in the favourable geographical conditions. These coincided, however, only in part with the picture which we painted in the first section of this chapter. The strips of beach-bank soil on which Sassenheim is partly built were probably connected with the actual dunes some two thousand years ago; those dunes were older than the chain of sea-dunes which now protects the region against floods. The village was situated at the very outpost of them, where the sand-banks bordered with damp moors then covered with a low wood. Many names preserve the memory of this large, unpenetrable wood-region (e.g., Voorhout, i.e., Foran-holte, Noordwijkerhout), which the Roman writer Ceasar Tiberius Claudius Drusus refers to as "the Merciless Wood." Nothing of it, remains in our time.

The fact that the Romans came as far as our region may be accounted for by another geographical feature of this territory for which a modern visitor would look in vain. In those times the northern mouth of the Rhine reached the sea near Katwijk, which is a few miles from Sassenheim. We do not know with certainty at what time this mouth of the Rhine was closed and what precisely happened. According to one version it took place during a mighty storm in 860. In that year, the sea passed through the narrow mouth of the Rhine and flooded a vast territory behind the dunes. It reshaped the beach at Katwijk in such a way that the Rhine-mouth was closed by masses of sand and the water from the Rhine flooded the creeks between both chains of dunes stretching up to Sassenheim. In the following centuries several attempts were made to dig a canal through the dunes to restore the old Rhine-mouth, but the sea resisted all these attempts until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the harbour of Katwijk was opened.

The Rhine used to bring both blessing and peril to the people who were settled at its mouth. It was one of the best means of communication in ancient Europe, connecting this northern region with the southern civilization of Rome; but it also invited the early sea-roving tribes to penetrate deeper into the continent and to pillage the less mobile, settled inhabitants. This experience taught them to build armed boroughs (e.g., the old Burcht in Leyden) to protect themselves. Now and then, the Rhine allowed the sea to cast masses of high water through its flanks deep into the low lands and flood the woods, meadows, and fields. In old Sassenheim the odds were probably favourable, because one could take refuge in the near-by dunes whenever flood or enemy approached.

Christianity. Our knowledge of the people who were settled here in the early times is still very fragmentary. The first written document (from the tenth century) referring to them mentions a certain political organization, a distinct religious institution, and the dependence of the economy on both. The religion which characterized this early social structure was Christianity. It found the most distinct expression in the large and already powerful organization of the Roman-Catholic Church. A few peasants already "belonged" to the famous Abbey of Egmont, situated some forty miles to the north of Sassenheim, others had to sustain the feudal overlord Arnulf and his wife Ludgard by paying a yearly tribute as a price for protection against the invaders who struggled to get a hold of this region themselves. We may already speak of a "region" because the earl Arnulf disposed of several communities in the vicinity (e.g., Phoranholta, i.e. Voorhout, Nortga, i.e. a known sea-resort Noordwijk, etc.) in which he denoted the farmsteads which had to pay a tribute to their "spiritual lord", the Abbot of Egmont. Though feudal organization resulted in territorial integration (division if viewed from the modern nationalist standpoint), the spiritual hierarchy of the Church ran across the boundaries of the various temporal lords who had to abstain from the profits made by several local units of the primitive household economy of that time.

In almost every written document from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries (more than a dozen in number) we find references to the representatives of the church (mostly an abbot or a prioress) negotiating or treating with a temporal lord about revenues or property. As early as 993, both Christianity and a feudal social order were firmly established in Sassenheim. On the other hand, it is legitimate to assume that neither of them characterized the old Saxon community which was founded here about 449. The origin of both, Christianity and feudal order, lies thus somewhere between these two dates. Though not much positive knowledge is preserved about the way in

which Sassenheim accepted Christianity, something can be deduced from the history of the neighbouring region.

It is an established fact that it was mainly due to a group of Benedictines that the Saxon and Frisian population was christianized as early as the eighth century. These monks, under the leadership of the later bishop Willibrordus, left their monastery in Ireland in 690, in order to start missionary work in the Netherlands. From their headquarters at the court of the Frankish monarch Pippin, they undertook the slow and fatiguing work of converting to Christianity the non-Frankish groups, inhabiting these territories.

The local chronicler of the Roman Catholic Church in Sassenheim is inclined to think that political considerations caused the paradox that Christianity came here from Rome not directly via France or Germany but via Britain. In his opinion, the Saxon and Frisian tribes resisted the attempts of the Frankish suzerains to spread Christianity because they resented the political ascendancy of the former and were afraid to lose their political autonomy and freedom as well as their old non-Christian way of life. That is why the Frankish suzerain invited and supported Willibrordus and his followers to make the transition easier.

Even then the process did not occur without frictions; the first Christians in the region formed a kind of "out-group" clustered firmly around the local churches which were founded by the monks of Willibrordus' and served probably as places of worship as well as shelters. One of these monks, a certain Adalbertus, visited our region and founded the "mother-church" in the close vicinity of Sassenheim, at Voorhout. Later on, a "daughter-church" was built in Sassenheim in which the mass was read by the priest from Voorhout. According to a charter from the eighth century, Willibrordus transferred all his Christian communities before his death to the bishopric of Utrecht and to the Abbey of Echternach, deeper in the south of the low countries.

The early history of our community gives a good example of the interconnected nature of early Europe: Sassenheim, started by tribes coming from other parts of the continent, played probably an active rôle in the marauding expeditions which were to reshape the future history of Britain. In its turn it was "civilized" by the monks from Britain and Ireland. These brought the religious teachings of Asia Minor combined with the Roman organization and jurisdiction to this small community.

Feudal System. Owing to the contact with the Frankish overlords and the Norman invaders, who pillaged this region especially in the ninth century, the feudal social order took hold here. It prescribed in a rigid way the rights, duties, status, and functions of all persons in a system of peasant economy; it survived in one way or another

throughout the next thousand years, up to the nineteenth century.

It is evident from the foregoing description that from the standpoint of church-history Sassenheim in the early middle-ages was not one of the most important places in the region. It was overshadowed by places like Egmond with its well-known ancient abbey, by near-by Rijnsburg housing nunnery, and by neighbouring Voorhout which had an older church and enjoyed thus a certain priority in the Church-hierarchy. The church in Sassenheim was for a long time bound with the parish of Voorhout. The first report mentioning a priest of the autonomous parish in our community dates from about 1200. A certain Ambrosius is mentioned as a witness in a donation-charter by which Count Floris III gives back the church of Vlaardingen (some 30 miles southward) to the Abbey of Egmond. In the course of the thirteenth century Sassenheim got its own knight, who erected a castle at the rim of the village. One of his successors, Sir Wallewijn of Sassenheim, received the right to found a vicariate in the village to exist side by side with the established parish church. Sassenheim within the Church-organization is definitely confirmed.

This benevolent gift of the Abbot of Egmond did not mean that he abstained from all his spiritual and worldly powers over Sassenheim. Neither was the attitude of the abbot towards the laymen always that of benevolence or understanding. His large worldly influence is displayed in several other documents from the times before the thirteenth century. As early as 1083, Dirk V, the Count of Holland, acknowledges the right of the abbot to claim one tenth of the total revenues from the inhabitants of Sassenheim. These tenths were paid in goods as there was but little standardized currency. In the thirteenth century Sassenheim contributed chiefly wheat and barley which served probably as a raw material for beer, a beverage already known at that time. The abbot used the received goods as we do money. In 1215, e.g., he paid a certain Magister Dirk, a physicist in Haarlem, by giving him a certain amount of his tenths from Sassenheim as a payment. One of his successors, the Abbot Nicolas, disposed of lands of this community in a similarly free way. We read in a document written in September, 1268, as follows:

“ . . . We concede on lease all lands in Sassenheim which our brother Gerardus had received from the Abbot Lubbertus (one of our predecessors), to Dirk, the son of the above mentioned Gerardus. We also concede to him other lands in the swamp of Sassenheim which are commonly called “Reddulf.” He, and after his death his children, should keep them on lease under the condition that they would pay us and our successors eighteen shillings a year at the time when market is held in Valkenburg . . . ”

Nor was the Abbey of Egmond the only religious institution which the local population had to sustain. When a new cloister “Leeuwenhorst” was founded by the initiative and support of the prioresses of Mariendaal and ter Lee, a stubborn juridic struggle was unchained between the latter and a certain Floris de Sassenheim for the heritage

of Arnold, the late dean of Haarlem. The final decision came not from the jury which was appointed in 1272 to decide the matter, but from Floris V, "the Count of Holland," about two years later. The powerful ladies won their plea and the brother of the dean had to cede all his goods in the parishes of Noordwijk, Oegstgeest, Warmond, and Sassenheim with all equipment "willingly and merrily" (*sponte et hylariter*) to the Abbey of Leeuwenhorst.

Sir Wallewijn of Sassenheim was not the first knight who is mentioned in connection with this village. In the ancient folios (which are the source of our knowledge of those distant times), we often come across the name of Dirk of Sassenheim on whose white seal the name of Dirk of Teylingen can be identified. We do not know whether he already lived in the castle which stood at the northern rim of the village or whether an old castle near Warmond was his residence. We do know that he was not quite independent of the mighty organization of the Church which kept the peculiar unity of Christianity throughout Europe. We read in a document of 1280 that he had to contribute 4 s. 2 d. of Dutch money to finance the crusade to the Holy Land as planned and decided upon by the Council of Lyons in 1274. (He did not release any of his men for this purpose; he probably did not belong to the richest and most powerful persons of his age; the vicar of the village, who belonged to the deanary of North Holland in those years, had to pay more, namely 20 s.)

In order to get some insight into the property relations in that feudal era, let us consider here the last will of this knight whose memory is preserved to us not only in the ancient charters but also in an old, devastated ruin in the village which bears his name. His will runs as follows:

"In the name of the Lord amen. I, Dirk of Zassenem, knight, order and dispose of my belongings in this way: First I give the Cistercian monks ten Dutch pounds (*libras*) that they might not be lacking wine when they gather for meals on my anniversary. To the pious brethren in Utrecht I give five pounds, too; to Saint Servatius in Utrecht five pounds. To Saint Catherina five pounds; to the hospital in Utrecht five pounds; to the beguines at Utrecht five pounds; to the camp of Saint Mary near Utrecht five pounds. I also give five pounds to the nuns at Rijnsburg; to the beguines at Haarlem one pound, to the nuns of Port of Heavens in Walcheren five pounds, and to the nuns in Sledenhurst five pounds. To my grandchild, Cilla, I give for life-use three hectares of land which lie near Leyden, that she might freely enjoy half of its fruits while giving the second half, in accordance to pious habit, to the poor. Thus it will become publicly known that I died. Each place to which I left five pounds should spend 10 s. of Dutch currency for praying for me on my anniversary. These instructions and rules should be adhered to after my death. In order to testify my will, the seals of the prior, of the guardian of minor brethren and of Sir Dirk of Teylingen are added.

In the Year of the Lord 1282, on Monday following the Sunday, when *Misericordia Domini* is sung¹."

In the long course of history the knights of Sassenheim did not play a lasting rôle. They took part in an unsuccessful plot against the Count of Holland and in consequence disappeared from the historical scene at the beginning of the 14th century. The worldly importance of Sassenheim was soon to be overshadowed by the growth of the cities. In the castle of Teylingen in December, 1266, the near-by locality of Leyden received the rights and freedoms of a city from the hand of Floris V, the Earl of Holland. This originally small borough was to outgrow the neighbouring communities in commerce and in industrial activities.

Growth of Cities. The importance of the cities of Haarlem and Amsterdam grew in the 14th century. The latter was to become one of the most important economic centers in the country. Suitable means of communication certainly played an important role in the competition between these communities in the Middle Ages. The countless canals were not only used for draining the low countries but also as busy waterways. In this respect Sassenheim's position was not favourable. It remained prevailingly an agricultural community dominated by the important fortress of Teylingen. While the neighbouring cities grew in importance, the prestige and power of the local aristocracy dwindled down. As suggested above, early in the fourteenth century the castle of Teylingen passed into the hands of the central authorities, the Earls of Holland, who used it occasionally for residence. For a major part of the year it remained, however, under the inspection of their foresters. The latter protected the large woods which still stretched from the castle to Haarlem, against poachers and kept the hounds ready for the sporadic hunts of their lords. They also were responsible for the maintenance of the near-by dunes. Both the dunes and the forest made of this fortress an important strategic stronghold in the struggle between the old aristocracy and the ascending bourgeoisie, which plagued the whole of Holland in the late middle-ages.

Jacoba of Bayern. In this struggle the agricultural feudal Sassenheim sided with the aristocrats who warred against the cities of Leyden and Haarlem. The castle of Teylingen offered a good protection to the retreating or rallying regiments of "Hoeks" as the aristocratic party was called. It also offered the last refuge and shelter to the unfortunate Lady Jacoba of Bayern, one of the last political exponents of the aristocratic party who was forced to abdicate after several years of hard struggle for power. Here she spent the last part of her life in privacy, holding only the office of the forester of Teylingen. After

¹ On the 13th April, 1282.

her death in 1436, the patriciate of the cities more and more dominates the political scene. While Sassenheim was losing significance, Leyden and Amsterdam rose to world-fame. The decline of its worldly position is accompanied by a loss of autonomy in religious respect. From documents of the fifteenth century we know that Sassenheim becomes again tied up with the Abbey of Egmond which appointed a "vice-curate" there. The latter was to say mass but did not possess any goods in the village because the local property of the church was administered directly by the Abbey. Thus Sassenheim lost its status of an independent parish.

As for jurisdiction, we know that in the fourteenth century Sassenheim came under the competency of the burggrave of Leyden who administered justice through the local bailiff whom he had appointed.

Not much is known about the daily life of the inhabitants in the late middle ages. Some of them probably lived off the land owning a few cows and planting barley and wheat on their fields which used to be flooded from fall to spring each year. They were still bound to pay a great part of their harvest to several tenant lords, spiritual or temporal. Those who, owing to war, sickness, or other calamity, were not able to pay the heavy taxes, lost their independent households. They became still more subdued serfs of their overlords and had often to be sustained by the church as "poor." Some of them worked for the forester cutting wood, hunting fowl and game for the kitchen of the Count, and digging peat in the local swamp to warm up his house. This peat came more and more in demand in the cities and its sale provided some extra-income. It was sold to Haarlem and Amsterdam. These cities seemed to attract Sassenheim's trade more than near-by Leyden.

The local fortress did not bring much blessing to the inhabitants. More than the people in the surrounding communities they were exposed to the attacks of troops of mercenary soldiers who were busy settling the differences between their lords by war, carried into these regions. While the fortress formed a good protection against the primitive warfare of those times, the only way to bring the enemy to terms was to cut him off from his economic resources. This was done in an unscrupulous way by devastating the fields and burning the farms of the peasants. This is the probable explanation of the fact that Sassenheim enters the modern times poorer and more damaged than it had ever been before.

Late Middle Ages. Thanks to a more centralized administration towards the beginning of the sixteenth century which held several fiscal censuses in the country, we are able to trace the development of the communities. The first census which was held in 1494, displays the decline and decay of the village. It counted about 24 farmsteads in contrast to 1477, when about 62 farmsteads were reported. The

total property of the inhabitants which was estimated at 92 pounds in 1477, was reduced to 34 pounds in 1494. War, fire-damage, and dearth, are mentioned as the main causes of this decline in the general standard of living. The main means of sustenance of the small group of people in Sassenheim were: "owning a cow and a piece of land." The next surveys which were held in 1504 and in 1514, report 513 communicants living in this parish. The number of farmsteads rose to 36 in 1504, and diminished to 32 again in 1514. The property decreased similarly, from 40 pounds to 15 pounds in 1514, a sixth of the total property reported some forty years ago. The pauperization of the inhabitants reached such an extent that out of the 513 communicants only about 80 could be considered for taxation. In order to get some insight in the social order of those days, one should know that the inhabitants who had to pay all the taxes, possessed only about two p.c. of the total area of land belonging to this agricultural community. All the rest (586 hectares out of 595 hectares) was either owned by the Church or by the patriciate of the cities of Leyden, Delft, and other places, and was, up to 1549, mostly tax-free. Of the Church-institutions which then controlled about half of the lands at Sassenheim, the Abbey of Rijnsburg should be mentioned in the first place, followed by the Abbey of Egmond, the church of Warmond, and other churches and cloisters.

We might question the absolute reliability of these data. As they were collected by means of the surveys which were held for fiscal purposes it is probable that they were somewhat biased by the tendency of the interviewees (mostly two or three officials and elder representatives of the village) to underestimate the wealth of their communities. There is, however, no special reason to suppose that the interviewees were biased only in some of the communities and not in others. That is why we are able to compare the developmental trend in Sassenheim with trends in the neighbouring communities:

Number of farmsteads:	1477	1496	1514
Sassenheim	62	21	32
Lisse	80	50	87
Voorhout	40	37	40
Warmond	60	60	34

We notice that out of all these places Sassenheim displays the greatest declining tendency, the number of its houses being almost halved in the course of some forty years. Our community will appear still more insignificant if we compare it with the neighbouring cities which witnessed a rapid growth in the course of a few centuries. The comparison of the following two tables explains why, from the sixteenth century on, Sassenheim becomes economically oriented more towards Haarlem and Amsterdam than towards the near-by Leyden:

Number of Houses in 1515: Number of Inhabitants in 1620:

Leyden	3,017	Leyden	44,745
Haarlem	2,714	Haarlem	39,455
Amsterdam	2,531	Amsterdam	104,932
(Sassenheim 32 farmsteads)		(Sassenheim	392)

Eighty Years' War. The period of wars which plagued Sassenheim in the late middle ages was continued into the beginning of the new era. Their character, however, radically changed. The local quarrels between the old aristocracy and the patriciate of the cities were replaced by the religious wars — the struggle for independence against Spain. This put an end to the local wars and gave the citizens a feeling of national unity. Sassenheim was affected by this struggle, too. The castle of Teylingen was burnt down, so was the old parish church. One decided to rebuild the church, not the castle. The stones of the burnt castle were used for the building of the new parish church that has been kept up to our time.

The favourable strategic position of this community at the southern bank of the Haarlemmermeer once more became fatal for its inhabitants. In order to relieve the besieged city of Haarlem in the beginning of 1573, the Prince of Orange assembled his regiments here and tried to reach the unfortunate city over the frozen sea from these headquarters. His attempts to break through the Spanish blockade ultimately failed and Sassenheim then became exposed to Spanish attacks from the north. The following year, when Leyden was besieged, Sassenheim became again the victim of the ruthless war. In that year the old parish church was destroyed. It was not until a decade later, when the Spanish king was forced to abstain from his prerogatives in the country, that a period of peace returned to the people in this region.

Reformation and Counter-Reformation. The peace of arms did not bring peace of mind, or lack of social upheavals, this time. As early as the 1580ies the first edicts of the Protestant princes appeared which reformulated the relation of the state to the churches. The Protestant religion received the full backing of the state, while the members of the Roman Catholic Church were exposed to pressure in the form of economic and administrative restrictions. These restrictions were by far milder in form than the measures of the Spanish counter-reformation which had made the people rally around the Prince of Orange. According to the historian of the local Roman Catholic Church, the inhabitants of the village who were spared by the war were not Protestants. More conservative than the urban inhabitants of the cities in Holland, the Sassenheimers accepted the reformation rather late. The first Protestant preacher came here in 1592; about the same time the Roman Catholic priest is reported.

of having departed because he was not allowed to administer his office in public. From the standpoint of the Roman Catholic Church Sassenheim once ceased to be an independent parish and was considered as a mere "station of mission" until the triumph of liberalism in the middle of the nineteenth century. The Protestants, who used to be an out-group under the Spanish rule, took over the power and the leading positions in Holland, while the Roman-Catholics had to share the lot of a minority group to which rôle they had to adapt themselves as quickly as possible.

Once the struggle was resolved, there were not many violent conflicts between both groups in the course of the seventeenth century. The heavy toll which the war for national independence and for freedom to adhere to Protestantism took from the nation, was probably one of the causes of the spirit of tolerance. This enabled the Catholics to gather secretly and to have even a priest, a certain Roxelius, who came here from Germany as early as 1643.

Actually, there existed two churches in this village. The Protestant Church was established in the former parish church which had been rebuilt after the war with Spain. The Calvinist teaching became the official religion approved by the state authorities who issued, as mentioned previously, edicts forbidding the public Roman Catholic worship. The local authorities exploited the position of the Catholic illegal minority group, by tolerating the forbidden ritual of the Roman Catholics, if they would pay special sums of money either to the local authorities themselves or to the local Protestant poor. The Protestant preachers and the members of the church council condemned this practice and often complained about it to the central authorities. Because the latter themselves profited by these unofficial revenues and tolerance became the spirit of the time, the government just issued new edicts or prescribed higher "indirect taxes" to the Roman Catholic population. The latter had to pay when they invited a priest to live secretly in the community, when they wished to open a secret church, also when a new bailiff was appointed in the community or a regent installed. The Roman Catholics belonged evidently to a low-status group, because many nicknames as "Romans" or "Papists" were ascribed to them as a group. These names were even used in the official documents of the local authorities.

Although Roxelius was the first priest established in Sassenheim after the reformation, he was not the first R.-Catholic priest to work here after the Spanish war. The local chronicler mentions a certain Altius from Enkhuizen, who read mass secretly in Sassenheim, Warmond, Voorhout, and Lisse, and died of the plague four years after the beginning of the counter-reformation, together with some 15,000 other persons of this region. Roxelius, who succeeded him, lived between Sassenheim and Lisse. A beguine cared for his household. To her tasks belonged to knock at the door

of the believers to announce at what time and place the mass would be read, to teach the youth the Roman Catholic religion, or to collect money for the sustenance of the poor, the priest, or the "taxes" levied by the authorities. One of the successors of Roxelius, the priest Numius founded a hiding church at a place where now a R.-C. infirmary can be seen. The re-opening of a R.-Catholic Church accounts for the fact that the pressure exercised upon the "minority group" (which was not a minority in Sassenheim) diminished. It was only used to stop the Roman Catholic Church from spreading. The following documents, kept in the archives of the neighbouring community of Lisse, show this policy:

"There were some riots in Lisse because a "Roman" man allowed his child to be baptized by the Priest of Sassenheim against the will of his Protestant wife and against the warning of the Preacher. As a consequence, Sir P. Dierquens, the Bailiff of the Hague, Noordwijkerhout, Lisse, etc., issued an order to close the church in Sassenheim and forbade the Priest Schaap to read the mass in Lisse for four weeks. After this time, the church was reopened under the conditions which the Bailiff asked me to put down in this church-book on March 23, 1700:

(1) the Priest will see to it that the child who was baptized against the warning of the Preacher, will be educated in our Calvinist Church according to the wish of his mother and that the father will promise in presence of the Bailiff Sir Dierquens and the Priest that he would not interfere with the will of his wife and will follow her in this matter without threatening her or causing other trouble;

(2) the Priest will hand over the key of the Presbytery in order to make the church accessible to us;

(3) the Priest promises to fight against any superstition in general; if he finds that somebody sins against this, he will forbid the persons concerned to enter the church and deny them confession;

(4) the Priest will see to it that, without distinction, the Papists will pay money to the Protestants as before;

(5) whenever he discovers persons who do not obey this rule he will immediately report them to the Bailiff;

(6) the Priest will pay to the Preacher fl. 100 as a free and generous gift for the relief board at Lisse and will hand the receipt of this gift to the Bailiff.

(7) This being done, the Priest and his church council were once more admonished to give up their superstitions. They were asked to exclude from the church the persons violating the order. They were told that their church will be closed if they fail to do so.

This all was not only proposed in the presence of the Bailiff, the Priest, and two members of the church-council, but was also promised to be adhered to and respected in all articles. Witnesses: the secretary Mens and the undersigned,

Gerardus Vonk,
Preacher in Lisse."

In addition to the frictions *between* the two existing churches at Sassenheim the friction *within* the churches should be mentioned, because here also the

economic motives played an important rôle. For a long time the Catholics in the neighbouring villages struggled to become incorporated in independent parishes. But the priests in Sassenheim resisted the decentralistic tendency mainly because they tried to make the believers of these communities to contribute into a common relief fund for the poor. We also notice that from the standpoint of church-hierarchy, Sassenheim assumed a dominating rôle over its neighbours; in 1776, the provisory church was rebuilt, for the spirit of rationalism and tolerance was more and more dominating public life. After the official restauration of the Episcopal hierarchy in the Netherlands in 1853, the first Bishop of Haarlem chose Sassenheim for his residence before he was allowed to enter his chapter (in 1871).

Origin of Bulb-Culture. After the Spanish-Dutch war, in spite of taxes and frictions, the population enjoyed a time of relative wealth and prosperity. Wealth accumulated in the cities to the extent that a more luxurious way of life could be allowed for. The Dutch merchants brought not only gold and silver from the distant parts of the world which they reached with their famous sailers but also potatoes, coffee, tea, and other rare goods and products. One of them, the bulb-flower, was to become the main source of living for the inhabitants in the following centuries. In the "golden seventeenth century," tulips were not an object of mass-production as yet, but were cultivated by experts as a curiosity. Later when it became fashionable in Holland and in Paris to deck one's house with these crisp flowers from Levanta, they became subject to wild financial speculation. The great possibilities of these flowers which could be reproduced by human skill in thousands of different varieties of subtle colour and form and the wealth of the city of Amsterdam, where hundreds of rich merchants looked for a new way of spending their leisure, were perhaps the reasons that the price of some sorts of tulips reached fl. 3,000 a piece, in 1635¹. The boom did not last long. In 1637, a depression set in in which many Dutch merchants lost their fortunes.

During the boom, bulb-growing spread from its center at Haarlem to our region in the western parts of Holland. It remained, however, confined to the rich gardens of manor houses which the rich bourgeoisie used to build either in the cities or in the country-side not far from the cities. Some were also built in Sassenheim. Probably already in 1628, "the Old King's House" (Het Oude Koningshuis) was erected. It later belonged to William III, the King of England. Somewhat later, in 1662, the house ter Leede was built by a certain J. Dragon from Haarlem. It is possible that in these mansions tulips were cultivated. They were not grown in the fields of other inhabitants at that early time. Not until another boom one hundred years

¹ Possibly the general level of economic development and the lacking knowledge of organized speculation also played a rôle. At about the same period as the speculation in flowers in Holland also the John Law's Mississippi "bubble" in France and the "South Sea Bubble" in England took place.

later, when hyacinths were sold at high prices, did bulb-growing become an economic activity of the common people.

The local population of this woody and attractive region seemed to live as in the past, grazing some cattle, and sowing grains. To a larger extent than before, vegetables, fruit, and common flowers were planted to be marketed in Haarlem and Amsterdam. After the war with Spain and after the plague-epidemy of 1635, a rapid growth of the community can be observed. While it counted only about 54 houses in 1632, its size grew to 118 houses in 1746, and thus doubled in this century of economic prosperity.

Impact of French Revolution. Its local administration remained the same for a long time. For centuries the manor formally belonged to the Counts of Holland who used to appoint a member of their knight-hood as manor-lord to administrate the local communities. Jurisdictionally the manor was administered by the Bailiff of Rhineland and by the Office of the Dike-Reeve in Rhineland. The latter inspected the dikes of the polders, prescribed the measures to be taken in case of emergency, inspected the bridges, the locks, even the houses, and punished those who trespassed his decrees. The local council of elders assisted the sheriff who represented the Bailiff in the community.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, *during the French supremacy*, a considerable change in the local administration took place which affected all its major functionaries and organs except the Office of the Dike-Reeve. This office was too important for the security of the population to be subjected to a temporary chaos of the re-organization. Accompanied by the cheers of the Roman Catholics, the church property was declared community property, the old class-system based on privileges was abolished. The state, through its community organs, promised to care for the sustenance of all the clergy, without favouring any certain denomination. The clergy was considered as a part of the state's bureaucratic machine and had to take a government pledge to promise loyalty to "the people as the only legal sovereign, to its elected representatives and the law." After the restoration of the dynasty in the Netherlands, the Protestant Church again received the moral backing of the state. The position of the minorities, was, however, considerably improved by the French *interregnum* and remained so in the period of rational liberalism, which characterized the nineteenth century. Some other changes were preserved: the central administration of the community, which took over from the churches the function of registering deaths and births, the local government, consisting of an appointed sheriff and of the magistrates who were elected by the richer inhabitants. This last institution seemed to characterize the new developmental trend: the older feudal discrimination was replaced by political discrimination based on differences in property.

Recent Economic Development. After the French revolution, bulb-growing becomes more and more spread in our community. The names of the first bulb-growing firms appear in 1811 and about 1830 a wholesale trade in bulbs sets in, with export to Frankfort, Leipzig, Scandinavia, Austria, England, and the United States. From 1860 up to 1880 when steam began to be exploited, a rapid growth of mass-production is reported. To make profit became the slogan of this age; any piece of land had to be exploited in the most extensive way and turned either into fields or flower-beds. In this capitalistic period, Sassenheim was robbed of its scenery and natural beauty for which it was renowned in former times. Practically nothing was left of the woods which used to stretch for hundreds of hectares. Nothing was left but bare lands of sand which were covered by wonderful flowers during short periods of the year and green meadows on which the cattle was grazed for a great part of the year.

From this time on, the booms and depressions in the tulip-trade determined to a great extent the standard of living of the inhabitants. The standard of living was very high until 1914. At that time about 300 exporters were reported in the region. Living was rather poor during the depression in the thirties. Unemployment plagued this agrarian region more than the past two world-wars. Sassenheim had very few casualties on the battle-field or by bombardment. Thanks to this, and to the improved sanitary conditions in Europe which bannished the most disastrous epidemics, and owing to the high birth-rate, Sassenheim's population grew in a remarkable way, as the following figures will demonstrate:

Number of Inhabitants:	Year:
about 513 (communicants) ¹	1514
about 392	1622
571	1799
880	1830
1000	1847
1931	1900
2945	1910
5104	1930
7470	1949

The growing number of inhabitants, the psychological and social effects of the economic depression, the limited amount of soil suitable for bulb-growing, and the growing cohesiveness of the religious groups were the probable causes of industrialization. The latter started already during the depression in the thirties, when the first factories were built in the community.

¹ According to the suggestion of Dr. Hugenholtz, this figure can be interpreted as referring to 580 inhabitants.

Several of the changes which we mentioned above were witnessed by the present inhabitants of Sassenheim who told us their own life-histories during our interviewing. It is, therefore, advisable to reserve the treatment of the recent trends and developments until they have told their stories.

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CHAPTER II

POPULATION AND ITS COMMUNITY

A) DEMOGRAPHY

Age. In the preceding chapter we mentioned the intensive increase of population which took place in the past hundred years. The effects of this increase can be observed also in a more static way by examining the age-composition of the inhabitants. We notice then that Sassenheim belongs to the "young communities" because a comparatively large part of its inhabitants belongs to the low age (levels) groups. This conclusion can be drawn not only with respect to the average age-composition of the Dutch population but also to that of other West-European population-groups. Let us compare the age composition of the 7,171 inhabitants of the village in 1947, with that of the Netherlands in the same year ¹:

Age group	Percentage of the population in the age groups	
	in Sassenheim	in the Netherlands
0—15	37.7	31.0
16—20	9.8	8.4
21—24	6.7	6.7
25—29	20.7	21.8
40—49	9.9	12.1
50—64	10.0	12.9
65—	5.2	7.1
Total	100.0	100.0

We notice that the group of persons under age (less than twenty-one year) is by more than seven p.c. larger in Sassenheim than in the Netherlands, taken as a whole. The group of people older than fifty years is, on the other hand, by five p.c. smaller than the corresponding group in the country. This difference can hardly be explained by the size of the community. In another village in the Netherlands, of approximately the same size, but lying in the north-east, the demo-

¹ Computed from the data of the "Centraal Bureau van de Statistiek," the Hague.

graphic situation is reversed. In Staphorst, which was examined by Sj. Groenman¹ in 1940, 55.2 p.c. of all inhabitants were older than twenty-five years. This percentage is higher than the country's average of 54.6 p.c. and considerably higher than in Sassenheim some seven years later which was 45.8 p.c. In these seven years, the population became still older than in 1940, as we shall show later—one more reason to linger for a while on this difference. It can be accentuated if a comparison is drawn with the demographic situation in one of the neighbouring countries, especially in France. Ch. Bettelheim and S. Frère's report on Auxerre in 1946, (which is a kind of French Middletown in their opinion), shows that in that small country-town of about 24,000 inhabitants more than 62 p.c. of persons were older than twenty-five years.² This is by about 15 p.c. more than in Sassenheim.³ One might visualize the whole population-group as forming a kind of pyramid consisting of sub-groups of people of approximately the same age (intervals being five or ten years), as many writers on demographic problems are used to do. For Sassenheim one will obtain a more or less regular figure with a broad basis and the blocks continuously shrinking to the top. There are only two deviations from this rather regular form: the age groups ten-to-fourteen and twenty-five-to thirty are remarkably small. If one refers these groups to the historic periods in which they were born one comes across the periods between 1933—1938 and 1917—1923. In the history of the village the first is known as the most stringent time of economic depression while the second falls together with the end of World War I and its aftermath (although the Netherlands did not directly participate in the battle many of the young men ripe for parenthood were kept under arms). If we compare Sassenheim's pyramid with that of the total population in the Netherlands we notice that the latter is more equally spread along its vertical axis, somewhat narrower at its basis and broader at the top. These differences will become still more striking if we compare Sassenheim with Auxerre; the figure of the age composition of that population group displays such irregularities that we hardly can describe it by the term "pyramid." Its basis (age group 0—10 years) is smaller than the adjacent groups (10—25 years). The war seems to have excised a heavier toll there than it did in Sassenheim because the age group 25—30 is smaller than any other group under sixty years of age.

Sex. The figures to which we referred above also gave us information

¹ Dr. S. J. GROENMAN, *Staphorst*, 2nd Edition, Meppel 1948, p. 79.

² C. BETTELHEIM, S. FRÈRE, *Une Ville française moyenne. Auxerre en 1950. Étude de structure sociale et urbaine*, Paris 1950.

³ Much of this difference can be explained by the more urban character of the French community examined. It remains striking that in demographic respect Sassenheim, in spite of its size and industries, displays the characteristics usually attributed to rural small communities.

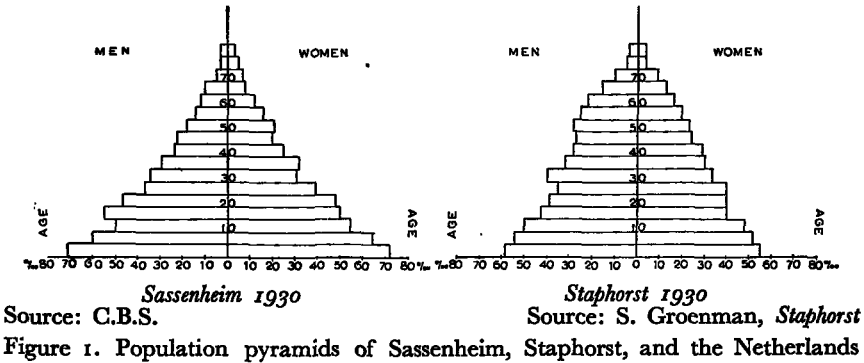
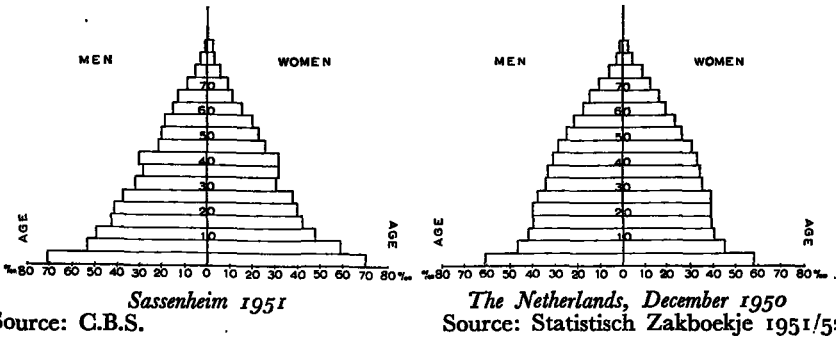
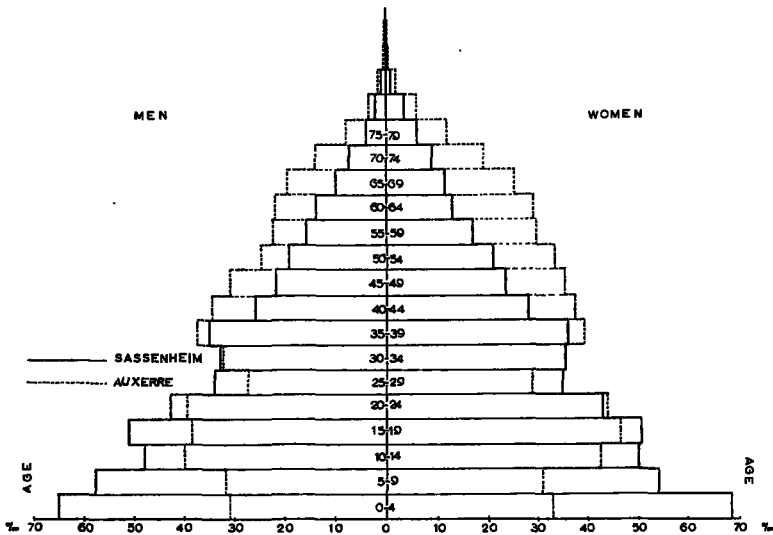


Figure 1. Population pyramids of Sassenheim, Staphorst, and the Netherlands



Sources: Volkstelling 1947. C.B.S.
Bettelheim, *Auxerre*

Figure 2. Population pyramids of Sassenheim and Auxerre in 1946

about another aspect of the local population: its division into the two sex groups. We notice in Sassenheim a surplus of women: out of the 7,843 inhabitants in 1949, 4,008 were women and 3,835 men or respectively 51.1 and 48.9 p.c. Compared with the rest of the Netherlands we do not notice any large difference (there were 1,006 women per 1,000 men in the Netherlands in that year.) It is, however, striking that the surplus of women in this community is higher than the average surplus in the country in spite of its still overwhelmingly agricultural character and the assumption that the cities attract more women than men.¹ In Staphorst, to which we referred above, the situation is reversed: there were 942 females to every 1,000 males in 1930; in the same year, this relation was 1,033 to 1,000 in Sassenheim.

Marital Status. Closely connected with the foregoing characteristics is the division of the population along its marital status. According to the data of census which was held in May, 1947, the inhabitants of Sassenheim could be divided into the following categories:

	Males	Females	Totals	Percentage of totals
Single . . .	2,177	2,205	4,382	61.1
Married . . .	1,255	1,250	2,505	35.0
Separated . .	2	1	3	.04
Widowed . . .	79	188	267	3.7
Divorced . . .	5	9	14	.16
Totals . . .	3,518	3,653	7,171	100.00

Source: Centraal Bureau v. d. Statistiek, *Uitkomsten van de Volks- en Beroepstelling*, 31 Mei 1947, Gem. Sassenheim, blad 3

One should not be surprised that the percentage of single persons in Sassenheim is considerably higher than the corresponding percentage in the Netherlands which amounts only to 53.8 p.c.² The high number of people of lower age groups accounts probably for a good deal of this difference.

In the last census another characteristic of the population was examined, namely the position of each individual person in the family-household to which he belonged (eventually the number of persons

¹ Cf., T. LYNN SMITH, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, revised edition Harper & Brothers, 1947, p. 78. The author considers agriculture as a man's occupation, there being 111.7 males to every 100 females among the rural farm population in the U.S. in 1940. Perhaps the specific character of bulb-growing is responsible for this exception which we hope to treat more in detail, later on.

² Computed from data which were published in *Jaarcijfers voor Nederland 1947-1950*, Utrecht 1951, p. 8, Table 7.

“living alone”). For Sassenheim it mentions in total 4,014 children and step-children which is about ten p.c. more than the country's average (56 p.c. of all the local inhabitants). This is another consequence of the relatively young population in Sassenheim and of the high natural increase of which it might be useful to say a few words here.

Family Size. One should consider the size of the families in Sassenheim in order to get some insight into the mechanisms which account for the specific demographic position of this village. At the beginning of our research 318 families with more than four children were registered at the village-hall. They could be split into the following sub-groups:

Size of the family	No. of families
5 children	125
6 children	80
7 children	40
8 children	23
9 children	22
10 children	17
11 children or more	11

We notice that large families are by no means an exception in Sassenheim. Our survey through which we obtained data about 404 persons who were older than eighteen years and who were selected at random from the total population, showed a similar distribution. According to the information which we obtained, the population could be divided into the following categories:

No. of children	Percentage of population
no reply	0.7
0	35.4
1	10.9
2	10.6
3	11.4
4 or 5	12.5
6 or 7	9.9
8 or 9	4.7
10 or 11	2.7
12 or more	1.2
Total	100.0

One should know that in this table the group of unmarried persons (amounting to about 30 p.c. of the total population comprised in our sample) is included. In order to obtain a better basis for comparison we separated the group of women above the child-bearing age from our sample and examined how many children they had. We obtained the following table:

TABLE I
Frequency distribution and percentage distribution of 56 married women older than 45 years by no. of children

Number of children	No. of women	Percent
all numbers. . .	56	100
0 and 1	10	17.9
2 and 3	13	23.2
4 and 5	13	23.2
6 and 7	6	10.7
8 and more. . .	14	25.0

We notice that more than 30 p.c. of all women older than 45 years have more than five children. Although this figure may seem to be large if compared with the corresponding percentage in other places it appears less significant if compared with the past. Let us, for instance, examine another table in which the 56 women from the Table I are regrouped according to the number of siblings:

TABLE 2
Frequency distribution and percentage distribution of 56 married women older than 45 year by no. of siblings

Number of siblings	Number of women	Percent
all numbers. . .	56	100
0 and 1	4	7.1
2 and 3	9	16.1
4 and 5	11	19.6
6 and 7	13	23.3
8 and more. . .	19	33.9

While simply inspecting both tables one can observe a significant decrease in the family-size as measured in the generation of children

and in that of siblings. If a more precise method of statistical computation is applied, one notices that the median size of the families of the parents was 6.6 while the average family-size of the interviewees themselves is only 4.3 children per woman. These statistics give us some information about the average size of the family in Sassenheim at present and some thirty years ago.¹ They are biased by the fact that not all of our interviewees were born at Sassenheim. They signal, however, a possible change in the size of families in the course of years while suggesting the fact that women descending from large families have on the whole smaller families. A more refined technique had to be applied in order to ascertain the shift which was suggested above.

Birth Rate. The local registers of the community authorities provide us with carefully computed birth, death, and migration rates which proved to be a useful tool in dealing with the population change. According to this source of information, the birth rate (being the mean number of live births per 1,000 in a year) dwindled considerably in the course of the past half century from 41.5 per thousand in 1900—1904 to 31.4 in 1945—1949. It decreased thus by about 25 p.c. in spite of a rising tendency in the years following the last war, as Table 3 demonstrates.

TABLE 3
*The birth-rate at Sassenheim in the period
from 1900 to 1949 in five years intervals*

Period	Average birth-rate
1900—1904	41.54
1905—1909	38.04
1910—1914	37.57
1915—1919	32.76
1920—1924	33.26
1925—1929	32.95
1930—1934	27.98
1935—1939	27.55
1940—1944	26.86
1945—1949	31.42

Source: Municipal Register

We could again trace the variations in the birth-rate to their historical correlates. The periods of World War I and of the economic depression are characterized by lower birth-rates, we also notice a remarkable irregularity in the birth-rate in the period of the last war and im-

¹ Another bias: childless women in the group of 56 wives.

mediately after. It reaches the lowest level in the period 1940—1944 when insecurity, moral stress and especially scarcity of food affected it to a great extent. Immediately after the war, we witness a sudden rise of the birth-rate to the levels of the periods before the depression. This sudden rise can partly be explained by the postponed marriages. It should be noticed that in spite of the rising tendency in the first years after the war, the birth-rate never reached the levels of the turn of the century and diminished after the climax of 1946. We find the following data in the files of the community:

Year	No. of inhabitants	No. of births	Birth-rate
1940	6,088	147	24.15
1941	6,183	164	26.50
1942	6,312	162	25.64
1943	6,444	188	29.20
1944	6,903	199	28.84
1945	7,218	188	26.04
1946	6,961	258	37.02
1947	7,095	225	31.70
1948	7,246	224	30.90

The fact that in the year of highest birth-rate after the last war (1946) the total number of inhabitants of the community decreases compels us to consider other aspects of population change.

Death Rate. Mortality displays a no less significant decrease in the course of the past half century. It never surpasses the birth-rate and is never more than one third of the latter. While the birth-rate decreased by about 25 p.c. the death-rate was more than halved, as Table 4 shows (see p. 33).

We notice that both war periods correlate with an increase in the death-rate. The correlation with time is rather close; the slight decrease of the death-rate in the period 1945—1949 is explained by the fact that in 1945 the death-rate amounted to 13.94, a level which was not reached since the influenza-epidemy in 1918 (popularly called "the Spanish 'flue'" in Europe). It falls to 7.04 in the following year to reach its lowest point in 1948, when it amounted only to 5.24, being almost six times as low as the birth-rate of that year. While we notice a probable repercussion of the war on both the birth and death rate we should in vain seek for a correlation between the number of deaths per average 1,000 inhabitants and periods of economic depression in Sassenheim. In the thirties' the death-rate reached its lowest values.

TABLE 4
*The crude death rate for Sassenheim in the
 period from 1900 to 1949 in five years
 intervals*

Period	Average death-rate
1900—1904	16.74
1905—1909	13.61
1910—1914	10.75
1915—1919	13.35
1920—1924	10.21
1925—1929	9.32
1930—1934	6.87
1935—1939	6.38
1940—1944	8.78
1945—1949	8.38

Source: Municipal Register

Owing to the different changes of the birth- and death-rates the natural increase of the population remains almost stationary in the course of the past fifty years. We can reconstruct a table of the natural increase by subtracting the values of the death-rates in Table 4 from the values of the birth-rates in Table 3. We obtain the value of 24.80 for the period 1900—1904 which is only slightly higher than the value of 23.02 for the recent period of 1944—1949. We can hardly speak of a continual decrease in the surplus rate since the latter reaches its peak in 1910—1914 instead of in 1900—1904 as was the case with both birth and death rates and remains even in the thirties less than four points (per thousand) below its initial value. (For more insight into the natural surplus rate see further Table 9).

Migration. Our preliminary assumption that Sassenheim owes its growth mainly to a natural increase has been, thus far, corroborated by the results of our analysis. We cannot accept it, however, as a validated proposition before another essential factor of growth and decline of population agglomerations is examined, i.e., migration. Thanks to the thorough registration of the population by the local governments in the Netherlands we are again able to refer to the rates of immigration and emigration into and from our community. We can quote immigration and emigration rates which are computed in an analogous way to the rates mentioned above; we divide the number of persons who settled in or departed from the village in a certain year by the number of inhabitants living at Sassenheim at the midpoint of that year and multiply the result by

1,000. The following Table 5 summarizes the results of our analysis; the rates are rounded off to five years average figures, the rate of migration surplus is computed in the same way as the rate of natural increase (by subtraction of the rate of emigration from that of immigration) and registered in both negative and positive values:

TABLE 5

The mean migration rates for Sassenheim in the period 1900—1949 in five years intervals

Period	Rate of immigration	Rate of emigration	Rate of migration surplus
1900—1904	114.56	83.41	31.13
1905—1909	94.32	88.23	6.09
1910—1914	80.91	78.77	2.14
1915—1919	81.59	83.06	— 1.47
1920—1924	66.32	65.32	1.00
1925—1929	71.48	54.04	17.43
1930—1934	60.23	59.73	0.50
1935—1939	61.69	68.76	— 7.07
1940—1944	69.49	52.77	16.72
1945—1949	54.41	68.46	—14.03

Source: Municipal Register

If we refer the rates to the significant historical events in the periods concerned we perceive a relation between the population exodus and the periods of crises (either war or economic depression; these partly coincide as the export of bulbs was cut during the war). The period of 1940—1944 forms an exception to this interpretation. This exception can, easily be explained. In 1943, several hundreds of families from the near-by fishermen's harbour of Katwijk were forced to evacuate by the German authorities. Many of them found provisional shelter in Sassenheim. After the war, several of them returned to their place of residence. Another factor accounting for the postponement of emigration from Sassenheim may be seen in the official regulation of migration which was introduced during the war: the growing housing shortage (and naturally the political objectives of the occupants) led to special government decrees prohibiting any migration without the explicit consent of the municipal authorities.

If we refer the migration rates to the regions from or to which the migrants move, we notice that the distance of the former place of residence or of the future place of destination determines to a significant degree the frequency of migration:

TABLE 6

Emigration from Sassenheim to other places in the Netherlands in 1950

Province	No. of families	No. of family-members	Living single		Total no. of migrants
			Men	Women	
Groningen	1	4	2	1	7
Friesland	—	—	—	1	1
Drenthe	2	12	1	—	13
Overysel	—	—	3	3	6
Gelderland	2	9	3	9	21
Utrecht	2	5	2	8	15
North Holland	11	43	11	23	77
South Holland	31	111	18	56	185
Zeeland	—	—	2	1	3
North Brabant	2	9	8	8	25
Limburg	1	7	3	—	10
Total	52	200	53	100	363

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, *Statistiek binnenlandse migratie*

TABLE 7

Immigration to Sassenheim from other places in the Netherlands in 1950

Province	No. of families	No. of family-members	Living single		Total no. of migrants
			Men	Women	
Groningen	2	8	1	—	9
Friesland	—	—	2	—	2
Drenthe	—	—	2	—	2
Overysel	—	—	4	4	8
Gelderland	4	9	5	5	19
Utrecht	5	15	3	9	27
North Holland	9	31	9	17	57
South Holland	21	67	35	60	162
Zeeland	1	2	2	1	5
North Brabant	2	6	2	7	15
Limburg	1	2	2	—	4
Total	45	140	67	103	310

Source: C.B.S., *Statistiek binnenlandse migratie*

South Holland, the province in which Sassenheim is situated accounts for the major part of migration either from or to this community. North Holland, the province that ranks next in proximity, ranks next in the number of migrants, too.

It is striking that women are represented to a much higher degree among the migrants than men if the group of single persons is taken as the basis for comparison. The sons of the bulb-growers or agricultural workers seem to adhere to the jobs of their fathers and remain in the locality as there are few places suitable for bulb-culture, as we mentioned above. Women, on the other hand, have to look for work elsewhere. (For the more detailed consideration of the possible causes of migration, see Part III, Chapter XV).

In addition to migration to or from other places in the country, there is another important migratory trend that is closely connected with the present population change: emigration abroad. As the following Table 8 illustrates, on an average some eighty inhabitants of Sassenheim leave their country each year in order to start a new existence in a different cultural environment. After the loss of the Dutch East Indies (the formation of the independent state of Indonesia) Canada appears to attract the most migrants from Sassenheim:

TABLE 8

Emigration from Sassenheim to foreign countries by sex and place of destination in the years 1949—1953

Country	1949		1950		1951		1952		1953		Total		G.T.
	m.	w.	m.	w.	m.	w.	m.	w.	m.	w.	m.	w.	
Europe	7	9	3	4	4	2	5	2	3	2	22	19	41
U.S.A.	10	11	2	1	6	3	1	1	1	—	20	16	36
Canada	7	5	15	13	25	21	27	25	26	27	100	91	191
Dutch West Indies	3	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	4	3	7
Indonesia, New Guinea	16	11	2	2	2	2	5	3	1	—	26	18	44
Other Asia	—	—	—	—	4	2	—	—	1	—	5	2	7
Africa	5	4	—	1	—	2	1	1	—	1	6	9	15
Australia	1	1	1	—	2	—	10	6	2	—	16	7	23
New Zealand	—	—	—	—	6	—	18	5	2	1	26	6	32
Total	49	44	23	21	49	32	67	43	37	31	225	171	396

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics

m. = men

w. = women

While in the process of in-land migration more women than men are involved, in the emigration abroad the situation is reversed. Owing to the hardship of life in the strange *milieu*, more single men than women decide to emigrate. The fact that a considerable group of about eighty persons from Sassenheim decide to leave their native country and to abandon their native culture (language, customs, and their whole way of living) is accounted for by the serious existential problems with which the inhabitants are confronted owing to the rapid population growth.

Increase Rate. Our picture of the population change is near completion. We can summarize the results of our analysis in an additional table which will allow us to compare the rate of natural increase and the rate of the migration surplus with that of the community growth.¹

TABLE 9
The rates of natural increase, migration surplus, and community growth for Sassenheim 1900—1949

Period	Natural increase rate	Migration surplus rate	Rate of community growth
1900—1904	24.80	31.13	55.93
1905—1909	24.43	6.09	30.50
1910—1914	26.82	2.14	28.98
1915—1919	19.41	— 1.47	17.95
1920—1924	23.04	1.00	24.04
1925—1929	23.64	17.43	41.06
1930—1934	21.11	0.50	21.61
1935—1939	21.18	— 7.07	14.10
1940—1944	18.08	16.72	34.81
1945—1949	23.02	—14.03	8.95

Source: Municipal Register

We notice that with the exception of the first five years' period in this century the natural increase surpasses the migration surplus in every period. Our assumption that Sassenheim owes its growth chiefly to the natural increase seems to be validated. Yet we accept it with one minor qualification. If we carefully inspect Table 9 or follow the curves of the migration surplus-rate and the community growth-rate

¹ The statistics referring to the population in war-time should be interpreted with caution. They register only the official changes of residence. Large groups of inhabitants (the young people that were born in 1924, Jews, the resistance workers, etc.) used to hide for the occupants and had to change their hiding-place in secret. Several Jewish children were secretly living in Sassenheim, without being registered at all.

in Figure 3, we observe a strange coincidence in the irregularities of those curves. The rate of natural increase was fairly constant, without significant deviations in the past fifty years. It is the migration which is chiefly responsible for the broken and irregular line of the community growth. Sassenheim grew more than six times as rapidly in 1900—1904 as in 1945—1949, the period just preceding our research. The years 1925—1929 are characterized by another spurt in population growth, while the periods 1915—1919 and 1935—1939 belonged to the periods of local depression and retarded population growth.

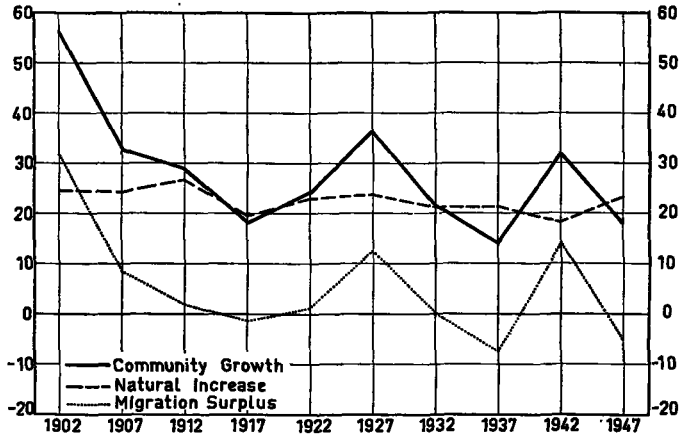


Figure 3. Community growth 1902—1947

B) ECOLOGY

It seems obvious that the changes in the number of inhabitants which doubled several times during the past fifty years did not remain without influence upon the way of living and housing in the community.

The first thing likely to be noticed is the overcrowdedness. While walking along the old provincial road¹ connecting Leyden with Haarlem one will observe houses on both sides of the road. They are scattered and surrounded by patches of fields if coming from Leyden; they are built together in irregular blocks, scarcely separated by narrow streets or a tiny garden if coming from Haarlem. The houses of Sassenheim are namely built along this road. The narrow streets run mostly perpendicularly from the Mainstreet and are ended by a ditch of a polder, a field, or simply by a board announcing the name of the neighbouring community a few hundred yards farther. Only a few are cut by a short street running parallel to the Mainstreet. The whole territory of the village forms thus a long stripe, somewhat

¹ In the Netherlands, the roads are supervised by municipal, provincial, or national government.

wider at its northern end, though never surpassing one quarter of its length. It is cut by the Mainstreet into two fairly symmetrical halves; along this dividing line, clusters of houses can be found, spreading in the northern parts of the village in perpendicular arrays from the Mainstreet almost up to the borders of Sassenheim.

Area. This small patch of land covers an area of 651 hectares, on which 7,470 people were living in 1949. The population-density is very high, amounting to 1,147 persons per square kilometer. It is even higher if only the area covered by buildings (which forms less than one tenth of the total territory) is considered. It does not, however, surpass the density indices of the cities or the communities of some other European countries. The reason for this is that the houses are comparatively low, only few of them are two storeys high.¹

Community Growth. If we start from the centre of the village, somewhere near the old Protestant church to estimate the age of the houses, we will be struck by the irregularity of growth. Around the church a few narrow streets with very old houses can be seen.

One of them that can be reached by crossing the old bridge is located at a ditch; the houses are lined by a row of old chestnut trees which only add to the darkness inside the low working-class dwellings. All were built in the course of the past century; some are more than a hundred years old. The part known as the Old Haven (Oude Haven) which is the only place that resembles a square in Sassenheim is also old. It is surrounded by somewhat higher middle-class houses which mostly date from the end of the last century. If we go down a narrow street lined with fifty years old houses just at the foot of the low church hill, we get to a modern broad street which was built after 1950. It has semi-detached houses, each with a garden of a few square yards which separates the house from the street. If we leave the street and cross a patch of the common, we arrive at an old farmstead which dates from the seventeenth century. It has lost its original function long ago and serves as living quarters for several agricultural labourers since it has been divided into a number of one-room lodgings. There is no electricity, no water-supply, in these dark rooms where a curtain indicates where the cupboard beds are built in the side-wall. All this exists within a few yards of fashionable Teylingerlaan, housing the new middle-class and a few bulb-growers, which was built in the period of boom of the twenties. There are more of such very old farmsteads generally rather away from the Mainstreet, either standing along in the fields or pasture lands, or surrounded by clusters and blocks of houses which have been built in the more recent times.

Differences may be observed in the Mainstreet itself, where very old houses stand next to modern, expensive villas of the fortunate bulb-growers.

¹ Although we did not explicitly include this problem in our research we might suggest that the sandy soils, low pressure of the water supply, and the high general standard of living which made the private house ownership possible account for the small size of the houses in this country. No building may surpass the height of 15 m according to a bye-law in Sassenheim.

Community Planning. There are more modern, detached houses at both ends of the Mainstreet, outside the center of the village. One can make a modest generalization that the growth of the village is more regular since the war. The community planners tried to separate two social strata in the village, the working-class and the middle-class, by building separate living-quarters. As a result, we can distinguish a working-class colony at the south-west border of Sassenheim. Here several hundreds of workers live in two clusters of houses built in the periods after the wars; one dates from about 1920, the other from 1945—1948. The houses are built in blocks of about twenty modest dwellings, each with a large living room and a kitchen downstairs and a garret or a few tiny bedrooms upstairs. Six streets parallel to and three perpendicular to the Mainstreet form the only division between the mass of standardized buildings.

At the opposite end of the village, near the road from Noordwijk, along which the inhabitants take their Sunday-walks, another distinct sub-region in Sassenheim was formed after the war; several dozens of modern detached houses were erected here, separated from each other by a carefully cultivated garden. Near some of them a fashionable motor yacht lies at anchor in a ditch which cuts through the gardens and connects these quarters directly with the near-by lake De Kaag.

Often a small garage is attached to the house. This fashionable part of the village houses mainly recent immigrants to Sassenheim, most of whom wanted their own house to spend there the end of their life after years of service or business in various parts of the Netherlands or the world.

Though community planning brings a certain division in the distribution of the population it also removes the old barriers by improving the means of communication in the village. For many years the inhabitants of the eastern part of the community had to walk for twenty minutes or for half an hour if they wanted to visit their neighbours living in the northern parts of Sassenheim, on the other bank of the ditch. Not until 1952, when a new street was opened in the village to relieve the Mainstreet (where the traffic reached such a scope that several serious accidents occurred every year), a bridge was built to connect the two separated segments of Sassenheim.

Not all places are, however, made accessible by the recent community planning. There are farmsteads in the neighbourhood, still within the territory of the community, which can only be reached after almost an hour walk from the centre of the community. Some farmers prefer to live near the centre and spend a considerable part of their working-day in getting to their cattle and lands in the polder near the eastern parts of the village. A group of them compromised and live in the Menneweg, which is the most distant street from the Mainstreet in the eastern direction; however, their number is too small to form a definite sub-region. There is also a substantial number of middle-class houses in the Menneweg.

C) BIO-PSYCHICAL CHARACTERISTICS

In the houses whose ages vary from several centuries to a few weeks, the present population of Sassenheim lives in relative proximity.

Appearance. It consists of tall men and women, bronzed by wind rather than by sun, many of whom have fair hair and blue eyes. Their comparatively slow movements and scarce gestures account for a calmer temperament than the one we find in the more southern regions. They are sombre in outlook, concrete, scarcely ever inventing stories or lies. The observer of the Central European or South European background would be struck by their considerable lack of imagination as well as the sincerity and fairness of their dealings with fellow citizens.

Average Size. In addition to these more or less subjective impressions of the people who live here we possess some more objective data concerning their physical and psychical make-up. An important source of information were the army-files containing the results of testing and measurements of recruits from all communities in the Netherlands. As the recruits form a fairly representative sample of the total male population of a given age (though the persons who are institutionalized, the imbecile, or mentally deranged are not examined as a rule) we are able to compare the population of the community with that of the whole country in several respects, and we are also able to compare the recruits of different years. Thanks to the cooperation of the Inspector of the Medical Service of the Royal Army (Inspecteur van de Geneeskundige Dienst der Koninklijke Landmacht) we possess the data about the two groups of recruits: those born in 1930 and examined in 1948, and those born in 1934 who were examined in 1952. The average height of the first group of eighty persons amounted to 175.2 cm (standard deviation = ± 6.02 cm) while the latter group amounted to $M = 176.3$ cm ($\sigma = 6.62$ cm). This difference of 11 mm is not without significance. The average height of the male population in the country (as estimated on the hand of recruits-examination) has been constantly increasing in the course of the last eighty years. It amounted to 164.01 cm in 1865, to 165.2 cm in 1880, to 166.4 cm in 1890, 168.7 cm in 1902, 171.0 cm in 1925, and to 174 cm in 1947.¹ This means that the population increased; on the average, in the above mentioned periods correspondingly by 0.73 mm, 1.20 mm, 1.92 mm, 1.44 mm, and 1.36 mm per year. This general trend in the country is also reflected in Sassenheim which does not deviate significantly from the country average with regard to the size of recruits.

Average Weight. The average weight of the eighteen years old recruits

¹ See M. J. DE BOSCH KEMPER, *De tegenwoordige staat van Nederland*, Utrecht 1950, p. 49.

is about sixty-three kg (63.1 kg for the group born in 1930 and 63.3 kg for that of 1934, the standard deviation being respectively 6.29 and 6.97 kg). Their average width of chest amounted to 87.5 cm in 1948, and to 84.7 cm in 1952 (the standard deviation being 3.73 cm and 6.07 cm respectively).

Intelligence. In addition to these data about the size and weight of the recruits the army-files contain information about their psychological make-up in terms of the intelligence indices.

All recruits are tested and the results are evaluated for each year-class per community of residence. They are given a special matrix test of general intelligence that is based on the army matrix test that was constructed and used in the United Kingdom.¹ The subjects are asked to analyze the incomplete geometrical figures and to fill in the part that has been left out from it. This part they have to select from six or eight similar "possibilities." In total sixty similar problems are presented to the recruits. They are graded into series according to the degree of difficulty so that the number and degree of the problem solved decides the score of each individual subject. According to these scores the total number of subjects is divided into the following six classes:

Class 1 consisting of 10 p.c. of the highest scores;

Class 2 consisting of 20 p.c. of the high scores;

Class 3 consisting of 20 p.c. of the scores just above average;

Class 4 consisting of 20 p.c. of the scores just below average;

Class 5 consisting of 20 p.c. of low intelligence scores;

Class 6 consisting of 10 p.c. of the lowest scores.

It is possible that the distribution of scores for a certain group deviates from the ideal distribution or from that in the Netherlands. In this way we are able to estimate the intelligence level of this sub-group (in our case from the recruits from Sassenheim) in terms of deviation from the country average: (see page 43).

It is evident from Table 10 that the male population in Sassenheim ascends in terms of general intelligence over the population of the country taken as a whole. If we trust these figures that are based on the tests of 280 persons we notice that this positive aspect of the population group under study is due rather to the relative absence of the groups of the lowest and very low intelligence level than to the high frequency of people belonging to the highest classes of intelligence. In terms of the I.Q. we may estimate that the average intelligence in Sassenheim is some four point above the mean i.e., 100 points.² The results of the army tests have been validated by Mr. S. Wieggersma, who tested the pupils in the schools in Sassenheim for the Netherlands' Institute of Preventive Medicine. His examination

¹ See J. C. RAVEN, *A Perceptual Test of Intelligence*, Colchester, 1938.

² For the method how to translate the results of the army matrix tests in terms of the mean I.Q. for the regional units, see S. WIEGERSMA, *Enkele observaties over de invloed van milieufactoren op de ontwikkeling van de intelligentie in Nederlandsch Tijdschrift v. de Psychologie en haar Grensgebieden*, IX, 4, pp. 311 ff., 1954.

TABLE 10

Distribution of the general intelligence over the groups of recruits in the Netherlands and in Sassenheim 1947—1950

	Intelligence classes						Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Per cent of recruits							
Sassenheim	12.5	26.8	25.4	16.4	14.3	4.6	100
Netherlands	11.1	21.1	20.6	19.3	19.4	8.5	100 ¹
Concentration numb. (the Netherl. = 100)							
Netherlands	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Sassenheim (Sassenheim = 100)	113	127	123	85	74	54	
Sassenheim	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Netherlands	89	79	81	118	136	185	

Source: Demologisch Instituut, Results of matrix test 1947—1950

was carried out quite independently of our own project and pursued purely methodological objectives. After having given the 102 boys and 61 girls from the sixth and seventh forms Wechsler Bellevue test and the Schneider test, Mr. Wiegiersma and his associates computed the mean intelligence quotient to amount to 105.5 points. As we may assume that not all pupils in Sassenheim who come into consideration for the military examination reach the highest two forms of the elementary school we can accept the somewhat higher average I.Q. that was obtained by Mr. Wiegiersma. It is interesting to notice that the boys in Sassenheim's school score higher than girls (107.7 and 101.5 points respectively). In spite of the slight difference of outcomes and of the variation along the sex-line (that may possibly be explained by the fact that the new Roman Catholic "St. Antonius School" attracts the more gifted pupils from outside Sassenheim), the main finding as revealed by the analysis of the matrix test has been corroborated: Sassenheim appears a more gifted community in terms of general intelligence.

¹ We should not be surprised not to find the ideal division into the categories of ten and twenty per cent as described above. Since the test has been standardized for the United Kingdom, the distribution of scores for the total number of recruits deviates slightly from the standardized distribution. The recruits in the Netherlands appear to belong slightly more often to the higher classes than those in the United Kingdom.

We regret that we could not rely upon the measurements of other psychical qualities and abilities of the population. The reader will find some fragmentary remarks concerning its temperament spread throughout this book. The treatment of a few personality characteristics that we ascertained by interviewing some 400 persons from the community will be postponed until Chapter XVI.

CHAPTER III

SASSENHEIM AS AN ADMINISTRATIVE AND POLITICAL UNIT

A) MATERIAL ASPECTS OF ADMINISTRATION

In the sober and concrete thinking of the people in Sassenheim the "community" is associated primarily with its territory. If you ask a group of labourers returning from the bulb-fields they will give you a ready answer: "That house belongs still to Sassenheim, the bulb-shed over there lies already in Voorhout." Many of them cross the borders of the community several times a day and push their bicycles along imposing boards where the names of the neighbouring villages are shown in white letters. This association of lands and community is accentuated by the fact that the roads and other pieces of land are the property of the community.

Others are inclined to associate the "local government" with material symbols, such as the modern village-hall which was solemnly opened some twenty years ago (January, 1930) and the low tower of which can be seen in the proximity of its unequal rival — the tower of the Roman Catholic church. It has a large clock, illuminated at night, and — in order not to forget tradition in the modern technical age — a carillon. It announces the noon-hour by chiming a simple tune of four tones which is well-known in the cities of the Low Countries and of England.

Some other citizens would think of the car of the burgomaster distinctly labelled as "State-police" (Rijkspolitie) as a symbol of the unity of the local and central governments. There are several other tangible symbols representing the local government in the mind of the common citizens, ranging from the serene uniform of the local beadle to the impersonal lines of the printer's ink in the local paper under official announcements of "the Burgomaster and the Aldermen."

B) LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM

Community as Defined by Law. However, neither the territory, nor the attributes of the persons in power make us consider Sassenheim as "a political unit." A few people who learned to take the existence of their community for granted and who saw it grow in the same natural way as they grew in it, realize that it owes its *size*, the shape of its borders, and its mere existence to something else besides the natural course of history which made people agglomerate here. Only the most sophisticated among them would think

of Sassenheim in a broader context and relate it to a larger political system of which it forms a part—the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The system of legal norms, known as Law, is the main safeguard of the existence of the community as an independent political unit. Only with reference to the latter are we able to grasp and comprehend it.

In the Constitution, which forms the corner-stone of the legal system, the dependence of the part (i.e., community) upon the whole (i.e., the state) is expressed directly in the introductory Article 3, which runs as follows:

“The Law can unite, split up, or create provinces and communities.

The borders of the State (Rijk), provinces, and communities can be changed by Law.”

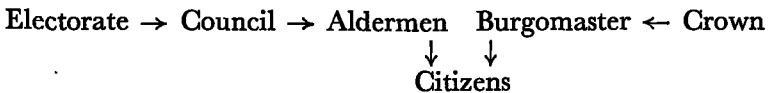
This article places the community in the cadre of the whole legal system and makes it depend on the same patterns of influences and forces which safeguard it or threaten it as a whole. The charter of the Constitution, which came in force by the decisions taken by a two-third majority of the direct representatives of the people (the Staten Generaal) and by the signature of the Queen (the Crown), describes the fields of competence of the various organs in a rough way. The detailed formulation can be found in the specific laws. These are of somewhat less stable nature and are more often amended to express adequately the recent public opinions. One of them, the Community Act (Gemeentewet), is still based on the original bill which was passed in 1851, in spite of countless supplements and amendments which were added to it in the course of a hundred years. It describes and prescribes in a rather extensive manner the structure, process, and functions of the local government for more than 1,000 communities in the Netherlands. It might be of interest to mention the most essential features of the “blue print” of this organization of the local government before we proceed to examine its actual functions and structure.

Delegation of Powers. One of the important features of these Acts is the delegation of power. This delegation runs either in the field of the laws themselves while the minor laws find their validation in the basic, more general laws, or it runs through the channels of the existing organizations. The consequence of the delegation of power is the differentiation of functions. The local government is, namely, not dependent in *all* respects on the central body of law but can within the margins which are prescribed by the central law, issue norms of its own. To a certain extent it is also free to interpret the central body of law and to apply it to its own specific problems. We may state that both the legislative, and executive powers are vested in the hands of the organs of the local government.

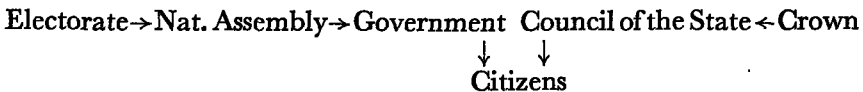
Community-State Analogy. The pattern of power-relations in the com-

munity resembles in several respects that of the state. The ultimate sources of influence are the adult Dutch citizens (the electorate) and the Crown. The first, who have to meet certain requirements (such as minimal age of twenty-three years, no criminal record, etc.), elect once every four years the Council of the community which in communities of 6,000—10,000 inhabitants consists of 13 members. The Councillors elect two Aldermen from their midst who are responsible to the Council and can, at any time, be revoked if the Council loses confidence in them. The other center of power, the Crown, appoints the Burgomaster of the community; he is not responsible to the local inhabitants but to the Crown. The Queen (assisted or advised by Her advisory bodies) can revoke the Burgomaster from his office and appoint another one. The Burgomaster and the Aldermen form thus together the supreme executive organ of the political sovereignty in the community. The Council remains the main legislative organ. It is expected to meet at least six times a year. During the sessions the Burgomaster, in spite of his chairmanship, plays mostly an advisory rôle, unless he is one of the councillors himself. The Council controls most of the functions of the Burgomaster and the Aldermen. The latter give account of their daily activities to the Council and postpone important decisions until the Council meets. On the other hand, the Council delegates power to the Burgomaster and the Aldermen to issue bye laws in emergency-cases.

The following scheme shows the process of delegation of power in an elementary way:



We might perceive the analogy with the governmental pattern on the national scale which may be schematized as follows:



These schemes, do not, actually, refer to two distinct population-groups. The same people at Sassenheim who elect the members of the local government also elect the members of the National Assembly (Tweede Kamer v. d. Staten-Generaal). They also elect the members of another governmental body, Provinciale Staten, which is established in each of the eleven provinces of the Netherlands. Its function is to link the community with the central government. Its organization resembles in several respects the patterns which we described above; the representatives of the electorate, the 'Provinciale Staten,' elect

from their midst an executive body, the 'Gedeputeerde Staten,' which function together with the 'Commissaris,' an official, who is appointed by the Crown.

Getting Men into Functions. This territorial division into communal, provincial, and national bodies of government structures the time of the political activities in the community. Three times every four years elections are held; after having supervised the preparation of the list of candidates and the list of the electorate, the local authorities appoint the place where the citizens hand in their votes into the urns by secret ballot. In the case of municipal elections the total number of valid votes is divided by thirteen (which is the number of councillors at Sassenheim) and the seats are then divided according to the system of proportional representation¹ which is generally accepted in the Netherlands. While the law provides for the possibility of frequent change in the composition of the Council (and of the representative bodies in general) it also safeguards a certain stability by delegating the right to appoint the Burgomaster to the Crown. He might be recalled at any time but his appointment is independent of the will of the electorate and is for the period of six years. He can be re-appointed for another six years, which usually happens. Another element of stability in the machine of local administration is that while the political organs of the local government can be changed every fourth year, the personnel of the secretariat hold their positions often for a lifetime. The secretary and his clerks are appointed by the Council; their main function is to assist the Burgomaster and the Aldermen in their executive tasks. Their activities cover a wide field of various functions which the community authorities are expected to fulfil. Most of the latter have been classified and codified in precisely the same way in all Dutch communities, due to the initiative of the Association of Communities in the Netherlands.

While the local secretary and his clerks together with the personnel of communal undertakings fulfil the executive tasks in the community, they are not the only executive organs of the government. There are a few employees of the national government in the community: the ministries of agriculture, justice, and transport, each having their representatives in the community. Of these the local police formed a controversial issue for the interpreters of the law and the law-makers. Up to comparatively recent times, it stood under the command of the burgomaster who was the supreme commander of the local police force; since the German occupation in the last war, the local police received wider tasks surpassing the territory of the single communities,

¹ Not all seats can actually be allotted to the parties by this simple division, there being always fractions of the quotas that remain. The remaining seats are, therefore, ascribed to the parties with the largest surplus of votes after the first division. This procedure gives rise to several speculations and manoeuvres as we shall show presently.

and was supervised directly by the central authorities. The burgo-master, however, maintains formally his position and is still considered as the commander of the local police unit in matters concerning his own community. This last organizational form is symptomatic of the recent trend in the development of the whole legal system. This trend is characterized by the constant encroachment of the central authorities upon the field originally belonging to the autonomy of the local government. In this way, the care of the unemployed, the pursuit of crime, and several other functions were transferred from the Burgomaster and the Aldermen to the central government. This does not mean, however, that the influence and competence of the former is dwindling, as we shall see when examining the actual functions of the community, the number of activities officially ascribed to the local government by law is increasing with a speed similar to that of the centralisation of the national government. In this respect, the legal system resembles a dynamic, extending organism growing not only in its social and cultural environment but also changing its shape.

C) FUNCTIONS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Population Policy. The impact of local government on the life of the inhabitants can be noted in various ways. The community authorities carefully register the births, enquire into the causes of a rise in the number of stillbirths, appoint a community-physician to examine the persons who deceased under suspect or abnormal circumstances. They consciously influence the demographic situation by striving to remove some current causes of disease and to improve the public health of the inhabitants; they try to cut the death-rate. They do not take any stimulative measure to raise the birth-rate, because the national government rewards most of the parents (all employees, peasants and tradesmen under a certain income-level) by paying them a progressive premium for each child and cutting down the taxes which they have to pay on their incomes or revenues.¹

Migration Control. The community authorities also register the migratory trends. People who move from Sassenheim and people who change address in Sassenheim have to give notice of their new address to the municipal clerks who put it down on cards together with the name, occupation, church-affiliation, marital status, place and date of birth, and previous places of residence. Those who want to move into Sassenheim are even more dependent upon the local government. In the present time of housing-shortage, they have to apply for a

¹ Children's allowance amounted at the time of our research to 26 cnt. a day for every first child, 51 cnt. for the second and third children and 67 cnt. for every further child. This amounts roughly to half-an-hour's wage for an unskilled worker per child.

permit to live in the village. Discrimination runs along economic and political line: if one gets an important job at Sassenheim or if one has money enough to buy one of the family-houses in the modern villas' quarter, one has a fair chance to be allowed to live in Sassenheim unless one's political views lean towards those of the unwanted minority-groups in Sassenheim. One must also be known by correct conduct in the past.

Community Planning. It is not only regulating immigration which characterizes the interference of the administration. After the war, the local government became directly responsible for the community planning and is expected to take all possible measures in order to alleviate the housing-shortage. This explains partly why, immediately in 1945, the Burgomaster and the Aldermen gave their consent to a private firm to build the modern quarter at Sassenheim (Ter Leede), in spite of the condition of the firm that the persons who would buy one of the houses would automatically be granted a residence permit. The local authorities decided to do so after they learned that the ministry of reconstruction and housing (Ministerie van Wederopbouw en Volkshuisvesting) had no objection to a similar contract. They put as a condition that the inhabitants of Sassenheim would have priority in buying the houses during the first half year after their completion. Another aspect of this contract is that the houses are generally sold to retired older people. They become the property of their buyers. As the house permit cannot be inherited the community authorities obtain the right of disposing of these houses after the present owners decease.¹

The community authorities also bought lands which are leased either to a private firm or to the House Building Society. The latter owned about 180 dwellings in Sassenheim in 1947. It was founded as early as 1911; its members are persons who were willing to finance the material growth of the village by investing at least fl. 1,000 into the local real-estate business. The local authorities guarantee the regular payment of house-rent (the amount of rent is kept fixed by state law) and financial losses at times of emergency (e.g., during the depression many inhabitants refused to pay the rent) to this Society.

In addition to the economic control of the building industry, the local authorities also issue bye-laws which describe the location, the type, the quality, and other conditions that must be met by those who want to build. One of them, the law of 1938, has 119 articles which prescribe the procedure for issuing the building permits and the rules that must be followed in building.

¹ This argument was communicated to us during the process of collecting the data. We are unable to decide whether it expresses the real expectations of the authorities in respect to the houses or whether it is used as a defence-argument against the autochthonous groups, in order to appease possible dissatisfaction with the fact that strangers are given houses in the time of present shortage.

For example, houses must not be higher than 15 m, must be situated near the road (they must be easily reached in case of fire), but may not encroach upon lands reserved for roads or streets; should be provided with drinking-water, light, and fresh air, sanitary lavatory and sewage-system. They must be fire-proof, moisture-proof, and well-built. The local authorities are not only authorized to stop building which does not conform to these regulations but are also entrusted with the right to inspect old houses and to condemn them if they do not meet the conditions which are considered essential to healthy and secure community living. In that case a distinct label is put on the door or wall of the house declaring the house as unfit for living. Other regulations in this pre-war law are the following: children over twelve years of opposite sex are not allowed to live in the same dwelling if not having separate bedrooms; a dwelling is considered unfit for living if the bedrooms for the adults are smaller than 7.5 cubic metres and those for children smaller than 3.75 cubic metres. The housing shortage after the war caused, however, a discrepancy between the legislation and executive activities of the local government; several houses which were condemned are still inhabited by the less fortunate families in Sassenheim. Children of different sex, in their late teens often sleep in groups of six or more in one room, together with their parents in the wooden garrets of the workers' houses. The lack of houses, especially of the cheap type for workers, makes the law an invalid and obsolete expression of what life *should* be.

In order to remove this discrepancy and to alleviate the housing-shortage, the Burgomaster and the Aldermen have taken several measures and do not miss any opportunity to enlarge the house-volume of the village. In his New Year's Address in January, 1950, the burgomaster was able to report that 81 new dwellings were finished in the course of the past year and that 54 building-permits were issued to various firms to build houses in Sassenheim. At the time of his speech, houses for more than 1.5 million guilders were being built and the authorities were discussing the possibility of splitting up one official dwelling-unit in two and of enlarging six other official dwelling-units. In the course of one year 92 families received a residence-permit for Sassenheim. In spite of this effort dozens of young people waited for a permit to start a household of their own, dozens of families thronged in the houses of their parents-in-law or landlords waited for the permit to get the necessary privacy they desired.¹

¹ Towards the end of 1949, there were 125 single and 106 married persons registered at the Community Office. The number of persons looking for a house remained practically constant in the course of our survey, there being 114 single persons and 111 married persons registered in June 1st, 1953. In spite of these figures it should be noted that the present centralization of housing policy is more or less an outcome of the war. There is no serious ground for believing that the strict regulations in this sphere will be maintained after the present housing shortage is over. One should bear in mind that in several other respects (food-rations, distribution of fuel, of electricity, etc.), the centralization was abandoned and the pre-war status quo was established.

Control of Family Life. In addition to the controls of the demographic situation, of the migratory trends and the housing conditions in the village, the local government also influences family-life in a direct way. It is one of the municipal clerks who, after a short ceremony in the village-hall, issues marriage-licences to the couples to start family life. In this respect, the local government plays mainly an executive rôle and carries out the legal strictures which are prescribed by the law of the central government: age minimum (18 for males, 16 for females), monogamy, no consanguineous marriage (including niece-uncle, nephew-aunt but not cousin-cousin relationship), etc. The local government not only initiates family-life but in some cases exercises a certain influence on its further development. The Burgomaster is, for instance, consulted by the board of guardians (the organs of which are not established in Sassenheim) to ascertain whether a certain family educates its children according to the prevalent moral standards. His advice can result in the separation of the children from their parents (though a similar measure is not frequently resorted to in the familistic culture of the Netherlands).

In its control over family life the local government infringes severely upon the former domain of the churches. For ages, births, weddings, and deaths used to be accompanied by religious *rites de passage* and their registration was confined to the "spiritual government" in the theocratic eras. Parallel to the registration of births and deaths by the municipal clerks run the baptism and funeral rituals of most christian churches. The Roman Catholics baptize their children as early as possible—the baptism coincides almost with the registration at the village-hall; the Protestants wait with baptism. Sometimes the lag between the worldly and spiritual initiation of the new born citizen is quite long and amounts to several years with the Mennonites. While they baptize very early, the Roman Catholic strata of the population often postpone their wedding-ceremony for several years after the official betrothal in the village-hall. They consider this official registration as quite irrelevant for their own spiritual or community life. As the young couples have to wait several years for a housing-permit, they often marry soon after their engagement and postpone the church-wedding until they get a house and can start a normal marital life.

Relation to Churches. Thus viewed, the spiritual and worldly governments form rather two separate worlds. The doctrine of the separation of church and state created the possibility for each of these bodies to be considerably independent from the other. Yet there is mutual contact and even an impact of the churches upon the government, which find their origin rather in the (religious) composition of the local population than in any national law. The Burgomaster and the Aldermen protect the interests of the local churches as they have to

carry out the majority-decisions of the Council. Thus we learned of the decision of the council to pay a yearly contribution of ten guilders to the Anti-Cursing League. This decision was taken after an animated discussion in the Council about the church—state relationship. On another occasion we learned that the Burgomaster and the Aldermen did not give their permission to a society for the propagation of the Bible from Amsterdam to hold money-collections at Sassenheim, being afraid to disturb the “balance of power” between the local churches, etc.

The community authorities, on the other hand, requested the clergy to exhort the believers to adhere to the traffic rules in order to cut down the accident-rate in the village and thus to show a spirit of cooperation. The cooperation is also demonstrated in the fact that the Council agreed on the text of a prayer that is read aloud by the burgomaster before the opening of each session:

“Almighty God, we pray to You for Your generous blessing of our activities which have been laid on us, today. Give us wisdom and prudence, make us lively realize our dependence on You, that we may seek Your Honour in our consultation and promote the genuine interests of this community. Listen to us and answer our prayer for the sake of the accomplished work of Your Son our Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.”

The New Year's session offers an opportunity for a still more solemn opening. The burgomaster, following in this respect his paradigm, the Crown,¹ asks the blessing for the community in the coming year. A similar prayer that was said in January 1950, ran as follows:

¹ In order to illustrate the religious attitude of the Crown let us quote here from the opening address and from the Christmas message of Her Majesty the Queen Juliana in 1950: “With the prayer that God might assist us all in our work I declare the common sessions of the *Staten Generaal* for opened.” (*Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant*, September 19th, 1950).

.... “The masquerades of history, in which the temporal sovereignties are united, are guided to the crises in which the threatening total destruction yields to God's destiny ruling the world. Those, therefore, who try to penetrate to the meaning of this destiny by putting their lives as a wager, are the servants of God; they shall perceive in Christmas the eternal light that is present in the darkness; they shall receive the power to lead humanity through the darkness to its destiny: to become the children of God in the world. For them, Christ will not mean a mere historic fact but a living expiatory sacrifice for the present as well as for eternity.” (Owing to the richness of metaphor this passage is difficult to translate into English. We present here the original text: . . . “De maskeraden, die de tijden verbinden als wereldse heerschappijen, worden toch daarheen geleid, waar de dreigende volkomen vernietiging zich overgeeft aan de lotsbeschikking van de wereld door God. Daarom zullen zij, die, door inzet van hun eigen leven, trachten te komen tot begrip van deze lotsbestemming, dienst-knechten zijn van God, zij zullen in het Kerstfeest het eeuwige licht ontmoeten, dat in de duisternis aanwezig is, en zij zullen daaruit de kracht ontvangen om de mensheid door de duisternis heen te leiden naar haar bestemming van kinderen van God in de wereld.

Voor hen zal Christus niet een historisch feit betekenen, maar het levende zoenoffer voor nu en alle tijden.” *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant*, December 27th, 1950).

“God’s Blessing may be on our Community in this new year! That you and your kinsfolk may prosper under His Blessing! That we may, finally, in pleasurable cooperation work in the interests of our beautiful Community of Sassenheim the interests of which bind all of us so much in spite of the different principles to which we adhere. Amen.”

While there are comparatively few fields of actual direct contact between the government and the churches there are several fields of indirect contact. Several functions are shared by both, the local government and the local churches. It is usually in the following way: the community puts a certain amount of money at the disposal of the churches but claims the right of control over its spending.

Control over Education. All schools are, for instance, organized along the religious lines. Consequently, no neutral elementary school exists in the village. State law grants a great autonomy to the inhabitants in the field of education. They may found a neutral school if they hand in a petition to the local authorities which is signed at least by twelve parents who obligate themselves to send their children to this new school and the petition is accepted. In Sassenheim this was not the case;¹ all schools here are managed by the school-boards of the main local churches. The school-boards enjoy a considerable autonomy as far as education-policy is concerned; they hire new teachers, enlarge or limit the curriculum within the margins which are prescribed by law. The inspector of the Ministry of Arts and Sciences visits the schools about once a year to check whether the education fulfils the required standards. While the central government passes the law, controls its execution, and pays the salaries of the teachers, the local government takes care of the maintenance of the building, for the textbooks of the pupils, in short for the costs of material conditions of schools. It does so without discrimination between the types of schools. The Council fixes the amount of money which the Local Government will pay to the schools (for every pupil in Sassenheim this sum was fl. 14 in 1948, and fl. 23.— in 1949 and in 1950 for the lower grade schools and fl. 34.50 for the higher grade schools). This quota is multiplied by the average number of pupils in the year concerned, in order to obtain the sum which the community authorities pay to each of the different schools.

Thus the local authorities not only tolerate the educational activities of the churches, but also actively support them by granting subsidies to pay for the costs of running these schools. The law states that the Burgomaster and the Aldermen have to offer the churches an opportunity for religion classes even in the neutral schools (if there are any) which are run directly by the community authorities.

Social Assistance. Another example of the division of functions between the community authorities and the churches forms the “poor-

¹ See also p. 214.

law" administration. The Community Council appoints a special public assistance committee (het Burgerlijke Armbestuur) which selects the cases deserving public relief and controls the way in which this relief is given and used. In practice, however, the churches have their own assistance boards which make the lists of persons on relief and receive a portion of the money which the Community decides to spend for relief. This money is divided according to a fixed rule. The church assistance boards are obliged to hand in the lists of the applicants for relief to the public assistance committee. The latter examines these cases mainly for control and coordination.

A similar pattern of functioning can be observed with the public health services. There are denominational associations which give medical assistance and receive financial grants from the local government, each year. These so called "Cross Associations" (Kruisverenigingen) are obliged to submit their yearly budgets to the examination of the community authorities.¹

In contrast with education, the Burgomaster and the Aldermen do not delegate all responsibility for the public health services to the churches, for they reserve for themselves the direct control over a number of activities. The anti-tuberculosis campaign, the inoculation against small-pox, scarlet fever, or other communicable diseases, the inspection of food and water, and the fight against accidents, rats, and unsanitary housing-conditions are only a few of these activities.

Safeguarding the Mores. Several other functions of the Local Government should be mentioned. The Burgomaster and the Aldermen exercise control over the activities of practically every public organization. Any public meeting, any public performance or money collection must be announced at the village hall several days in advance. Consequently, the local authorities considerably influence the recreational life in the community by issuing or withdrawing their permits for these activities. Although legally quite free to make decisions, the Burgomaster and the Aldermen usually follow the established practice not to issue a permit for a motion picture or theatre performance, for a ball, dancing-parties, or a dancing course without asking the local priests and ministers for advice. The latter are known as the experts in questions of morals and mores. As the burgomaster is responsible for the maintenance of order and of the prevalent mores (zedes) before the law, it is only natural that he consults those who are considered the authorities in this field. In several cases the communal authorities have made their decisions independently of the churches. For example, a swimming pool was opened in Sassenheim near the modern villas quarter Ter Leede. In spite of the fact that persons of different sex are still not allowed to swim together, the opening of the swimming pool already brings about

¹ See p. 238ff.

a certain deviation from the mores and habits of the older inhabitants. Another example are the modern tennis-courts built in the village by the communal authorities and the maintenance of some sport-fields (soccer). The great influence of the government upon the recreational activities of the inhabitants can even be seen in such a private leisure activity as listening to the radio. Every citizen, namely, has to pay for a license if he owns a radio. It is the local government that decides to exempt from this rule some of the less fortunate inhabitants (from January 1948 to July 1949, thirty-seven persons were exempted from this tax of one guilder a month; thirteen applications were refused).

The local government also has the duty to protect the inhabitants from disasters and the unlawful acts of others.

The main task of the local police is to prevent traffic-accidents. In 1949, out of 594 penal offences which were recorded, 377 were violations of the Traffic Act or of traffic regulations; in 1950, this figure amounted to 288 of the 427 offences recorded. Among the possible disasters, fire is still considered as the commonest threat to the community, because floods are quite exceptional in these parts of the country. The local government maintains a fire-brigade which is under the supreme command of the Burgomaster. Actually the entire brigade consists of volunteers who receive material support (uniforms, equipment) from the communal authorities. To prevent infectious diseases from spreading, the Burgomaster and the Aldermen try to keep the community neat and clean; to this effect a special system of garbage-collection was introduced in Sassenheim. Every household received a special garbage-can of tin which is to be put on the pavement in front of the house twice a week, when the communal garbage-collector van empties them. Probably the same objectives (to nip a possible epidemic in the bud) made the local government control funerals. It denotes the places in which the inhabitants may be buried and prohibits burials in any other places.

The foregoing enumeration of functions would seem sufficiently long to convince the reader of the impact of the local government upon the life of the inhabitants. In many respects the group of people around the village-hall stand for the community as a whole (they try, for instance, to influence the *Provinciale Staten* to put Sassenheim into a higher category of communities which would have direct consequences upon the wages, taxes, and other facilities of the inhabitants) and affect the life of the citizens from beginning to end by their activities. These activities, as has been shown, do not consist merely of prescribing rules of conduct and of making the inhabitants conform to them through the executive power of police and of the penal system. They are often of stimulative nature, consisting not only of punishments but also of rewards.

Economic Function. In order to realize their variety one should consider still another function of the local administration—the stimulation and regulation of the economy. We deliberately postponed its treatment till now, in order to stress once more the wide field of governmental activities in our times.

We have already suggested the rôle which the Burgomaster and the Aldermen and the secretariat play in the growth of the community. They choose suitable sites for industries, buy them and try to find firms which will rent them on lease. In order to attract industries they advertize in the newspapers, promising various facilities to the firms such as houses for the workers, improvement of means of communication, etc. They do not issue permits to settle down unless the firm meets the following requirements: it should offer jobs for the largest possible number of local inhabitants and should add to the prosperity of the community without disturbing the social peace and political balance in the village.

This right of the local authorities to admit or refuse firms in the community is not only confined to industries; any pedlar who wants to make his living by offering his goods to the local inhabitants has to apply for a licence at the village-hall. Unless he is himself living in the community or selling goods which are not available in the local shops he has not much chance of getting this licence. The authorities protect the interests of the local inhabitants also in this field.

The Burgomaster described his policy in this matter in a letter to his colleague in the neighbouring community in the following way:

“The inhabitants of other communities can obtain a licence for hawking in this community, if

- (1) they enjoy a good reputation;
- (2) they possess the prescribed authorisation;
- (3) the local inhabitants will not be damaged by their competition;
- (4) they do not combine selling with begging or violate public order and traffic-regulations.”

This discrimination regarding the inhabitants of other communities affects also the selection of dealers: only local tradesmen, living at Sassenheim for more than two years, can enter a contract with the authorities to carry out community-works.

In addition to protecting the inhabitants against the competition from neighbouring communities the communal authorities also partly protect their citizens against the unbridled competition among themselves. They see to it that all shops (with the exception of a few restaurants and drug-stores) are closed on Sundays. In some cases they are asked by the local tradesmen to legalize decisions taken at their meetings, to accept them as the decisions of their own and to pass them as bye-laws. The bakers at Sassenheim, for example, agreed to close their shops on Wednesday afternoons (with the exception of Wednesdays preceding holidays) and asked the Council to sanction their decision.

Economically, the Community does not, however, solely represent an agent stimulating or repressing the activities of various firms. It is an economic firm itself. Primarily, it represents a financial enterprise. It collects financial contributions in the form of taxes for services rendered to the inhabitants. According to the budget for the year 1951, these taxes which are directly excised from the inhabitants by the community authorities, amounted to fl. 248,677.50 which is more than a quarter of all the incomes of the Community (fl. 892,825) (not taking the capital assets into consideration). Another substantial part of its income is the contribution paid to the community by the central government via the community-fund. From this source Sassenheim should obtain fl. 170,158.82 in 1951. Both incomes are based on the number of inhabitants and on the number of buildings owned.

One should consider the fact that the income of the Community represents roughly the equal number of work-hours of unskilled labourers (the costs of one hour work of an unskilled worker being roughly one guilder or a little less) in order to realize the economic importance of the local government. No wonder that applications are made to the local authorities to grant loans. In several cases they are approved of by the Council. Thus a loan of fl. 116,750 was granted to the Roman Catholic inhabitants in October 1950, to build a special school in the village. On another occasion, January 1947, a total of fl. 127,000 was granted to 193 consumers; loans are not only confined to corporations but are also given to less fortunate inhabitants. There were eighty-one consumers who received loans amounting to fl. 500 or less (sixteen persons received loans of fl. 100 each; 24 applications were refused).

In addition to finances the Local Government is responsible for the management of other Community Works.

We mentioned already that it owns land and rents it to private citizens or to firms on yearly lease. It also possesses a number of houses in the village (only about ten in 1947) and controls the rents. It runs the community gas-works which provided 1,289 out of 1,317 dwellings with gas in 1947, (in total 832,000 cubic metres). From a financial point of view, the gas-works turned out to be a failure in that year for the Community suffered a loss amounting to fl. 2,923.69. The Director of Community Works is not troubled by the losses. He thinks that it is not the objective of the communal authorities to make large profits out of Community Works; rather they perceive their tasks as that of satisfying the needs of the inhabitants.

This attitude explains why a swimming pool was established in the village in spite of its considerable running-costs (a loss of fl. 5,867.25 in 1951) and why the water-works are run by the Community supplying the 1,289 dwelling units out of 1,317 with fresh drinking-water. The supply proved not to keep up with the rapid growth of Sassenheim, the water-pipes which Sassenheim shares with a neighbouring community are old and too narrow with the result that a severe water shortage arises in the

hot summer-months. The dependence on the neighbouring community leads to some difficulties.

A better cooperating and smoother functioning utility enterprise are the electricity-works. These were, however, established in the form of a limited liability company with the communities Hillegom, Lisse, and Sassenheim as share-holders under the directorship of the Burgomaster of Sassenheim. Due to these works, almost 98 p.c. of all dwellings at Sassenheim are supplied with gas, running water, and electricity, at present.

To realize the full extent of the economic function of the community as well as the full range of its various activities, we will briefly examine here the budget which was accepted by the Council in 1950. For the sake of brevity we will only take its running account into consideration and compute the percentages of the items.

TABLE I

The budget of the community of Sassenheim for 1951; sum total of the running account

Chapter	Designation	Incomes		Expenditures	
		fl.	percent- age	fl.	percent- age
I	Past services			12,026	1.3
II	Administration	10,422	1.2	82,880	9.2
III	Public Security	75	0.0	16,935	1.9
IV	Public health	11,545	1.3	21,446	2.4
V	Housing	139,417	15.6	152,405	17.0
VI	Public works	28,260	3.2	123,107	13.8
VII	Properties	1,705	0.2	1,179	0.1
VIII	Education	32,750	3.7	119,159	13.3
IX	Social welfare	53,411	6.0	120,955	13.6
X	Agriculture	381	0.0	1,044	0.1
XI	Commerce and industry	—	0.0	233	0.0
XII-1	Taxes	248,677	27.8	1,027	0.1
XII-2	General contributions and allowances	170,158	19.1	—	0.0
XIII-2	Communal lands	1,979	0.2	—	0.0
XIII-3	Gas-works	5,210	0.6	—	0.0
XIII-4	Water-works	3,463	0.4	—	0.0
XIII-5	Swimming pool	210	0.0	6,077	0.7
XIII-6	House-rents	1,602	0.2	1,321	0.2
XIV	Cash	12,000	1.3	26,000	3.1
XV-1	Other incomes and expenditures	12,430	1.4	12,400	1.4
XV-2	Unforeseen	—	0.0	35,501	4.0
XVI	Transfers	159,130	17.8	159,130	17.8
	Grand Total	892,825	100.0	892,825	100.0

Source: Community Files

Ignoring the financial calculations (Chapters XIV—XVI) we notice that the major expenditures of the local government in 1951 can be divided between the following items: housing-policy (including projects of community-planning), public works, social welfare (including various doles and allowances, also those for the unemployed) education, and administration. Of less importance seem to be public health, public security (the police is paid directly by the central government), and public utility works (which contribute more to incomes than to expenditures in spite of "the altruistic policy" to which we referred.)¹

D) SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

After having briefly described the formal organization and the main functions of the local government we should return to the people who are engaged in it. It might be interesting to pay some attention to the characteristics, feelings, and actions of these persons.

The Burgomaster and the Aldermen. In spite of an impression of unity between the democratic and monarchistic institutions, which the term of "the Burgomaster and the Aldermen" is expected to give the citizens, the supreme government organ in the community is rather a heterogeneous body. There are differences in social background. The burgomaster is an aristocrat (he bears the title of "Jonkheer") who was the head of the office of the "Commissaris" in the province of South Holland before his appointment to Sassenheim. His accent, manners, and way of life differ in several respects from those of the local inhabitants. Both aldermen stem from the old middle-class; one of them is the director of the local canned meat factory, the other owns a painting-firm. Each of these three members of the highest organ of the local government belong to different denominations. There are also differences in educational status, the burgomaster being higher in this respect than the aldermen and the Council, as he is the only person with an academic degree. It is striking that none of these persons were born in Sassenheim; the burgomaster came during the war, and one of the aldermen was not only born outside Sassenheim but also represents more or less the interest of the industries which came here in comparatively recent times. Only the other alderman got assimilated with the local group, because he came already some thirty years ago, and got so well acquainted with the local political life that he became the deputy-burgomaster. He belongs to the most

¹ One should be careful not to draw any absolute conclusions from these data: on the one hand the budget includes several fictitious items which make any absolute picture of the functional distribution of expenditures untrue and biased (the percentage of money spent on housing, education, etc., being actually higher than the budget suggests). In spite of the fact, that we avoided some casual deviations by not taking the capital account into consideration, one should remember that the figures vary from year to year, and do not represent an average nor any relation of absolute constancy.

active members of the Council and also to the best experts on local political affairs.

Still more important than these personal qualifications are the functional differences in the group. The burgomaster is a Civil Servant whose salary is approved by the Council. In order to introduce a certain standardization, the central law contains certain directions in this respect; the burgomasters' salaries are determined by the size of the community. The personal interest of any burgomaster is thus vested in the growth of his community.¹ The aldermen, on the other hand, are not paid for their services except for a modest indemnification for the time spent in official meetings. Their services to the community cost them part of their leisure or part of the time which they should spend on their jobs.

Each of these three persons perceives his task in a different way. Each of them has a considerable prestige with the local inhabitants although for different reasons. The burgomaster is esteemed because he represents the Community at various occasions: at the local festivities, or at the opening of a new road, sport-field, or bridge. He visits the parents of recently born twins or triplets and the families of those who were killed in action (in Korea), etc. One of the aldermen is esteemed because of his daily concern with the community-life, his personal acquaintance with most inhabitants and their problems. The other one belongs to the largest group of electors of whom he is the main representative.

Not all participants in the governmental process do, however, agree with these standards of prestige and with the assumed rôles of the burgomaster and the Aldermen. Some wish for a more active rôle for the burgomaster; they would want him to control the key-positions in the local government to a greater degree. They find his present rôle too remote from the common life of the local politicians. Yet others fear that the burgomaster is

¹ The government decree of October 6, 1948, divides all communities according to the number of inhabitants into twenty classes. The salaries of the burgomasters vary from the maximum of fl. 385 a month in a second class community to the maximum of fl. 1,395 a month in a community in the nineteenth class. In the course of collecting the data, Sassenheim skipped from the sixth to the seventh class. The following table shows what this means in terms of salaries:

Class	No. of inhabitants	Monthly salary of the burgomaster	
		Minimum	Maximum
4	4,001—5,000	fl. 405	fl. 465
5	5,001—6,000	445	505
6	6,001—8,000	485	560
7	8,001—10,000	535	610
8	10,001—12,000	585	660

building up his prestige directly with the electorate while "leaving the job of running the community affairs to someone else." He abstains from meddling in the local political affairs and from disturbing the local balance of power, and is reproached for doing so by those who would like to exploit his influence for their own party-objectives. There is also a certain frustration in Roman Catholic circles that the present burgomaster is not a Roman Catholic, as was his predecessor. (A partial compensation was found in the fact that the secretary is Roman Catholic).

In addition to the various perceptions of the rôle of the burgomaster there are different opinions on the rôle the aldermen should play. Minority groups (often persons without denomination or belonging to the leftist political factions) perceive their rôle as mainly an administrative one. The question then arises as to whether or not the Aldermen should function as political officers tied up with the majority groups through pledges of party-loyalty.

Secretariat. The next body to be mentioned here is the personnel of the "secretariat" (de secretarie) as the village-hall is usually called. It consists of about nine clerks who earn their means of existence in the service of the community. In order to avoid frictions between the political factions about the composition of this body (the clerks are appointed by the Council which also determines their salaries), the following local procedure is adhered to: the total amount of money for the salaries of the personnel is divided among them roughly in the same way as the electorate is divided into various political (virtually *religious*) factions. Thus, for instance, if about one half of the population is Roman Catholic, the money which is paid to the Roman Catholic clerks at the village-hall will amount to about one half of the total sum. Hirings are governed by the same rule. As there are no sudden changes in the political composition of the electorate, elections do not disturb this system. The municipal clerks enjoy rather secure jobs (some of them work for more than twenty years in the service of the Community).¹

The continuity of employment is reflected partly in the functioning of this body, which fears especially to break away from tradition or to deviate from the established channels. In some unusual matters the neighbouring communities are asked for advice. The argument "in community X they do such and such" is often decisive in the disputes with the Council in which the secretary participates on behalf of the personnel. Tradition and custom play an important rôle; in very new cases the special advisory board of the Association of Netherlands' Communities in the Hague is consulted. In this world of

¹ The uninformed reader should keep in mind that the Civil Service is based on the system of permanent employment, in the Netherlands. A Civil Servant cannot be dismissed unless convicted of corruption or misconduct. The division of personnel of the Community Secretariat in Sassenheim is not prescribed by law and is guided entirely by local usage.

bureaucratic routine one is especially afraid to establish a poor precedent. Once the way of conduct is determined upon, it is likely to be repeated not only in Sassenheim but also in the neighbouring communities which ask for advice, on their turn.

The arbiter in uncertain matters remain the *Provinciale Staten* who control the management of the Community in several (especially financial) respects. For this reason, one is eager to know the opinion of the personnel in the Cabinet of the Commissaris in advance and appreciates the intermediary function of the burgomaster in this respect.

While the contact with the higher organs of government runs mainly via the Burgomaster and the Secretary, the contact with the citizens is more direct. Every morning they are free to come into the large hall of the "secretariat" where a group of about eight clerks sit at separate tables. A long window and a desk connect the hall with the corridor in which the visitors gather to register births, deaths, receipts of paid taxes, etc. Thanks to the large building which houses the administration, there are hardly any queues. While in the mornings the whole administration lives under the eyes of the visitors who observe them through the window, in the afternoons only a few "good connections" are allowed to enter through the side doors to manage their pressing business.

Still another contact with the citizens is maintained through the beadle. He used to belong to the community police before this was abolished. He visits the members of the local administration as well as common citizens on his bicycle bringing them a message from the burgomaster or from another organ of the government. Meanwhile his wife serves cups of coffee and tea for everybody in the village-hall. They both look after the cleanliness and hospitality in the secretariat.

Police. The local police is housed in the same building. It consisted of twelve members at the beginning of our field-work. This meant that while there was one municipal clerk per thousand inhabitants there were one and half police-men for the same number of people.¹ The local police-force is headed by a group-commander. This is the highest rank of the non-commissioned officers of the police. As suggested above, the group-commander is in contact with the burgomaster as he is expected to reinforce the bye-laws which are passed by the Council.

In their black uniforms with black boots and a gun, the police-men represent most distinctly the power of the government in the eyes of the common people. They do not mix up with the local population. They do not participate in the local associations. Although most of them were born in the district, it is rare that a born Sassenheimer

¹ Since January, 1951, the number of police-men was reduced to nine. The population, meanwhile, rose to over 8,000. Consequently, the relation between the number of inhabitants and the number of police-men approached one per thousand, which was openly called an ideal number in the speech of the burgomaster on February 3, 1951.

becomes a member of their group. Usually, police-men do not remain for more than six years in one community.¹ (The group-commander is an important exception for he has been living for more than twenty-one years in Sassenheim. Like the beadle, he once belonged to the local group of community police).

One should not think that there is no informal contact with the local citizens. The instructions to the policemen not to participate in the local community life do not apply to their wives and family-members. The police themselves assume that their relations with the citizens are excellent. There was some reserve on the side of one or two out of 400 citizens we interviewed.

Council. Another administrative body which should be briefly sketched here is the Council. This body consists of the representatives elected by the local inhabitants. They meet about ten times a year and form two or three political sub-groups. These sub-groups meet once or twice a year (in advance of the important sessions of the Council), to coordinate their policy with regard to the basic issues to be decided by the Council. At the time of our survey, the Roman Catholic faction formed the absolute majority in the Council, having seven of the thirteen seats. The remaining six seats in the Council were divided among the Anti-Revolutionary party (3), the Christian Historical Party (2), and the Labour Party (1). Three of these political factions represent the dominant religious groups in the community. The Catholic People's Party unites the Roman Catholic population, the Anti-Revolutionary Party the members of the Gereformeerde Church (see further Chapter IV), and the Christian Historical Party the members of the Dutch Reformed Church (Nederlands Hervormd).

The impact of religion on political organization is very strong. The only socialistic member of the Council, being himself of Protestant denomination, participates in the meetings of the Protestant factions. Whenever the discussion in the Council touches a religious matter, it tends to consume a good deal of the time of the session.

Much more time is, however, spent on the management of economic affairs. In the first session of the Council in the new year, the budget is discussed immediately after the opening address of the burgomaster. This gives an opportunity to the local party-leaders for lengthy speeches unfolding in general terms the programme of their parties. The whole budgetary debate centres more or less on the general line of the financial policy. The more technical problems are delegated to the financial committee of the Council. One also relies on the *Provinciale Staten* which review once more the whole budget and examine the correctness of the bye-laws. This explains why emotional

¹ They are not selected on the basis of their party-affiliation or denomination as is the case with the municipal clerks. Also in this respect they remain a distinct body in Sassenheim.

rather than technical issues characterize the budgetary debate; the questions of building or not building a bench in the community park, of introducing new garbage-cans or not, were discussed for a long time by the Council in December, 1950, while the incomes and the expenditures of the Community Works were passed without a comment.

The sessions of the Council are held in the large, lofty hall on the first floor. Here the councillors gather after office hours, in the evening. They sit in thirteen comfortable armchairs placed in a semi-circle in front of the presidential table. They face thus the burgomaster and the aldermen, who sit at his sides. The secretary of the community takes his seat at the front of the table, while one of his clerks takes the minutes. In the background, at a small desk, the reporter of the local press writes the article about the session; it is his presence which probably inspires the councillors to lengthy tirades once a year. The leading column in the local weekly (more a paper for advertising than information), an occasional article in one of the regional dailies, are the only publicity which the councillors get besides the minutes which are mimeographed and put at the disposal of the public. There is not much interest in the sessions in the community. Although they are officially accessible to the public and two long benches in the hall are destined for the occasional visitors, there are scarcely any onlookers.

About ten times a year, the burgomaster, with a silver chain on his neck (which is a token of his authority), opens the session by a prayer. After this the reporters or the visitors, if any, are admitted into the hall and the debate is opened by the knocks of the presidential gavel. The councillors sit comfortably, smoking their cigars, and listening to the burgomaster introducing subjects to be discussed. They have got familiar with the majority of subjects in advance through the agenda which has been mimeographed and sent to them a few days before the sessions. The majority of items are either approved without a vote or sent back to the Burgomaster and the Aldermen for further elaboration or cancellation; voting is resorted to only in a few emotional matters.

Committees. The sessions are not the only field of activity of the councillors. Most of them are members of one of the committees appointed by the Council. These committees deal with more specialized matters such as housing-problems, financial policy, industrialization, school-attendance, police-regulations, and water-supply. They usually consist of about five members and the membership is reserved for councillors (e.g., the committees for financial policy, for industrialization) or for citizens without a function in local government who are solely appointed by the Council for a specific task (e.g., committee for school-attendance). Some of them are presided by the burgomaster (*sport-committee, committee for police-regulations*), some by the alderman (the committee for support to industrialization, the finance committee), others are under the chairmanship of a councillor or without a chairman at all. They are established either for one or two years. Their activities vary from weekly sessions (the committee for

housing) to merely occasional sessions (the school attendance committee). Most members are paid for their attendance and receive fl. 2.50 per evening, which amounts roughly to the wage which an unskilled labourer earns in the same time. It is in these committees that several urgent problems are being prepared for decision or even decided upon (the housing-permits, the negotiations between the Council and the personnel of the community to settle wage-disputes, etc.).

Participation in committee-work often requires that the councillors maintain special contacts with the citizens; they should personally know the housing conditions in special quarters, the socio-economic status and living-conditions of the applicants, etc. It belongs to their daily task to visit people or to receive them, they are the mouthpiece of the injured as well as of the local pressure-groups and build on both their political popularity and prestige. The most skillful and experienced of them do so by appealing to the entire electorate.

E) POLITICAL PARTIES

Main Function. Though one of the basic sources of political influence, the political parties do not play an important rôle in the daily life of the community. Except for a short time before elections, some of them do not function as a regular organization, at all. If asked about the political life in the village, the local political "bosses" would associate it rather with the activities of the trade unions than with those of the parties. Only once the executive board of an "electoral association" (which is the legal form of the local faction of a national political party) succeeded in organizing four to six meetings in a non-election year. These meetings are in general poorly attended; a party which collects about 800 votes at every election is pleased, when about 30—50 persons take part in the meetings. This is, however, achieved only owing to the organizational skill of the committee-members who e.g., invite well-known speakers of the party to come down to Sassenheim. Even less attended are the meetings dealing with technical party-matters such as the election of the executive committee, the nomination of the candidates for the elections, and the political instruction of the members.

Leadership. It is not only difficult to find an audience for political speeches, but also new committee members are hard to find. There is a large accumulation of functions in the hands of a few "bosses" who hold their position often for a life-time. The chairman of the local Roman Catholic Trade Union Movement, for instance, is at the same time a councillor, a member of a committee on housing problems, and a member of the church committee; he has fulfilled some of these functions without interruption for more than twenty-five years. In

the Anti-Revolutionary Party, the local chairman has held his position for almost the same time without interruption. Recently, the members have come to feel that the citizens are to be educated to more active membership. They are to elect the chairman and six members who divide the various functions among themselves. Every year, two or three members resign to permit other members to be elected.

The efficiency of this system remains to be seen. At present, the need for skillful leaders is accentuated by the fact that the persons who represent the party in the Council should not be in the executive committee of the local organization. This rule, which is not sanctioned by law, aims at the democratization of the governmental process because in this way the councillors can be called to account for their policy by the executive committee. The councillors like this custom which gives them a feeling of a certain independence from the party and a possibility to work for the interests of a larger community.

The leadership of the political parties is thus organized along two distinct lines. It depends on the party concerned whether the power is vested predominantly in the councillors or in the executive committee. In some parties unity is achieved by means of a democratic procedure: the executive committee does not influence the electorate (in so far as it belongs to or sympathizes with their own party) in the choice of their representatives in the Council because the executive committee is elected by the members on an equal basis. In other parties, the power is vested predominantly in the executive committee which nominates the candidates and which by manipulations (such as, for instance, splitting the local party organization into two factions each with a candidate-list of its own) removes the unwanted candidate from the political stage. Such cases of disunity between the councillors and the executive committee concern, however, usually only the newcomers to the Council or the new candidates. Those who were re-elected at least once to the Council do not leave it as a rule because of the opposition of their party committee. Their positions are for a life-time, their authority with other party-members is too great to be shaken by occasional mistrust. Most of them belong to the old inhabitants of the community, the so called "old Sassemers," whose families lived here for generations. There are few bulb-growers among them because frequent journeys abroad make their participation in local affairs impossible.¹

Election Process. As already suggested above, the main function of the parties is to prepare for the elections which take place every second year. Every citizen is obliged by law to vote if he is living in the community and if older than twenty-three years. Although he can form a political faction of his own by submitting a list of candidates (signed by at least twenty-five voters), it never occurred in Sassenheim

¹ For another explanation see p. 454.

that a local political party was formed which had no branches in other communities. It is probably due to the fact that the same political group elects the local Council and the *Provinciale Staten* and the National Assembly. This limits the choice of the citizens in local elections to one of the existing national parties. The choice is still more limited by the fact that only the parties which obtain a certain number of votes (75 p.c. of the "quotient" which is the total number of valid votes, divided by the number of seats, i.e., about 311 votes at the time of our field study) have a chance to get a seat. This makes the smaller parties abstain from their right to hand in an independent list of candidates. Consequently, only three or four parties participate in the local elections; some of them—for tactical reasons—decide on a temporary fusion. In that case, the voters have the choice between two or three possibilities or an unmarked ballot. In spite of these limitations the number of abstentions (blank ballots) remains comparatively low—amounting to less than one p.c. in the last elections.

Catholic People's Party. The major parties are merged with the major churches in Sassenheim to a considerable degree. The Catholic People's Party claims to be the only political movement uniting the members of the Roman Catholic Church. Its meetings are held in the large building of the K.S.A. (Catholic Social Action, an organization of the Roman Catholic Labour Movement) or, for more solemn occasions, in the chapel of the Roman Catholic infirmary, St. Bernardus, (There is actually only one plenary session before each election; the majority of decisions are taken in committees.)

As most parties, it unites persons of various professions and of various socio-economic status. It claims to represent all social classes and, in the election-campaign, stressed that it delegated three workers, one farmer, one shopkeeper, and one industrialist to the Council. The party strives for a harmonious, corporative organization of society, settling once and for all the relations between capital and labour, without radically changing the position of each. It represents a successful attempt to unite both groups in one party on the basis of a common creed and ideology. In its work, it is faced by both socialism and liberalism that try to attract the more radical workers and employers among the Catholics. After the war, when the Labour Party was formed out of the formerly exclusively Marxist Social Democratic Party, the danger of losing the leftist wing became imminent. In Sassenheim, where church affiliation is stronger than in most other Dutch communities, the Roman Catholic faction attacked the local Labour Party by accusing its leader of affiliating with the Protestant group. Its loss of votes to the Socialist Party remained relatively small. The percentage of votes which it succeeded to collect in the six elections after the war never dwindled below 47 p.c. This is only insignificantly less than the percentage of the Roman Catholics in Sassenheim amounting to 52 p.c. in 1947.

Owing to the large families in the Roman Catholic group and, consequently, to the higher percentage of youth, the number of the Roman Catholic voters (about 49 p.c.) can be considered lower than the number of Roman Catholic church-members. Though never winning more than 49 p.c. of the votes, the Catholic People's Party enjoyed an absolute majority in the Council until 1953. This success was achieved not without calculation and luck. In two succeeding community elections, the Catholic faction split up, and handed in two lists of candidates. The two major Protestant parties decided, on the other hand, for a timely fusion in order to get the remaining votes. It was chiefly the unexpected refusal of another minor Protestant party, — the "Staatkundig Gereformeerde" Party, — to fuse with the Protestant block although knowing of having no chance to win a seat themselves, that gave the victory to the Catholics. They succeeded to collect a greater surplus of votes on each list of candidates than the Protestants (the Anti-Revolutionary Party and the Christian Historical Union) did on their combined list. The two seats, which remained vacant after the first division of votes, were ascribed to the Catholic People's Party, which gave it a majority of seven out of thirteen seats in the Council).

"*Protestant Parties.*" The union of both major Protestant parties, the Christian Historical Union and the Anti-Revolutionary Party, is rather a "*marriage de raison*" than an expression of a genuine emotional unity. Both parties consider the Bible a safe guide for political action. Both of them consciously oppose the principles of the French revolution; they struggle for the independence of the Church from the worldly, neutral power of the modern state. According to their official programmes the state should either serve the objectives of the Church (C.H.U.) or both, State and Church, should function side by side, each being "sovereign in its own proper orbit" (A.R.P.)¹ Both parties are opposed to a sudden, political change or a break in tradition. The source of political authority is not the will of the people, expressed by representation, but the will of God. There being no basic differences between them in the field of political philosophy or in practice, one could question the reason for their being separate parties. The reasons are to be found in the field of religion: each party represents one of the major divisions of Calvinism in the Netherlands. The Christian Historical Union strives to realize the political aspirations of the members of the Dutch Reformed Church (Nederlands Hervormde Kerk, abbreviated N.H.); the Anti-Revolutionary Party is a mouthpiece of the Calvinist Church (Gereformeerde Kerk, abbreviated

¹ We shall not discuss this Calvinist doctrine here. It is sufficient to say that it bears not only on the relation between the state and the church but also on that between capital and labour, family and state, husband and wife, children and parents, etc. It represents a pluralistic vision of society. Regardless of his social position, every person is autonomous and able to take free decisions in agreement with the will of God. For literature on the subject see, e.g. Dr H. Dooyeweerd, *De Wijsbegeerte der Wetsidee*, Amsterdam 1935. We are personally indebted to Mr. C. Boekesteijn, himself an adherent to this doctrine, for useful information on the subject.

G.K.) which owes its origin to a separation from the former by a revival movement in the past century.

The church-dominance in both parties is also manifested in the fact that both use the club-houses of the corresponding churches as their headquarters. This makes the meetings more attractive (one is not obliged to pay for refreshments or for a room in a restaurant) and also practically indistinguishable from the other social activities of the churches. In contrast with the other major parties in Sassenheim, both Protestant factions do not delegate many workers to the Council. They are not based on the Trade Union Movement to the same extent as the Catholic People's Party or the Labour Party. This can partly be explained by the fact that they have no Trade Unions of their own; their members join the undifferentiated Christian Trade Unions. Another explanation may be seen in the dominant ideology of both parties; it says that the division of capital and labour is given and safeguarded by God and stresses the value of individual responsibility also in the economic sphere, for example, in individual enterprise). The ideal to become an independent tradesman has much impact even upon the workers that belong to one of these denominations.

Socialist Party. In comparison to the above mentioned parties which determine more or less the political life of the community, the socialist party plays distinctly the rôle of a minority group. It is obviously not affiliated with any major church at Sassenheim.¹ In reality, it is a refuge for persons without denomination and for the free thinking Protestants who are loosely organized in the 'Protestant Bond'. Only a few Catholic or Protestant workers can be found among its official members. It originated before the war from a fusion of a small local political group called "Community Interests" (Gemeente Belangen) with the local group of Social Democrats. Its only representative in the Council, however, is not a worker himself but a former clerk at the village-hall.

He is known for his rather moderate views and is esteemed and accepted by the councillors delegated by the majority parties. It is probably owing to his personal esteem that the former ostracism against the socialists is applied with less stricture at present. Before the war, the group of local Social-Democrats found it difficult even to meet; the local youth would encircle the house where the group met, and by making noise would make any discussion or speech impossible. Though less violent, the opposition of the public is still present. The members of this party have no meeting-place

¹ On a national scale the *Partij van de Arbeid* (Labour Party) owes its origin among others to two converging trends: (a) the growing criticism of Marx and orthodox Marxism among the rank-and-file of the old Social Democratic party, and (b) the suspended bans on socialism in the official christian circles (mainly of the Dutch Reformed Church). The latter, denoted as "Doorbraak" brought about a partial break with the old division of population into the "denominational columns". In the latter sense, any strengthening of the neutral parties at the costs of the parties organized on christian basis is considered as "Doorbraak" in the Netherlands.

of their own and have to choose an inn for their sessions. They claim a neutral school in the community and a community club-house, which would enable persons of various creeds and political convictions to come together and discuss community matters in the spirit of active citizenship.

The party is the mouthpiece of several minority groups. In addition to the rights of atheists and people without denomination the local Labour Party assumes to advocate the political rights of women. There are about thirty-five female members; a half participate in the regular fortnightly meetings in which the general conditions of living are discussed from the standpoint of a housewife. These meetings are held in the afternoon, for a wife in Sassenheim is expected not to leave her husband in the evening. During the election campaign, the women do not participate actively because it is not considered as proper in this society. The social pressure to which the socialist group is exposed is also reflected in small number of the partisans of this party who are actively and openly organized, because many others fear discrimination. One of the former functionaries mentioned that people are afraid to join the party here because they fear their "Christian" or Catholic employers might sack them. (However, no cases of actual economic discrimination on account of divergent political attitude were reported to us by this spokesman).

Party Membership. We found some evidence for the fear of being known as an active member of the socialist party in the information we gathered from a random sample of the population over eighteen years of age. The answers to our question concerning party-membership can be divided in the following categories:

TABLE 12
The political membership in Sassenheim

Kind of Answer	No. of Persons	Percentage
No answer	3	0.75
No party-member . .	271	67.1
Member K.V.P. . . .	69	17.1
Member A.R.P. . . .	39	9.65
Member C.H.U. . . .	13	3.2
Member P. v. d. A. .	7	1.7
Member V.V.D. . . .	1	0.25
Member of other p. .	1	0.25
Total	404	100.00

Source: Random Sample of 404 Persons

If we compare this table with the distribution of the votes in Sassenheim in the elections in 1952 (which were the first elections held after our survey), we get the following picture:

TABLE 13

Distribution of votes in Sassenheim in the elections for "De Staten Generaal" in June 1952

Name of the party	No. of votes	Percentage
K.V.P. (Catholic People's Party) . .	1,693	42.4
P.v.d.A. (Labour Party)	351	8.8
A.R. (Anti-Rev. Party)	921	23.1
C.H.U. (Christian Historical Union) .	548	13.7
V.V.D. (Liberal Party)	170	4.3
C.P.N. (Communist Party)	19	0.5
Staatkundig Gereformerd Party . . .	55	1.4
K.N.P. (Catholic National Party) . .	188	4.7
Other parties	47	1.1
Total	3,992	100.0

Source: *Leids Dagblad*, June 26, 1952

On the assumption that our sample correctly reflects the political affiliation of the entire population, we may compute the following table, estimating how many of the partizans of a certain party are also party members:

TABLE 14

The frequency of party affiliation and party membership in Sassenheim

Name of the party	Percentage of votes	Percentage of the organized members in the total adult population	Percentage of the organized members among the voters for a party
	1	2	2 : 1
K.V.P. and K.N.P. . .	47.1	17.1	36.2
A.R.	23.1	9.65	41.7
C.H.U.	13.7	3.2	23.4
P.v.d.A.	8.8	1.7	19.6

Source: Tables 8 and 9

We notice that less than 20 p.c. of those who voted for the socialistic Labour Party admit to be registered as party-members, while this percentage is almost twice as high for the members of the Catholic

party and more than double for the Anti-Revolutionary party. The fact, however, that the situation within the Christian Historical Union resembles more that of the socialistic party than that of the two major local parties, suggests that other factors than social ostracism co-determine the frequency of membership. The nature of the weaker organizational ties of the Christian Historic Union will become evident if we compare the differences existing between the major churches in Sassenheim in this respect. The organizational ties of the Dutch Reformed Church are also weaker than those of the Roman Catholic or of the Calvinist (Gereformeerde) churches.

Linkage with the Churches. How close the relationship between party- and church-membership is, can be shown again from our sample of 404 persons chosen at random from the population over eighteen years. In this sample only 130 persons admitted to be a member of one of the existing political parties. They were scattered over the various denominational groups in the following way:

TABLE 15

Distribution of 130 members of political parties in Sassenheim by church-affiliation

Church-affiliation	Political membership				Total
	K.V.P.	C.H.U.	A.R.	Other party	
Roman Catholic Church . .	68	0	0	1	69
Dutch Reformed Church . .	0	12	1	2	15
Calvinist Church	1	1	37	1	40
Other church, without denomination	0	0	1	5	6
Total	69	13	39	9	130

Source: Random Sample of 404 Persons

The close association between the church-membership and the corresponding party-membership is quite obvious. It is not, however, only the *membership* which matters. When asked about their sympathies with one of the existing parties only about 43 p.c. of our sample gave a positive answer. Compared with their denomination this could be tabulated in the following way (see p. 74).

Again we witness the accumulation of persons in the cells at the cross-section of the church-affiliation with its corresponding political affiliation.

TABLE 16

Distribution of the adult population at Sassenheim by denomination and by political sympathies

Party with Which One Sympathizes	Church Affiliation				Total
	Rom. Cath.	Dutch Ref.	Geref. & Christ. Geref.	Others	
No or inadequate answer	76	28	39	10	153
K.V.P.	71	0	0	0	71
C.H.U.	1	23	0	0	24
A.R. & St. Ger. . .	1	7	43	2	53
Others	5	9	1	13	28
No Party	43	9	2	11	75
Total	197	86	85	36	404

Source: Random Sample of 404 Persons

Stability of the Political Scene. The foregoing tables show a considerable stability of the political life in our community. In the seven succeeding elections which took place in Sassenheim after the last war no significant shifts in the composition and the basic attitudes of the electorate took place. If we compute the percentage of votes which every party collected in each election and if we adjust the figures for the national, provincial, and community elections, we shall be able to ascertain the present political trends as shown in Table 17.

There is hardly a shift surpassing three p.c. of the votes in the course of seven years. Only with caution can a slight tendency be observed of the Christian parties to lose and of the neutral parties (especially of the liberal party) to gain. This tendency is strongest in the national elections (some 4.5 p.c.), somewhat less in the provincial elections (about 1.5 p.c.), and almost insignificant in the municipal elections (0.7 p.c.) in which the neutral parties are represented only by one faction: the Labour Party.

F) IMPACT OF THE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

A few words remain to be said about the population at large, regardless whether organized in the parties or not. For them the by-laws are issued; to protect their collective interests the whole administrative machine is run. Having this function of the local government in mind, it is only natural to ask: To what degree are the citizens satisfied with their authorities? How much do they long for a change not provided for by the institution of the government?

TABLE 17

Percentage of votes collected by the political parties in Sassenheim in seven subsequent elections after the war

Name of party	Percent of votes collected in						
	Munic. elect. 1946	Prov. elect. 1946	Nat. elect. 1948	Munic. elect. 1949	Prov. elect. 1950	Nat. elect. 1952	Munic. elect. 1953
K.N.P. (Catholic national party)	—	—	1.9	—	1.3	2.3	—
K.V.P.	48.9	48.4	47.4	47.4	46.5	42.4	47.4
(Catholic parties together)	48.9	48.4	(49.3) ¹	47.4	(47.8) ¹	(47.1) ¹	47.4
A.R.	25.8	25.2	23.6	—	23.4	23.1	—
C.H.U.	16.1	14.7	15.5	—	15.8	13.7	—
(Protestant parties together) . .	(41.9) ²	(39.9) ¹	(39.1) ¹	42.3	(39.2)	(36.8)	42.7 ²
P.v.d.A. (Labour Party)	9.2	8	7.4	9.2	7.3	8.8	9.9
S.G.P.	—	1.5	1.5	1.1	1.4	1.4	—
Communist Party Middle-class Party	—	0.6	0.5	—	0.6	0.5	—
Reformed Political Union	—	—	—	—	0.2	—	—
Young Conservative Union . . .	—	—	—	—	—	0.5	—
V.V.D. (Liberal)	—	1.6	2	—	3.5	4.3	—

Sources: *Leids Dagblad*, Municipal Register

In order to get a better insight in the attitude of the population towards this matter we have put a series of questions to the 404 persons of our sample which we shall briefly discuss here.

Bureaucratism. We were interested to know the attitude of the population towards the government officials, whether and to what extent they complained of "bureaucratism." A question was, therefore, framed as follows: "Whenever you come into contact with the public authorities, what kind of service do you get? Prompt and good? Reasonable? Tardy and bad?" The answers were distributed among the different categories of response in the following way:

¹ The figures between brackets represent the percentage of votes computed by adding the figures of two parties together. If no brackets are used the parties concerned actually merged and presented one list of candidates.

² Comprises also the votes of the *Staatkundig Gereformeerde* (S.G.P.) voters.

	Number	Percentage
No or inadequate answer	5	1.25
Prompt and good	139	34.4
Reasonable	75	18.6
Tardy and bad	79	19.55
Does not know	91	22.5
Rationalizing	15	3.7
Total	404	100.0

A large number of the vague answers to our question (more than forty p.c.) was due to a lack of contact with the public authorities. We notice that of those giving a definite answer the majority comments favourably on the civil attitude of the organs of government. Roughly one fifth of the inhabitants pass unfavourable comments, while more than one third approve of their activities.

Intensity of Political Interest. Stronger than the desire for personnel change seems to be the desire for a more intensive party-life at Sassenheim. The question used to estimate this desire ran as follows: "*How would you rate political party activity in your community? Too much activity? Too little activity? Appropriate?*" ("Vindt U dat er aan het partijleven in de gemeente: te veel wordt gedaan? te weinig wordt gedaan? er niets aan op te merken valt?") The answers to this question were distributed as follows:

	Number	Percentage
No or inadequate answers	14	3.5
Too much	26	6.4
Too little.	73	18.1
Appropriate	122	30.2
Does not know, evasive.	169	41.8
Total	404	100.0

One should be careful in interpreting these figures. The answers probably imply both the objective vision of the situation at Sassenheim as compared with other communities and the subjective evaluation of the interviewee expressing his positive or negative attitude to the political parties in general. We shall get a deeper insight into this

general attitude towards politics if we consider the number of persons who explicitly admitted to have spoken or thought about political issues. The distribution of answers was as follows:

	Number	Percentage
Thought about politics	31	7.7
Spoke about it with others	23	5.7
Thought about it and discussed it with others	129	31.9
Did neither think nor speak about politics before	218	54.0
No or inadequate answer	3	0.7
Total	404	100.0

More than a half of all persons in our sample explicitly admitted to have never thought before of the questions of party-membership, of the political life in their community, or of the adequacy or inadequacy of the existing social order, when we started questioning them on these matters. One should, however, not forget that there were also young people (between eighteen and twenty-three years) in our sample who did not participate in the elections and were not yet awaked to political participation.

Progressive vs. Conservative. Besides the attitude towards bureaucracy and party life, a more general attitude towards the existing social order was also gauged in our survey. The following question was schemed for this purpose: *“Do you think that our society (public life) should be organized in a new and different way in the future, should remain the same as today, or should be more like the one in the past?”* (“Vindt U dat onze maatschappij in de toekomst nieuw en anders moet worden georganiseerd? liefst zoals vandaag moet blijven? meer op het verleden moet lijken?”) The answers to it are again summed up below:

	Number	Percentage
No or inadequate answer	18	4.5
“In a new and different way”	198	49.0
“The same as today”	65	16.1
“More like that in the past”	68	16.8
Does not know, rationalization	55	13.6
Total	404	100.0

If we assume that this question is an adequate stimulus to ascertain the conservative-progressive attitude, a majority of the inhabitants appear to be progressive in their political outlook. This conclusion

should, however, not be exaggerated. On the one hand, one should still bear in mind the facts revealed through our previous questions (that only less than 50 p.c. ever thought and spoke about political matters), on the other hand, the question might simply reveal the value ascribed to everything which is new and different in general rather than that ascribed to a new social order.

Suggestions for Political Measures. This second limitation to the above mentioned estimate of the percentage of conservative and progressive citizens in the community is accentuated by the lack of concrete suggestions as to what should be changed in the present society. Before closing our interview, we put the following two questions: "Do you think that the government can improve the conditions of living in your community or in the Netherlands? If it can, what conditions? by whom?" "Do you think that living conditions could be changed for the better in any other way? By whom? In what way?"¹ If we consider, preliminarily, the channels through which one hopes to effect the improvement, the answers to the first question can be summed up as follows:

	Number	Per cent
No or inadequate answer	4	1.0
Do not find that government can improve the conditions.	115	28.4
Government may improve conditions, no specification as to who, what, and how . .	49	12.1
Government may improve conditions, does not know who	113	28.0
Local government can improve conditions of living	20	5.0
Provincial organs	6	1.5
National government	87	21.5
National and local government together .	10	2.5
Total	404	100.0

We see that only some thirty per cent of the population has a more definite idea as to how to improve their conditions via the organs of government. There proved to be still less clarity about possible

¹ For the Dutch wording see Appendix B.

improvement through non-governmental channels. Only about 23 p.c. had some notion by whom the reform could be started. This notion was, however, even then only very vague: 16 p.c. referred to "people" in general as an agent who could improve society (by improving themselves), some 4.5 p.c. referred to the Church; the remaining answers were spread in favour of "sport-associations", "citizens of Sassenheim," etc. About 32 p.c. explicitly declared to have no wish for a change in a non-governmental way, and 33.7 p.c. gave a simple evasive answer: "I don't know." While there is thus almost an absolute majority of people who can be considered as "progressive" from our "conservative-progressive" attitude question, only a small minority have a more definite notion of the possible change.¹ This supports our previous findings that the majority of the population do not think or speak much about political matters.

Degree of Participation. The answers to the questions which we discussed above give a picture of the intensity of the political attitude of the local population. We can complement them by a survey of the answers regarding participation in political life. Following are the answers of 404 persons over 18 years:

	Persons	Per cent
Sympathize with some political party . . .	174	42.9
Admit to be member of a party	130	32.0
Admit to pay regularly membership-fee. .	116	28.6
Assert to visit the meetings	54	13.3
Have some active function in their party-organization	12	3.0

Political Delinquents. Our survey would not be complete if we forgot to mention the group of citizens entirely excluded from public life in the community: the so called political delinquents. These are the persons who compromised themselves in the eyes of the community during the last war by supporting the Nazi occupational forces either directly or via the local group of the N.S.B. (a Dutch version of the National Socialistic Movement). Most of them were arrested immediately after the war and were confined for several years. Those who have been sentenced lost their suffrage. Most of them are stigmatized by their conduct during the war. They are excluded from all associations in the community and except for a scarce contact with the Church (once a week), miss any social contacts with the community in which they live and work. Being thus repulsed by the community, this small group (of about seventy-six members) cultivate intensive contacts among themselves in an informal, unorganized way.

¹ The proposed changes are listed on p. 464.

CHAPTER VI

LOCAL CHURCHES AND WORSHIP

A) PRINCIPAL CHURCHES IN SASSENHEIM

In the government organization in the country Sassenheim still subsists as a distinct, integrated unit. But in terms of church organization it has lost its former unity. The political and religious organizations do not overlap any more. The "community of Sassenheim" is split up into more than five religious communities; there are even inhabitants who, although living and belonging to Sassenheim, join a church-community in one of the neighbouring villages.

A casual visitor will notice the towers of the local churches at first glance. If walking through the village he will find three other buildings, rather quiet and desolate on a work-day but boisterous and crowded on Sundays. At one place within a circle of some hundred yards, three churches can be found. The largest of them is the Roman Catholic church, situated on the Mainstreet. Its tower is by far the highest point in the community; because of its lofty construction it is sometimes called "the Cathedral of the Bulb-region" by the inhabitants. It is built on a large patch of open ground on which clusters of trees suggest the remnants of a grove or a wood. Behind the church is the cemetery of the Roman Catholic population. Attached to the church, somewhat farther from the Mainstreet, the solid building of the presbytery can be seen behind the carefully trimmed lawn. In front of the church-door a large black-board can be noticed. Every week a new inscription is put on this board in white chalk: "God is eternal love! Seek Him, He invites you!" "Together with flowers, bring also joy in the hearts of your neighbours!" or "Sobriety—don't misuse the goods of the earth!" Those who enter, face two separate rows of benches for male and female church-members. The majority of seats are allotted to persons who pay for them. The prices are progressive, those in front of the altar being most and those near the entrance least expensive. There are statues and paintings of saints but not in such abundance as is usual in more southern countries (Belgium, France, Italy). The whole gives a rather new and modern impression.

About half a mile northward, on a very low hill, at the opposite side of the Mainstreet, the church of the Dutch Reformed Community can be found. It is the oldest church in Sassenheim. Like the Roman Catholic church it is surrounded by a graveyard which is, however, quite open; one has to pass several ancient tombs before reaching the entrance. Like the Roman Catholic church, it is built along the

east-west axis: at the eastern end of the aisle, where in the Roman Catholic church an altar can be seen, is a pulpit with a large Bible. There is hardly any decoration in the aisle with the exception of a few inscriptions and a board designating the psalms to be sung. The simple wooden chairs and benches add to the sober and austere character of the place. There are special seats reserved for the elders and for the more distinguished members.

The building of the Calvinist Church (Gereformeerde Church) is situated in the modern, fashionable Julianalaan. It has been built in the vicinity of the village-hall and a school from which it is separated by a smoothly clean courtyard of concrete. It is erected not far from the church of the *Protestanten-bond* which is the centre of the rather freethinking Protestants who belong to various un-orthodox denominations. This is also a new red-brick building of strange, high shape, visited by the local un-orthodox group once a fortnight. Finally, the Christelijke Gereformeerde church should be mentioned. It is situated at the other end of the village on Churchstreet (Kerkstraat). It is a rather new, red-brick building of a simple, bulky architecture, without any decorations and pretensions; it gives a rather provisional impression.

There are, however, more religious organizations and creeds than there are places of worship in Sassenheim. The last census mentions fourteen of them without covering the whole field. Among the groups, consisting of at least one hundred members, four can be mentioned: the Roman Catholic Church, the Calvinist Church (Gereformeerde Kerken), the Dutch Reformed Church (Nederlands Hervormde Kerk), and Christian Calvinist Church (Christelijk Gereformeerde Kerk). To these, the group of persons without denomination should be added which consisted of about 2.4 p.c. of all inhabitants at the time of the census in May, 1947.

B) MAIN RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS

We need not linger on the description of the ideological backgrounds of the Roman Catholic Church, as this is more or less identical throughout the world. The unity of its organization seems to be a safeguard of the unity of its teaching. In Sassenheim, the degree of ideological conformism with the highest "spiritual" leadership is probably still higher than in other regions. According to the local chronicler,¹ there have been very few adherents of Jansenism or of any other major schism in the past.

In ideological respect there is, of course, much greater distance between the Roman Catholic Church and the two Protestant churches

¹ A. M. VLAMING, *Geschiedenis der Parochie van St. Pancratius te Sassenheim*, Sassenheim 1950.

than between the separate Protestant churches themselves. The Dutch Reformed Church and the Calvinist Church (Gereformeerde Kerken) have a common basis in the reformatory doctrine of Calvin. The Calvinist Church owes its origin to the resistance among the Dutch Calvinists against the growing liberal spirit in the established Dutch Reformed Church. The members who strove for a literal interpretation of the Bible in the spirit of the National Synod of Dordrecht (in 1618—1619) resented the decisions of the more recent synods and formed a church-organization of their own, some 115 years ago. Thus from the very beginning, the Calvinist Church represents the people who adhere to a rather conservative, stable religious doctrine but at the same time strive for new organizational forms. In contrast, the Dutch Reformed Church combines the less fundamentalist, less rigid attitude towards the doctrine with a rather old, traditional organizational structure. The differences are more or less based on the different interpretation of the Bible and of the Three Formulars of Unity (Drie Formulieren van Eenigheid), consisting of the Dutch Confession (by Guido de Brès), the Catechism of Heidelberg, and the Articles against the Remonstrants, as accepted by the Synod of Dordrecht, which all of them share in common.

C) SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE LOCAL CHURCHES

The Roman Catholic Church. The Roman Catholic Church is undoubtedly the largest and most influential organization in the community. In the latest directory no less than forty-four different clubs, committees, and associations of the Roman Catholics are mentioned. Among them the church committees and associations play a central rôle, integrating and coordinating the spiritual and social life of all church-members. From the standpoint of church organization, the Roman Catholics at Sassenheim form an independent regional unit, the parish of Sassenheim, which unites about half of the local population. The parish is under the spiritual leadership of a priest, assisted by two chaplains. The priest is the highest authority in matters of spiritual welfare of the community and is responsible for the stimulative or prohibitive measures in this field to the higher organs of the church hierarchy. The latter, especially as represented by the bishop of Haarlem, (who himself owes obedience to the arch-bishop of Utrecht, the highest authority of the Church in the Netherlands), have the right to recall or to appoint the priest, to control his work and issue directives for his activities. Each year, the bishop, assisted by the canons and some priests, issues proclamations in special sessions (pro-synod) concerning the general church-policy.

The main task of the priest is to read the mass and to administer the sacraments. He would hardly be able to fulfil these tasks alone,

for mass is read three times each morning, at six thirty, seven fifteen, and eight o'clock, in order that people of different occupational groups can attend the service before going to work. On the first Friday of each month, an early mass is read at half past five a.m. On this day, the whole community is expected to receive Holy Communion. The priest coordinates his work with the chaplains. He himself reads the first mass and takes all unusual tasks upon his shoulders so that the chaplains can plan their educational and committee-work without fear of unexpected events and tasks. All three clergymen visit the parishioners who need advice, support, or a word of sympathy, and divide all cases without special predilection among themselves on an equal footing.

A similar division of tasks can be noticed in the attitude of the clergy towards club-life and committee-work in the community. The priest himself is the chairman of the "Catholic Action." This is actually an auxiliary committee composed of faithful laymen who help him to strengthen the spiritual life of the people and to bring religion into the daily life of the parishioners. He also presides at the school-board of the Church and at the local choir *Pius X*. The chaplains work with the youth organizations of the Church: "Maria Congregation," sections for boys and girls (age-groups 12—16 years), Youth Community Group, and some recreational groups as the Roman Catholic Theatre Club "Everyman," the Roman Catholic Sport Association "*Teylingen*," the R.C. Athletic Association, and the girl-scout "St. Theresia-group." Their rôle in these associations is that of "spiritual advisors." They should see to the proper moral development of the youth and fight corruption and moral bewilderment. They also participate in the committees of the trade-unions, the "R.-C. Workers' Movement" (K.A.B.), and the R.-C. Middle-class Association "St. Olaf." Here, their function lies more in the field of the general policy of the Church, anxiously striving to preserve unity among its members in spite of possibly opposed class-interests or social status differences.

The foregoing ones are by no means all the Catholic organizations in Sassenheim. There are two religious orders working here. One of them came as early as 1890, and works chiefly in education, the other "the Sisters of Our Gracious Lady of Charity," are housed in the infirmary of St. Bernardus where they work as nurses. Thus the weaker among the population, the children, the old, and the sick are being taken care of by the Sisters. The latter make the task of the housewives easier by maintaining the nursery-homes for children. From the standpoint of the Church this early educational task is very important because the nuns can inculcate the principles of Catholicism upon the young members from the very beginning.

There are also some laymen associations and committees organized within the frame-work of the Church. There are two retreat groups,

“St. Willibrord” for the men and “St. Theresia” for the women. There is a “Sunday-afternoon Club” which is very informal and which meets in one of the largest restaurants. Every R. C. girl is welcome to join, without needing to apply for admission. Another group (Genootschap van Stille Omgang) organizes pilgrimages, once every year, to Amsterdam, where the night is spent with worship, prayers, and meditation. In addition to these, several youth groups should be mentioned.

Clustered around the church several other organizations of the Roman Catholics can be observed. One of them, the Catholic People’s Party (K.V.P.) was already mentioned in the preceding chapter. In contrast with this large, undifferentiated body, the Roman Catholic trades-organizations serve a definite purpose and are subdivided into numerous sections. They reflect to a certain degree the division of the population into social classes: there is a Roman Catholic Labour Movement, the Association of Farmers and Gardeners, also a Roman Catholic Middle-Class Association “St. Olaf” and an Employers’ Association. One tries to avoid, however, the “Marxian terminology” (“class”) in the Roman Catholic group—a reason, why the term “estates” (standen, standenorganisatie) is used whenever reference is made to these organizations. The first one, the R. C. Labour Movement is probably the most differentiated among them. It consists of about seven special unions which are established to protect the interests of the employees in different industrial and commercial branches. It also backs some other associations organized for social purposes as “Life Regained” (“Herwonnen Levenskracht”) which raises funds for a sanatorium for patients suffering from tuberculosis, a Youth-Hostel, and a Holiday Association.

There are also social organizations outside the Labour Movement: for example “Roman Catholic Family Care,” “Children Colony Association” (organizing recreational trips for the poorer children to sea- or holiday-resorts), a R. C. Burial Association and the R. C. Travel Association.

The Protestant churches. Control over clubs and associations is by no means a monopoly of the Roman Catholic church. The two largest Protestant churches also control several sub-groups which cover by their activities a wide range of public life in Sassenheim. In the preceding chapter we already mentioned the Anti-Revolutionary Party and the Christian Historical Union which satisfy the political needs and aspirations of most Protestants. In addition to the political parties we notice an independent Protestant “Christian Trade Union” as well as the Protestant Association of Employers and a Middle-Class Association. To the Roman Catholic School Board corresponds the Association “De Visser-school”, which takes care of the schools of the

Calvinist Church and "The Association for the Foundation and Maintenance of Christian Education" which is the organ for the educational policy of the local Dutch Reformed Church. There is also a Protestant public library, several musical clubs and choirs, several Protestant sport associations, and associations for medical and social care: a Hospitalization Association (Protestantse Ziekenhuisverpleging), District-Nursing Association (Protestantse Wijkverpleging) and a Green Cross. The latter functions side by side with the Roman Catholic White-Yellow Cross and the "neutral" (i.e. non-confessional) Red Cross.

There are, however, also some points of difference with the Roman Catholic Church. In several sectors of public life both Protestant churches coordinate their policies to that extent that they do not create organizations of their own but content themselves with common "Christian" organizations. A similar expression of the integration of the Protestant bloc can be observed in the trade unions, in the Green Cross, and in some sport associations and recreational clubs. In the field of political activity this merging of the sectarian interests into one political movement occurs only occasionally in the form of a temporary fusion of the Anti-Revolutionary and the Christian Historical parties. We miss it entirely in the field of education where both denominations maintain their independent schools. Each church strives to transform the moral nature of man in agreement with its own creed and fears the interference of the inimical, neutral school in this field.

The Dutch Reformed Church. In organizational respect the structure of the Dutch Reformed Church resembles that of the government. The composition and functions of various committees and boards, the rules according to which the members of them can be elected or dismissed, and according to which they carry out their activities, are described by the New Order of the Church (in a similar way as the governmental organs and functions are described in the Constitution). This document, accepted by the Church in October 1949, should come fully into force in 1959. It comprises many temporary provisions to ease the transition from the old organizational form, basic structure of which can be traced back to the General Synod of Dordrecht in 1618. *The New Order* vests much influence in the members of the local community in the same way as the Constitution delegates the political power to the local electorate. The Church-community consists of baptized¹ and communicant members, who live on the territory of Sassenheim as defined by the political authorities. These communicants, after they have reached the age of twenty-three years, are entitled to elect the Council (Kerkeraad), which consists of elders, deacons, and churchwardens who elect

¹ Baptism is not, however, decisive for the membership for all children of the members are considered as belonging to the Church.

a minister for the community. The elections are held by secret ballot. In order to secure the continuity, the members of the Council resign in periodical intervals (usually each year). It is rare when they hold their function for longer than five years. They divide among themselves the various tasks which the Council is expected to fulfil. The Minister and the Elders are responsible for the spiritual welfare of the community (in organizational respect one can again perceive a certain analogy with the position of the Burgomaster and the Aldermen); the deacons are in charge of the social care for the poor, sick, or maladjusted members (vaguely analogous to the public assistance committee of the Community Council), while the churchwardens supervise the economy of the church. In addition to these major organs there are also minor organs of the Council: a committee for missionary work, a committee for evangelization, another one for the coordination of youth-work, etc.

The Church Council forms the corner-stone of the whole national organization. It delegates the clergymen and an elder or a deacon to the diocese meeting (classicale vergadering) where the representatives of some five or seven communities discuss the general situation in their communities at least twice a year. Several dioceses form a church-province which overlaps in territorial respect the province as a political administrative unit. The provincial session is held at least once a year. Each diocese sends three (or two) clergymen and three (or two, if the province consists of less than four dioceses) lay-delegates.

The diocese also delegates the representatives (one clergyman, one deacon and one elder) for the General Synod, each for a period of five years.

The chief function of these higher organs of the church is that of supervision and leadership. Each of them is split up into several committees concerned with the supervision of the main functions of the local Councils. It is only in the case of these committees that the principle of the delegation by the dioceses is replaced by that of the delegation by the Council.

Though the territorial division of the church, as well as its main organs, resemble the organization of the government, there is a difference in the principle of delegation of powers. In the political organization, the electorate directly elects the representatives for the main organs not only of the local but also of the provincial and national governments. In the church-organization, the community-members elect only the local council which elects from their midst the delegates to the higher organs. Both the provincial council and the general synods are elected by the delegates of the delegates. In spite of this indirect system of representation and rather hierarchic structure, the church-members carefully avoid to refer to the provincial or national organs as to "higher organs."

The group of communicant members is ascribed the important rôle of electing the Council. In reality the clergyman in Sassenheim

depends to a considerable degree on changing opinion of the members. Though not born at Sassenheim, he has worked for almost thirty years in this community and forms actually the pivot of the activities of the local Church. Each Sunday morning he conducts two services, at 9 and 10.30 a.m., while in the afternoon, he visits one of the neighbouring communities to preach there. The preachers of these communities visit, on their turn, Sassenheim, to give a sermon at 5 p.m. in order that every member of the community might be able to visit the church twice on Sundays and compare the sermon of the local preacher with that of his colleague. For the youth of 6—16 years there is a Sunday-school which is attended by about 120 children in two groups. Traditionally, it is under the supervision of the headmaster of the Dutch Reformed school. This does not mean, that the preacher delegates entirely the task of religious education to the teachers. During the major part of the year, he takes catechism classes, separately for boys and girls. These classes are attended by the adolescents from the age of fifteen to about twenty years; then they are confirmed and become the communicant members. (The minister allows for exceptions in the case of the high-school pupils, who are dispensed as their study lays claim upon a good part of their leisure). Both courses for boys and girls are held in the evening; the minister regrets this as he loses two precious evenings of the week for pastoral visitation. He made an attempt to organize the catechism-classes for the girls in the afternoon. Lately, however, this became impossible as several girls work either in the offices as clerks or in the workshops as workers.

Most of his visits are to the bereaved families, newly married couples, and to the elders in the church whom he informally polls about their reactions to his sermon, to the urgent local or national church affairs, etc. He is concerned with the poor or "problem-families" only as far as spiritual assistance is required and leaves their material support to the care of the deacons. These visit the poor parishioners to ascertain personally the urgency of their need and to distribute the money granted for this purpose by the public assistance committee (het Burgerlijke Armbestuur). Their task became somewhat easier when the National Old-Age Pension was introduced by the government of Prime-Minister Dr. Drees (called "the Drees pension" in the broad circles of population). This pension provides a minimum income for every inhabitant who is handicapped by his or her age to work for his own self-support. Formerly, this category of the population was principally dependent on charitable institutions.

While not participating in the charity-work himself, the minister still remains in touch with the lower strata in his parish through the members of his family. His wife has been a member of the local Froebel schoolboard for years. This kindergarten was originally established for the children of working-class parents, either neglected

because both parents had to work to make their living or because the large size of the family made individual care for the older children impossible. After the war, however, the situation has changed. Because of the scarcity of servants, the well-to-do mothers learnt to send their children to the kindergarten which also completely changed its original charitable character.

In addition to preaching and to informal home-visits, the minister participates in several organizations of the Church or in those closely attached to the Church. He presides at the church-committee "The Older Church" which unites members over thirty-five years of age and invites speakers for the discussions several times each winter. He fulfils the same function also for the "younger Church" uniting the members under thirty-five years. As already suggested above, he personally supervises education in his position of chairman of the "Association for the Foundation and Maintenance of the Christian Education" which is actually the name for the schoolboard of the Dutch Reformed School at Sassenheim.

It is also his task to represent the community in the broader organization of the church. For several years he was a member of the diocese of Leyden to which Sassenheim belongs, and for a shorter period he participated even in the provincial church-committee and in the general synod.

His relations with other members of the Church Council are not always of simple nature. The differences of opinion do not concern so much religious faith as its consequences for political action. Being able to see the repercussions of economic crisis and unemployment on the social life of his community, the minister in Sassenheim took a much more positive standpoint towards the idea of fusion of Socialism and Christianity (the so called "doorbraak" movement) than was appreciated by some members of his rather conservative Council.

As to the articles of faith, the community avoids brooding about the dogmatic questions and objects occasionally against the more "fundamental" sermons of the preacher. This is, however, rather motivated by the resistance to deeper thinking on religious matters than by the deviant thought of the elders.

Personal integrity and tolerance of the preacher are the main causes of his acceptance by the community. They enable him to conciliate between the main currents in the church — that of the religious orthodoxy and that of liberalism. In Sassenheim, before the arrival of the present minister, the "leftists" left the Church and sought contacts with the "modernists" with whom they founded an independent local group of the Association of the Protestants (Protestanten-bond). This meets once a fortnight to listen to a preacher who is invited for this occasion into the village. In the eyes of the present Council of the Dutch Reformed Church such a secession was neither necessary nor inevitable. It is ascribed to the lack of tolerance and tact in the past.

The Calvinist (Gereformeerde) Church. In spite of its separation from the Dutch Reformed Church, the Calvinist Church organization has many elements in common with its old "mother church." It is split up into the same basic sub-divisions, namely the Community, the Diocese, the Provincial Synod, and the National Synod. In the appointment of its officers the delegation of powers occurs along similar lines. The local Church Council is elected by secret ballot by the communicant members; it consists of the elders, deacons, and the minister who is examined by the diocesan committee and should be elected and approved of by the community (by secret ballot) before being admitted to the pulpit. Similarly as in the Dutch Reformed Church, the higher organs of the church try to avoid any identification of power or prestige with the person or the functionary concerned. The function and offices are of periodical validity, no person can fulfil any high function in the church for two subsequent terms. In spite of the high prestige of the clergymen, who are referred to as "the Servants of the Word," a provision is made against their forming an oligarchy. In the important sessions of the Church (for example, the provincial or the general synods), their number must not exceed that of laymen delegates. According to the article 8 of the Church Order there is a possibility for laymen to become "the Servants of the Word" after being examined by the diocesan committee; this article does not remain a dead letter.

There are, however, also some minor points of difference with the Dutch Reformed Church. More stress is laid on the church discipline. Fifteen of the eighty six articles of the Church Order (which is based on the old Church Order of Dordrecht) deal with the "Censorship and Church Admonition." There are four measures which should be applied to the member whose conduct or opinions are judged to deviate from the established norm.

In first instance, the person concerned is summoned before the Church Council and admonished in private to abandon the form of conduct which has caused public resentment or which is simply not in agreement with the teaching of the Church. If the member perseveres in his aberration another measure is taken; his trespass is publicized by the preacher from the pulpit without reference being made to his name. His transgression is always described in terms of the violation of one of the Ten Commandments even if it is some sectarian discord or disagreement with the official interpretation of a certain part of the Holy Writ (one would refer to the second commandment in this case and interpret the dogmatic schism as a sinful image of God which the castigated person adheres to). Members are reprimanded not only for their "sins of commission" but also for their "sins of omission." Those, who do not fulfil their church-duties and do not attend the Sunday services for a long time, run the risk of drawing the attention of the Church Council to themselves.

The third measure exerts much stronger pressure than the first two

and is used to achieve conformity of conduct in moral or religious matters. So far the admonition has been confined only to the person concerned without any publicity outside the Council, but in the third instance his name is publicly announced from the pulpit together with the transgression which is condemned. In this way, the attention of the entire community is drawn to Brother or Sister So-and-So whose social status is now threatened and who is now exposed to ostracism by the members.

The final measure consists of his or her excommunication. This does not mean that the person concerned is automatically excluded from all social activities and club life of the Church. All members are exhorted to pray for the unfortunate transgressor who is refused the sacraments and other rights of the communicant. It is hoped that he will correct his blunder and return to the Church afterwards; provision is made for the repentant sinner.

Another difference in the structures of both Protestant churches is a further separation of the church-office from the person who administers it. The office-bearers follow each other in such a rapid sequence that almost every synod is presided over by a different person, and a different secretary may also be appointed for any particular meeting. The offices are thus allotted to members only during the sessions. Nobody should be addressed as "the president of the synod" outside the building where the synod meets or on the days when no sessions are held.

Yet another difference is that the Calvinist Church does not receive financial support from the state like the Roman Catholic and the Dutch Reformed churches. It is financially quite independent from the state, its preachers are paid from the contributions of the members.

This does not imply that the Calvinist communities have to economize more than the Dutch Reformed ones. In Sassenheim, we find two preachers of the Calvinists as compared with one preacher of the Dutch Reformed Church, although the number of Calvinists only slightly surpasses the number of the members of the Dutch Reformed Church. The Calvinist community owns not only a stately church-building but also a public library from which anybody can borrow books on Saturday afternoons. The elders complain less of thrift of the inhabitants than in other local churches. According to their opinion, the poor relief board (served by the deacons) is very active and can meet all cases of urgent need. It distributes gifts among the poor and gives credit to the members to help them over temporary difficulties. It maintains a social worker of its own who assists mothers in childbirth or in sickness.

The church has slightly more branches than the Dutch Reformed community. The Calvinist Church has twice as many youth-groups, because many young men and women attend evening courses. They meet, therefore, in a special club each Sunday evening. In a similar way,

the catechism classes are split up into two groups. They are very well attended which can be seen from the fact that each year about forty persons are confirmed and are admitted to the large group of communicant members.

The preachers again form the centre of the activities of the church. The older one has lived more than twenty years in Sassenheim and possesses a thorough knowledge of his community. He owns a motor-car in which he visits his parishioners in the evenings. In questions of faith he is fully trusted by the local church. Some of the members of the Church Council mention his prestige in this respect and justify it by the sharp contrast which his knowledge forms with the superficial faith of the people who do not bother much about dogmatic differences and who follow their spiritual leader obediently. Their indifference to the subtler theological problems is by no means a sign of indifference in matters of religious practice. Most members attend the church twice each Sunday. They fulfil not only the minor duties which the church-membership entails but are also aware of the consequences which their faith ought to have for their participation in the public life (politics). As the community is small enough for people to know each other, the church discipline does not need to be based upon the drastic application of public rebukes of members. Conformity is achieved, as a rule, by less stringent measures.

The quality of the spiritual leadership of the minister accounts, according to the elders, for the fact that comparatively few members became involved in the recent schism in the church on its national scale. There are few members of the "Dutch Calvinist Church Adhering to the Article 31" at Sassenheim. Those who joined this sect, which arose from the schism, are mostly persons born outside the community.

They belong to those among the Calvinists, who deny the competence of the church-organs to decide by majority the questions of religious faith in such a way that the decisions should be binding for all members. As the Church Order used to make a provision for similar conscientious objectors in its Article 31 (denying the right of the synods to decide the interpretation of God's Word) the dissenting group accepted for administrative reasons this rather strange name.

The Christian Calvinist (Christelijk Gereformeerde) Church. The Calvinists do not form a united group at Sassenheim. There are about 200 members of the Christian Calvinist Church (Christelijk Gereformeerde Kerk) here, who formed an independent community some thirteen years ago. This small group, though composed mostly of people belonging to the lower income groups, support a preacher of their own and a small congregation house while refusing, like the Calvinist Church, any government funds. It is a living embodiment of the division of Protestantism at Sassenheim. Having its origin in the

same process of orthodox revival and schism (*Afscheiding*) within the Dutch Reformed Church, this church refused to fuse with a later sect which cut off her ties with the mother-church in the act of secession called "Doleantie" (from the Latin word "doleo" i.e. to have pains, to be afflicted, a feeling with which the minority, revolting against the dictate of the majority, characterized its attitude).

Though few in number, the members of this church are not less active and organized than the members of other churches. The usual division along the sex and age lines is carried out even here. This means, however, that the section of the male adults consists only of about twenty members of whom ten regularly attend the meetings in which the Bible "is searched." From these the elders of the Church Council used to be elected. Only the male youth section fails to meet at all, which is usually accounted for by the busy life of young people who have to attend courses. On the other hand, there is a Sunday-school attended by about sixty children among whom also the children of Calvinist parents can be found; the Calvinist Church (*Gereformeerde Kerk*) has no Sunday-school, as yet. There are the usual committees for mission and evangelization which, however, are less successful in fulfilling their mission. People cling to the faith of their forefathers and are not easily converted.

D) FUNCTIONAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE CHURCHES

Main Function. The churches at Sassenheim differ not only in their material circumstances, articles of faith, and forms of organization. There also are extreme differences in terms of what they mean in the life of their members, what they do for them, and how they function in the community. Their common task can be described as the effort of interpreting the basic nature of the world and the man, the soul and God; they bring the believers into contact with the sacred and show them the road from damnation to salvation. This road is seen by no church as consisting solely of attendance to the ritual activities or of private worship. In most churches the prescriptions or suggestions for obtaining salvation imply a distinct conception of appropriate reactions and attitudes towards various public issues. There are several spheres of activity which, though largely autonomous and independent of the churches, are still influenced by them to a certain extent. There are differences in the intensity and direction of similar influences exercised by various churches which might be worth mentioning.

Attitudes to Politics. In the preceding chapter we referred to the functional relationship between the organs of the local government and the organs of the churches. We are now able to make a specific case of it. There is a principal difference in the attitude of the Roman Catholic and the Dutch Reformed churches, on the one hand, and the Calvinist

churches, on the other hand, towards the state. The latter maintain that the Church should remain quite independent of the state and abstain from any interference with political matters, while permitting no interference of the state with their organization and activities. For this reason, they refuse state financial support and pay their own preachers from the voluntary contributions of their members. This attitude does not imply that the Protestant churches advise their members to abstain from political activities; on the contrary, the Calvinists at Sassenheim take a very active part in the community affairs. This can be judged from the fact that for several years the Calvinist vice-burgomaster has been among the most active local politicians, that the members of these "independent" churches discuss politics more frequently than the other inhabitants (see further p. 320) etc. As they adhere to very strict conceptions of Sunday rest and public morals they have to participate in the government lest they should be outvoted by a less strict and a more freethinking majority.

Attitudes to Economy. There are also differences with regard to the economic and legal aspects of community living. Some Calvinists, for instance, are inclined to regard any calamity and economic bad luck as a punishment of God inflicted upon the person concerned. This belief is sometimes carried so far that they consider it improper to take any measures to prevent accidents and failure. For this reason there are less cases of marriage settlement in this group; even bankruptcy is considered as an admonition of the Lord and the married couple should not break the unity of marriage only to escape the will of the Lord. The people in this group often object to any suggestion of mortgaging their house. It is a more or less rigid practice that only insured property can be mortgaged. Usually the creditor will not accept the risks (of the house being burnt or otherwise damaged) unless the documents of the insurance company are produced for him. Several Calvinists, on the other hand, object to the insurance seeing in it an interference with God's will and plans. It is in this field where conflict between economic motives and religious faith can be seen; in cases of financial need some members of these orthodox groups do decide to mortgage their property. Usually, however, they redouble their efforts and work harder than other inhabitants in order to pay off their debts; the first consequence of their returning good fortune is usually the fact that they call in the mortgage—and the insurance.

Attitudes to Family Life. This inacceptability of the legal settlement of debts for the Calvinist church is not the only instance in which family-life is influenced by religion. Most churches urge their young members only to marry persons of the same denomination. This pressure is somewhat less if it concerns the relationship between the members of the akin Protestant churches. It is very strong with the Roman

Catholics, who are advised to avoid leisure-time contacts with persons of different creed to prevent social ties of a lasting nature. Most members of these churches are convinced that the union of persons belonging to different religious groups results in a weakening of belief and the loosening of ties with either church. Similar fears are less overtly expressed by the representatives of the Dutch Reformed Church and the minor "modernist" churches who leave the decision to the young persons themselves. They count more on the inner sense of self-protection and of custom and abstain from collective explicit measures and public exhortations by the Church Council.

The two major churches interfere with the family affairs yet in another important way. Both Roman Catholics and Calvinists try to induce the young married couples to abstain from the use of contraceptives, to rear as many children as possible, to regard children as the gift of God which must not be refused and always longed for. The Dutch Reformed Church does not, on the other hand, regard the use of contraceptives as illicit and maintains that it can be resorted to if the health of the mother or the economic position of the parents account for it. Sexuality is ascribed not only the function of reproduction but also that of securing the harmonious unity between the married partners. (See further Chapter VI).¹ Such a unity is, on the other hand, an ideal which all churches have in common; it is actively supported by all church-communities. A considerable number of preachers' visits are bestowed on the task of reconciling the husbands and wives and of solving problems of human relations.

Finally, one should bear in mind that the whole rhythm of daily life and the spiritual as well as material sphere in the homes are influenced by the churches. While in the Roman Catholic families collective prayer or recitation of the rosary belong to the family-duties, the Dutch Reformed families are expected to gather at least once a day at a meal and read the Bible together. The Calvinist groups are expected to do so, when possible, at every meal, three times a day. In most Roman Catholic houses are the ornate statues of the Blessed Virgin Mary, of Jesus Christ or of some of the Saints; they are placed on the front wall in the parlour, often illuminated by a tiny red lamp. Sometimes a painting on a religious theme replaces the statue, often both paintings and statues are kept. The Crucifix is usually placed on the wall above the door in the living room.

In Protestant houses no Crucifix, no statues, and hardly any paintings on religious subjects can be found. Instead, one will often see a Bible-scripture or a proverb carved in wood or engraved in ornate metal plates and hung on the wall. In the well-to-do families a house-organ often replaces the piano which is more common in the Roman Catholic or liberal families. The Bible is sometimes placed on a

¹ See p. 177.

special pulpit and its covers are often decorated with ornaments of gold.

Attitudes to Education. The religious impact upon the education in Sassenheim has already been referred to above. In addition to their own schools, some denominations possess public libraries of their own. There is usually also a library for the young people where anybody can get a book he wants for a small amount of money (10 cent). If we take into consideration the Sunday-schools, the catechism classes, and the instruction to adolescent and engaged couples, we find that practically all major educational institutions at Sassenheim are controlled by the churches. One should also bear in mind that the preacher does a good deal of educational work too, both on Sundays and during his private visits. Finally, there are differences in the family education of the youth which can be noticed among the members of different churches.

Attitudes to Leisure Activities. In this brief survey of the impact of the churches upon the life of the inhabitants, the way of spending leisure-time should not be omitted. We have mentioned already that most sport-associations and clubs are organized by the church-members as such. The people of other denominations are not only unwelcome but often openly refused membership or entrance. These social barriers are especially strong whenever the sport-association or the club-activity offers an opportunity for social contacts between young persons of different sex. Tennis, and dancing parties are strictly denominational affairs. This division of all recreational and social life is not only confined to certain social strata. We notice two football clubs in Sassenheim as well as two lawn-tennis clubs. For community leaders (the local elite) there exists a "neutral" club-house ("Societeit") but this is visited predominantly by the Roman Catholics and the more liberal minded among the inhabitants; the more orthodox members of the Dutch Reformed Church and the Calvinists do not visit it, as a rule.

In addition to the control over the institutions we may mention several other influences of the church in this sphere. The churches are the chief safeguard of the uniform pattern of the Sunday-rest. This is carefully preserved especially by the Calvinist groups. While the Roman Catholic church allows the football matches to be played on Sunday afternoons, no sport activities are officially tolerated by the Calvinist groups. Members are not even allowed to use a bus, a car or a bicycle to go to church. On the one hand, they object principally to busses because their use implies the violation of Sunday-rest on the part of the driver; on the other hand, the church-goers fear that people would cease to distinguish between driving to church and driving for sport and pleasure. The opposition to violation is spontaneous and not imposed "from above" by the clergymen.

One preacher of a local church told us that two faithful female members ceased to greet him and cut any contact with him for several months. After he had inquired after the motive for this estrangement, he learnt that they mistrusted him because they saw him using his bicycle on a Sunday afternoon. It was not until he had explained that he had to visit a sick brother (giving his name and describing his case), that the former confidence was restored. This is, however, the attitude only of a small minority.

Attitude to Morals. An other effect of the church control is that the local swimming pool consists of two separate pools for male and female visitors. It is closed on Sundays even on the rare sunny summer days. Swimming is not considered an appropriate way of spending the leisure which the Sunday-rest affords.

The same orthodox groups which object to marriage-settlement, insurance, and the violation of Sunday-rest reject on principle any preventive measures against illness. Some of them refuse to allow themselves and their children to be inoculated and reject any suggestion of research or examination which is launched in order to "better the conditions of people" and to prevent social evils. In their view only God Almighty can better the condition of mankind and any attempt to prevent what must happen is considered as a mutinous intervention with His Will.

The majority of Calvinists, however, accept the impact of medical science and object, if at all, only to the attempts of the state to exempt the medical care from the competency of the family or of the individual by making it compulsory for all (the school-doctor, dentist, etc.). It is mainly the Roman Catholic church which insists upon the maintenance of its own medical institutions (hospitals, infirmaries, nurses, etc.); they do not wish to leave the believers in the critical moments of their life at the mercy of liberal people or of people of other persuasions. This is the reason for a duplicate or triplicate organization of the health service in Sassenheim which we shall describe in a later chapter (Chapter IX).

E) INVOLVEMENT IN RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

After this description of the organization, teachings, and main functions of the various religious communities at Sassenheim, we will deal again with the conduct, opinions, and attitudes of their members in a more quantitative way. The chief source of information will again be the answers to our questions collected from the 404 persons of our sample.

Church Affiliation. One of the first issues with which we shall be concerned here is the way in which one becomes a member of the church. It is not difficult to find an answer if we compare the religion of the

interviewees with that of their parents and grandparents. There is a striking similarity between the distributions of several generations of inhabitants by their church-affiliation. Table 18 presents such a distribution for the 404 persons of our sample and their parents and grandparents from the side of the mother and the father.

TABLE 18

The distribution of three generations of Sassenheimers by church-affiliation in per cent

Denomination	Interviewee	Father	Mother	Grand- ¹ parents of mother	Grand- ¹ parents of father
Roman Catholic	48.8	50.2	51.0	49.5	49.3
Dutch Reformed	21.3	25.2	25.4	27.6	28.0
Calvinist	20.5	18.1	18.6	13.1	12.5
Christian Calvinist	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.3	1.2
Lutheran	1.2	1.2	1.5	1.7	0.7
Mennonite	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.5
Other	1.5	1.5	1.0	1.0	1.2
Without Denomination	5.2	2.2	1.5	0.3	0.7
No Reply	0.5	0.5	0.0	6.2	5.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Random Sample of 404 Persons

Extent of Religious Mobility. We notice that the distribution of each of the three generations is of a fairly similar pattern. In the older generations a somewhat higher percentage of the Dutch Reformed persons and a slightly higher percentage of the Roman Catholics can be noticed, while the Calvinists and persons without denomination were not so numerous as they are in the present generation. These differences may probably be accounted for by the recent religious trends: the secularization in the sense of abstaining from membership in the church is a comparatively recent phenomenon in the Netherlands.² Also the secession of the orthodox Calvinists from the Dutch Reformed Church is of comparatively recent date. The schism, which is known as "Doleantie," took place in 1886, the Calvinist Church was formed in 1892 (de Gereformeerde Kerk). This explains the opposite trends

¹ Adjusted for grandmothers and grandfathers.

² It was analysed and described by the sociologist Professor Dr. J. P. KRUIJT in his *Onkerkelijkheid in Nederland*, Groningen 1933.

within the Dutch Reformed and Calvinist groups in the course of the last few generations; many Calvinists are born of the Dutch Reformed parents as there was no Calvinist (Gereformeerde) Church at that time.

More insight into the religious mobility can be gained if we cross-tabulate the data. The following Table 19 registers the church-affiliation of the fathers (and their grandparents) of the 404 persons who were interviewed:

TABLE 19

The distribution of 404 persons selected at random from the population at Sassenheim by the church-affiliation of their fathers and of grandparents from father's side

Religion of Father	Religion of Father's Parents (Adjusted)						Total
	Rom. Cath.	Dutch Reformed	Calvinist (Chr. Calv.)	Other	Without d.	No reply	
Roman Catholic . .	197	1	0	0	0	5	203
Dutch Reformed . .	0	83	6	2	0	11	102
Calvinist and Christian Calvinist .	1	25	46	0	0	2	74
Other	0	1	1	8	1	3	14
Without Denomin. .	0	3	1	1	2	2	9
No reply, don't know	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
Total	199	113	54	11	3	24	404

Source: Random Sample of 404 Persons

We notice the accumulation of answers along the principal diagonal which suggests the stability of the church-affiliation that appears to be almost "hereditary" with the population. This stability is most remarkable with the Roman Catholic group. Out of 203 Roman Catholic fathers of our interviewees only one was found to have come from a different religious *milieu*, while 197 were born to Roman Catholic parents. The largest religious mobility is in the Calvinist group and in the group of people without a denomination. Table 19 confirms our statement that many Calvinists are descended from Dutch Reformed parents. The heterogeneous character of the Dutch Reformed Church, which unites the very orthodox and the very liberal groups, is probably responsible that many Calvinists and people without a denomination have fathers and grandfathers who belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church. One third of the group of

fathers who did not adhere to any church are descended from Dutch Reformed parents; there was no Roman Catholic in the generation of grandparents in this group. If we consider the transfer of the religious faith from the grandparents on the mother's side we obtain a quite similar picture.

TABLE 20

Distribution of 404 persons selected at random from the population at Sassenheim by the church-affiliation of mothers and of grandparents from mother's side

Religion of Mother	Religion of Parents (Adjusted) of Mother						Total
	Rom. Cath.	Dutch Reformed	Calvinist (Chr. Calv.)	Other	Without d.	No reply	
Roman Catholic . . .	196	2	0	2	1	5	206
Dutch Reformed . . .	2	84	2	2	0	13	103
Calvinist (Chr. Calvinist)	1	22	51	1	0	2	77
Other	0	1	1	7	0	3	12
Without Denomination	1	3	0	0	0	2	6
No reply, "don't know"	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	200	112	54	12	1	25	404

Source: Random Sample of 404 Persons

All principal tendencies which we stated on the hand of the data of Table 19 are noticeable in this Table 20.

There is considerable evidence to believe that the present inhabitants adhere to the faith of their parents to the same degree as their parents adhered to the faith of the grandparents. If we consider the group of Roman Catholics, the largest group among our interviewees, we notice that 191 out of 197 persons have Roman Catholic fathers and 193, i.e. 98 p.c. have Roman Catholic mothers; three fathers in this group were members of the Dutch Reformed and two of the Calvinist churches, while from one no adequate reply was obtained. The four non-Roman Catholic mothers of the Roman Catholics in our sample can be classified as follows: three of them were members of the Dutch Reformed Church, while one belonged to a minor church.

For the sake of brevity, in the following table only the distribution of 404 persons in our sample by their denomination and by the denomination of their fathers is presented.

TABLE 20a

Distribution of 404 persons selected at random from the population in Sassenheim by their church-affiliation and by the church-affiliation of fathers

Religion of Interviewee	Religion of Father						Total
	Rom. Cath.	Dutch Re-formed	Calvinist	Other	Without d.	No reply	
Roman Catholic . . .	191	3	0	2	0	1	197
Dutch Reformed . . .	5	74	2	2	3	0	86
Calvinist	0	13	70	1	1	0	85
Other	2	1	2	8	0	0	13
Without Denomin- ation	5	10	0	1	5	0	21
No reply "Don't Know" . . .	0	1	0	0	0	1	2
Totals	203	102	74	14	9	2	404

Source: Random Sample of 404 Persons

In the light of the data we may assume that at least eighty per cent of all persons in the sample have not changed their religious denomination in the course of three generations, i.e. that they belong to the same church as their grandparents. Religion belongs for a good majority of the inhabitants to those characteristics which are acquired by birth.

Channels of Religious Mobility. Even if the percentage of converts is not large, it is still worth while to consider some of the principal motives and channels of religious mobility. The local clergy mention mixed marriage as the main driving force in this respect. For this reason, contacts with persons of other denominations are avoided. Recently this attitude led to a conflict in the field of recreational activities.

The community authorities have built modern lawn tennis courts in Sassenheim. During the first years, in order to make exploitation possible, there was one Lawn Tennis Club in the village, being one of the few "neutral" associations in the community. After a few years, when the enthusiasm for the new sport had reached such a peak that there was no

fear of lack of interest and it was fashionable for the younger people to meet at the courts, a separate Roman Catholic lawn tennis club was established. The Roman Catholic members of the older association received an announcement of the new club together with an exhortation to join: "A reminder of the dangerous contacts with persons of other denominations!" This appeal to dangers which might threaten the spiritual welfare of the members resulted in the division of the population along the lines of church-affiliation in this sport.

Mixed Marriage. Upon enquiring into the nature of the "dangers" several qualifications were given: the marriage resulting from the contacts between persons of different convictions leads either to loss of religious faith of both partners or one of the partners temporarily concedes to the other and joins his (or her) church. This arrangement usually works, in the first period of marriage, before the children begin to ask questions requiring unambiguous answers. Then, differences of family backgrounds reappear, often accompanied by discord and rows. The latter are aggravated by the fact that the interference of the clergy is not appreciated in these difficult cases.

Let us examine here how actual this potential danger of losing the faith due to mixed marriage is in Sassenheim. We can ascertain its frequency by again cross-tabulating the data and considering the

TABLE 21

Distribution of fathers and mothers of the 404 persons taken at random from the population at Sassenheim by their respective church-affiliation.

Denomination of Father	Denomination of Mother						Total
	Rom. Cath.	Dutch Re- formed	Calvinist	Other	With- out	No reply	
Roman Catholic . . .	198	4	0	1	0	0	203
Dutch Reformed . . .	4	87	11	0	0	0	102
Calvinist (Christian Calvinist)	2	7	65	0	0	0	74
Other	1	3	0	10	0	0	14
Without Denomin- ation	0	2	1	0	6	0	9
No reply, "don't know"	1	0	0	1	0	0	2
Total	206	103	77	12	6	0	404

Source: Random Sample of 404 Persons

distribution of the 404 fathers and mothers of the interviewees by their respective church-affiliations. We shall again use the same sequence of items in the stub and in the caption in order that the frequencies in the cells of the principal diagonal will be the frequencies of the homogeneous and those outside, of mixed marriages.

If we consider the figures outside the diagonal in Table 21 we notice that the frequency of mixed marriage in this community of mixed population is comparatively low. Only about 2.5 p.c. of all Roman Catholic fathers are married to women of other denominations. Of the larger church groups the Dutch Reformed are characterized by the highest percentage of mixed marriage but even here it remains below 15 p.c. If we inspect the data for the three main religious groups, we notice that women tend to engage slightly more with persons of different faith; this tendency is, however, hardly of any significance. It is remarkable that even the persons without denomination form an in-group; women tend to adhere to their church longer than men, there being two Dutch Reformed and one Calvinist women married to husbands without denomination but no husband participating in the church-membership married to a non-participating wife.

Combining both categories of mixed marriage and of religious mobility we can conclude that only 18.1 p.c. of the persons in our sample report of their grandparents from mother's side to have had belonged to different churches than the grandparents of father's side. The rest, 81.9 p.c., had forefathers along both lines of the same religious denomination.

Thinking and Discussing Religion. In addition to mixed marriage, another channel of religious mobility was suggested to us: that of conversion in discussion groups. One of the prominent members of the Roman Catholic church ascribed the lower "church-morale" in the industrial circles to the more frequent contacts with people of other denominations and to the weakened ties with nature. In his opinion, it is especially during lunch-time, that workers gather in the factories and start idle conversations; several of them on religious matters. "It frequently occurs that a common man does not know a proper answer to solicitous questions. When he does not know an answer himself, he easily grasps the answer of someone else . . ."

Another person in the same group suggested rational thought to be the source of doubts and possible conversion. He judged the situation at Sassenheim to be favourable in this respect, because people do not think or brood over religious problems too deeply. Several preachers and ministers of the Protestant groups said the same when referring to the regular church-attendance and lack of thought and "deeper feeling" in their respective communities.

In order to get some insight into these potential factors of religious

change, we added the following two questions to a series about various aspects of belief: "Did you think much about the above mentioned questions (on religious matters)? Did you talk much about them? With whom?" The answers to these questions were distributed in a following way:

Thinking about Religious Matters	No.	Per cent
Did some thinking before	279	69
Did not think at all	120	29.8
No adequate answer	5	1.2
Total	404	100.0

Almost one third of all persons whom we interviewed admitted having given little serious thought to the problems concerning the existence of God, the Divine guidance of the world, and the consequence of one's conduct upon the life hereafter, though no less than 94.3 p.c. of them belonged to one or another church. This means that about one quarter of the church members admitted not to have thought about the religious matters before.

Still fewer people have talked about the matters of faith, according to their own words.

Speaking about Religious Matters	No.	Per cent
Those who spoke with others	218	54
Those who did not speak	181	44.8
No adequate answer	5	1.2
Total	404	100.0

We notice that almost a half of the present inhabitants did not discuss the religious matters with other persons, including friends, family-members, or the clergy. The question then arises: Is this a common characteristic of all groups or are there differences in intensity of thinking about religious matters and in the frequency of discussing one's belief between the members of different churches?

Table 22, which presents the cross-tabulated data, should serve as a basis for such a comparison.

TABLE 22

The distribution of 404 persons taken at random from the population at Sassenheim by their church-affiliation and overt and covert attitude to the religious problems

Church-Affiliation	Did think but not speak	Did speak but not think	Did both think and speak	Did neither speak nor think	No reply	Totals
Roman Catholic	37	11	74	73	2	197
Dutch Reformed	16	5	52	12	1	86
Calvinist (Christian Calvinist)	19	1	56	7	2	85
Other Church	4	0	8	3	0	15
Without Denomination	3	1	10	7	0	21
No Reply	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	79	18	200	102	5	404

We notice that in our sample Roman Catholic persons account for a high percentage of the people who do not think nor speak about their attitude to God and the life hereafter, or about religious problems in general. Only 74 out of 197 members of their group admitted to have both spoken and thought about these matters, i.e. about 37 p.c. If we compare these figures with those of the Calvinists, we notice that here 56 of 85 members acknowledged to have been occupied in their thoughts and conversations with these problems, i.e. about 66 p.c. of all members. In the group of 102 persons who neither thought nor spoke about these matters, 73 belong to the Roman Catholic Church, i.e. 71.6 p.c. while their percentage in the whole population over eighteen years amounts to 48.8 p.c. The members of the Roman Catholic Church display in this respect an attitude which is opposite to that of the members of the orthodox Calvinist churches. Among the latter only 8.2 p.c. declared to have ignored and avoided these matters in their thoughts and conversations.

Church Attendance. After this brief description of the religious mobility (in terms of changes in church-membership) and its usual channels and assumed motives, we will turn to the main forms of participation in the church-activities.

We noticed above, that the population does not consider thinking or discussing religious matters as an obligation of a christian citizen,

there being less than 50 p.c. of the people in our sample who did so. A regular church-attendance belongs, on the other hand, to the accepted duties, as we heard from prominent people in the churches. Let us, therefore, examine how this duty is being fulfilled. We can do so in the light of the data which we received from the interviewees after having enquired how often they attend church. The frequency of church-attendance, can be summed up as follows:

Frequency of Church Attendance	No. of persons	Per cent
Every day	10	2.5
Several times a week	29	7.2
Every Sunday	271	67.1
About once a fortnight	11	2.7
Once a month	18	4.5
Scarcely ever	23	5.7
Never	41	10.1
No adequate answer	1	0.2
Total	404	100.0

More than three quarters of all people at Sassenheim over eighteen years attend the church regularly every week, and only one tenth (among others the old people, the ill, and persons without a denomination) declares never to go to church. ¹ These figures support the statements

¹ According to the results of a national survey which was made by the Netherlands' Institute for Public Opinion (N.I.P.O.) in 1948, 50 p.c. of the total population go to church each Sunday. Compared with the country, Sassenheim appears as an orthodox community (cf., *De Publieke Opinie*, 2, no. 16, January 1948). In the same article, the following comparative figures are given of those who visit the church at least once a fortnight:

Country	Go to the Church
The Netherlands	61 p.c.
Canada	69 p.c. ¹⁾
U.S.A.	45 p.c. ²⁾
Australia	35 p.c.
Norway	17 p.c.
Sweden	20 p.c.
Finland	25 p.c.
France	37 p.c.
England	30 p.c.

1) The percentage for Canada is partly biased by the fact that it refers to those who visited the church at least on one Sunday in the month preceding the interview. Bearing this in mind, one finds out that the Netherlands belongs to the countries with the highest church-attendance.
 2) The low figure for the U.S.A. can be explained by the fact that in contrast to other figures the percentage for the U.S.A. refers to those who visited the church in the past week—not in the past fortnight.

of the prominent members of all major churches regarding the high church attendance in their respective communities.

Though there is a high frequency of church attendance, this does not imply that it is uniform in the different churches. We have already stated the various degrees of importance ascribed to service and ritual by various churches. In the Roman Catholic Church the mass is read every day, the Protestants have only services on Sundays.

We might be inclined to ascribe the high frequency of church attendance of the Roman Catholics to the numerous services that are offered if there would not be an equally significant difference between the two major Protestant churches. The following table demonstrates this.

TABLE 23

Distribution of 404 persons randomly selected from the population at Sassenheim by their church affiliation and frequency of church attendance

Church Affiliation	Church Attendance					Total
	Every week at least	Once a month at least	Scarcely	Never	No reply	
Roman Catholic . .	183	5	4	5	0	197
Dutch Reformed . .	47	14	10	15	0	86
Calvinist (Christian Calvinist including)	76	5	3	1	0	85
Other	3	2	3	6	1	15
No	1	3	3	14	0	21
Total	310	29	23	41	1	404

Source: Random Sample of 404 Persons

We notice that only slightly more than a half of the Dutch Reformed members acknowledge that they attend church regularly every week while only about sixteen per cent of them declare that they never go to church. In the Calvinist group only one person out of eighty-five states that he does not attend church any more while about ninety per cent mention regular Sunday attendance. The results of our survey support the statement of one of the elders of the Calvinist Church who estimated the number of people regularly attending the Sunday morning service to be 1,100 while no less than 975 attend the evening service. This implies that most Calvinists attend the church twice on Sundays.

Out of the 197 Roman Catholics, 183 stated that they attend the church every Sunday, twenty-nine go several times a week, nine said that they go to church every day.

It is also worth mentioning that from the church-members who acknowledge that they do not attend the service, more than 50 p.c. were members of the Dutch Reformed Church (15 from 27 according to the Table 23).

Degree of Participation. Besides the frequency of church attendance we also tried to measure to what degree the churches are supported financially by the population. Out of 404 persons in our sample, only 56 (13.9 p.c.) declared that they do not pay any contributions to the church. Thirty-seven persons (9.2 p.c.) participated in the life of their church-community to the extent that they fulfilled some function on one of the church-committees. The 56 persons who neither pay contribution nor actively participate in the church-life were distributed as follows among the local church-groups: fifteen were Roman Catholics, fifteen belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church, two to the Calvinist group, and twenty-four were either persons without denomination or belonged to the churches poorly represented at Sassenheim. We notice again the relatively poor participation of the members of the Dutch Reformed Church in this respect.

Bible Reading. Additional questions were asked concerning the more personal aspects of worship. As it is known that daily reading of the Bible is considered a religious duty in several Protestant churches we included this item in our questionnaire. Being asked "*Do you read the Bible?*" (Leest U uit de Bijbel?) more than 99 p.c. of persons in our sample gave adequate answers which were distributed as follows:

Frequency of Bible-Reading	No. of persons	Per cent
Every day	125	30.9
Several times a week	5	1.3
On Sundays	13	3.2
About once a month	12	3.0
Sometimes	7	1.7
Seldom	32	7.9
Never	207	51.3
No adequate answer	3	0.7
Total	404	100.0

The considerably large group of people who declare never to read the Bible (more than a half of our sample) can be accounted for by

the large percentage of Roman Catholics in Sassenheim. It appeared, however, that Protestants also are divided with regard to this habitual behaviour. There are more members of the Calvinist Church among the regular Bible-readers than those of the Dutch Reformed Church, as Table 24 clearly shows.

TABLE 24

Distribution of 404 persons randomly selected from the population over eighteen years of age at Sassenheim by church-affiliation and by bible-reading habits

Church Affiliation	Frequency of Bible-Reading						Total
	Every day	Once a week at least	Sometimes	Seldom	Never	No reply	
Roman Catholic	1	2	11	18	163	2	197
Dutch Reformed	44	13	2	9	18	0	86
Calvinist	76	2	3	0	3	1	85
Other	3	1	2	3	6	0	15
No	1	0	1	2	17	0	21
Total	125	18	19	32	207	3	404

Source: Random Sample of 404 Persons

It should be noted that we did not ask how often the Bible was read each day. From conversations with the clergymen we received some evidence that in this respect also there is a difference between the two major Protestant churches. The Calvinists read the Bible after every meal, the members of the Dutch Reformed Church usually only once a day after the principal ("warm") meal, as we already pointed out above.

Though only less than a half of the people *read* the Bible, a somewhat larger number *possess* this book at home, namely 58.2 p.c. Most people do not only possess the Bible but also other books on religious subjects to mention only the usual prayer-book which can be found in most households. Only 20.8 p.c. do not possess any book about religion, 19.3 p.c. declares to possess only the Bible; 24.5 p.c. of all inhabitants possess each more than five books on religious subjects.

Possession of Religious Objects. Though the Roman Catholic population possess and read less often the Bible, they more often possess material objects belonging to the symbols of christian worship such as a crucifix, a rosary, or a calendar with the pictures of saints. The following table shows the distribution of answers to the respective question over the sample:

Kind of object possessed	No. of persons	Per cent
Crucifix	191	47.3
Calendar on religious subject	138	34.2
Rosary	177	43.8
Scripture-text	116	28.7
None	51	12.6
No adequate answer	6	1.5

(We do not mention the totals because the categories are not alternatives but appear in combinations). The most frequent combinations were that of the crucifix and the rosary by 38.9 per cent of the sample, and of the bible and the calendar by 21.3 p.c. of the sample. After the cross tabulation of data by church affiliation it appeared that the crucifix was possessed almost exclusively by the Roman Catholics (187 out of 191 persons possessing it); so was the rosary (174 from 177). Scripture texts, engraved in ornate plates, were found, on the other hand, in one Roman Catholic household alone. Only the "christian calendar," a bloc-calendar with pictures on religious subjects is possessed by both groups, Protestants and Catholics alike.

Belief in God. Let us turn, finally, from the various forms of participation in the religious institutions and from the description of the material symbols of worship to the quantitative description of some of the church-members' beliefs and attitudes. The wide scope of our enquiry made it necessary to limit the number of questions and to focus them on a few salient points.

It appeared that there are fewer atheists at Sassenheim than people without religious denomination. While 21 persons in our sample were not affiliated with any church community (i.e. 5.2 p.c.) only six persons gave a negative answer to our question "*Do you believe in God?*" Seven gave an evasive answer ("I do not know", "what do you mean by God?" etc.), two did not answer at all; the rest, 389 persons (i.e. 96.3 p.c.), gave a distinct, positive answer.¹ By cross-

¹ The results of a N.I.P.O. survey suggest that Sassenheim surpasses the country's average in this respect.

Eighty per cent of the adult population in the Netherlands believed in God in 1948. When compared with other countries, the following results are obtained:

Country	Believe in God	Believe in Life Hereafter
The Netherlands	80 p.c.	68 p.c.
Canada	95 p.c.	78 p.c.
Australia	95 p.c.	61 p.c. ¹)
U.S.A.	94 p.c.	62 p.c.
Norway	84 p.c.	71 p.c.
Finland	83 p.c.	69 p.c.
Sweden	80 p.c.	49 p.c. ¹)
France	66 p.c.	58 p.c.
England	84 p.c. ²)	49 p.c. ¹)

tabulating the data we found that thirteen from the twenty-one persons without religious denomination declared to believe, four not to believe in God, while two gave evasive and two no or clumsy answers. This implies that there were two persons in our sample not believing in God but still mentioning the membership in a church (the Roman Catholic Church and the Dutch Reformed Church respectively). Atheism seems to be a distinct category in this Dutch community, not to be confused with lack of church-membership. More than a half of the non-participants believe in God according to their own explicit statements.¹

Belief in the Hereafter. Another religious aspect in which we were interested, especially with regard to the group of persons without denomination, was the impact of religious faith upon the moral conduct of the population. We tried to ascertain to what degree the belief in the Hereafter is spread among the inhabitants, in how far the moral commands receive a religious support, a transcendental moral sanction. A question was, therefore, framed as follows: "Do you believe that your present conduct might be of consequence for what is going to happen to you hereafter (after death)?" ("Geloof U dat Uw tegenwoordig leven gevolgen zal hebben voor wat er met U gebeurt na de dood?"). More negative and evasive answers were given to this question than to the more stereotype one regarding the belief in God. Probably owing to its unusual nature and to the difficulty of finding a ready-made answer, the interviewees were forced to think. In spite of this caution, we may assume that there are fewer people in Sassenheim who believe in the importance of good deeds and in Hereafter than those believing in God. The answers were, namely, distributed as follows: 43 persons (10.6 p.c.) gave evasive or inadequate answers, 37 (9.2 p.c.) declared not to believe, while 324 persons (80.2) admitted to believe in the consequences of one's individual conduct for the subsistence hereafter. Most of the latter belonged to the Roman Catholic or the Calvinist churches, while the non-believing groups were recruited chiefly from persons without a denomination, members of minor churches, and members of the Dutch Reformed Church, as Table 25 demonstrates.²

1) The figures do not exclusively refer to those who gave affirmative answer but imply those who said to be still uncertain about their belief.

2) In England 45 p.c. believe in personal God, 39 p.c. believe that there is "some sort of spirit or vital force." (*De Publieke Opinie*, 2, No. 16, January 1948.)

¹ This does evidently not imply that they have a distinct, structural notion of what "god" means. Several habitual reactions to our questions are very likely to be given by those who belong to the category of "believers" while those thinking and musing about the subject more rationally are likely to fall under the category of those who gave evasive, neutral answers and probably under the category of the "non-believers".

² N.I.P.O. gives a similar table of cross-tabulated data containing the percentage of those believing in God and in the Life Hereafter in various political parties in the Netherlands (*De Publieke Opinie*, 2, no. 16, January 1948):

TABLE 25

Distribution of 404 persons over eighteen years taken at random from the population at Sassenheim by belief in the transcendental sanction of moral conduct

Religious Denomination	Belief in the Sanction Hereafter			
	Yes	No	Inadequate or evasive answer	Total
Roman Catholic	172	11	14	197
Dutch Reformed	62	8	16	86
Calvinist (Christian C. Including)	77	2	6	85
Other	7	5	3	15
Without	6	11	4	21
Total	324	37	43	404

Source: Random Sample of 404 Persons.

Belief in the Purpose of Life. One of the last questions which we asked in this connection was concerned with the more immanent aspects of the religious belief; namely, to what extent one perceived of one's existence as having a special purpose and meaning. We tried to ascertain how many persons consider life to be governed by purpose and how many by chaos and chance. The question ran as follows: "Do you believe that your existence and life on earth have a special meaning and purpose?" ("Vindt U, dat Uw bestaan op aarde een bijzondere zin en doel heeft?"). This question was also answered by a large majority in a positive way, though its difficult nature accounts for the comparatively high number of undecided and evasive answers; 353 persons of our sample (87.4 p.c.) did perceive some direction or meaning in their lives while 19 (4.7 p.c.) explicitly stated not to see any. (There were 32 inadequate or evasive answers, i.e. 7.9 per cent of the total number of persons whom we interviewed). It is noteworthy that even in the group of persons without church-affiliation, more than a half perceive life as purposeful (twelve out of twenty-one do, and six do not see any purpose). One Calvinist, five

Political Party Membership	Believe in God	In Life Hereafter
K.V.P.	99 p.c.	94 p.c.
Anti-Revolutionary Party	98 p.c.	93 p.c.
C.H.U.	97 p.c.	88 p.c.
Labour Party (P.v.d.A.)	62 p.c.	41 p.c.
Liberal Party (Partij van de Vrijheid)	64 p.c.	41 p.c.
Communist Party (C.P.N.)	32 p.c.	16 p.c.

Catholics, and six members of the Dutch Reformed Church belong to those who are inclined to consider life as purposeless and guided by chance.

Social Distance between Denominations. Even in respect to the foregoing questions the people at Sassenheim differ and vary according to the fact whether or not they were born into one of the specific church-communities in the village. These differences are in the eyes of some inhabitants of such an importance that they avoid contacts with other religious groups. To measure the degree of social distance or tolerance between the persons of different religious denominations, we included a series of questions into our questionnaire, which were schemed according to the model of Bogardus⁷ and Dodd's social distance scale: "*Do you object against your children or brothers and sisters: (a) being married to; (b) being acquainted by friendship; (c) working with a person of different religious denomination?*" ("Vindt U het goed indien Uw kinderen of broers en zusters met een persoon van andere godsdienstige gezindheid gaan: trouwen? nauwe vriendschap sluiten? werken?"). The answers to each item of this complex question were registered. They could be divided into the following categories:

Objections against:	No. of persons	Per cent
Marriage	331	81.9
Friendship	164	40.6
Working together with persons of other faith	46	11.4
No objections at all	64	15.8
Inadequate or evasive answer	8	2.0

A large majority of the inhabitants fear and condemn interdenominational marriage, almost every second person objects to interdenominational friendship, more than every tenth person avoids even the impersonal business and employer-employee relationships, and only less than one sixth of the population accepts all three forms of contacts. Thus church-affiliation divides the whole community into distinct, separate, social segments. The Roman Catholic group, which adheres to a creed which shows a wider difference from the Protestant creeds than these do among each other, avoids these contacts most, according to our cross-tabulated data. Out of the 197 Roman Catholics in our sample 184 persons (93.4 per cent) objected against marriage, 117 persons (59.4 per cent) against friendship, and 27 persons (13.7 per cent) against working with members of other churches or persons of

other denomination; only 12 (6.1 p.c.) had no objections against any form of contact which we suggested (one person did not answer our questions).

A contrast with the Roman Catholic population in this respect form the people without religious denomination, and the members of the minor churches in Sassenheim. To these the group of members of the Dutch Reformed Church should be added, for these are also characterized by less ostracism against religious out-groups. The Calvinist groups approach in this respect the Roman Catholic group. Thus, religion divides as well as unites the population of Sassenheim.

CHAPTER V

SASSENHEIM AT WORK

Economically the population of Sassenheim is differentiated into many sub-groups. This differs to a large extent from the comparative unity of its administration. There are much more firms and other organizational units than in the fields of politics and of religion.

If we consider the way in which the land is divided among the owners, we find that there are no less than 741 proprietors registered at the land registry office at Leyden, sharing together the 651 hectares of land belonging to Sassenheim. Of these, about fifty are corporations; of these fifty, the Community of Sassenheim owns more than 52 hectares and the polders own about eight hectares of surface consisting of roads, dykes, and canals in the reclaimed lands.

Out of the remaining 690 individual owners more than two thirds possess only the small patch of land on which their house is built, often sharing the ownership with several relatives, companions or mortgagers. About 220 either own or exploit the land to make their living. These 220 agricultural and horticultural enterprises do not represent the whole economic section in Sassenheim. There are still some other 125 firms which do not farm or hold the land but add to the production process by offering their industrial products or services. Still others (about 130), possess the strips of land on which the factory, or a shop is built. without exploiting it for agricultural purposes. The total number of firms in Sassenheim at the time of our research may thus be estimated at 475.

A) CHANGING ECONOMIC SYSTEM

In the local economic system the private enterprises play a central rôle. The majority of the adult male population spend the greater part of their working-days in them; some as employees, receiving wages for the number of hours spent there. For them, the main economic activity consists in deciding how the wages are to be spent, raised, or maintained. Others invest their money in the enterprises in the hope that they will make a profit. In spite of their right to run the business they often do not do so. Instead, they engage experts in management for their enterprises. These managers sell their economic skill and insight in the same way as any other employee sells his labour. Their participation in the economic process, however, is much directer, for they are not only responsible for the smooth functioning of the enterprise, but they also

have to direct their concern to the broader economic environment with which they come into contact through the institution and the mechanisms of the market. The goods produced by the enterprise are marketed in such a way as to insure the maximal economical profit. This regard to maximal profit used to be the only mechanism of price-formation in the past, on which the decision of what to produce and in what quantity used to be based. Thus, the owner had to bear the main responsibility and risks for the economic process. Only in exceptional cases an individual in this system could have started an enterprise without a substantial capital of his own by asking for credit some of the bigger financial enterprises (banks) on account of his skill or promising project.

Under the present system, the principle of a free market and individual enterprise was partly abandoned. More than in the past, the influences from other spheres of public life encroach upon the field of economy. The influence of the state administration should be mentioned in the first place. A number of laws was passed in the course of the last few decades which severely infringe upon the activities of management and give the whole economic system rather rigid, uniform rules. Many of them own their origin to the crisis of the thirties; others are an expression of the general desire for economic security which became very intense after the last war.

According to one of them (*Prijsopdrivings- en Hamsterwet, 1939*), the government is justified in fixing ceiling prices of goods; this law does not remain a dead letter in the present economy. The prices of several essential goods, such as bread, milk and milk produce, tea, coffee, etc., are sanctioned by governmental decrees, as are rents of houses. In order to maintain the standard of living, prices are kept under the level which might be dictated by the demand and the costs of production. The difference is paid by the government in form of subsidies to the producers. The reason for this is, among others, the state-intervention with regard to salaries and wages. After having heard the advice of the large employers' organizations and the trade-unions, the government fixes the wages of the lower employees in practically all branches of the economy. The wages are fixed in such a rigid and minute way that in some cases management loses the possibility of using the wage-system as an incentive to increase output.¹ (Control is less rigid over the wages of the more skilled, trained, or educated personnel; practically no government regulation exist for the salaries of various experts and managers).

We have to be brief in describing the other forms of regulation. Under the present system the capital-owner is not allowed to lend money on interest, to lease his land, to start an industrial or business enterprise, to hire or dismiss personnel unless he strictly follows the

¹ See p. 145.

rules prescribed and sanctioned by law. The individual employer or employee depends to a greater extent than before upon the large organizations of his colleagues. The large employers' associations not only take the right to determine who will be admitted as a member and who will be issued a permit without which no one can start an enterprise; but they even determine in some instances (e.g., the bulb-growing industry) the amount of goods that one is allowed to produce and to sell. The trade-unions, on the other hand, co-determine the wage-rates for employees, the number of vacation days, and the number of working-hours. The peculiar feature of these organized interest groups is their official recognition by the state-administration. The law provides for special bodies at the bottom as well as at the top level of the whole economic system (e.g., the so called "ondernemingsraden" i.e. shop-committees) and "Stichting van de Arbeid" composed of the representatives of the trade-unions, of the employers' associations, and the government. These bodies should mediate in capital-labour disputes. As the representatives of the government in them have the right to make decisions, and the organizations of employers and employees fulfil more or less an advisory function, these bodies mean a step further from the individual, laissez-faire system of economy. At the time of our research another bill was passed by the Parliament according to which a central Social-Economic Board (S.E.R.) will be established as a supreme body of an organization in which the three interest groups, the employers, employees, and the "state" will form committees at all levels throughout the whole production-process.

In spite of these various forms of state-intervention in the region of economic activity (to which the various sorts of taxes should be added), the present economic system still depends largely on private capital, on owners willing to invest their money in the production of goods or services which promise to make good profits on the market. The market remains to a large extent the main regulative mechanism indicating what and how much should be produced.

After this short description of some of the principal features of the present economic system, we will now examine some sociological aspects of this system as they are reflected in the community under study. We shall do so by describing the main units of organisation and social structure in the field of agriculture, industry, and commerce. We will also view their main functions and processes, as well as their meaning for the group of inhabitants (the degree of people's satisfaction with, and involvement in this system).

B) SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS OF AGRICULTURE

Division of Land. The agricultural sector of the economy at Sassenheim does not form a compact whole. Firstly, an official distinction is made

between agriculture in the narrow sense and horticulture. Only about one third of the 244 enterprises belong to the former group. In 1950, there were about 159 bulb-growing firms. They formed the main branch of the local horticulture as described in terms of official statistics. Another distinct section was that of the dairy farms (44 in 1950), while the rest (41 farms or firms) were mainly either fruit-growers or grain-growers.

In terms of acreage this division can be visualized as follows:

TABLE 26

The division of land cultivated by persons settled in Sassenheim in 1950

	Surface in hectares	Number of holdings
Arable land	57	about 22
Pastures	393	44
Gardens and bulb-fields	294	about 178 ²
Total	744 ¹	244

Source: Centraal Bureau v. d. Statistiek, afd. 8

Not all 244 landholders are, however, *owners*. According to the Census (Landbouwinventarisatie) of 1948, the greater part of all land, cultivated by the people in Sassenheim, was held on lease, not owned. The total land-area, which amounted to about 766 hectares, was divided as follows:

	Area in hectares
Land owned by the growers . . .	344.9
Land held on lease	420.7
<hr/>	
Total	765.6

In 1948, there were about 61 landlords (i.e. growers who owned at least fifty per cent of the cultivated lands) as compared with 162 tenants (according to the data of the Centraal Bureau v. d. Statistiek, afd. 8).

Size of Holdings. In addition to the division of the population into landlords and tenants, or into bulb-growers, grain-growers, and dairy farmers, there is a division according to the size of the holdings.

¹ This total refers also to acreage outside the community cultivated by farmers living at Sassenheim.

² There were 159 bulb-growers registered at the Centraal Bureau v. d. Statistiek; the number of other growers in this sector was estimated according to the figures published for 1952.

The great majority of all farmers hold small strips of land, usually less than two hectares; only about one seventh have holdings of more than five hectares, as the following table demonstrates:

TABLE 27

Division of the land cultivated by persons settled in Sassenheim in 1948 by the size of holdings and the property rights of the holders

Size of Holding	Tenure ¹	Area in Hectares				No. of Holdings	
		Owned	On lease	Sub-total	Total	Sub-total	Total
0— 1.99 hectares	owners	28.7	2.9	31.6	109.5	34	153
	tenants	1.4	76.5	77.9		119	
2.0—4.99 hectares	owners	29.3	1.2	30.8	99.2	10	32
	tenants	1.8	66.6	68.4		22	
5— 9.99 hectares	owners	28.9	0.5	29.4	81.9	4	12
	tenants	4.4	48.1	52.5		8	
10—14.99 hectares	owners	45.6	2.0	47.6	133.8	4	11
	tenants	8.3	77.9	86.2		7	
15—19.99 hectares	owners	63.2	5.2	68.4	106.9	4	6
	tenants	1.1	37.4	38.5		2	
20—49.99 hectares	owners	119.7	10.9	130.6	234.3	5	9
	tenants	12.2	91.5	103.7		4	
Total . . .	owners	315.7	22.7	338.4	765.6	61	223
	tenants	29.2	398.0	427.2		162	
Grand Total . .		344.9	420.7	765.6	765.6	223	223

Source: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, afd. 8

Several remarkable conclusions may be drawn from this table. We notice that the percentage of owners among the holders grows with the size of the holdings.

We also notice the inequality in the land distribution; nine large holdings claim together more land than the 185 small holdings at Sassenheim. In terms of ownership the discrepancy is even larger: of the

¹ Persons who possess at least fifty per cent of the land which they hold are considered as "owners;" those who do not are registered as "tenants" in this table.

61 owners in Sassenheim, the nine owned more land than all resting 52 owners put together.

The different nature of dairy and grain-farming as compared with bulb-growing partly explains this discrepancy. The very intensive use of land in bulb-growing is probably responsible for the large number of small-holdings. This difference will become more or less evident if we compare the land-distribution between the two major groups of farmers and bulb-growers.

TABLE 28

Distribution of land between the farmers and the bulb-growers in Sassenheim in 1948 by the size of the holding

Size of Holding	No. of holdings in agriculture	No. of holdings in horticulture
0.01— 0.99 hectares	1	84
1 — 1.99 „	1	41
2 — 2.99 „	2	15
3 — 3.99 „	3	3
4 — 6.99 „	4	8
7 — 9.99 „	3	2
10 —14.99 „	10	1
15 —19.99 „	3	3
20 —49.99 „	6	2
Total	33	159

Source: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, afd. 8

Though 57.5 p.c. of all farmers hold at least ten hectares of land, only 3.7 p.c. of all bulb-growers and gardeners do so. Of the latter 78.6 p.c. hold less than two hectares as compared with 6.1 p.c. of the grain and the dairy farmers.

Bulb-Growing. The 159 holders, who were officially considered as horticulturalists by the Census in 1948, did not represent all people growing bulbs or gardening at Sassenheim. To these professional growers a number of even smaller holders should be added who find it comparatively easy to plant a few tulips, hyacinths, or other bulbs, on a small patch of land around their houses or somewhere else, as their leisure activity or a side-line. In 1948, there were 171 bulb-growers in Sassenheim who cultivated about 308 hectares of land. This interest in bulbs seems, however, to have been a post-war reaction to the regulations which forbade all business in bulbs during the German occupation. With regained freedom and the prospect

of a boom which the re-opened market promised, several citizens became engaged in the risky bulb-growing business, including those who lacked the necessary insight or credit. As time passed, several of them failed. The lack of experience and of appropriate land were the main reasons that they could not match the older and larger firms which had at their disposal experience and capital inherited and accumulated for several generations. This is probably the reason, why in comparison to 171 bulb-growers in 1948, we found only 159 of them at the beginning of our research in 1950. They held then about 282 hectares of land. In the closing phase of our work, in 1952, there were only 139 growers, though the total amount of cultivated land rose to 300 hectares (in addition to the 41 hectares suitable for cultivation which were laid fallow in that year).

This large area of 300 hectares is cut into strips of tulips, daffodils, hyacinths, gladioli, and other bulb-plants. They are cultivated for the market; the whole plant is not marketed but only the bulbs which are easy to ship to any part of the world. Partly owing to the demands of the market and partly owing to the quality of the land and the experience of the growers, the total area of bulb fields in Sassenheim is divided in the following way:

TABLE 29
Flower bulbs cultivated at Sassenheim in 1952

	Net area in hectares
Hyacinths	51.37
Early tulips	18.51
Late tulips	92.55
Daffodils	70.36
Gladioli	46.32
Crocuses	7.27
Irises	1.01
Dahlia	3.61
Others	9.66
Fallow land	40.77
Total	341.43

Each of the plants mentioned in Table 29 requires a specific method of cultivation. Hyacinths are, for instance, multiplied by cutting the lower part of the bulbs, putting them back into the sandy soil, and lifting them again after a short period. The "mother-bulb" is then covered by small bulbs which are separated and planted several times

until they reach the expected size. Other kinds are multiplied either by seed or by the small corns which grow at the roots of the "mother-bulbs." There are also differences in handling the blooms: some are plucked, some cut. In addition, the different kinds of plants require a variety of soil, since the chemical composition of the soil and the level of underground water play a definite rôle in bulb-culture.

In spite of these differences there are also common features in the bulb-growing enterprise which make it a specific branch of agriculture.

We notice, for example, the hybridization, side by side with the mass production of the already developed and established kinds for the market. This hybridization requires special skills and experience. These are often passed from the parents to the children. In this way, the small growers sometimes succeed in making good fortunes; they spend years of painstaking experimentation in cross-breeding and sell the new kinds to the big firms which find it often more economical to buy several baskets of bulbs for \$ 3.— a piece than to employ special personnel to engage in the risky work of hybridization. The big growers concentrate upon the mass-production, i.e. the multiplication of flower-bulbs. In the autumn or early in the spring the bulbs are planted into the soil in hundreds. Being protected against the frost by straw, they remain in the ground without any care being bestowed upon them. In spring when the plants begin to shoot leaves, they are carefully inspected by experts who try to identify the infected plants and to remove them before infection spreads. Later in spring, the whole region is covered by carpets of flowers. The growers are not interested in the flowers: these are cut or plucked and destroyed in masses. In this way the bulbs, which are the main concern of the growers, increase in size. Early in summer they are lifted — the most busy time of the bulb-growers sets in. After having been dried by the wind, they are cleaned. Women are employed to cut off the dry "skirts" of the tulip-bulbs; the bulbs are sorted according to size, inspected, and stored in the bulb-sheds on special racks so that they are kept in fresh, moving air.

At this time, in August and September, packing takes place. Thousands of bulbs are put into wooden cases, loaded on ships or lorries, and sent to the place of destination. This is the time when most male workers are wanted.

At the time of lifting and cleaning, the small bulbs are separated from the roots of the bigger ones and planted separately. Later on, some of the full-sized bulbs are cut at the bottom and planted in order to get a fresh stock of new bulbs. They are planted, lifted and planted again — this is repeated several times. The bulbs which are not destined for immediate shipment and which are not planted are kept in the sheds under special conditions (artificial air-current, washings, etc.).

From this description we see the rhythmic, seasonal nature of the activities in this branch of production. From March until October a lot of manpower is needed, while from December until about March only the owners, managers, the skilled workers, and bosses keep their jobs. The less skilled workers are hired from season to season.

Probably to alleviate the shortage of manpower at the time of "harvest," machines are used. At present, bulbs are often sorted and counted mechanically. However, the machines could not replace the skilled workers looking for infected bulbs ("ziekzoekers") and performing other specialized tasks. In many cases manual work is preferred to machine lifting or sorting as the bulbs suffer from the rough treatment by machines and are easily damaged.

The impact of science is, however, not confined to the mechanization of work. Science helps the growers in fighting one of the main plagues of bulb-culture — the virus epidemics.

After the bitter experience in the past, when one of the most important market areas (the U.S.A.) was closed to the import of bulbs on account of the accusation that plant-disease was being spread from Europe to America, much more care has been spent upon the scientific control of bulbs and upon measures against the epidemics. A Laboratory for Flower Bulb Research was founded in a neighbouring community (Lisse), under the supervision of a university professor. This laboratory was designed to investigate the new forms of plant-epidemics which threaten the harvest of the growers and to function as a consulting-office for the bulb-growers.

At first, the growers avoided contacts with the laboratory as they feared that their going to a "bulb-doctor" ("bollen-dokter") might spread rumours that their bulbs were less good than those of other growers. As years passed, they realised the integrity of this scientific institute and became used to it. Though cooperation has improved a great deal, there are still other practices spread among the growers which compete with the scientific treatment of disease. There are many quacks in the region. They exploit the popular, superstitious belief in the influence of the magnetic earth-rays upon the living organisms. Special apparatuses are sold to neutralize the disparaging influence of these "earth-rays" ("aardstralen"). In one case, which we registered, a wooden case was sold to a grower for *fl* 200.— on condition that he would not open it (as the whole apparatus would lose its effectiveness, he was told). After a year of extraordinarily bad harvest, he opened the case and noticed three copper wires without any mechanisms.

Such practices and superstitions are likely to be found more frequently with the small individual growers than with the large firms. Here, as well as in the associations of bulb-growers, the prestige of the scientific research is considerably high: about *fl.* 30,000 are collected each year on behalf of the phyto-pathological laboratory in Lisse.

The division of labor into mass-production and hybridization, the possibility of intensive exploitation of the soil, and the mechanization of bulb-growing account probably for the occurrence of the large bulb-growing firms. Their size is not determined so much by the area of land as by the number of personnel. Seventy per cent of all the labourers worked for the bulb-growing firms in May 1947 (according to the Census data), namely 374 out of the 533 local labourers. The majority of them work for one of the twenty large limited liability

companies. We notice very small firms, in which all the work is done by the members of one family, side by side with very large firms employing more than a hundred labourers and possessing a capital of several millions of guilders. The heterogeneous character of this branch of production will become more comprehensible if we consider the functions of the 706 persons working in this section in May 1947. As compared with the 374 labourers whom we mentioned above, there were 169 workers on own account, 427 non-paid family workers, 29 company directors, 18 managers and foremen, and 69 other employees in this branch (according to the Census data of 1947).

These statistics reveal and suggest another important aspect of bulb-growing, namely the commercial one. We notice a closer connection with the market than in several other branches of agriculture. Usually each larger bulb-growing firm is also a bulb-exporting firm. A good many growers spend years in Great Britain, the U.S.A., or Sweden visiting the local florists as travelling salesmen and selling bulbs grown on their fathers' fields. They do so mostly without any special education, after having spent several months or years in the country concerned as working-men to perfect their language. The growers or their relatives fly to the United States in the autumn or after Christmas, to sell the goods which are to be harvested in July. They usually take the responsibility for the shipment as well. Thus several risks are involved in the bulb-business, which is referred to as "gambling" by several spokesmen. One sells the crops without knowing what they will be like, whether there will be ships available to take the crops overseas, whether devaluation of the currency will take place in one of the contractual countries, etc. The whole international situation co-determines the market in flower bulbs. The outbreak of war in Korea, for instance, brought about a sudden boom for the growers and a considerable uncertainty and risks for the exporters; they feared that the costs of shipment would be raised and as a consequence all stocks of available bulbs were shipped to the U.S.

Even the strikes have an influence; for instance, the strike of the dock-workers in Rotterdam forced the exporters to use a longer route via the German harbours. The fact that the bulbs would arrive in the U.S. approximately at the same time that the collective contracts of the workers in New York's harbour were disputed, also affects the bulb-trade. At this time the strikes of the dock-workers are more frequent and threaten in some cases to damage the Dutch tradesmen because several kinds of bulbs have to be planted in the autumn and have to be unloaded in time.

Because flowers are considered as luxury-goods, several countries impose import limitations (most of the Eastern-European states), which adds to the difficulty of estimating the demand each year. The emigration of growers in the past also led to a closing of the foreign market; they claimed the protection of the government in their new country against the competition from their land of origin.

In order to get a picture of what the export of flower bulbs means for this small community, it should be noted that no less than 60,000 cases of bulbs were shipped from Sassenheim in the course of one year. If we consider the places of destination we notice that the export varies from year to year. Let us, for instance, consider the export figures for the two years in which our research took place:

TABLE 30
Export of flower bulbs from Sassenheim in 1950 and 1951

Place of destination	Number of cases	
	1950	1951
United States	22,880	24,591
Great Britain	14,225	23,507
Canada	1,887	2,632
Sweden	5,812	7,884
Germany	2,554	1
Other countries	2,565	1,849
Total	49,923	60,464

Source: *Leidsch Dagblad*, September 5, 1951

We notice that the export increased by about 10,000 cases in the course of one single year. This occurred in spite of the loss of the German market, which is reflected in the figures of the table. Such sudden changes in markets are not an exception in the bulb-growing business.

All these factors increase the risks of the business and make the consequences of the economic cycle especially severe in this branch. In certain boom-periods, the fortunes of the growers increase rapidly but in periods of depression, unemployment and crisis in the region are more severe than in other parts.

A peculiar feature of the local economic life is that comparatively few reserves are formed in the prosperous years. Fashionable villas are built by the growers who somehow fail to know how to safely invest their money. They make all payments once or twice a year when their crops are marketed and do not bother, as a rule, about the intricate financial transactions. Though they do not concern themselves with financial policy they do know how to sell bulbs. Dealers have to be on their guard, because cheating and unfair practices can be easily used in the bulb-business. In one reported case, a bulb-dealer, in order to get rid of his contractual obligation, sent an agent, who pretended to work for another firm, to the grower.

This agent offered prices which were twice as high as those of the dealer. As a consequence the grower asked the dealer to cancel his order — but he waited in vain for the agent who never returned. Thus the order was cancelled and the grower had to sell his bulbs under the market-price to the first buyer. Such practices make it extremely difficult for a newcomer to keep apace with the older, experienced firms. This is probably another reason, why the family-relationships play such an important rôle.

Most firms are family-affairs in the sense that sons continue the business of their fathers. When the business prospers no major difficulties are experienced, for a division of labour takes place. Some family-members look after the mass-production and multiplication of bulbs, others after the market, and still others after the export. If, however, the family is large and the firm does not grow quickly enough to procure a fair living for all, severe tensions arise. It is a usual practice to divide the property of the parents among the children. When this is no longer possible, the younger family-members sometimes work as wage-earners on the fields of their brothers, uncles, or nephews. If tensions among the property-holders arise, a competition takes place for the foreign markets between the brothers, each of whom pretends that he alone is the successor of his father's firm.

The foregoing description of the bulb-growing business shows that it has a distinct character among the many branches of agriculture.

Dairy Farming. Dairy farming is in several respects different from bulb-growing. Firstly, there is a difference in the size of the holdings as Table 28 shows. The majority of all agricultural land is pasture-land, i.e., 393 hectares of 744 hectares of land held by the farmers in Sassenheim in 1950. This large area is, however, divided among 44 farmers; thus the average holding amounts to about 8.9 hectares. According to the Census of the same year, there were 930 head of cattle in Sassenheim, which makes an average of about 21 per farm. Most of the cattle is bred for milking as the following table demonstrates:

Cattle	Number
Calves	337
Milk-cows	572
Bulls	8
Others	13
Total	930

Source: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 1950

Another difference lies in the regular, monotonous rhythm of all

activities in this branch. There are no seasonal peak working-periods or winter rests. The main activities, consisting of milking and of growing fodder for the cattle, are year-round jobs which cannot be interrupted. This requires a comparative stability and constancy in the manpower needed; extra-labour is only hired during hay-making time and during illness of the farmer.

As to the degree of mechanization, most of the activities consist of manual work. With the exception of a few weeks each year, when the frosts set in, one can see the farmer, a member of his family, or a wage hand, milking the cows in the field, sitting on a low wooden milking-stool. He collects the milk in large tin milk pails which are lifted into the dairy.

Yet another difference from the bulb-growing sector is the less direct contact with the market. Most dairy produce and meat are consumed at home; the export of butter runs via the cooperatives, the dairies, or dairy associations. As the government controls the prices of dairy products and pays a subsidy to the associations of producers, there are few risks, but also few chances to make large profits.

The dairy farmers form a minority-group in the community. Probably owing to the fact that most pastures lie at the opposite end to the bulb-fields, the farmers are partly concentrated in the eastern outskirts of the territory of Sassenheim. They prefer to live as closely as possible to their fields.

Dairy-farming and bulb-growing share, in spite of the differences between them, one common characteristic: the units of production, the farms, are hereditary. Kinship plays a predominant rôle in the foundation, continuation, or bankruptcy of independent firms, in the division of the market, or the recruiting of manpower. As the dairy farmers need considerable areas of land to maintain a fair standard of living, the division of farms among the children is still more difficult than in the bulb-growing section of agriculture. In some cases, the oldest son works with his father and, to take over the farm, simply waits until the father gives up his job or dies. In several instances, this leads to cases of postponed or cancelled marriage. Lacking any independence to start a life of their own, the young generation remains for a long time in a subordinate position.

It is typical of Sassenheim's agriculture, that only a very few grain growers are settled here. This is probably caused by the conditions of soil: neither the sandy banks, nor the humid soil of the polderland is suitable for grain-growing. Only some oats and barley are sown and an even smaller quantity of winter-wheat (not more than five hectares).

C) STRUCTURE OF LOCAL INDUSTRY

As for industry, we notice even fewer enterprises than in local agriculture. There were 117 industrial enterprises according to the Census of 1950 (*Bedrijfstelling*, October 16, 1950); these employed a total of 1,173 persons. Thus, the average labour-force per enterprise was ten persons. We also notice that there were more larger industrial enterprises than agricultural ones; about a dozen factories, which were settled in the course of the past two decades, probably account for this fact. They employ more than 700 people, which is about two thirds of all persons working in industry and only a little less than one third of the total number of persons having a job in Sassenheim. Some of these factories more or less serve local agriculture either by producing the tools necessary for the agricultural production and the export of flower bulbs or by working up the agricultural produce. Besides a packing-case factory and a printing-firm for the bulb-exporters, there is also a canned meat factory in the community. In addition to these, there are also factories that are independent of agricultural production and the local resources of raw-materials. There is a large paint-factory situated favourably near the railway The Hague-Amsterdam. Except for electricity, water, gas, and manpower, it depends on material resources from outside Sassenheim. Thanks to the various means of communication (railroad, roads, and canals), this is hardly a handicap. About 250 men are employed here at present, though only a small percentage of these are inhabitants of Sassenheim. Among other larger industrial firms, two precision-machinery factories, one textile factory, one asphalt factory, and several building firms should be mentioned.

The social structure of these industrial undertakings differs in several respects from that of the agricultural firms. Most of them are not owned by private proprietors but by a company. The division between the managers and the owners is sharper than with agriculture. This is partly accentuated by the fact that most of the stock-holders live outside Sassenheim. They invest their capital into the industries in the community on condition that the local authorities will offer a suitable factory-site and issue the housing-permits for the skilled workers and the engineers who are to run the factory. As the newly settled industries are likely to employ the surplus population of the community, the community not only meets the demands of the investors but even advertises to stimulate industrialization. Thus a rather peculiar situation arises; the industrial firms employ local manpower (manual workers) but are managed by a group of strangers who settled here from all parts of the country and who execute the instructions of an even more distant group of owners. The owners usually live outside the community and remain even more abstract and unknown to the common man than the managers.

Practically no industrial enterprise in Sassenheim does seasonal work. Working-hours are quite regular and do not show many fluctuations, but the notion of time and being on time is much stronger than in agriculture. Several factories operate on piece-rates and everybody is expected to come and to leave at certain times (in contrast to the freer discipline at the farms).¹

D) LOCAL TRADE AND COMMERCE

In addition to the industrial and the agricultural enterprises, about 140 shops and artisan-firms should be mentioned. They are run by about 425 persons among whom women constitute somewhat less than a quarter. A large majority of all shopkeepers and craftsmen supply goods to satisfy the needs of the local population. The wholesale trade is represented mainly by the flower bulb exporters, about twenty in number. The remaining six firms deal in wood, drugs, and chemical products, bicycles, and synthetic rubber.

According to the data of 1950—1951 which we found in the office of the Chamber of Commerce and Industries in Leyden (de Kamer van Koophandel en Fabrieken te Leiden), there are eight bakers, seven milk-retailers, four greengrocers, four butchers (besides two firms combining butchery with another business), and eleven grocers. These retail-dealers see to the food supply of the group of the 8,000 people in Sassenheim. Most of their shops are typical examples of family enterprises; once every week the husband buys the goods on the auction which his wife (and often his children, too) are going to sell in the shop. He himself trades in these goods "along the street" ("venten langs de weg") bringing them directly to the customer's house on his cart or bicycle. If he prospers, he hires a man or a boy to help him serve the steady customers and relieves his wife in the shop. If he is facing bad times he sees to it that his firm is legally registered as belonging to him while the property of his wife is protected by the marriage contract against bankruptcy.

The less substantial needs (liquor or smoking) are met by about eleven cafés and restaurants which, however, are more frequented by the visitors to Sassenheim than by the local inhabitants. There are three tobacconists according to the official register but at least an equal number of shops sell tobacco as a side line.

Though there are at least two shoemakers in the village, we find only one tailor; the majority of the population buys its clothing ready-made in near-by towns (Leyden or Haarlem). More shops, on the

¹ An extensive study of one of the largest factories in Sassenheim was undertaken by a team of social scientists engaged by the Department of Mental Health of the Institute of Preventive Medicine in Leyden.

The preliminary results of this study have been published by Dr. HUTTE in *Mens en Onderneming*, IV, N. 5, p.p. 321—439, December, 1950.



WORK IN BULB-FIELDS: LIFTING OF BULBS
(Courtesy of Zonneveld & Filippo N.V.)



BULB-CULTURE: WEEDING
(Courtesy of Zonneveld & Filippo N.V.)



MECHANIZATION: BULB-SORTING MACHINE
(Courtesy of Zonneveld & Philippo N.V.)



CLEANING OF BULBS
(Courtesy of Zonneveld & Philippo N.V.)

other hand, cater for the physical appearance of the inhabitants: there are four barber shops and one beauty parlour. Most of the remaining retail stores deal in furniture and hardware, or in bicycles, motorcycles, or cars.

When dealing with the commercial institutions at Sassenheim one should not forget the banks which form an important part of these institutions. There is the fashionable building of the Twentsche Bank with many underground safes situated next to the village-hall as well as a branch of the Rotterdamsche Bank. Both banks give credit to the local industrialists, bulb-growers, and exporters. As for the dairy farmers, they are usually organized in the Cooperative Agricultural Loan Bank (Cooperatieve Boerenleenbank) which takes care of their savings, gives credit whenever bad harvests or investments make it indispensable, and gives other forms of financial assistance.

Its financial and general policy is decided upon in the plenary sessions of the members. These members also elect the board of managers. As under this type of organization persons without special knowledge of financial transactions are charged with the responsibility for the whole business, two measures were taken to avoid possible blunders: (a) a paid employee (banker) was hired by the cooperative to supply the necessary knowledge; (b) the bank became associated with similar cooperatives in other communities and agreed to send its yearly budget and financial plans to the central office of the national association of rural banks. This office examines the policy of the member bank and places the reserves of the national association at the disposal of the local bank. Thus, a significant stability and confidence is guaranteed.

E). ORGANIZED INTEREST GROUPS AND THEIR MEDIATORS

The 475 firms which we have briefly discussed on the foregoing pages are not the only economic institutions and units of organization in Sassenheim. There are several other important organized groups with specific economic interests. Employers, business-men, and employees form specific associations in order to protect the interests of individual members. It is typical of the population-group under study that practically each interest group is actually split up into three sub-groups according to their religious denomination. Though there exist formally nonconfessional, neutral trade-unions, associations of employers and shopkeepers, in most cases they exist side by side with the Roman Catholic and the Protestant unions and associations. The result of this process of differentiation is that most interest-groups are clearly divided into three independent organizations: the Roman Catholic, the Protestant, and the "neutral" (which consist of freethinkers and persons without a denomination).

Trade Unions. A similar division is most consistently carried out in the trade unions. Besides the mighty local organization of the

Netherlands' Federation of Roman Catholic Workers (Rooms Katholieke Arbeidersbeweging, K.A.B.), there exists a local section of the National Federation of Protestant Workers (Christelijk Nationaal Vakverbond, C.N.V.) and a local branch of the Netherlands Federation of Trade Unions (Nederlands Verbond van Vakverenigingen, N.V.V.). It would be a mistake to consider each of these unions as a compact, homogeneous body. They are split up in the same way as Sassenheim's economy is split into the various branches and sections of production. The Roman Catholic Federation unites, for instance, several unions: the R.C. Union of Agricultural Workers "St. Deus Dedit," the R.C. Union of Workers in Building Industries "St. Joseph," the Union of Industrial Workers "St. Willibrordus," the Union of Metal Workers "St. Eloy," and possibly still others.

The unions are organized on a national scale and have their branches in those communities where members can be recruited according to the specific branch of production. Every second year each branch elects its own secretary, chairman, treasurer, and their deputies.

In the Roman Catholic unions the treasurer sees to it that every member pays his contributions in time, which amounts to two per cent of the weekly wages. A member who fails to pay his contributions four times is excluded from the union unless special circumstances (illness in the family, or family-discord) allow for milder treatment. The money, which is collected by one of the members (who is referred to as a "red bellman" i.e. "roode bode" in the slang of the population), is sent to the Central Federation in Haarlem which sends part of it (10 cent per member) back to the executive of the branch. This executive consists of twelve members who are elected each year by the plenary session of all committee members of the union. There is not much competition between the members to take office; most of them are re-elected each year. The chairman of the union, for instance, has held this office for more than 25 years. This is not so astonishing, if one realizes that the local federation consists of about eight unions each with its own committee. Out of 370 members, about 40 are office-holders. The latter receive special training. They subscribe to a special periodical ("Credo Pugnum") which is published on a national scale and which they discuss in the regular sessions. They also receive another magazine ("Lering en Leiding") which is published in Haarlem and which deals with the more practical problems of leadership. In order to train suitable members for leadership, the Federation organizes district evening classes; the more capable members are given the opportunity to study elementary economics, statistics, and even some sociology at these weekly classes.

According to the chairman, one of the main functions of the Federation ("K.A.B.") is to represent the class interests ("standsbelangen") of the worker in the Roman Catholic society, thus seeing to it that their social and cultural needs are satisfied. To satisfy the economic needs

and to provide material security for the workers is the task of the unions. These take part in the negotiations about the collective labour-contracts with the employers' organization, take up the cause of their members against the employers in cases of individual conflict or of dismissal; in short, they do anything necessary to further the security and the economic interests of the members. There are hardly any plenary sessions of the unions except when the possibility of a strike is being discussed, which is very seldom at Sassenheim.

The Federation organizes meetings and lectures for the members, initiates various social services as e.g., the support of members suffering from tuberculosis, the collection of money for scholarships for the poor, gifted members ("Thermometer Action;" each member is expected to put some copper cents into a glass tube in the form of a thermometer to make saving more attractive), organizes stage-performances and children colonies in summer, etc.

In both sub-organizations, in the unions as well as in the Federation, there are frequent complaints of the lack of participation. There are Roman Catholic workers who do not become members of the union not on principle, but simply because they refuse to pay the contributions. These workers are often exposed to severe social pressure, even to ostracism. They are either directly or indirectly (e.g., by letters put anonymously into their coats during the working hours) reminded that they actually profit from work done by the unions without paying their dues in return.

Other complaints concern the members themselves. Some years ago, meetings used to be held in the chapel of "St. Bernardus" (the Roman Catholic infirmary) in the presence of the chaplain who would act as a spiritual advisor. These meetings were attended by some 12 or 13 persons, which is less than four per cent. After such a discouraging experience another line was taken: the committee-members received the task of inviting the members personally. Instead of in the chapel, meetings were held in the Roman Catholic community building (K.S.A. gebouw) and were usually combined with a common breakfast, lunch, or some music. This policy turned out to be a success: one meeting was attended by no less than 260 persons (out of a total number of some 370 members).

The social evenings are in general better attended than the lectures. There are three stage performances each year, and a yearly plenary session with music, dancing, and a lottery. Among the lectures that were given in the years of our survey, there was a series about the urgent population problems (the population growth, emigration, and industrialization), and another series about the reorganization of the unions resulting from the governmental changes as enunciated by the recent Act on Public Organizations in the Production Process (Wet op de Publiekrechtelijke Organisaties).

The local section of the National Federation of Protestant Workers is organized in a similar way as its larger Roman Catholic pendant. Instead of eight, there are seven unions which form the basis of the local section of the Federation. These unions are organized on a national scale. Membership depends upon the social position of the workers: it is highest with the workers in the building industries and lowest in the union of Civil Servants and state employees. Our spokesman, a member of the executive committee of the local Federation, ascribed this to the fact that the latter know better how to take care of themselves. Those who need the intervention of the committee in claiming just wages stick more closely to the unions and participate more actively in them than those who can fight for themselves.

The division of functions is also similar; the unions are the main tool of the traditional class-struggle and wage dispute, while the Federation serves the more general political, social, and cultural aspirations of the Protestant workers at Sassenheim. Among the latter the care of tuberculosis patients may be mentioned which takes place through a special association "Draagt Elkanders Lasten." The Federation tries to combine recreation with education and training. There are study-groups, youth-clubs which organize excursions by bicycle and camps, there are courses in the Dutch language for the members, a lawyer who can be consulted in the cases of difficulty, etc.

The main duty of the members consists in the payment of the regular weekly contributions amounting to about 90 cents per person.

This money is sent to the national organization of the unions which retains most of it and sends a certain percentage back to the local union. As the state pays allowances to the unemployed, there is no "unemployment reserve" maintained by the unions. The treasurer of the unions pays the members during the seasonal unemployment ('vorstverlet-uitkering') but this is more or less only a gesture. The money for these allowances is supplied by the community authorities who decide, in agreement with legal prescriptions, who is to be supported (one should have worked on at least 156 days in the year to be considered for the allowance).

The committee-members of these unions, to whom we spoke during our survey, complained that owing to the growth of centralization the unions are losing in significance. At the beginning of the survey, they did not have a strike-fund. This was considered as an important weakness by the union leaders: "Even if we have cause to strike we could not do so. We have no money for it." (Because of the unfavourable consequences of this weakness in national wage-disputes the unions recently re-introduced the strike-funds, according to information which we received while writing this report).

The leadership problems and the problems of participation are similar to those in the Roman Catholic unions, and probably even more severe.

Every year, there are about six or seven plenary sessions of the Federation. These are, however, attended by less than 50 per cent of the members. The members avoid office in the union. For this reason the committee does not dare to put elections on the agenda in advance; people would not come. They still have to elect each year two or three members of the committee in order that all the members of the committee might change in the course of two years. The union leaders are at the same time members of the Federation ("de Besturenbond"). They elect a local committee which is considered as a local of the National Federation of Protestant Workers.

A special, national periodical "Wij Bouwen" is published for these union-leaders. The members are expected to subscribe to "De Opbouw;" another periodical "Evangelie en Maatschappij" ("The Gospel and Society") which is received from the central office of the Federation, is not often read, according to our spokesman.

As for the non-confessional unions, their organization does not deviate in any principal way from the Protestant or Roman Catholic unions. The same differentiation into the unions which struggle for the economic interests of the members and into the Federation which serves rather political, national purposes, takes place here. As the non-confessional unions-members form a minority in the community, the Federation has not a special branch at Sassenheim, but two neighbouring communities (Lisse and Sassenheim) coordinate their work in this respect. There are some 67 members of the Federation in Sassenheim.

They belong to three unions, that of the agricultural workers, that of the metal workers, and the union of the building-trade workers. Only about one third take part in the sessions which are held, as in the other unions, about six times a year. There is the same aversion to lectures (these are attended by some six members of whom three are usually committee members) and to offices. The latter is caused not so much by the lack of good will as by the lack of ability. Participation by the unions in the social policy of the government lays rather high claims upon the local unions. Elementary knowledge of book-keeping and public law is required in order to fulfil the functions delegated to them: the payment of unemployment allowances, membership of various committees, etc.

This delegation even has some political consequences. There is, for example, the problem who should pay the allowances to the non-organized workers. According to a motion of the chairman of the Catholic Federation, the non-organized workers should be divided according to their religious denomination between the confessional unions, only the persons without denomination should be taken care of by the "neutral" (i.e. non-confessional) union. This motion was, however, not accepted. Now each individual worker is asked by the local authorities by which organization he wishes to be paid.

One should not think, however, that the workers are completely divided by their religious convictions. Provisions are taken in the field

of organization in order that the members of various unions can make decisions binding for the whole working class. The unions in a certain branch (e.g., that of the agricultural workers) meet in special committees of the so called Local Board of the Unions ("Plaatselijke Unie van Vakcentralen") in order to discuss the possibilities of united action. The cooperation is extraordinarily good. Three months before the collective work-contract expires, the board discusses the question of whether it will be prolonged and continued or not. The result of these discussions is communicated to the central federations of the unions ("vakcentralen") which (after mutual consultation) start negotiations with the organizations of the employers. The results of these negotiations (whether negative or positive) are communicated to the Board of Government Mediators (College van Rijksbemiddelaars). This board, appointed by the Crown, decides whether the agreement which was reached between both mighty groups of employers and of employees can be accepted from the standpoint of the national, planned economy. If no agreement was reached, the board should make a decision. The unions are free to accept or to reject this decision and to decide for a strike, though they will be aware that they do not only strike against the employers but also against the body which is said to represent the broader national interests. Under these circumstances, they usually accept the decisions of the government board and sent it down the line to the branches. This procedure makes the possibility of a strike quite unreal to the members of the unions in Sassenheim. As a matter of fact, there have been hardly any strikes since 1926, long before this procedure was introduced (after the last war).

The centralization of the unions and the whole process of joint consultation reinforce the feeling in some members that the unions have become obsolete. The unemployment funds became quite superfluous after the Unemployment Insurance Act had been passed. The strike-funds which have been re-introduced are felt rather as a psychological weapon than as a real tool in wage-disputes: the employers should realize that the unions *are able to strike* even if they do not actually decide to do so. The branches of the union confine themselves to more or less administrative tasks. In one of the few unified actions, they tried to achieve a change in the existing system of communities-classification. Together with the local organization of the employers, they sent a petition to the Board of Government Mediators that Sassenheim might be raised in rank and become a second-class community (instead of the present third-class category). This because both the employers and the employees agreed on higher wages.

Board of Consultation. In addition to the Local Board of Unions there is another body where the workers of different denomination meet: the local Board of Consultation (de Raad van Overleg) in

which the members of the various local federations (*bestuursbonden*) are represented. This Board turned out to be not too successful in Sassenheim. As the more concrete subjects are confined to the Local Board of Unions, the only task which remained for the Board of Consultation was to organize the lectures of a general nature to educate the workers and increase their class-consciousness. It was here, however, that the differences in "*weltanschauung*" turned out to be of such a nature that they hardly could be bridged; a lecture about the nature of property was a failure, because each union adheres to the programme and ideology of a different political party: the Roman Catholic unions to those of the Catholic People's Party, the unions of Protestant Workers to those of the Christian Historical Union and of the Anti-Revolutionary Party, while the non-confessional unions adhere to those of the Labour Party (there being no communist-infiltrated United Union, E. V. C., at Sassenheim). Thus, we come to the conclusion that the local federations of the unions ("*bestuurdersbonden*"), which unite the workers within a certain confessional group, bear the main responsibility for the division of the working-class in Sassenheim into the distinct groups which were described above.

Shopkeepers' Association. Local shopkeepers and craftsmen are also organized in various associations according to their religious denomination. The majority of them are members of the Roman Catholic or the Protestant Association of Middle Class People (*Rooms Katholieke of Christelijke Middenstandsvereniging*). The percentage of the shopkeepers who are not organized may be estimated at about 25 per cent.

The larger of the two associations, that of the Roman Catholics, consists of eighty-five members who used to meet about four times a year to discuss their common interests. The discussion was usually introduced by a speaker specially invited for this purpose. It was centred on the new legal measures as far as these concerned the "middle class" or on the points of policy. Only about twenty-five per cent of the members, usually the lower age groups, and craftsmen attended these meetings. Practically all members attended the yearly social evenings.

The members of the executive committee hold their offices for long periods, a period of fifteen years being no exception. There is some aversion among the younger members to hold office under these conditions. Personal rivalry or jealousy is, on the other hand, the reason why several Roman Catholic shopkeepers in Sassenheim boycott the association (owing to antipathy to the present leadership). The committee members meet usually every month. Often they have joint meetings with the executive committee of the Christian Middle Class Association in order to make decisions in the questions of common interests. Traditionally, one of them used to be the "black listing" of clients who do not pay their bills. By mutual agreement

no member of either associations should sell merchandise on credit to a person placed on this list. In recent times, however, the possibility of abolishing the institution of the "black list" has been considered. Most shopkeepers dare not place a bad client on the list. They are afraid of losing him, because in this small community everybody seems to know everybody and a whisper might easily leak out from the committee meetings of the competing tradesmen.

Another reason why Protestants and Roman Catholics used to meet together was that of a common advertisement campaign. They used to form the so called "shopwindow-committee" ("Winkelcomité") which organized a "shopping-week" every year, in order to attract the local inhabitants who are always inclined to do their shopping in the neighbouring towns. Recently, it became very difficult to organize an action of significance, because, according to the secretary of this committee, the law prohibits any kind of gambling or lottery, which used to be very attractive with the local population. This is probably only one of the reasons why the middle-class associations oppose the tendency to centralize the administration. Their members complain not only of the central government and legislation but also of the local government. In the opinion of some committee-members the community-authorities do not support the interests of the local middle-class in a sufficient way. The shopkeepers complain that they do not receive the permits to enlarge or to rebuild their shops. As a consequence, they have no possibility to display their goods, with the result that the local inhabitants go shopping to the neighbouring communities where they think to have a better choice in the large shopwindows. The fact that the community-authorities gave their consent for the building of another road through Sassenheim which might relieve the overcrowded Mainstreet, the main local shopping-centre, strengthened the opposition of this group.

The members of the executive committees do not only defend the public interests of the members but also fulfil important functions inside their own organization. To the latter belong the control over the settlement of new firms, the advisory function, and the organization of courses. The courses are, however, poorly attended. The course designed to teach the members how to advertise and dress the shopwindows was attended by six members (from eighty-five registered members). In questions of national policy or ideological training the Roman Catholic Association of Shopkeepers cooperates with the Roman Catholics working in agriculture and the Federation of Roman Catholic Workers (K.A.B.).

Milkmen Cooperative. Though the Middle Class Associations unite most categories of craftsmen and shopkeepers, they do not unite all of them. The local milkmen form an important exception, since they built an organization of their own, just at the time of our study. While the "shopwindow-committee," that was referred to above, suffers from one important aspect of the present changed social structure — the centralization of the administration, the organization of the milkmen reveals another aspect of it — the lack of competition.

For several decades the milkmen in Sassenheim used to compete for customers in each street. It often happened that a number of houses was visited by an equal number of milkmen, each of them pushing his cart several miles only to serve one or two customers. Each milkman had his customers spread over the whole community. The situation became quite paradoxical when the standardization of dairy produce was introduced, after the outbreak of the last war. The goods were of the same quality and had to be offered for the same price. The milkmen had nothing to compete with.

The centralization of governmental control which was maintained after the war led to the maintenance of standardized dairy produce. No milkman is allowed to buy milk directly from the dairy farmer. The latter is obliged to deliver all milk destined for the market to the dairies, which fix its composition to contain two and a half per cent of fat. The prices of dairy produce remain standardized, too. A special government subsidy is given for this purpose (by means of the so called *Landbouw Egalisatie Fonds*). Another factor making for standardization is that of organization; the milkmen, the dairy farmers, and the dairy producers are associated in huge organizations. All these are engaged in negotiations about prices and quality of goods on a national scale. In these circumstances, competition became quite absurd and the possibility of reorganizing the system of milk-distribution in order to serve the clients more efficiently came under consideration. A favourable moment for it came when one of the milkmen decided to emigrate to Canada. His business was then bought by the remaining milkmen who formed an organization to divide the whole community into districts in such a way that each milkman would have his own exclusive territory and would not serve the customers in the street of his colleague. An intricate system was established to compensate those whose districts were far off or consisted of middle class families, not spending much money on dairy produce (in contrast to working class families, with whom milk makes out a substantial part of the diet). The legal regulations of the association of the milkmen also contain several provisions enabling the older members to retire by selling their business to the association for a life-long pension. In this way, the milkmen can enlarge their original number of customers by taking over the customers from the retired members. The regulations make it also possible to redistribute the territories, if the members agree on this at the annual session.

The whole project was accepted in 1948 in Sassenheim and after a few years, in March 1952, also in several other communities in the bulb-region: Lisse, Bennebroek, and Vogelenzang. The association consists of about 46 milkmen who work in 67 districts. Only two local firms refused to sign the contract. Another case was reported to us of a milkman who signed the contract but, later on, refused any cooperation. His case was brought before the court. The association lost the suit, however. The main argument of the defence was that the contract was immoral and disturbed the public order, because of its monopolistic character. (The Dutch law prohibits cartels). As the inhabitants of Sassenheim lost the possibility of choice between local milkmen, it was argued that the regulations of the association violated the law. The committee members of the association pointed out, however, that they had established a committee of complaints

in Sassenheim. Anybody who thinks he is not being served properly has the right of complaining to one of its members who should then investigate the case. They argued that they distributed more milk in a shorter time and with less expenses under the present conditions.

Employers' Associations. The employers are also organized, forming an association with a strictly economic objective. The differentiation into sub-groups of persons of different religious denomination is not carried out as consistently here as with the workers or other occupational groups. In a few branches they form a confessional organization: e.g., the Roman Catholic Association of Contractors and Builders. More often they share a nominal membership in the large denominational organizations (e.g., the Catholic Federation of Employers, the Protestant Union of Employers) while being an active member in the more specific neutral associations protecting their economic interests. The bulb-growers, for instance, usually join the Netherlands' Corporation of Bulb-Growers (Hollands Bloembollenkwekers Genootschap, H.B.G.) while the firms exporting the flowerbulbs are associated in the Union of Bulb-Dealers, (de Bond van Bloembollenhandelaren). Both organizations are represented in a common body, the National Association of Flower Bulb Culture (Algemene Vereniging voor Bloembollencultuur). It is the task of the latter to organize exhibitions and the public relations of the bulb-growers and the bulb-dealers. It distributes permits to the growers and fixes the quota of bulbs each grower is allowed to bring on the market in the years of crisis or war. In spite of a common organization there are often tensions between the members from certain regions as well as between the individual growers (or dealers). Such tensions were probably the reason for the establishment of a special arbitration board by the National Association.

In order to complete the list of economic institutions, the following should be added in this context: the Chamber of Commerce and Industries in Leyden and the Labour Exchange in Lisse. The first one registers all firms at Sassenheim which were established with a capital of more than 2,000 guilders. Its register is often consulted by salesmen who plan to get into touch with the local shopkeepers or eventual dealers looking for information about economic life in the community.

Labour Exchange. The Labour Exchange (het Gewestelijk Arbeidsbureau) in Lisse is of great importance for the inhabitants of the following five communities in the bulb-region: Voorhout, Noordwijkerhout, Hillegom, Lisse, and Sassenheim. This governmental institution works according to the instructions of the National Labour Office (het Rijksarbeidsbureau) which is supervised by the Ministry of Social Welfare. In Lisse, the unemployed workers of the region

are registered. Everyone who, being out of work, asks for assistance has to come to Lisse to be registered. If he does not, he has to care for his own sustenance himself. According to the law, the unemployed person is obliged to accept "suitable work" offered him through the mediation of the Exchange if such work is available. In order to avoid nepotism and corruption by casually interpreting the law, a special Advisory Board (Commissie of Advies) has been established out of the representatives of the employers' organizations, the middle-class people, and the representatives of the three main trade unions. This Board establishes the 'objective norms' by which jobs are judged whether they are "suitable" for each occupational category. The Board and the Exchange also function as an arbitration body in cases of conflict between the individual employer and the employee. Their decisions are binding for both parties though an appeal to the magistrate is possible. Besides the advice which the Exchange passes on to the community authorities in cases of unemployment it also mediates in cases where employees try to better their positions and look for more suitable jobs.

Another important function is that of vocational guidance. Once a fortnight there are consulting hours. Two members of the staff (consisting of five persons) examine the cases and select those who should be tested by the psychologists. Some headmasters cooperate closely with the Exchange in this respect and send their pupils for vocational guidance. The cooperation is somewhat less smooth with the headmasters of the Roman Catholic schools because several of them object to the interference of a "neutral" institution in the educational process and consider it the task of the parents to decide whether their children should be examined. Some of them miss a Roman Catholic bureau for vocational guidance in the region (in some other parts of the Netherlands a similar differentiation along the line of religious denomination took place in this field).

The main difficulty, as seen by the staff-members of the Exchange, lies in the fact that there is no technical school in this region. A school of this type is badly needed, in their opinion, because of the high surplus rate of the local population and the limited possibilities for work in the bulb-growing business. There is an aversion to the manual work in this branch with the younger workers resulting from a fear of crisis and unemployment. There is but a slight chance of becoming a skilled worker in this horticultural occupation. The chief means of finding a safe future lies in a technical training in Leyden or in Haarlem. This is, however, "a dangerous way," for it implies contact with the free, "licentious" life in the towns which is so much resented by the orthodox, church-going, rural population of the region. The heads of the schools (M.U.L.O.) and the growers, however, opposed the establishment of a regional technical school. The first fear a future lack of pupils, the latter fear a future shortage of manpower in horticulture.

Another function of the Exchange is to assist those who decide to emigrate. About eighty-five per cent of all those who emigrate from the region make

use of the services of the Labour Exchange. The staff look after their placement in the land of destination and arrange the documents. Some fifteen persons are helped every week.

F) MAIN PROCESSES AND IMPACT OF WORK

Having described the most important economic institutions in Sassenheim and their functions, let us mention some societal processes which take place in this field.

Competition. Reference has already been made to the lack of competition among the local milkmen as a consequence of the growing centralization in the Netherlands' economy. There are also some other symptoms of the changed economic attitude. The shopkeepers have agreed to close their shops for half a working-day each week besides the usual Sunday rest, and in some branches they have each agreed to take one week holidays a year. The growers are obliged to adhere to the decisions of their association not to produce or export more than their share in times of emergency. In spite of all these symptoms, competition is not quite extirpated. Even now, local firms struggle for existence, compete for new customers and, as a consequence, either prosper or go bankrupt. This risk can be observed less frequently in the industrial branch and with the group of local shopkeepers and craftsmen than in the flower bulb business. The industry is rather young and the shopkeepers do not start a shop of their own without previous talks with their colleagues and an investigation whether they have a chance to make a fair living. In the flower bulb branch the situation is different. After the war, the international market was reopened and the demand for bulbs was steadily rising. Under these conditions, several persons at Sassenheim made use of their regained freedom and started a business of their own. Most of them had worked in this branch for decades. They were not lacking skill in bulb-growing but they were, however, rather inexperienced businessmen. As time went on, several of them proved no match for the larger, established firms and gave up their struggle. This explains why the number of bulb-growing firms at Sassenheim is constantly dwindling, as mentioned above.

Unemployment. The majority of the population do not think of their jobs in terms of cooperation or competition. As strikes are practically unknown, the main important process is that of getting or losing a job. The special nature of the bulb-growing business accounts for the fact that jobs are less stable in this region than in most other parts of the country. It is very easy, even for very young or quite old persons to get a job in May or June. The lack of manpower is so great that many labourers from the neighbouring Haarlemmermeer-region move in and hire themselves for a month or two before the harvest starts in the Haarlemmermeer, which, in turn, attracts many croppers from

the bulb-region. In the winter months, however, many workers are without job. The fluctuation in the unemployment-rate is here higher than in the country as a whole. According to the information which we received from the Labour Exchange in Lisse, we can estimate the number of unemployed at various dates in the year in a following way:

TABLE 31
The seasonal unemployment at Sassenheim in 1951

Date	No. of unemployed registered	No. of those on relief	Workers on relief (D.U.W.)
January 31, 1951 . . .	127	70	37
April 31, 1951 . . .	84	45	33
July 31, 1951 . . .	18	4	0
October 31, 1951 . . .	53	22	0
January 31, 1952 . . .	185	93	54

Source: The Labour Exchange at Lisse

There is a striking regularity in the curve of unemployment with its recurrent top in January and minimum in July. In 1949, there were 4 unemployed in summer as compared with 86 in January. In 1950, the corresponding figures were 9 and 124. If we compare these absolute figures with the number of the male population capable of work, we find that about one half per cent is unemployed in the summer months and more than five per cent in the winter. These figures are much more favourable than they used to be before the last war, in the years of crisis. In 1936, for instance, 410 male unemployed were registered in January as compared with 103 unemployed in July. This means that about 24 per cent of all men capable of work were without jobs in the winter months of that year.

Table 31 shows that those without jobs are not left without financial assistance. In winter, special government projects (by the so called Dienst Uitbreiding Werken, D.U.W.) are started (reparation and building of roads, canals, etc.). The unemployed labourers are then asked to take temporary jobs if these jobs fall into the same category as their former occupation. Those who refuse to take them lose their right of asking assistance and have to look after themselves. This institution (D.U.W.) is not very popular with the inhabitants. The workers were picked up by a bus early in the morning and often had to work far from the village repairing dykes while standing in water on cold winter days. They objected to the piece-work system

which enabled them to earn as much as in their normal jobs — but at the cost of much more effort and hard work. Another reason why this institution is none too popular lies in the fact that several workers of semi-skilled or skilled occupations do receive their relief directly, without being obliged to work at all. Only those who refuse to take the job offered to them or who lose a job deliberately (as well as persons under nineteen years) are exempt from the system of social security and have to care for themselves. In January 1951, there were about 14 of such cases at Sassenheim. (It should be mentioned that out of the 127 unemployed persons registered on that date, almost a half were agricultural labourers while only 19 were industrial workers. There were 6 unemployed women registered at that time as compared with 121 unemployed men).

“*Active Population.*” The discussion of unemployment in Sassenheim brings us to the problem which we are going to treat now: what does the economy mean in quantitative terms for the population? What different sub-groups are formed in Sassenheim by the different aspects of the economic activity? The first issue which arises in this context is the scope of employment; who and how many persons earn money, and how many of the inhabitants are supported either by their family-members or by someone else. By reference to the Census-data (published by the Central Bureau of Statistics for 1947 and 1950) we are able to compute the following percentages:

	Per cent of the total population
Gainfully occupied men	26.8
Gainfully occupied women	7.7
Children under 14 years	36.0
Children at school (14 years or older)	4.1
Women without job (most of whom housewives)	22.6
Men without job	0.6
Temporarily jobless men	2.0
Temporarily jobless women	0.2
<hr/>	
Total	100.0

If we consider the men and the women together, we notice that 34.5 per cent of the whole population at Sassenheim is gainfully employed earning money for the rest. This percentage is below the country average, which amounted to 37.5 per cent in the same year (1947). The lower employment rate can be explained by the large families — a high percentage of children under 14 years of age. The percentage of employed women is also lower than in the Netherlands taken as a whole (there were 9.6 per cent of gainfully employed women among the population of the country in 1947).

The lower percentage of women among the gainfully employed

does not imply that women in this community contribute less to the economic process than in the other parts of the country. Many of them take a temporary job in the late spring or early summer in the bulb-growing industry. The wages are considerably high then: a handy worker can earn fl. 17.— a day by cleaning bulbs, which is more than double the wage of an unskilled worker (one has, however, to work for about eleven hours to reach this quota; not all women reach it and earn less because they are paid for piece-work). Even children under fourteen years help in the busy time of harvest and spend several hours a day by earning money.

Occupational Groups. The group of about 2,500 persons at work in Sassenheim is divided in the following way over the main branches of the economy:

Branch	Per cent of actively employed population ¹
Industry	25.85
Agriculture	37.1
Commerce, trades, traffic	18.7
Financial business	0.85
Civil service, education, professions	9.0
Household service	8.5
Total	100.00

Source: Census Data for 1947

Economy accounts, however, for another division of the population than that between the employed and the unemployed, or between industrial, agricultural, and other occupations. People are divided according to the fact whether they work on their own or whether they are employed by someone else. In the latter case still another difference is being made between those employed as workers and those engaged as employees for white-collar or similar jobs. In terms of such categories the population is divided as follows:

¹ In order to make a comparison with the national parameters possible we present here the tables that were computed from Census data for 1947:

Branch	Per cent of actively employed population in the country
Industry	37.1
Agriculture (and fishery)	20.6
Commerce, trades, traffic	22.4
Financial business	1.9
Civil service, education, professions	12.9
Household service	5.1
Total	100.0 = 3,612,367 persons

Position in the enterprise	Per cent of economically active population
Employers	19.9
Workers on own account in manufacture	1.3
Family-workers (wives)	2.0
Family-workers (children)	6.3
Managers of the corporations and cooperative firms	1.5
Foremen, acting managers	2.0
Workers	49.2
Employees	17.8
Total	100.0

Source: Census Data for 1947

Only about a fourth of the population work on their own account; the large majority of the remaining three quarters depend on an employer in order to make their living.¹

Income Levels. Almost a half of the population are workers, the wages of whom are standardized. In Sassenheim, which is considered as a third-class community, the weekly wages of the workers are fixed as follows:

¹ Though in terms of occupational groups, Sassenheim is still a predominantly agricultural community, in terms of the occupational position we receive a more representative picture:

Position in the enterprise	Per cent of economically active population in the country (100 p.c. = 3,612,367 persons)
Employers, those working on own account	20.3
Managers (bedrijfsleiders)	1.8
Employees	19.4
Family-workers (wives)	4.2
Family-workers (children)	7.0
Workers	47.3
Total	100.0

Source: Centraal Bureau v. d. Statistiek, *Statistisch Zakboek 1951—1952*, Utrecht 1952, p. 24—25, Table VIII, 1

It is striking that fewer children work in the firms of their fathers in Sassenheim than we would expect from the country average. The somewhat higher percentage of employers in Sassenheim suggests that the stronger economic ties with parents to which we refer in Chapter VI, concern especially the group of employers; the children in this group are considered as co-owners.



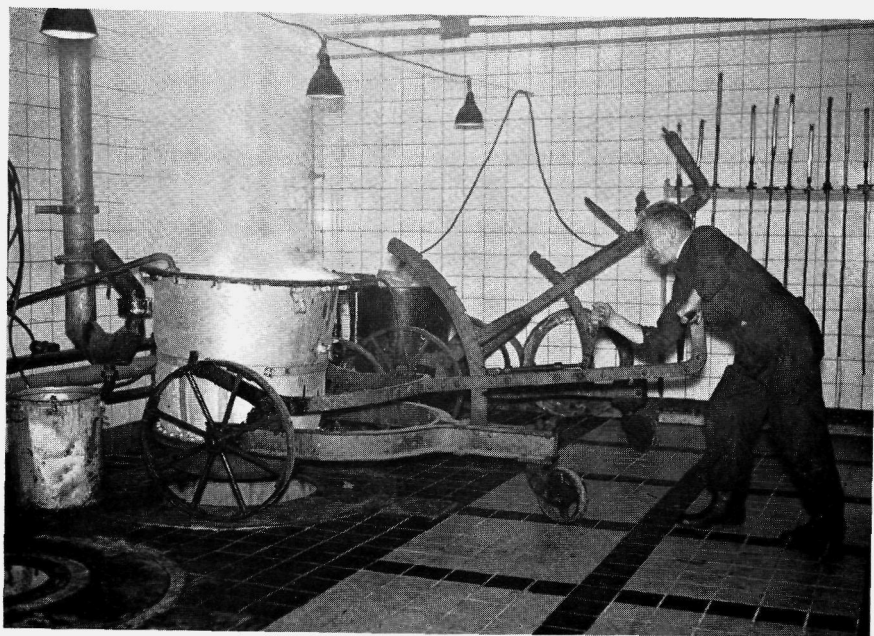
MECHANIZATION: BULB-COUNTING MACHINE
(Courtesy of Zonneveld & Philippo N.V.)



MODERN INDUSTRY IN SASSENHEIM
(Courtesy of Sikkens Lakfabrieken N.V.)



ANALYTICAL LABORATORY OF A LACQUER FACTORY IN SASSENHEIM
(Courtesy of Sikkens Lakfabrieken N.V.)



FACTORY-WORK IN SASSENHEIM: LACQUER MIXING
(Courtesy of Sikkens Lakfabrieken N.V.)

Wage-group	Weekly wages in guilders
	Min.—Max.
I. Unskilled worker	39.64—42.55
II. Semi-skilled worker	41.65—45.07
III. Semi-skilled worker, foreman	43.55—47.84
IV. Skilled worker	45.61—51.18
V. Skilled worker, foreman	48.95—54.51
VI. Worker with special training	52.28—57.84

Source: *KABO-Post*, V, No. 18, Augustus 29, 1953, p. 4-5

If we bear in mind that a worker, as a rule, has to work 48 hours every week, we come to the conclusion that about a half of the population have to live from wages which do not differ more than about 40 cents per of work-hour respectively fl. 0.82 and fl. 1.20 per hour. It would, however, be a mistake to think that there are such slight differences in the distribution of incomes over the entire population. The data about the taxpayers, which were published for each community in the Netherlands in 1946 (some four years prior to our research), reveal quite an opposite picture. From Table 32 we learn that 82 families at Sassenheim earn annually more than the 1,569 low-status families, respectively fl. 1,486,851 and fl. 1,453,534. While more than a half of the population do not earn more than fl. 2,000 a year, there are some twenty-four families in the community earning more than fl. 20,000 a year each. When compared with the corresponding figures for the whole country, Sassenheim appears as a modestly rich community, its average personal income (the yearly income of the average inhabitant, children including) surpassing slightly the country's average, in spite of the high population increase-rate (and the lower employment rate as a consequence of this).

The relatively high percentage of persons earning less than fl. 2,000 a year can probably be accounted for by the higher percentage of young workers in Sassenheim as compared with most other places in the country. The seasonal work and the greater possibility for part-time work also play a rôle.

When discussing incomes and wages it should not be forgotten that the principle of "equal pay for equal work" does not operate. The persons under age and women receive lower wages for the same output as the adult male workers. This is, however, by no means a local peculiarity but a rule valid in the whole country and sanctioned by law.

Prestige of Occupations. The differences in incomes are not the only source of the inequality caused by the economic structure. Various

TABLE 32

Distribution of incomes in Sassenheim as compared with the distribution of incomes in the Netherlands in 1946

Annual income-level in guilders	Sassenheim		The Netherlands	
	No. of taxpayers	Incomes fl.	No. of taxpayers	Incomes × fl. 1,000
0 — 1,000	793	321,641	1,089,780	509,083
— 2,000	776	1,131,893	1,127,515	1,591,888
— 3,000	431	978,024	743,873	1,705,124
— 4,000	169	558,672	267,046	884,248
— 5,000	85	363,135	130,361	565,276
— 6,000	63	331,124	74,275	394,674
— 7,000	27	171,508	45,565	295,626
— 8,000	26	191,511	28,455	210,393
— 9,000	15	124,491	19,950	166,990
— 10,000	14	134,531	13,806	129,206
— 15,000	40	505,426	34,875	411,579
— 20,000	18	278,697	12,916	216,596
— 50,000	24	702,828	14,649	406,110
— 100,000	—	—	1,800	116,649
100,000 and more	—	—	548	92,733
Total	2,481	5,793,381	3,605,414	7,696,181
Average income per inhabitant		824	817	
Average income per taxpayer		2,335	2,135	

Source: C.B.S., *Gegevens per gemeente betreffende de inkomstenverdeling 1946*, Utrecht 1952

degrees of status and prestige are attached to every occupation by the local population. Though the pecuniary value plays a rôle in this process of evaluation, it is not the only decisive factor. The kind of work done, education, or general cultural level required for it, and probably also some other cultural traits (religious mission, ethical task), co-determine the place of each occupation in the social hierarchy. In order to estimate the evaluation of the occupational structure in Sassenheim, a list of fourteen categories was drawn up and included in our questionnaire. Each interviewee was asked to score each occupational category by deciding whether it belonged to the "lower", (1 point), "middle" (2 points), or "upper class" (3 points) occupations. By computing the mean scores (see Part II, Chapter XI, also p. 411 ff.) we

found that the fourteen categories were ranked by the population in the following way:

Rank	Mean score	Occupational category
1	2.93	physician
2	2.66	clergyman
3	2.29	teacher
4	2.23	exporter (of flower-bulbs)
5	2.09	Civil Servant
6	2.07	artisan, craftsman
7	2.06	bulb-grower
8	2.03	shopkeeper
8	2.03	travelling salesman
9	1.95	foreman
10	1.78	industrial worker (skilled)
11	1.75	office clerk
12	1.46	agricultural worker
13	1.45	horticultural worker (<i>bloemistknecht</i>)
14	1.23	industrial worker (unskilled)

We notice a great difference between the mean scores of the occupational categories, which reveals the existence of a distinct occupational hierarchy. In terms of absolute scores the "highest" category scores more than twice as much as the "lowest" category. In comparison with similar occupational scales in other parts of the country (which have been constructed after the pioneer work of Dr. F. van Heek in this field¹) we notice a comparatively low rank for the category of the local rich employers — the bulb-growers. This is probably caused by the comparatively high mobility in this branch (see further) and the great income range among the bulb-growers themselves; they belong to the highest but also to the very low income levels. In addition, the bulb-growers belong to the lower educational levels and score, on account of that, far lower than the professions on college level (physician, clergyman).

Age of Starting Work. After having mentioned the main divisions which the occupation brings about in the population group, let us

¹ F. van Heek, *Stijging en daling op de maatschappelijke ladder*, Leiden 1945.
E. J. TOBI, A. W. LUYCKX, *Herkomst en toekomst van de middenstander*, 1950.
I. VAN HULTEN, *Stijging en daling in een modern grootbedrijf*, Leiden 1954.
G. KUIPER, *Opklimmen en dalen in beroep en samenleving*, Assen 1954.

briefly consider the more dynamic aspects of the economic life. Though nobody is allowed to take up a job under the age of fourteen, according to the law, several of the present wage-earners in Sassenheim started on their jobs at an earlier age. During our survey, we asked the following question: "*At what age did you start earning money?*" The answers can be summarized as follows:

Age	No. of replies	Per cent of those who had a job	Cumulative percentage
7 years	1	0.3	0.3
8 years	3	0.8	1.1
9 years	3	0.8	1.9
10 years	7	1.9	3.8
11 years	31	8.6	12.4
12 years	42	11.7	24.1
13 years	37	10.3	34.4
14 years	74	20.6	55.0
15 years	31	8.6	63.6
16 years	25	6.9	70.5
17 years	27	7.5	78.0
18 years	29	8.1	86.1
19 years	12	3.3	89.4
20 years	13	3.6	93.0
21 years or more . .	25	6.9	99.9
without job no reply.	(44)		
Total	360 + (44)	99.9	99.9

We notice that about a third (34.4 %) of the economically active population took up jobs under fourteen years of age. More than a half did so under the age of fifteen, immediately after or before they were allowed to do so by law. Unfortunately, we were unable to decide, how far the replies, which we received to our question, refer to full-time jobs and how far they bear on seasonal work during harvest time. There is, however, a high probability that in most cases the full time jobs were referred to in the replies, because the older persons among the interviewees consistently declared to have started earning money at a lower age than the younger persons. (Note also the peak at the school-leaving age of fourteen in this context!).

Occupational Mobility. Though one is pushed into a job at an early age in Sassenheim, one does not, as a rule, keep the job for too long.

Only about a third of the population appear to keep the same job in which they started their occupational career, according to our sample of the population over eighteen years of age:

No. of jobs	No. of persons	Per cent
None	45	11.3
1	131	32.4
2	112	27.7
3	62	15.3
4	20	4.9
5	20	4.9
6 or 7	9	2.2
8	1	0.3
9 or more	2	0.5
No or inadequate reply	2	0.5
Total	404	100.0

There is reason to assume that in reality people change their jobs more frequently than this table is likely to suggest. In spite of the explicit instruction given to the interviewers to interpret the question ("change of job") as a simple change of an employer or a firm for which the interviewee used to work, some filled in the changes in the person's occupation (e.g., "agricultural worker," "industrial worker," "foreman in industry"). This is partly outweighed by the fact that our sample was drawn from the population over eighteen years. The adolescents of fourteen or fifteen years of age obviously belong to the groups with the lowest occupational mobility. The fact that they have been excluded from the sample partly corrects the bias of underestimation of mobility. As the age of the persons interviewed correlates strongly with the number of jobs held, we might refer to another index of occupational stability (or instability), namely, the length of time one works for the same firm or keeps to one job. In this respect, the population (as described by our sample) could be divided in the following way: (see page 150).

We notice that in this heterogeneous group of population (as far as age is concerned), the permanent jobs are no exception. About a quarter of the total population keep their jobs for longer than ten years (if we take only the persons who have had jobs into consideration, we find that every third person keeps his job for such a long period).

Way of Getting a Job. There being more than a quarter of the inhabitants who have changed their occupation, the question is raised

The average no. of years on job	No. of persons	Per cent
— 1 year	5	1.2
— 2 years	25	6.2
— 4 years	68	16.8
— 7 years	75	18.6
— 10 years	47	11.6
— 15 years	50	12.4
15 years and more	49	12.1
None, no reply	85	21.1
Total	404	100.0

as to the channels through which one obtains a job and the method of notification of vacant positions. The replies obtained to the direct question (*"How did you get your present job?"*) could be grouped in the following way:

Means of obtaining a job	No. of persons	Per cent
Father owned the firm	29	7.2
Father worked for the same firm	35	8.7
Started to work on his own account	37	9.2
Mediation of family-members	19	4.7
Mediation of acquaintances	52	12.9
The reading of an advertisement	32	7.9
Mediation of Labour Exchange	16	4.0
Went to ask there himself	66	16.3
Was asked by the present employer	14	3.4
No job, indefinite reply	104	25.7
Total	404	100.0

In a comparatively small community, information about vacant jobs appears to travel through informal, direct contacts. Only four per cent of the inhabitants obtained their jobs through the Labour Exchange and some eight per cent read a newspaper advertisement. More than three times as many (forty-six per cent) heard about it either through their family, through acquaintances, through the employer, or elsewhere. In spite of those informal contacts, the inhabitants frequently fail to find a job immediately after they have been

dismissed. According to our survey, about one third of the present population know by experience what unemployment means. Some of them were without employment for only a few weeks or months while others were unemployed for the larger part of a year, as the following table shows¹:

How long unemployed	No. of persons	Per cent
1 month	9	2.2
2 months	7	1.7
3 months	1	0.2
4 months	7	1.7
5 months	6	1.6
6 or 7 months	17	4.2
8 months or longer	45	11.2
unemployed but not specified how long	34	8.4
never unemployed	272	67.3
no or inadequate reply	6	1.5
Total	404	100.0

Seasonal Unemployment. In spite of the present policy of full employment, unemployment does not belong to the past. Though the majority of those mentioning long periods of unemployment in the foregoing table had in mind the period of crisis (1933—1940) there are large groups of the population out of work even now, owing to the seasonal nature of the work in the bulb-region. Some sixteen per cent of the population are affected by it according to our data:¹

The length of seasonal unemployment period	No. of persons	Per cent
— 1 month	5	1.3
— 2 months	7	1.7
— 3 months	7	1.7
— 4 months	7	1.7
— 5 months	9	2.2
— 6 months	3	0.8
6 months or longer	7	1.7
unemployed, without specification how long	19	4.7
employed during the whole year	326	80.7
no or inadequate reply	14	3.5
Total	404	100.0

¹ Unemployment and seasonal unemployment in these two tables refer to the interviewee or to his (her) married partner.

Though the fear of unemployment is not yet banished from the present society, it does not represent the same kind of threat to the population as before. To the question ("Are you afraid of future unemployment?"), 73.8 per cent answered negatively, 1.2 per cent "did not know," 12.6 per cent were afraid, and 6.9 per cent admitted being afraid of unemployment but with the specification saying that their fear concerned society as a whole and not their individual position (5.5 per cent gave none or inadequate answers).¹

Where One Works. Those who cannot find a job locally often look for employment in the neighbouring communities. Sometimes the situation is reversed and people from the neighbourhood are looking for living quarters in Sassenheim (which built more houses after the war). About nineteen per cent of the inhabitants work in another place:

The place of work	No. of persons	Per cent
At home (in Sassenheim)	201	49.7
Elsewhere in Sassenheim	115	28.5
In Voorhout	7	1.7
In other places in the bulb-region	28	6.9
In Leyden	14	3.5
In the big cities (Amsterdam, the Hague, or Rotterdam)	4	1.0
Elsewhere in the provinces Zuid or Noord Holland	15	3.7
Elsewhere in the Netherlands	4	1.0
Abroad	4	1.0
Not working or no answer	12	3.0
Total	404	100.0

As we put this question to the whole representative sample, the replies do not refer only to jobs but also to work in the home. A great majority of the 201 persons in the first category are housewives working at home. If we subtract this group from the total we have to double the remaining percentage in order to get a more precise picture of the distribution of the jobs over the present population. More than a third of the wage-earners work outside Sassenheim and travel each day,

¹ Thanks to the published results of the polls which were taken by the N.I.P.O. in March, 1949, we are able to compare the situation in Sassenheim with that in the whole country. There is no significant deviation from the country-mean in this respect: 76 p.c. of the total adult population think that they need not fear unemployment in the coming two years, while 7 p.c. expect to lose their job; 17 p.c. gave indefinite answers. (*De Publieke Opinie*, 3, no. 3, March 1949).

sometimes long distances, to eat and sleep at home. The occupation determines to a great extent the mobility of the population. Though the housewives need not leave their homes for several days, because milk, bread, and vegetables are brought to them, their husbands have often to travel for several miles, utilizing diverse means of communication, to reach their place of work. If we consider "shopping" to be an equivalent of "going to work," the population can be grouped in the following way as to the means of communication which they use:

Mode of travel to work	No. of persons	Per cent
Walking	102	25.3
Cycling	171	42.3
By motor assisted bicycle	10	2.5
By motor-cycle	3	0.7
By car	11	2.7
By bus	19	4.7
By train	4	1.0
Otherwise	10	2.5
Does not leave the home to work or to do shopping	12	3.0
No or inadequate reply (also those living at the place of work: nuns, etc.)	62	15.3
Total	404	100.0

Cycling is the most popular means of travelling in Sassenheim as well as in the country. (This can probably be accounted for by the flat surface of this densely populated country where distances are comparatively small and, in its western parts, hills are practically unknown).

Working Hours. The nature of the occupation considerably determines the daily life-rhythm of most inhabitants. Those working in more distant places, especially manual workers, have to get up early in the morning in order to be in the workshop or in the field at seven o'clock. Those having clerical jobs or shops of their own do not start, as a rule, before half past eight. While the majority of inhabitants get up between six and eight o'clock to go to work (about 79 per cent according to our survey), there are some 14 per cent who get up before six and some 7 per cent who do not, as a rule, get up before eight o'clock. Starting somewhere between seven and nine o'clock in the morning, people usually work until twelve and then pause for an hour or an hour and a half. There are of course variations: some work until half past twelve or one o'clock, pause only for half an hour and cease work

earlier (at five o'clock). Most of them, however, resume their work at about half past one and work until half past six. Though no employer is allowed to force his employees to work for more than forty-eight hours a week by law, there are people who work for longer hours than that, not only during the harvest time but all the year round. This is usually the case of those who work for their own and who count upon the work of their family members to make both ends meet. Almost half of the population spend more than nine hours a day in getting to work and in working, as the following distribution of the replies to our question demonstrates:

Time spent in working and getting to work each day	No. of persons	Per cent
No or inadequate reply	5	1.2
— 3 hours	5	1.2
— 5 hours	17	4.3
— 7 hours	39	9.6
— 8 hours	31	7.7
— 10 hours	103	25.5
— 11 hours	93	23.0
— 13 hours	52	12.9
13 hours or more	43	10.6
None	16	4.0
Total	404	100.0

It can be concluded from the foregoing data that much time is spent on work, in Sassenheim. This will be confirmed if the number of working-days is considered in addition to the number of working-hours.

Holidays. With the exception of Sundays and a few holidays that are recognized as such by the government authorities somewhat less than a half of the population do not take any vacations.

When interpreting the figures of the table on p. 155 one should again bear in mind that they refer to the whole representative sample, thus including the wives of the wage earners. When asked about their holidays, they usually understood by "a holiday" a day when they themselves were free from the usual household duties i.e., when leaving their homes for a couple of days. It is difficult in the light of this table to estimate the number of holidays of those on jobs. We notice that most holiday-makers take seven, eight, or nine days. According to the law, the workers are entitled to take 12 days of paid holiday. Usually, they take a full week after harvest time and keep the remaining five or six days for emergencies (for instance a funeral of a relative, a wedding-party or a birthday party,

The length of annual vacations	No. of persons	Per cent
— 5 days	28	6.9
— 7 days	32	7.9
— 10 days	58	14.4
— 14 days	40	9.9
— 18 days	27	6.7
— 22 days	8	2.0
— 28 days	5	1.2
28 days or more	11	2.7
None	174	43.1
No or inadequate replies	21	5.2
Total	404	100.0

etc.). Sometimes they do not take all the days to which they are entitled by law; instead they enjoy the unusual experience of being paid twice for the same amount of work.

Way of Spending Money. Most workers are paid once a week, on Saturday. Their spending is planned on a weekly budget, if it is planned at all. As a rule, a record of expenditures and spendings is not kept in these circles, as is frequently done in middle-class families. The weekly payments make it possible not to bother about the future too much. For some working-class families the weeks are, however, too long. The custom is to pay the bills of the baker, grocer, and milkman on Saturday or on Monday, the days on which most of the spending is done. Several families are without any cash as the week progresses. This can only partly be explained by the level of their incomes. The latter were distributed over our sample of 404 persons roughly in the following way:

Weekly incomes in guilders	No. of persons	Per cent
— 45	127	31.4
— 65	117	29.0
66 and more	95	23.5
None	25	6.2
No or inadequate reply	40	9.9
Total	404	100.0

About a third of the people in our sample depend upon incomes of less than fl. 46 a week. Under these conditions, expenditure is dictated more or less by the necessity of satisfying the basic needs and allows little variation. In order to estimate more adequately the actual needs, we put the following question to the 404 persons of our sample: "If your wages or incomes were suddenly raised how would you spend the surplus-money?" (Als Uw inkomsten zouden worden verhoogd, wat zou U met dit geld doen?). Some thirty per cent of the population would buy more food, clothing, or linen, while more than a third would save money for the future. Only some twelve per cent would buy some more luxurious objects (as a wireless-set, motor-cycle, or a piece of furniture) or would go travelling:

How one plans to spend eventual surplus money	No. of persons	Per cent
On food	23	5.7
On clothing	80	19.8
On linnen	17	4.2
On furniture	24	5.9
On wireless-set, bicycles, etc.	15	3.7
On even more luxurious objects (car, etc.).	8	2.0
On travelling	4	1.0
On savings	143	35.4
On other items not mentioned above . .	80	19.8
No or inadequate reply	10	2.5
Total	404	100.0

The thirty per cent of the population falling into the first three categories are predominantly those receiving weekly wages while the last definite categories of the table comprise most of the white collar workers who are getting monthly salaries and persons working on their own account. For the workers the principal item to cut down when trying to economize, seems to be fuel: either the house is unheated except the evening hours when the wage earners (sons and husband) come home, or only one room is heated in which all work and the rearing of children has to be done. The other items, predominantly food and clothing, are kept comparatively constant during the whole year. House rents are already kept at the minimum and cannot be reduced any more; the possibility of moving to cheaper quarters is limited as a permit is required.

Work-Satisfaction. In spite of the differences in wages, the majority of the population are satisfied with their work and with their present working conditions. The usual question on job-satisfaction aroused

more positive reactions than in some previous surveys in the country.¹ The fact that the women working in the households were included in our sample accounts probably for this. The replies to the question (*"Are you satisfied with your present work?"*) fell under the following categories:

Satisfaction with job or working conditions	Number	Per cent
Well satisfied	326	80.7
Reasonably, not quite	41	10.1
Unsatisfied	18	4.5
No or inadequate reply	19	4.7
Total	404	100.0

Though, generally speaking, satisfied with their present occupational status, the workers do not, on the other hand, see much possibility of bettering their position in the future. The distribution of the answers to the question: *"Do you perceive the chances to better your position in the future?"*, was as follows:

Chances of improvement of position	Number	Per cent
See a chance to do so	157	38.8
Do not know	71	17.6
See no chances for advancement	168	41.6
No or inadequate answers	8	2.0
Total	404	100.0

Evaluation of One's Own career. This does not mean, however, that people consider their occupational status as something stable and unchangeable. When asked about their past, most of our interviewees refer to the progress and promotion which they have made: (see p. 158).

Social Mobility. If we compare the actual occupational status of the interviewees with that of their fathers, we notice that a smaller percentage of the population have risen in status than the survey of their subjective reactions would appear to suggest. By applying the occupational scale to the occupations of the interviewees and their fathers

¹ Ydo, M. G., *Plezier in het werk*, Leiden 1947

Estimation of career	Number	Per cent
Think to have made progress	254	62.9
Do not know	17	4.2
Do not think they have progressed	126	31.2
No or inadequate answers	7	1.7
Total	404	100.0

and by subtracting the ranks, we computed a rough index of vertical occupational mobility (see further p. 278 ff.), according to which the population could be divided into the following categories:

Occupational status of the interviewee as compared with that of his father	Number	Per cent
4 ranks higher	5	1.2
3 ranks higher	15	3.7
2 ranks higher	38	9.4
1 rank higher	63	15.6
the same status, no rank-difference	135	33.4
1 rank lower	55	13.6
2 ranks lower	30	7.4
3 ranks lower	18	4.5
those who could not be placed	45	11.2
Total	404	100.0

We notice that only some thirty per cent of the population rose in status in terms of the occupational prestige scale which we constructed. On the other hand, one should not forget that the middle group of answers to our question regarding the subjective estimation of one's career was small owing to the wording of the question. The group of 31.2 per cent of people who do not think they have made progress deviates little from those who actually decreased in status in comparison with the occupation of their parents (25.5 per cent).

Union Membership. Finally, before closing this chapter on the economy, we should like to refer to the impact of the economic activities on the participation of the population in the professional associations and trade unions. According to the information which we gathered from our representative sample of the population over eighteen years of age, only about thirty-six per cent of the population shares in the

membership of a union or an association. (This percentage would be roughly double if we leave the housewives out). A great majority of those organized are workers while shopkeepers and tradesmen associate less frequently:

Membership in trade unions and professional associations	Number	Per cent
Associations of free professions (physicians, teachers, etc.)	12	3.0
Associations of employers	26	6.4
Associations of shopkeepers and craftsmen:		
Roman Catholic	4	1.0
Protestant	7	1.7
"neutral"	6	1.5
Trade unions: Roman Catholic	39	9.6
Protestant	37	9.2
"neutral"	12	3.0
Unorganized	258	63.9
No or inadequate answer	3	0.7
Total	404	100.0

Though only 21.8 per cent of the total population was organized in the trade unions at the time of our survey, the number of those who had been organized in the past was much higher. Forty-four persons in our sample (i.e., about 11 per cent of the total population) acknowledged to have been organized in the past but to have left the organization subsequently. The reasons given for ceasing membership of the organization could be classified into the following categories:

Reason for leaving union or professional organization	Number	Per cent of those who left
The local branch was dissolved	6	13.6
Change of occupation	8	18.2
Got little backing from the union	8	18.2
Thinks the contributions too high	5	11.4
Got a pension (old age)	6	13.5
Got married	3	6.8
Others	8	18.2
Total	44	100.0

The data to hand were rather scarce in this respect, but showed that about one third of the union members leave the union because they are disappointed with the membership and will not or cannot pay the dues. Only one interviewee referred to pressure from his employer as the reason for leaving the union; he had to choose between union membership and his job and chose the latter. According to the information which we received from the union leaders (especially from the "neutral" unions) such a pressure is rather exceptional at present though it was quite common in the past, especially with workers organized in the non-christian, chiefly socialistic, unions.

CHAPTER VI
FAMILY LIFE

A) IDEOLOGICAL BACKGROUNDS

When asked about their homes, most people in Sassenheim refer to the places which they share in common with their families or relatives.

It is quite obvious that in this age of intensive mobility of population Sassenheim does not form a unity in terms of kinship-relationship. It would be absurd to assume that its 1,437 families, reported in the last Census, all belong to the same stock. Some families, which moved to Sassenheim, were attracted by the favourable housing conditions or by a job which was offered to them. In addition to these, there are some sixty persons who are single and who live alone in rented rooms which are "homes" for them. In contrast to the old bachelors and childless widowers and widows, there are large groups of families consisting of more than ten members in some cases. If both husband and wife were born in Sassenheim they are likely to have five or more married brothers or sisters living in the same community on whom they call on birthdays or on Saturday-nights. When the local directory or the municipal register is consulted, clusters of families having the same name and living at various places in the community are frequently to be found. ¹

These relatives, living at another address, are not reckoned to the family in the proper sense of the word. The Dutch language knows two expressions for the English word of family, namely "het gezin" and "de familie." The first refers exclusively to the parents and their children, while the latter implies more distant consanguine relationships: uncle and aunt, niece and nephew, cousins, grandparents and grandchildren, brothers and sisters in law, etc. It is difficult to describe the specific system of meanings, norms, and values on which the basic social units are based. On a more general level this system implies commonly accepted ideas and rules regarding sexual conduct, the rearing and up-bringing of children, and the whole private life of the inhabitants. On a less general level it consists of

¹ The following is the list of the names which we came across 13 times or more:

Hogervorst	24 families	Bakker	19 families
Oudshoorn	21 "	Rotteveel	17 "
v. der Voort	20 "	v. der Meij	16 "
Homan	19 "	Vos	15 "
de Zwart	19 "	van Diest	13 "
		Berg	13 "

more specific values on which the prestige and the style of living of various types of families (the middle-class family, the working-class family, the Calvinist family, etc.) are based. In contradistinction to the cultural traits described in the previous chapters, these general ideas, norms, and values around which family-life is crystalized are rather of an heterogeneous nature. Some of them have assumed the character of law and are officially sanctioned by the present legal system. Several of these legal rules were already mentioned above (in the chapter on politics and administration). They define not only the conditions under which people marry and form families, but also some structural aspects of the families: who is to be considered the head of the family, the status of the children and of the wife. The law fixes the conditions under which a family can be dissolved, and under which property is passed from parents to children, etc.

Other general conceptions of family life are rooted in the religious systems: marriage is conceived of as a sacrament, the family is considered as a basic unit in the religious cults, the conduct of both wife and husband and of the children is guided by a fixed code of behaviour which is reinforced by religious sanctions; deviation from the prescribed way of conduct is considered as a sin. Some of these sins are: lack of esteem for the parents, "unnatural" practices of birth-control, sexual intercourse outside marriage, etc.

Other conceptions are of an economic nature. Families are considered as the basic units of consumption, where spendings are done. This fact plays a rôle in the fiscal policy of the government. The taxes are not excized from the the individuals but from the families. They vary according to the size of the families. Families with many children under age, or those supporting grandparents, pay, as a rule, lower taxes than small families or single persons.

Still other conceptions about the structure, functions, or life-rhythm of the families are rooted in the system of folkways and moral prescriptions which cannot be derived easily from a religious basis and which are not sanctioned by law. The habit of paying visits to relatives at certain occasions (the birth of a child, death of a family-member, etc.) and some specific habits such as that of sitting at a lighted window on Sundays without pulling the curtains and several other customs should be mentioned in this context.

We notice that the family as a basic social unit in Dutch society is not rooted in one specific cultural system but leans on them all. It is in this primary group, that the cultural traits, such as religion, knowledge and education, politics, economy, and morals are integrated into one distinct pattern. It is in this group that the individual is fitted into a broader context of society and culture, as will be seen later when discussing the total structure of the society under study. At present, we wish to point out that the reader should not expect

to become acquainted with Dutch family life in the same way as he may do with the inner life of churches or of political parties by reading the exposition of the creed or of a political ideology. No similar system of family-ideology exists, so far we know.

B) HOMES HOUSING FAMILIES

In material respect, on the other hand, there are plenty of objects and goods specifically owned by each family and determining the nature of the "homes."

House Ownership. According to the Census of 1947, only 124 households out of the total number of 1,431 households in Sassenheim did not have an independent dwelling; they had to live with another family without a separate kitchen and other privacy. This does not, however, mean, that the remaining households lived in houses of their own. According to the same Census data, only 307 of the total number of 1,317 dwellings were inhabited by the owners, which is about 23 per cent; 179 dwellings were owned by the House Building Society (de Bouwvereniging), ten belonged to the community, eighteen were dwellings which the employers reserved for their employees, while the rest, 803 dwellings (61 per cent), belonged to the particular owners who let them on yearly rent. If instead of the dwellings, the adult inhabitants (over eighteen years of age) are taken as a basis for comparison, we find a similar division:

House tenure in Sassenheim	Number	Per cent
No or inadequate answer	5	1.2
Living in own house	69	17.1
In the house owned by the parents	24	5.8
Sharing the house with the parents	62	15.4
Sharing the house with someone else	26	6.4
Living in a rented house	207	51.2
Living in a rest-home	3	0.8
Living in a nunnery	3	0.8
Others	5	1.3
Total	404	100.0

We notice that more than four out of every five adult inhabitants depend on somebody else for housing. This dependence is especially pressing in the cases of married couples who are obliged to live in the house of their parents or to share a house with someone else. In Sassenheim, this is the case with some 20 per cent of the inhabitants

(according to the Census there were 1,156 households sharing the house for themselves as compared with 332 sharing the house with someone else; from the latter 161 were original tenants paying rent directly to the owner and 171 were the occupants paying rent to the tenants.) As most houses are originally built for one family a lot of inconvenience is caused by this *symbiosis* forced upon the families by the present housing-shortage.

Technical Provisions. The occupants depend on the tenants as far as the kitchen, the toilet, electricity, gas, and water supply are concerned. There is usually only one central meter for each of the essential sources of energy. Yet, practically every family in Sassenheim uses these modern necessities. Out of 1,317 dwellings in Sassenheim there are only 32 dwellings without running water, 28 dwellings without gas, and 29 dwellings without electricity, according to the Census in 1947. These are usually distant farm-houses or old tumble-down buildings marked to be broken down immediately after the present housing shortage ends. There are 42 such isolated farm-houses in the community. Most houses are either built between two other houses (394 in number) or corner-houses and semi-detached houses (663 in number); there are only 153 detached villas (the remaining 63 detached houses being combined places of residence and work-shops). It is typical of this community that there are no flats or tenements. In spite of the housing shortage, building continued according to the old rule: one dwelling per house. There are only two dwellings out of the total number of 1,317 which are not situated in a separate house. This makes "living together" extremely difficult.

Rent Value. Though 61 per cent of the houses are owned privately and let to the inhabitants and some additional 15 per cent are let by the association or the community, the dependence of the tenants or occupants on the owners is manifested rather in the bad maintenance of the houses than in the high rents. As mentioned in Chapter V the rents are fixed by the state at the pre-war level and, consequently, no exploitation of the shortage is allowed. According to the sample some 25 per cent of the tenants and occupants pay less than fl. 4.— a week for their house which is the equivalent of about five hours' wage of an unskilled agricultural worker. Only some ten per cent pay more than fl. 9.— a week. The table of rents or rent values of houses in the community as published by the Central Bureau of Statistics (evaluating the data of the Census in 1947) confirms our findings.¹

More than half of all the houses in Sassenheim are worth less than fl. 250.— a year, this means less than fl. 5.— a week. It is quite comprehensible that the owners do not invest much money in maintenance under these conditions. The tenants themselves have, as a rule, to make the necessary repairs or readjustments. Several of

¹ See the table on p. 165.

The annual rent or rent-value in guilders	Number	Per cent
— 130	33	3.1
— 208	397	37.5
— 250	147	13.9
— 300	157	14.8
— 350	84	7.9
— 400	62	5.9
— 500	81	7.6
— 600	30	2.8
— 800	38	3.6
— 1000	7	0.7
1000 and more	9	0.8
None	14	1.3
Total	1059	99.9

them, in fact, reported of having built a bathroom in their house, or of dividing the large space of the garret into several separate bedrooms without charging the owners. Others complained of a bad sewage system or a leaking roof, expecting the interference of the interviewer with the owners. Another suggested that the tenants should organize themselves and urge their representatives in the House Building Society to protect the common interests of the tenants.

Size of Dwellings. The homes of the inhabitants remain small and crowded. This is partly caused by standardization in the building industries. Blocks of houses, often whole streets or quarters, consist of the same type of houses. Usually no provisions are made for tenants with large families; the only distinction is made between houses for the middle-class and houses for the working-class tenants. As a consequence, parents with eight or more children have a house of the same size as parents with, for instance, three children. The lack of living space is compensated for by putting three or more children into one bedroom, or by confining them simply to the garret to sleep side by side on the floor (see further p. 167). From the Census data we learn, however, that this housing shortage is a relative one; there were, in May, 1947, almost as many rooms as inhabitants in Sassenheim, namely 6,949 and 7,077 respectively. If we consider the following table, which is based on the Census data, we notice that the housing shortage is still to a greater extent caused by the lack of social equality than by the actual lack of living space (the levelling governmental policy seems not too effective in this respect):

TABLE 32

Distribution of common dwellings in Sassenheim by the number of rooms per dwelling and number of persons per household

No. of rooms per dwelling	No. of inhabitants per dwelling										No. of dwellings	No. of inhabitants
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
1			1			1					2	9
2	7	19	16	31	20	17	10	7	3	6	136	639
3	3	21	18	15	5	10	2	1	3	3	82	333
4		11	15	21	22	21	9	9	6	11	125	700
5	1	15	39	47	31	42	20	13	10	17	235	1,264
6		17	42	58	57	49	30	18	10	19	300	1,625
7		1	6	12	24	18	16	7	6	9	99	614
8			1	4	7	10	4	5	1	4	36	236
9			2	6	3	5	3	1	2	2	24	147
10 or more . .		1		3	4	1		7	1	3	20	138
Total	11	85	140	198	173	174	94	68	42	74	1,059	5,705

Source: Centraal Bureau v. d. Statistiek, *Uitkomsten van de Woning- en Gezinstelling*, 31 Mei 1947

There is hardly any concentration along the main diagonal in the foregoing table. If we take this diagonal as cutting the table approximately into two halves along the cells with the average density, we can see how different the housing conditions are for the various groups of population. There are, for instance, at least 25 households consisting of seven persons or more crowded into the small dwellings of two rooms, and, on the other hand, some twenty households consisting of no more than two persons living in the large houses of six or more rooms. Though in the first group more than four persons have to share the same room, in the other group each person has on average more than three rooms! Table 32 reveals that there is a rather continuous transition from one of these extreme groups to another — inequality in the terms of housing is not an exception, but a rule.

So far nothing has been said about the nature of the groups which suffer most from the present shortage. Anticipating the results of our further analysis, we might say that there are significant differences in the size of the dwelling unit between the various occupational groups. According to the information which we obtained from our sample, we found that the agricultural workers live, upon the whole, in smaller houses than the other occupational groups. The

171 interviewees that could be classified into one of the nine general occupational categories were roughly divided as follows:

Occupational group	Size of dwelling		Total
	less than 5 rooms	5 rooms or more	
Agricultural workers	23	13	36
Other occupational groups	50	85	135
Total	73	98	171

($\chi^2 = 7.3$ $P < 0.1$ $T = .21$)

In order to realize the consequences of this finding, one should bear in mind that the agricultural workers have the largest families among the population (median number of siblings being 7 in this group as compared with 3.5 for the business-class). We come thus to the paradoxical conclusion that the most populous groups of the inhabitants, i.e., the groups with the largest families, are housed in the smaller dwellings.

Functions of Main Dwelling Units. One would expect that under these pressing conditions the space in the dwellings would be divided as functionally as possible. This is very often the case. In several dwellings the kitchen is used as a living room where meals are prepared and served, children are reared and educated, and clothes mended. Another solution, often found, is the placing of the kitchen in a shed or in an annex of wooden planks and glass, serving as the entrance or elongation of the corridor. In the older houses only a wooden ceiling separates the larger room downstairs from the garret which serves as a bedroom for the whole family. It depends on the diligence or moral scruples of the parents as to whether this dark garret (illuminated only by a small window) is divided into separate cells by wooden planks or not. Some of them divide the space into two halves, one serving as a bedroom for the parents, the other one being reserved for the children. Others divide the garret into three parts, one for the parents, one for the boys, and one for the girls. In some families the children are placed in the undivided garret space according to age: the youngest, who have to go to bed early, are placed near the chimney at the wall, while the older ones are placed nearer to the staircase so that they do not wake the whole family when going to bed late. Bedding consists of mattresses and woollen blankets, often without linen bed-clothes. This is probably the reason why in case of illness the patient

is not kept upstairs but receives a privileged place in the drawing room in a bed moved in for this purpose. Here the sick person might receive the physician or visits of the neighbours without the status of the family being threatened by the unexpected inspection of the dark rooms in the garret.

This drawing room can be found even in the houses where the shortage of living space is especially acute.

In the lower rent houses the living rooms are quite tiny, $2\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ yards, containing two low easy-chairs, a low table with a bunch of flowers and an ash-tray, and often an old-fashioned linen cupboard covered with photographs of grand-parents, grand-children, and wedding parties. As this room is *taboo* for the children, money or sweets are often kept in the cupboard. Often either a pram or a new bicycle is kept here with the result that a considerable time may elapse before a strange visitor (for whom this room almost exclusively is kept) can establish himself in one of the easy-chairs. He has to enter the drawing room by the single door from the corridor. In the higher rent houses, especially if they are new, the drawing room is connected with the living room (which is invariably a dining-room as well) through large sliding glass-doors which move almost across the whole room.

As the rent value of the house increases, the functions of the rooms become more differentiated. The kitchen is then used mainly for cooking and for some specific household activities such as washing and ironing. Meals are served either in the living room or in a smaller dining room near the kitchen (*een eethok*). In the latter case, the whole ground-floor is used as a large drawing room consisting of several siderooms or annexes. In somewhat less luxurious houses, the drawing room is of equal size as the living room and is also used by the family members on Sundays or even on a workday. One drinks cups of coffee or tea between meals there, or has chats with friends and acquaintances.

In spite of a differentiation along the line of social hierarchy, some basic functions remain the same. The bedrooms are on another floor than the rest of the house, the kitchen is placed at the rear or on the side nearest to the dining room (living room) while the drawing room is placed in the front part of the house. Behind the house, a small courtyard can usually be found which is separated by a coal-shed and a shed for bicycles and tools from the yards of the neighbours (here the large bulb-sheds of most bulb-growers whose lands are attached to their houses can be found).

Furniture. In addition to these common features of the houses there is a strange standardization of the furniture. The pieces of furniture differ rather by quality of material than by specific style or kind. The colour of the wood is usually dark brown, an imitation of old oak; the upholstery is dark brown or dark red plush. The style is a

strange mixture of various elements called "Old Finish" in some circles. There is a large table in the living room or in the dining room with four or six common chairs. Two of them, those of father and mother, have a somewhat higher back. In addition, there are sometimes two simple easy-chairs and a small smoker's table either in the living room or in the drawing room or in both. There is usually a sideboard in the room, containing china cups for tea and coffee and a traditional Dutch cozy. In the drawing rooms some comfortable chairs can be seen, with the richer families heavy armchairs covered by leather or cloth and a settee. It is in this room in Roman Catholic families that usually the statues of the saints can be found. Often a whole corner is made into a kind of small altar. In Protestant middle-class families an organ is placed in an annex to the drawing room; in Roman Catholic families a piano is often substituted for the organ.

Of the more modern objects a wireless set or a radio diffusion set was found in nine out of ten households. The radio is usually placed on a wardrobe lest the children should damage it. It is typical of the present situation, that we found a wireless set in more households than a sewing machine. While the latter is reported by 85.8 per cent of our sample, 89.6 per cent admit to have a wireless set or a radio-diffusion set at home. A vacuum cleaner was found only in some 73 per cent of all households, which were inspected during our survey. Somewhat less than a third, 29.9 per cent, refer to a washing-machine at home, (in most cases they had in mind some more or less primitive mechanical device, not an electric washer). While 86.8 per cent have a bicycle, only 29 per cent of all adults possess another modern means of communication, the telephone. Those who do so are able to reach directly all the larger communities in the Netherlands at any time, as there is an automatic exchange in most larger communities, Sassenheim including.

Before ending this section on the material and physical aspects of Sassenheim's homes we should mention that there are objects in every family to which a certain emotional attachment is ascribed. Some of them are purely of a sentimental value: some old picture or portrait, several ancient tiny ornaments and household tools such as, pokers, tobacco-cases, etc., which are common in an average Dutch family. Some objects indicate status and a definite prestige is attached to the possession of each of them.

The function of the small drawing room ("het opkamertje") has already been mentioned in this respect. It serves rather as a showroom. Its windows should be spotlessly clean and covered by clean curtains on work-days, and brightly illuminated on Sunday nights. There should be flowers everywhere in the room all year-round if the inhabitant wants to be considered as a person of some importance. Another place in which status differences are reflected is the garden in front of the house. It should be large, possibly containing a small pool with water-lilies, or a slight embank-

ment of soil which should be covered by a rich mosaic of flowers at the time when the bulb-flowers are in bloom. The lawn should be trimmed and mown regularly and it should be covered with flowers selected in such a careful way that they might be in bloom for a greater part of the year. In this horticultural community, living for a large part on the growing of flowers, criticism is very fierce in this respect. Foreign motor-cars, heavy armchairs, and a settee are other tokens of prestige and status. The less well-to-do inhabitants lay stress on bicycles; young adolescents, both boys and girls, like to display their status by the possession of new bicycles with various technical gadgets and of foreign make.

Satisfaction with Dwelling. In spite of the craving for prestige and the housing shortage which is pressing on some families, the majority of the population are satisfied with their dwellings. When asked: "*Are you satisfied with your present housing conditions?*" ("*Bent U tevreden met Uw tegenwoordige woning?*") almost 75 per cent gave a definite positive answer:

Satisfaction with dwelling	Number	Per cent
Satisfied	301	74.5
Rather, not quite ("matig")	60	14.9
Unsatisfied	42	10.4
No or inadequate answer	1	0.2
Total	404	100.0

About one in ten of the adult inhabitants is worried by the material circumstances of living and would like to move if it were possible. It can be assumed that this percentage is actually somewhat higher among the inhabitants who have families of their own. Our survey is, in this respect, probably biased because young persons over eighteen years, living with their parents, still single, and on account of that without obvious reasons for dissatisfaction, were included in it.

Why One Moved to Live Here. In order to get some insight into the motives which drive inhabitants to change their material environment we also asked them the following question: "*What was the reason of your moving to live here?*" ("*Wat was de reden van Uw laatste verhuizing?*") As the question was put in this open form, we had some difficulty in grouping the answers into categories. In the end, the answers were classified in the following way (as far as possible according to the original wording):

Reason for moving to the present residence	Number	Per cent
Marriage or childbirth	81	20.1
A house nearer to the place of work	12	3.0
Owing to change of occupation	54	13.4
Bought the house	31	7.7
Wished "a larger house"	50	12.4
Wished "a better house"	43	10.6
Wished "a smaller house"	10	2.5
Other less frequent motives	83	20.4
Did not move but was born here	10	2.5
No or inadequate answer ¹	30	7.4
Total	404	100.0

Somewhat less than a half (43.1 per cent) have moved because they found the dwelling either too small for their family or simply insufficient ("too small or too bad") for one or another reason. A smaller group moved because of economic motives dictated by the nature of their jobs.

C) STRUCTURE, PROCESSES, AND FUNCTIONS OF FAMILY

Size of Households. Until now we have dealt with the homes in Sassenheim in terms of dwellings and houses. Let us turn now to groups of people again, and consider "the homes" in terms of units of social organization. The Census of 1947 refers to "the household" as such a basic social unit. "A household" includes all people living together for a longer time. In May, 1947, there were about 1,500 such households in Sassenheim. From these we should subtract 58 households consisting of not more than one person each (42 are women, of whom most are probably Roman Catholic nuns). We obtain then a number of 1,437 primary groups which form the basis of the social life in this community. These are comparatively small social units of two to some fifteen members. Their distribution according to size is the following: (see pag. 172).

We notice that somewhat less than a half of all households are the groups consisting of five or more members, while some twenty per cent of households consist of seven or more members. The families, owing probably to a high birth-rate, are considerably large in Sassenheim.

¹ Some of the answers in this category should fall under the preceding heading of those who were born at the place; some interviewees born locally referred to the motives of their parents.

No. of persons per household	Number	Per cent	Cumulative percentage
1	58	3.9	3.9
2	249	16.7	20.6
3	236	15.8	36.4
4	262	17.5	53.9
5	198	13.2	67.1
6	185	12.4	79.5
7	96	6.4	85.9
8	77	5.2	81.1
9	51	3.4	94.5
10	26	1.7	96.2
11	34	2.3	98.5
12 and more	23	1.5	100.0
Total	1,495	100.0	100.0

As far as the structural aspects of these households are concerned, the following remarks should be made: most of the small households consisting of two persons (183 out of 249) are childless married couples. In the households which are composed of more than two members, the groups of parents with children predominate. There are 173 groups of two parents and a child out of the total number of 236 three-persons households; 185 groups of two parents and two children out of 262 four-persons households, etc. The remaining households were mainly either families where one of the parents was widowed or families supporting one of the grandparents or other family members.

While considering the foregoing table of frequencies of the various types of household-units, one should bear in mind that the total number refers to the number of households and not to the population. In terms of the population the percentage of those living in large households is in fact much higher than the foregoing table is likely to suggest. One should also bear in mind that "a household" does not necessarily coincide and overlap with a family. There are the grandparents or paying guests living with the family and there also is a large percentage of children living outside their father's house. It is, however, important to realize that with the exception of the 58 persons, the whole population of Sassenheim live in family-groups which either consist of the parents, or their children, or married couples. According to the Census data of May, 1947, only 325 persons (including 55 foster-children), i.e., about 4.5 per cent of the total population, lived separately from their consanguinal relatives. Thus the familial ties

are of a quite general nature in the population group under study. We shall consider them in somewhat more detail.

Marital Status. The Census of 1947 reveals the following composition of the population according to the marital status:

Marital Status	Number	Per cent
Single	4,382	61.1
Married	2,505	35.0
Widowed	267	3.7
Divorced	17	0.2
Total	7,171	100.0

According to our survey the following division into the categories of marital status (including those engaged) was obtained:

Marital status	Number	Per cent
Single, not engaged	94	23.15
Single, engaged	28	6.9
Married	250	61.9
Remarried widow or widower	14	3.5
Remarried after divorce	1	0.25
Widowed	15	3.7
Divorced	1	0.25
No or inadequate answer	1	0.25
Total	404	99.9

It can be seen that in a group of the population over eighteen years of age the percentage of those living in families of their own is more than twice as high as that of those who are single or separated. The low percentage of divorce in this group and the considerable percentage of those who were engaged at the time of our *enquête* are worth special attention.

Postponed Marriage. The relatively high percentage of engagements suggests that people do not consider engagement as a short, transitory stage, but that for some reason its duration is prolonged. In order to get some more evidence for this hypothesis we examined the 53 marriage-certificates issued by the community authorities in 1949, the year preceding our survey. We noted that people marry comparatively

late in Sassenheim. The average age of the bridegrooms amounted to 29.2 years, while the brides were somewhat younger, namely 26.8 years.¹ These high average figures are not caused by the occurrence of a few cases of very high age; we found only one person over fifty and only two couples over forty years in the whole group of those who were married. On the other hand, only two persons in the whole group of 106 persons were less than twenty years old. The majority of couples is grouped, as far as age is concerned, closely around the average. This postponement of marriage can hardly be accounted for by the war, because the survey took place four years after the end of the war activities. It cannot be accounted for by education either; as we have seen in the preceding chapter (and as we shall demonstrate more in detail in the following chapter), people leave school usually at the age of fourteen and begin jobs early, in this agricultural community. The explanation seems to be the great dependence of the children on the parents, both in economic and in moral respects. Most farmers and bulb-growers were able to maintain or to achieve their independent position only because of their large families. A father, let us say, of four sons can depend on them for at least ten years (from fourteen to the time of their marriage, and often even longer) paying them only a little pocket-money (usually some fl. 4.- a week) besides the accomodation. If his sons marry at twenty instead of at thirty years of age, this means a loss of forty working-years of cheap manpower. With many working-class families the situation is analogous: it is customary that the children give their earnings to their parents for food, accomodation, and clothes and keep only their pocket money to be spent on tobacco, entrance-fees, and beer and chips on Sundays. Parents have thus a vested interest in the maintenance of their own large families, and try to postpone marriage of their sons which might threaten this unity. Those parents who work on their own account, do not find it difficult to win the cooperation of their children in this respect, as they argue that by all working for the common goal it will be the children who will pick the fruits of their present work and discipline. In our sample, there was a cattle-breeder who only after the death of his father began to look for a marriage partner, though already in his forties.

The working-class parents do not, according to our impressions, succeed in winning the loyalty of their children in working for a

¹ In a study on the preferred size of family among women, who gave notice of their marriage, that took place in the big cities in the country (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and the Hague) approximately at the time of our own survey, A. E. Diels found the average age of brides amounting to about 24 years, that of bridegrooms amounting to 27 years. This is more than two years less than in Sassenheim. See Dra A. E. DIELS, *Opvattingen van ondertrouwde vrouwen omtrent de grootte van haar toekomstig gezin (I, Amsterdam, Rotterdam en 's-Gravenhage)*, Amsterdam, October 1951, p. 28.

common objective. This is probably one of the reasons why we find mostly young sons of agricultural workers with somewhat rebellious attitudes among the personnel of the industrial firms. The revolt against the paternal authority initiated by the craving for economic independence turns into the revolt against the traditional views of the parents. They choose another occupation in order to become independent. Before, however, considering these forces of family disintegration, let us examine the forces which integrate persons into family-units, the main forces driving people to marry.

In the eyes of the faithful church-goers in Sassenheim marriage serves the normal development of sexual contacts between husband and wife. The largest religious group in the community (the Roman Catholic Church) openly forbids any satisfaction of sexual urges outside marriage; the Protestants consider the intimate family-life as its most desirable and normal form. In the view of the Roman Catholic Church procreation is considered as the only function of sexual life; intimate sexual contact which is not motivated by procreation is considered as illicit.

Pairing Patterns. A question arises therefore: if all approved sexual life is confined to the husband-wife relationship what are the consequences of the postponed marriage upon the life of the community? One of them has been mentioned already above: the prolongation of the engagement-period. Marriage being unwanted for economic reasons and pre-marital sexual life being marked as illicit by the churches, a compromise is being sought in the relationship which is considered as an earnest preparation to or the first phase of marriage and marital life. Various forms of such a relationship can be found in Sassenheim. After having met several times at dancing lessons (organized under the supervision of the Church), in the church-choir, theatre-club, or at sport-matches, boys and girls introduce their acquaintances ("steadies") to their parents. After this introduction, the young couple finally finds a meeting-place which is not quite easy to find outside the parental house in Sassenheim where walking is only possible along the highly-frequented roads and streets and the visitors of the cafés and restaurants are carefully booked in the public opinion of the community. The chief possibility to meet outside the parental house is by cycling several miles from Sassenheim to a seaside resort of Noordwijk, or to one of the neighbouring cities (Leyden). This can, however, only be done in summer, in the periods of dry weather. Once introduced into the house of the parents they enjoy considerable freedom. As the families are large, the calls on relatives are frequent and the young couples often choose the house of the absent parents to share with their brothers and sisters or to have it entirely for themselves. Often they find a refuge in the house of one of the married brothers or sisters, which is a welcome change in the weekly repertoire.

Another stage is that of engagement. It is somewhat more formal than the introduction of the acquaintance ("steady") to the parents. A reception for the family members and friends is usually given in the house of the engaged girl. The Protestants choose usually Easter or Whitsuntide for this occasion. The engaged girl already receives some small presents destined for the future household, and both partners give each other a ring. The ring is worn by the Protestants on the left hand until the wedding when it is removed to the right hand; Roman Catholics do the opposite.

Another kind of premarital relationship is found among the Roman Catholic inhabitants. Most of them are married by law for a long period before they decide to have their union consecrated in church. In such cases the civic wedding is not celebrated and remains a mere legal formality.

The young couple appears before the magistrate in plain clothes, accompanied by their parents and two witnesses. The latter are recruited, as a rule, from the ranks of close relatives: brothers and sisters, brothers-in-law, uncles, etc. This kind of wedding is felt by the magistrate to be somewhat disparaging to his status and affects the address which he is expected to give. As he has fulfilled his function for more than a quarter of a century, the magistrate in Sassenheim is able to include some quite personal remarks in his speech, such as: "When your father stood with similar intentions before me . . .," or "When I put down your name into our register of births . . ." which are enjoyed by the participants and passed on as a good story or joke to the family members during the celebration. The latter usually closely follows the official ceremonies in the church and in the village-hall with those who have both the civic and the church-wedding on the same day.

Weddings. The celebration is usually held on a large scale: even distant relatives and acquaintances are invited. It often does not take place in the house of the bride, which is the traditional way, but in a room which is hired in one of the restaurants. There, some dancing takes place with the Roman Catholic wedding-parties during which new acquaintances and more steady couples are made. The Protestants, as a rule, avoid the dancing and content themselves with "a polonaise" and various social games after the official reception.

After the celebration, only the rich couples go on a honeymoon; the less well-to-do people move either to their new house in order to spend a few days in finishing its furnishing or simply plunge into the daily rhythm of living together as husband and wife.

It is typical of this population group that many young couples have children that were conceived before the marriage has been contracted. According to the information which we received from the magistrate who registers births and weddings for more than twenty years, many couples decide to marry only after intimate relations between both partners threaten

to become publicly known because of pregnancy. Cases of such "forced marriage" are by no means exceptional in Sassenheim.¹ According to the magistrate, public opinion is quite in favour of them. The churches that officially oppose pre-marital intercourse are faced with a "*fait accompli*." As changes in the religious and the political composition of the population are rather caused by the differential birth-rate than by conversion or shift of opinion, the church authorities are often inclined to take a conciliatory standpoint in the case of "early born children," especially if both parents consent to lead a married life in agreement with the ethical code of the church.

Main Functions of Family. There are essential differences in the attitudes of the churches as to what should be the functions of the family. The Roman Catholics are inclined to defend the teleological standpoint consistently; in their opinion the purpose of marriage and of family is procreation. Accordingly, husbands and wives are expected to consider biological reproduction to be of high value, to which other values (even the health of the mother, the wealth of the family or the educational level of the children) should be subordinated. The prevention of conception by the married partners by neo-malthusian practices is denounced and doomed. A wife who consents to bear children to the husband even at the risk of her own life is esteemed as a highly ethical person in these circles.

The Calvinists have no explicit code of sexual ethics. Each individual is expected to rely in his conduct upon the Bible and his conscience. As nothing is written in the Bible about the use of some specific modern anti-conceptual practices, the eventual recurrence to them by the members of the church remains an open problem. A majority try to distil from the Bible a general ethical standpoint in which the new, specific modern, situation could be fitted. It is common opinion in these circles that the rearing of children is not the only function of marriage; childless couples may lead a happy and good (ethically approved of) marital life. The satisfaction of the sexual urge need not result in procreation if it adds to the harmonious life of wife and husband. Any satisfaction of it, however, for satisfaction's sake, i.e., quite hedonistic, without the element of love and esteem for the partner, is doomed as sinful. The present situation may be characterized by the fact that though an individual might have recourse to the use of contraceptive practices, he would not dare and would not be allowed to propagate them publicly in the church-community.

¹ By examining the birth-certificates of all children born to the couples that were married in 1949 and 1950 and had their residence in Sassenheim, we found that fifteen per cent of all first born children were born less than seven months after the contraction of marriage. Out of the total number of 113 couples examined we found 17 cases of premature birth. If the thirteen childless couples are subtracted we notice that 17 p.c. of all marriages were contracted after the conception of a child was known to the parents; this means practically every sixth case.

According to the high birth-rate in this group in Sassenheim and according to estimates of well-informed spokesmen, the local Calvinists do not apply birth-control. They have large families in spite of their striving to secure higher education and better positions for their children.

The Dutch Reformed church lays even more accent upon the relations between husband and wife and approves openly of deliberate birth-control to make a rational spacing of children possible. Both economic and hygienic motives are recognized. The young couple should have children if they are able to take the economic responsibility for their education and upbringing and if the health of the wife gives a sufficient promise for a successful parenthood. The sexual life of husband and wife is considered an essential component of the harmonious development of both husband and wife and as such recognized even if the economic, material situation, the health, or other reasons make child-birth impossible or undesirable. No ethical objections are made against the use of those contraceptives which are harmless for the health of the husband or wife. It is probably in this group in Sassenheim (as well as in the other more liberal religious groups and the group of persons without denomination), that rational birth-control is actually practiced to any extent.¹

The impact of religion upon family life can also be noticed in less important family customs. The children of Roman Catholic parents receive more Christian names than those of Protestant parents. In the group of 47 Roman Catholics which we selected at random (by means of Tippett's Random Sample Tables), 35 had two names or more as compared with 12 persons who had only one Christian name. In the random sample of 58 members of the Calvinist and the Dutch Reformed churches the situation was reversed: 43 had only one Christian name as compared with 15 persons who had two or more names. This is obviously not a typical feature of the population at Sassenheim as there are differences in clothes, hair-style, speech, gestures, and various aspects of overt conduct among the members of the main religious groups on a national scale, according to the findings of Dutch psychologists.²

Rearing-up Children. In spite of the differences there are also countless uniformities in the rearing and the upbringing of the children. Most

¹ As we worked with a random sample of the population, we did not ask the questions on sex during our survey. We were afraid of the disparaging effect of such questions and feared that the number of refusals would increase. The majority of the above data was collected from the occasional remarks, the interviews with the priests, physicians, committee members of the Sexual Reform League, etc., and from the well-informed informants of different religious denominations. Some generalizations could be deduced from the differential in birth-rate and from similar indices.

² We refer in this respect to a significant article of a Dutch psychologist A. M. J. CHORUS, *Psychologische verschillen tussen Protestanten en Katholieken in Nederland*, in *Het Gemeenbest*, 5de jrg. 1942—1943, pp. 34—57, 65—89.

children are born at home. The young mothers are assisted by a maternity nurse who stays for ten days in their home and looks after the mother, the child, and often the whole household. The parents contribute according to their means, as the provision of nurses is subsidized by the community. The nurses are organized by one of the existing health-organizations (see further p. 237ff.) and everybody can count upon their help, even those belonging to the low wage earning groups. Only in cases of expected surgical treatment the expectant mothers are advised to go to the hospital or to one of the local health-centres. In most cases the mothers remain under the care of experts after child-birth. According to the school doctor in this district, almost 70 per cent of the mothers of the children who have been examined by her in Sassenheim in 1950, formerly visited the infant welfare centres. In these centres they received advice in weaning their babies; the babies are regularly weighed and examined. Possible illness or deformities are diagnosed and referred to the local physicians.

Most mothers (over 61 per cent according to the data of the school doctor) breast-feed their children for more than three months, some 2.4 per cent combine breast-feeding with artificial formulas, while some 36 per cent depend entirely upon formulas for their children within the first three months after birth. The infants are usually laid in comfortable wooden cradles or in prams and placed in the bedrooms or in the small drawing room to sleep. They are not tightly wrapped in blankets, but are wrapped in two diapers over which a plastic sack is sometimes pulled to protect the linen in the cradles. Sometimes a rubber-sheet is laid under the blanket to protect the mattress. The child is clothed in woollen pants and jerseys and tucked under the woollen blankets.

For most of the day, he is cared for by the elder children or by the mother. Except perhaps for a few days in a year the mothers of the larger families remain at home and spend all their time in household duties. To these belong, in the first place, shopping and cooking the food.

Care for Food. According to the information from our sample of the adult population over eighteen years, rather less than seven per cent of all inhabitants have meals outside their homes, 1.4 per cent have meals in the house of their employer (mostly domestic servants), 1.2 have their meals in the institution in which they live (chiefly the Roman Catholic sisters), 2.2 mention the landlady, some 2 per cent mention that their meals are prepared by other persons than family-members, 31 per cent mention their wives, while 18.1 refer to the mother as the person who prepares meals, and 39.6 per cent replied that they do the cooking themselves; as some 30 per cent of the latter group are housewives, we might assume that about eighty per cent

of the adult population depend on their wives or mothers for meals; (4.5 per cent are cared for by their aunts or sisters or other family members). The meals thus prepared are, whenever possible, consumed together. There are three meals a day in most families. Breakfast usually consists of a cup of tea and two or three slices of bread and margarine spread with either jam, sugar, chocolate, cheese, or a slice of gingerbread. At noon, most working-class families have their principal meals (unless the head of the family or several members work too far away.) Potatoes with some kind of vegetables are served with gravy, made of margarine, or a piece of bacon. After the main dish some porridge or pudding are served if the meal was not preceded by soup. This noon-meal is taken very early, usually directly at twelve o'clock. At half past five or six (in some families towards seven o'clock) the last meal is served, consisting of slices of bread and margarine and the same ingredients as the breakfast, except that more cheese is served and sometimes bacon, an egg, or a cheap sausage. Coffee is the main drink. Traditionally, there is a morning break around eleven o'clock for a cup of coffee (with a large amount of milk and sugar); the children get some milk, or a cup of chocolate in more well-to-do families. A similar break takes place in the afternoon when a cup of tea is served. During the evening either coffee or tea is drunk. (The families that take their "bread-meals" in the evening usually prefer coffee.)

As there is only one hot meal a day, one would conclude that not much time is spent in house-keeping. One should, however, not forget that cooking is not the only activity at home. Every member of the family expects to have in his home a place where he can relax, spend his leisure in games or hobbies and entertain his friends and acquaintances. The variety of these functions makes claims on the housewife who has to adapt the small house to these various activities. There is much cleaning and tidying-up in every Dutch household. In Sassenheim, these activities culminate on Fridays when the windows are washed and the porch is scrubbed to have the house clean for the week-end.

Care for Clothing. Another essential function of the family is that of providing clothes for all members. At present, only part of the wardrobe of the average inhabitant is made at home. The larger ready-made articles are usually bought in one of the neighbouring towns (Lisse or Leyden); they are mended and repaired at home. Some families make their underwear themselves, others buy it in the shops. In order to estimate to what extent the family still functions as a productive unit, we included the following question in our questionnaire: "*Which pieces of your wardrobe or clothes are usually made at home?*" (Welke kledingstukken worden doorgaans thuis gemaakt?) The answers to this question could be grouped in this way:

The articles of clothing made at home	Number	Per cent
Everything	23	5.7
Everything except overcoats	75	18.6
All articles for female members	63	15.6
All articles for children	36	8.9
Only underwear	22	5.4
About a half of all things needed	20	4.9
Almost nothing	36	8.9
Nothing	113	28.0
Sewing-woman makes some	10	2.5
No or inadequate reply	6	1.5
Total	404	100.0

About a quarter of all families make a substantial part of their wardrobe at home, and more than a third of the total adult population buy them ready-made. We see that the family is more or less a consumer of goods and not a producer. Practically all basic food-stuffs are bought ready-made: bread, milk, jams, chocolate, pudding-powder, sometimes even canned vegetables or meat. Only in a few instances, people would plant some vegetables for themselves or have a few hens to lay eggs for them. As one has to buy expensive grain to feed the fowl, people prefer to buy eggs, meat, as well as fats in the stores. As for the other subjects of daily use, the situation is quite similar: shoes, slippers, coats, clothes—all these are usually bought, not made. In these circumstances, the chief task of the housewife is mending, repairing, and washing. For the latter function, Monday is usually reserved. The main washing is done at home either in the kitchen or in an annex. Only the more well-to-do families have their linen washed. A few of these hire a charwoman for a couple of days every week and let her do the washing; a larger proportion send their linen to the laundry, which collects and delivers it to the house.

Family-Rôles: Head. Having briefly discussed the main functions of the family we will deal now with some of its structural aspects. The differentiation of social functions and rôles within the family-unit proceeds, as in practically all societies, along its biological functions and differences. The main authority is ascribed by law to the husband and father, who is usually considered as the "head of the family" (*gezinshoofd*). Only in a case of bad moral conduct or insanity (and of course of premature death) does it shift over to the wife (mother). Of the total number of 1,273 family-heads, which the Census mentions for May, 1947, 1,249 were men and 24 were women heads. The husband is expected to represent the whole family in law and in the wider sphere of society. He alone has the right to sign economic

contracts (his wife needs a written permission to do so); he is responsible for the good conduct of his children or for any damage which they may cause to the neighbours; he receives the house-permit on his name. When travelling abroad a wife is not allowed to take the children with her unless she produces the written consent of her husband, though he does not need one of his wife. In short, authority is vested in the head of the family by law and — by religious rites. In the Protestant families the head of the family is expected to read a passage from the Bible aloud, when the family gathers for meals; in the Roman Catholic families he says the words of grace or prayer.

One should not underestimate the influence of these daily repeated religious habits upon the differentiation of the family unit. In the Calvinist families, for instance, each meal is preceded by a prayer. After breakfast and noon-meal, a passage from the Bible is read and graces are said. After supper only a word of thanks is said, for wife and husband will read the Bible together before going to bed. From very early youth the children learn to associate the father with the authority of the things which he reveals to them. In the Dutch-Reformed families, though Bible-reading is dropped with some meals, it is also the father who plays the leading part; he introduces God's word to the family-members and communicates with God on behalf of the whole family. The ancient rôle of "*pater familias*" has thus been preserved into the modern life of Sassenheim owing to the two ancient institutions: the church and the law.

Some other tasks are also traditionally associated with the rôle of father or husband. He is expected to carve the meat when it is brought to the table; he has usually the decisive voice in family conferences deciding the future of the children, the choice of vocation, the marriages, etc. He is expected to repair the water or electricity supply, or the roof and other parts of the house. He is chiefly responsible for the appearance of the small garden in front of the house, which he is expected to cultivate on Saturday-afternoons or in the evenings. He receives the forms from the Inspector of Taxes (*de Inspecteur der Belastingen*) to be filled in, each year; he announces the birth or the tragical death of his child to the community authorities and has to fulfil many other functions, generally ascribed to him by tradition or public opinion.

Wife, Mother. Though not his equal in vested authority, the wife (mother) spends her labours and energy on the family more directly than the husband. She determines to a greater extent than the husband the general atmosphere in the house, because she spends the whole day at home in contrast to the husband who is here only for his rest-pauses and at nights. The responsibility for the basic functions of the family, that we described above, lies on her shoulders; she does the shopping and controls the daily family-budget, cooks the food, does

the washing, tidies the rooms, and cares for the children. She is expected to pour the coffee and hand it to a visitor together with a piece of pastry or cake. No member of the family, as a rule, is allowed to invite an acquaintance or a friend to a meal or offer lodging without asking her. In the absence or the illness of the father, she takes over some of his functions. Such is, however, the prestige of the male head of the family that in Calvinist families no words of grace or prayer are said if the father is ill or absent; silence is chosen instead.¹ In terms of work differentiation it may be said that the main rôle of the husband and father is that of the wage-earner while the wife or mother is chiefly responsible for the smooth functioning of the household.

Rigidity of Rôles. It should be noted in this connection that, in spite of their authority vested in them by the law and the church, the husbands and fathers in Sassenheim do not abuse their power and influence. As the families grow larger most of the fathers realize the consequences this has for the housewives and take over some of their tasks. We notice, that in spite of the formal status-differences the families in this Dutch community are rather equalitarian. Of the 132 husbands whom we explicitly asked: "*Do you help your wife with her work?*" (i.e. "Als U getrouwd is, helpt U Uw echtgenote (echtgenoot) met haar (zijn) werk?"), 73 (55.3 p.c.) helped regularly with the household duties, 10 (7.6 per cent) helped sometimes and 49 (37.1 per cent) gave a negative answer. Several of those helping gave a specification of this help: peeling potatoes ("piepers jassen"), washing dishes, making coffee or tea, sometimes even cooking or washing. We see here a good example of social lag; the inferior position of the woman, as expressed in religious rites and legal system² contrasts with her high informal status and the esteem for her duties found in most families. As was shown in the preceding chapter, women work, generally, not as long as men, and as we shall show instantly, take longer night-rest. In spite of this, they are helped by their husbands in household duties traditionally ascribed to them. We noticed, on the other hand, that the wives take over less duties from the husbands. Only 26 (20.5 per cent) of the 127 wives to whom the above mentioned question was put admitted helping their husbands

¹ We owe this information to Mr. C. BOEKESTEIJN, who was in charge of the documentation work at the Department of Mental Health at the time of writing this report, and who, being himself a Calvinist, possesses a first-hand knowledge of the population-group in question.

² As mentioned on p. 145 women workers are paid less for equal work than men. The situation in the Netherlands differs in this respect from that in other European countries (e.g., France, Czechoslovakia before 1948, etc.) where equal wages for female and male workers were introduced. In spite of the good legal protection of women in those countries, their actual status (in terms of "inferior" activities ascribed to them) seems to be lower and the household-rôles more rigid than in the Netherlands.

with their work; the rest (79.5 per cent) gave negative answers:

TABLE 34

The spirit of cooperation between wives and husbands in Sassenheim

	Helping the partner	Sometimes	Not helping the partner	Total
Husbands . .	73	10	49	132
Wives . . .	26	0	101	127
Total . . .	99	10	150	259

($\chi^2 = 38.63$, 1 d. f., $T = .39$; the group "sometimes" not taken into consideration).

Source: Random Sample of 404 Persons

Though women help the men less often with their work one should not forget that the opportunities are not equal. Most husbands work outside their homes and "the masculine character" of their work is determined by the nature of social institution and public opinion to a larger extent than the "feminine character" of household activities; (a woman working as a paver or with a spade would cause public indignation; she would never be offered such a job by any employer in Sassenheim). Finally, one should not forget that though not helping the husband in his specific occupation, the wife often assists him in his principal function of a wage-earner by doing seasonal work in the bulb-growing industries.

There is also another reason to be cautious in interpreting the foregoing data. Men are generally inclined to overrate the rôle which they play at home¹ if the opinion of women can be trusted. We notice this tendency while examining the perception of men and women of their rôles as educators. The question which was used for this purpose was worded in the following way: "If you are married and have children who takes care of the upbringing and education: husband? wife? both? grandparents? someone else? who?" ("Als U getrouwd bent en kinderen heeft, wie zorgt dan in Uw gezin voor de opvoeding van de kinderen? man? vrouw? allebei? grootouders? anderen? wie?"). Of the 404 persons in our sample only 229 gave answers which could

¹ In 1949, the N.I.P.O. put the following two questions to a representative sample of the total population: "Do you sometimes help with the household chores?" for men and "Does your husband help with the household chores?" for women (*De Publieke Opinie*, 3, No. 4 1949); 67 p.c. of the husbands assert to help their wives while only 45 p.c. of the wives admit to be helped.

be classified into the main categories. A great majority, 192 persons, declared that the education of children was the matter of concern for both husband and wife, 33 persons pointed out the wife as the person with the main educational task, 3 mentioned the grandparents, while only one person mentioned the husband (father) as the educator of the children in the family. When, however, the data were split according to the sex of the interviewees, we noticed that the husbands significantly less often referred to the wife as being the main person educating the children than the wives did.

TABLE 35
Perception of educational rôle by husbands and wives

Who educates the children					
	Husband	Wife	Both	Grand- parents	Total
Husbands .	1	9	102	1	113
Wives . . .	0	24	90	2	116
Total .	1	33	192	3	229

(χ^2 as computed for the categories "wife" and "both" amounted to 6.5
 $P < .02$ $T = .17$)

Source: Random Sample of 404 Persons

In spite of the bias owing to the misperception of the rôles we notice that in absolute figures even the husbands name the wives as the main educators more often than themselves. Being away from home for a long part of the days they leave the care of children to their wives, which they openly acknowledge.

As far as we could state, the husbands abstain from exercising their authority in the relation to the children in a similar way as in the relation to the wives. The smaller number of the children are punished by the father than by the mother in cases of wickedness. In order to get some more objective insight into the degree, and the way of coercion in the families the following question was used: "*Are your children punished at home (in cases of wickedness)? For what kind of offences? By whom? In what way?*" ("Worden Uw kinderen thuis gestraft? Waarvoor? Door wie? Hoe?") Only 173 answers were received which could distinctly be classified into one of the following categories: by father, by mother, by both parents. As considered for the whole

group of answers, in more families children are punished by the mother than by the father, while the majority is punished by both parents: 43 persons referred to the father, 58 persons mentioned the mother, and 72 mentioned both parents as the persons who deal with the minor offences of the family-code. Again, however, misperception takes place, because both sexes differ significantly from each other in answering this question:

TABLE 36
The perception of coercive rôles of parents by men and women

Who punishes the children in the family				
	Father	Both parents	Mother	Total
Men	32	40	18	90
Women . . .	11	32	40	83
Total . . .	43	72	58	173

($P < .001$ $T = .42$)

Source: Random Sample of 404 Persons

The differences in perception of one's rôle is greater than in the foregoing case. In absolute figures men denote more often the fathers, women the mothers as the boggy of the family. ¹

¹ Unfortunately we are unable to decide whether the bias is chiefly due to the misperception of women, of men, or of both of them. The main source of information being the answers of husbands and wives themselves, we were unable to reconstruct the objective reality. Such a reconstruction would, in our opinion, be possible if we used a neutral group of informants, for instance that of children as was done by P. B. Herbst in Australia (see P. B. HERBST, *The Measurement of Family Relationships*, in *Human Relations*, Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 3—36, 1952). The recent research which has been carried out under the supervision of Professor O. A. Oeser in Melbourne imposes, however, certain limitations to this expectation. Oeser c.s. found differential perception of parents' rôles even with children of different sex, as the following table demonstrates:

TABLE 55
Number of mentions of source of punishment

	Father	Mother
Boys . . .	70	23
Girls . . .	39	61

($\phi = 0.36$ significant at 1 per cent level)

(See: O. A. OESER, F. E. EMERY, *Social Structure and Personality in a Rural Community*, London 1954, p. 120) For data on the rôle-division between the parents of the interviewees see p. 456 of this book.

The equalitarian features of the family in Sassenheim have already been mentioned. The high status of women can be seen in the fact that they, as a rule, dispose of the larger part of the earnings of all the members of the family. Particularly in the working-class families, they often receive the whole weekly wages from which pocket money for the earners is subtracted. In some families there is a practice to divide the total income into the house-keeping money and the rest, which is divided into two equal halves between husband and wife (eventually another wage-earner in the family). It is the exception for the husband to keep his wages for himself, paying the grocer's, the baker's and the milkman's bill towards the end of the week. This custom was revealed by the answers to another question: "*Who disposes with the household money in your family?*" ("*Wie beschikt er bij U thuis over het huishoudgeld?*") which was put (in order to avoid bias) to the parents as well as their children. Invariably, the informations of both groups pointed out the economic independence of the mother (respectively the wife) within the family-unit:

Who disposes of house-keeping money	Number	Per cent
Father	5	1.2
Mother	81	20.1
Both parents	15	3.7
Husband	3	0.7
Wife	248	61.4
Both	16	4.0
Another family member	7	1.7
Children	5	1.2
No or inadequate reply	24	6.0
Total	404	100.0

More than eighty per cent of the interviewees refer to the mother or the wife as the person doing the spendings for the whole family—a fact which should be considered when examining the status of the husband and the wife.

Status and Rôles of Children. As far as the status of the children is concerned it should be stressed that they are not considered as an economic burden to the parents at present. We mentioned already above that even the labourers and the persons of a very low income-level consider children as a means to additional incomes (through the children-bonus paid by the government). In the families working on own account we repeatedly heard the complaints of the parents

who had to miss their sons for a couple of years owing to the military service. An old father of two adult sons, an owner of a small bulb-growing firm, could hardly afford to miss his children for two years and hire the expensive manpower instead. The most money earning male members of the family use to support the female members and the younger children, while receiving pocket-money in return. Of about ninety persons in our sample still living in the household of their parents or family members, more than eighty acknowledged receiving pocket-money, and of these sixty-nine get it every week. As the father usually keeps only pocket money too, a feeling of solidarity can be maintained. All male-members of the family get the impression of supporting the women and the children, while receiving lodging, food, simply "the home" in exchange. The adolescent or adult daughters usually take up jobs themselves in order to become somewhat more independent with regard to clothes, make-up, and the way of spending their Sundays, about which they might have ideas different from those of their parents. They like to escape from the household duties and the somewhat tense atmosphere at home, that usually prevails, because the families are large, mothers over-worked, and the houses small and crowded.

Cohesion of Family Group. The ties between parents and children usually become weaker after the marriage of the daughter. The sons often remain working for the father after marriage. The loyalty to brothers and sisters or to the parents sometimes weakens and cooperation changes to competition, but not until their own families increase in size. Fertile land is very expensive and often quite outside the reach of the ordinary people; consequently the main possibility of securing a living for the children lies in business or in the change from agriculture to industry. It is usually the eldest son of the bulb-grower who tries his luck in a business-career abroad. His status in the family is higher than that of the other children. In the absence of the father he often takes the lead. He cares for the division of labour in the enterprise and often determines even how much recompense each brother is allowed to take for his work. His ascendant position is, on the other hand, not sanctioned by law. He does not inherit a larger part of the property of the parents as is usual in other European countries. In this respect, all children are equal before the law. Neither is there any difference between sons and daughters in this respect.

This fact is probably structurally related to the fact that the bride does not bring any dowry into the household of the bridegroom. Usually, they both cover the expenses of the young household, the bride buying the kitchen-outfit, the bridegroom the more expensive furnishing of the living room and the drawing-room. Except for the wedding-presents, which they receive from relatives and friends (china, dinner-ware, glasses, etc.), they buy the things themselves, usually in cooperation and without the element of surprise.

There is, however, one aspect of the Dutch legacy system which is of great significance for family-cohesiveness in the middle-class, where families work on their own account. According to law, the adult children are entitled to a half of the property of their parents immediately after one of the parents deceased. The other half is reserved for life-use of the remaining parent. As, however, one of the main ties between the parents and the adult children is the economic one, several families in Sassenheim undergo severe crises on account of this legal provision. These crises can eventually disrupt family life, because the tensions that were suppressed and kept latent come to the open again, when life offers the children a possibility to become economically independent.

According to the notary public, several family-firms have been ruined in this way by the discord of the children. He maintains that the possibility on the part of the children of claiming the legacy is the main reason why most growers, farmers, and shopkeepers, working on their own account, decide on a marriage-contract which distinctly separates the property of the husband (i.e. of the firm) from that of the wife. Such marriage-contracts are almost unknown among the working-class couples.

Though reported, the cases of a similar disruption are not too frequent in Sassenheim. Due to the considerable longevity of the population, the children have to wait long before becoming independent managers of the capital which they inherited from their parents. In addition to this, the families are large and there is, as a rule, not enough money to secure an independent position for each child. This precarious situation is accentuated by the scarcity of fertile soil. There is no chance for one of the children of a bulb-grower or a dairy-farmer to settle down on a farm which would equal in size that of his father; there is no soil to be bought for a reasonable price. In these circumstances the sons of the farmers are often forced to choose one of the following alternatives: (a) they concentrate on the commercial aspects of their fathers' firm and become overseas salesmen; (b) they decide to leave the occupational branch of their fathers entirely and go into industry either in Sassenheim or elsewhere; (c) they follow the traditional occupation of their fathers but decide to emigrate to try their luck in another country, richer in soil and natural resources. Each of these alternatives has usually grave consequences for the family-life of the inhabitants.

The first alternative implies a long absence of the husbands and fathers which is resented by the wives and mothers. The latter have to carry the responsibility for all decisions themselves. If the children are small, there is not the paternal authority to recur to. The usual religious rites at meals have to be dropped, the bench in the church remains unoccupied during the service. More than the responsibility

in educational and religious matters, the wives resent the economic responsibility, according to our information. In spite of the equalitarian division of the functions within the families, the wives are not accustomed to take over the functions of the husbands in representing the families in business and in public life. When coming back after several months of travel through the United Kingdom, Scandinavia, or the United States, the husbands resume their rôles comparatively easily. Except for a few gadgets or external details (new American ties or hats, Swedish suits, etc.) they do not adopt the pattern of living of the countries in which they have spent a good part of the year. In so far our information is correct, these peasant bulb-dealers keep strictly to their jobs when being abroad: they travel from one florist to another and offer their goods stammering in bad English or Swedish.¹ Except for the means of communication (some fly to the States), they do not exploit the luxuries of foreign countries and return home as simple in their outlooks and faith as they left it.

According to our observations, the second alternative to overpopulation, industrialization, frequently goes hand in hand with the sharpening of the conflict between the generations. We found this way of escape usually chosen by the sons of agricultural workers. These sons resented to follow the monotonous careers of their fathers with their regular periods of seasonal unemployment and seasonal overwork. They saw better chances of living in the industries. By choosing an industrial job they became estranged from their parents in several respects. To begin with, their occupational rhythm and daily life-rhythm became different from that of their parents. At those times of the year when their father plod for twelve hours or more a day, the sons fully profit from the regular eight-hour working-day in the factory. Another discrepancy can be noticed in the winter when the older generation enjoys the usual yearly holidays that are caused by the seasonal unemployment, while the younger generation has to follow the more rigid working-hour schedule of the industrial life. As mentioned already in Chapter V, the industrial workers have to reckon with time to a far greater extent than their fathers working in the fields or on the road. There are many other differences in the way of life between both groups which cause tensions at home; the workers in factories come into contact with the factory-library (where many "neutral" books, uncensored by the church, can be found), with the factory sport-team, and the Sunday-matches, with

¹ One should not interpret the above sentence as suggesting that there is a poor knowledge of modern languages in Sassenheim. In our sample, we came across the workers in bulb-cultures who spoke three or four foreign languages fairly well. We were told that persons with a bad knowledge of English succeeded in placing an extraordinarily large number of orders in the U.S. The customers were convinced that the bulb-dealers came directly from Europe and that they were not capable of deceiving them.

workers from other regions who are often without a denomination, who propagate birth-control and many other aspects of the urban way of life (e.g., spending the week-end with trips on a motor or a bicycle instead of the usual church visits). All these activities often deviate from the way of life and the moral norms of the parents, not to mention the whole work-procedure and the whole process of earning money in which the father ceases to play the rôle of an experienced mate passing knowledge to the children. In such situations the family-ties between parents and children are weakened; it is then principally due to the housing shortage that the families do not split but continue to live in a kind of forced *symbiosis*.

Little remains to be said of the third solution, i.e., emigration, as the families which emigrated overseas get out of sight. Yet even here dangers for cohesive family life are present owing to the differential adaptation. The husband adapts earlier owing to his work-contacts and often is inclined to reproach his wife for the old way of life. As already shown in Tables on p. 173, the possible tensions between husband and wife seldom result into a divorce and the disruption of family life in Sassenheim. The whole system of local mores supports the maintenance of family-ties. Only in marriage between persons of different religious denomination public opinion makes a distinction. Such a marriage, especially that between a Catholic and a Protestant, is considered from the very beginning as something abnormal. In case of possible tensions, the acquaintances and the relatives of both partners recur to their in-group code of ethics and often aggravate the tensions instead of trying to conciliate. If such a marriage is dissolved before children are born, both partners are accepted with sympathy by their respective groups as "that foolish man who married a Popish girl" or "as that poor girl who gave herself to a Protestant." These cases of unsuccessful marriage are later exploited by the parents and clergymen as warning examples to sons and daughters.

Other evidence of the strong forces leading to family-unity may be seen in the fact that in spite of the high frequency of "forced marriage" there are relatively few illegitimate children in the community. As the daughters introduce their boy-friends to the parents at an early stage of their decision "to go steady," it is comparatively easy to expose the young man to strong ostracism in the community when he refuses to marry his girl. Only in cases of a grave handicap on the side of his partner (or victim) such as imbecility or physical deformity, he prefers to oppose the persuasion of countless family members and friends to marry.

D) RHYTHM OF FAMILY LIFE

Daily Rhythm. Before closing this chapter on family life, we will deal briefly with the main rhythms of life as they are reflected in family-relationships.

To begin with there is the daily rhythm. Families join at the main meals, scatter in the intervals between the meals in order to come together again if at all, in the evening, shortly before going to bed. In most families, the meal times form the main occasion for the members to be together. Due to the scarcity of jobs in the community and the absence of more specialized schools (see further Chapter VII), even these scarce contacts are often broken. According to our representative sample, only somewhat less than half of all inhabitants meet the whole family at all meals. In the remaining families either one meal (about a quarter of the inhabitants), or two meals (some thirteen per cent), or all family meals (1.5 per cent) are dropped.

At what meals the family meets	Number	Per cent
At all meals, "always"	176	43.6
At breakfast and supper	55	13.6
At noon-meal and supper	40	9.9
At breakfast and noon	3	0.7
Only at breakfast	3	0.7
Only in the evening	43	10.7
Only at noon	5	1.3
Sometimes	28	6.9
Never	6	1.5
No or inadequate answer ¹	45	11.1
Total	404	100.0

Some people have to travel long to get to work; Utrecht and Gouda were among the places mentioned. One takes a bus to Leyden (about twenty minutes) to catch the train to Utrecht (about forty minutes; the person whom we spoke was longer than three hours under way, each day).

Usually the wives get up early to prepare the breakfasts for the husbands. In the exceptional cases that the husband has to get up very early owing to his distant working place, they prepare the sandwiches each night before going to bed. Another solution in such

¹ In this group are included the persons living outside the family-relationship, the nuns, bachelors, etc.

cases is that the wife gets up to prepare his meals and returns to bed after the husband has left. This explains, probably, why the wives have longer night rest than the men. One goes usually to bed between ten and eleven p.m. The older people go to bed earlier, the main bread-winners of the middle-class families later, often towards midnight. The distribution of the population in regard to the hour of going to bed can be reconstructed on the hand of our sample as follows:

The usual hour of going to bed	Number	Per cent
Before 8 o'clock p.m.	1	0.3
8 — 9 o'clock p.m.	5	1.2
9 — 10 o'clock p.m.	32	7.9
10 — 11 o'clock p.m.	201	49.8
11 — 12 o'clock p.m.	133	32.9
12 — 1 o'clock a.m.	25	6.1
1 — 2 o'clock a.m.	6	1.5
No or inadequate answer	1	0.3
Total	404	100.0

While the usual hour of going to bed is from about half past ten to half past eleven, the usual hour to get up is from about half past six to half past seven. There are, however, somewhat more people who get up before this time than those who remain in bed after this usual hour:

The usual hour of getting up	Number	Per cent
Before 5 o'clock a.m.	10	2.5
5 — 6 o'clock a.m.	46	11.3
6 — 7 o'clock a.m.	161	39.9
7 — 8 o'clock a.m.	157	38.9
8 — 9 o'clock a.m.	21	5.2
9 — 10 o'clock a.m.	7	1.7
No or inadequate answer.	2	0.5
Total	404	100.0

Though some fourteen per cent of the population usually get up before six in the morning and more than forty per cent go to bed

after eleven in the evening, people take generally enough night rest.¹ Those getting up early are not the people going to bed late, with the exception of some ten per cent of the inhabitants:

No. of rest hours per night	Number	Per cent
Less than 6	8	2.0
6 — 7	36	8.9
7 — 8	122	30.2
8 — 9	166	41.1
9 — 10	56	13.9
10 — 11	11	2.7
11 or more	3	0.7
No or inadequate answer	2	0.5
Total	404	100.0

¹ At the time of preparing this report for the press we received the publication of the Central Bureau of Statistics on leisure activities and radio listening in the Netherlands, *Radio en vrije-tijdsbesteding*, Utrecht, 1954. This fine, accurate study reveals some characteristics of the population in the Netherlands by means of a representative stratified random sample that was drawn on a national scale to comprise over 4,000 persons. These statistics enable us to compare the probable parameters of the population in Sassenheim with the parameters referring to the population in the Netherlands. As far as night rest is concerned, the following comparative tables can be drawn:

The usual hour of going to bed	Sassenheim	the Netherlands
before 10 o'clock	9.4 per cent	11 per cent
10—11 o'clock	49.8 per cent	37 per cent
11—12 o'clock	32.9 per cent	36 per cent
after 12 o'clock	7.6 per cent	17 per cent

The usual hour of getting up	Sassenheim	the Netherlands
before 7 o'clock	53.7 per cent	40 per cent
7—8 o'clock	38.9 per cent	43 per cent
after 8 o'clock	6.9 per cent	17 per cent
Total	99.5 per cent	100 per cent

Source: the foregoing two tables on p. 193; *Radio en vrije-tijdsbesteding*, p. 41, Table 50.

It is evident that the population in Sassenheim goes earlier to bed and is used to get up earlier than is usual in the Netherlands, taken as a whole. We notice also less dispersion with regard to the usual hour of going to bed. The first may probably be ascribed to the still rural character of the community (eventually to the fact that our data were gathered in the period from May to January, while the data of the Central Bureau of Statistics are based on observation and interviewing in the period from April 12th to April 25th, 1953.) The explanation for the fact that there are fewer people going to bed either before 10 p.m. or after midnight than the country-average can perhaps be found in the greater pressure towards conformity in this small community.

While only ten per cent of the population have less than seven hours sleep a night, about seventeen per cent sleep more than nine hours. The rest, some three quarters of the inhabitants, sleep at least seven but no more than nine hours each night, according to the data which were obtained by subtracting the hour of going to bed from that of getting up, as mentioned by the interviewees. The median length of night rest as computed in the light of the foregoing data amounts to eight hours and twelve minutes.¹

In addition to night rest, some people take a short afternoon-nap after the warm noon-meals. Of the 401 persons who adequately answered the question concerning this matter, 256 (i.e. 63.4 per cent of the total sample) said never to take a nap, 62 (i.e. 15.4 per cent) do so every now and then, while 83 persons (20.5 per cent) said to rest regularly after the noon-meal.

By dividing the data into the groups of answers which were obtained from the male and the female interviewees we noticed that the women take longer night rest than the men (for the sake of brevity, we do not reprint the corresponding tables in this context; the reader interested in the methodological aspects and validity of our findings is kindly referred to Part II of this book; the association between the number of rest-hours and sex was found statistically significant at the probability level of 0.001, $T = .18$. See p. 328). It is remarkable that the shorter night-rest of the husbands is not compensated by their taking more often a nap after the noon-meal. In this respect too, women take more rest than men. As the main warm meal is usually served at noon, the wives in Sassenheim find an opportunity to rest in the afternoon. Most daily suppliers (the baker, the milkman, the greengrocer, who invariably bring goods to their customer's house in Holland) come in the morning. Thus, after the husband left for his job again and the children are at school, the wives get some time for themselves. While in the mornings the meals are prepared and the house is cleaned, in the afternoon the washing, mending, and sewing is done. In this way, the evenings can be reserved for leisure which both husbands and wives share together (except for the middle-class families, some shop-keepers, whose long working-hours infringe upon leisure.) The majority of the inhabitants reserve the evenings for recreational activities; adolescent children participate in the associations or organize trips on bicycles or simply walk through the village, having a chat at the corner. The adults read their newspapers, play cards, or call on their acquaintances.

Weekly Rhythm. In addition to this daily rhythm, there are recurring events each week: Sundays, Saturdays, and Mondays, with their specific atmospheres which distinguish them from the other days. Saturday is generally considered as the best day. After having received their wages most bread-winners take a bath and enjoy the nice

¹ This is quite in agreement with the findings of the Central Bureau of Statistics that mentions 8.15 hours as the mean amount of night rest in the Netherlands. (*Radio en vrije-tijdsbesteding*, p. 40, Table 40.)

perspective of the coming Sunday. In the afternoon, the sport-matches (of the Calvinist and Protestant clubs) take place, in the evening relatives are called on or one drops eventually in an inn to have a beer. Most families, however, stay at home enjoying together the special popular radio programme. These evenings in the family-circle are for many the most valuable things of life.

Sunday is a day of absence of activity of any kind for the Protestant part of the population. One stays in bed until one has to dress oneself for the morning service in the church. After the service, one has a chat with acquaintances who are occasionally invited for a cup of coffee. In the afternoon, the Roman Catholic part of the population participates in the sport matches or arranges bicycle trips to the vicinity, while the Protestants have their Sunday-walks or visits before going to church for the second time (Calvinists). The evenings are spent with playing cards, reading, or visits again.

Monday is generally considered to form a very contrast to Saturday. The housewives start doing their washing, the men plunge into their jobs, children go to school again. On Tuesday, one is usually adjusted to the work again and can enjoy a very popular radio-programme in the evening ("Bonte Dinsdag Avondtrein").

Yearly Rhythm. The yearly rhythm is characterized by holidays and festivities which are partly of a public and partly of a private nature. Among the former, the eve of St. Nicholas belongs to the most popular and joyful events in family-life. Almost the whole community takes part in it. A few days before the memory of this good-hearted Bishop is celebrated (on the 6th of December), his arrival to Sassenheim is announced; clothed in an ancient costume, with a tall mitre and a long white beard and accompanied by two Black Jacks, who are also clothed in the mediaeval garment, the embodiment of "Santa Claus" arrives by boat in Sassenheim where the whole group is officially welcomed by the burgomaster in the presence of Sassenheim's youth. On the eve of "Santa Claus", there are more groups of "Santa Clauses" in the village, each visiting a number of houses with young children. "Santa Claus" distributes the sweets and small presents from the sack that Black Jack carries on his back to the children whom he addresses in a long speech or inquiry after their conduct. The naughty children are threatened by the birch of Black Jack and by being put into his sack and carried away to Spain.

When the children are older or in the childless families, "Santa Claus" does not come personally but leaves presents for the family hidden in various corners of the house. Each person has to search for a present, and on finding one has to read aloud the rhymes (that are attached to it in order to tease him or to make him guess what the contents are), before unwrapping it. Owing to the long preparations (the choice of the present, the art of wrapping it nicely and of making

the rhymes to tease the person concerned, finally, the search for a nice hiding-place or "surprise-cover"), the participation is usually quite intense and the atmosphere is one of joyful excitement.

A similar joyful tension can not be noticed during Christmas. Unlike most other European countries, Holland does not, as a rule, celebrate Christmas Eve. No presents are given to the children. If there is a Christmas-tree, it is lit on Christmas Day. Besides the intensified church-duties, there is usually a solemn dinner which forms the climax of the festivities. On Boxing Day, visits to relatives (also outside the community) are usually paid.

The New Year's Eve is, on the other hand, joyfully celebrated in the families. Dough-nuts ("oliebollen") are served in almost all houses directly after the coffee; society-games are played and drinks are served towards the later part of the evening. At midnight, the whole village is illuminated by countless firecrackers which fill all the streets with noise. Everybody starts for a walk through the village immediately after the family-toasts, to exchange New Year's wishes with acquaintances.

The other Christian holidays are not accompanied by special customs and family-rites. There is a tendency to serve eggs and a special raisin-cake ("tulband") at Easter. Usually a special drink is served and toasts are made before dinner on these days.

The second Sunday in May is usually celebrated as "Mothers' Day." Children present flowers to their mother. In a bulb-growing community as Sassenheim the interests of which are vested in the habit of people to present flowers as a token of affection, the custom of celebrating a special day dedicated to Motherhood is strictly kept and stimulated.

Due to the busy season in the bulb-fields, the birth-day of Queen Juliana on April 30th, is not generally celebrated, except by the children who assemble in front of the Community Hall to sing an aubade to the Burgomaster — the local representative of the Crown. The local Orange-League organizes a series of festivities for the children each year in September, when the busy season is over and people have earned enough money by working overtime to afford some extra expenses. Several competitions for the children and between the strongest men in the community are organized by a special committee set up for this purpose.

Though more commercial in origin, the annual bulb-flowers festivities are the focus of the common interest. Every inhabitant is exhorted to decorate his house with tulips, hyacinths, or other bulb-flowers. A competition is organized by the association of bulb-growers for the most beautiful mosaic built in the garden in front of one's house. These mosaics are made of thousands of tulips that are freshly cut in the fields, at this time. The same beautiful flowers (which

are heaped in millions as rubbish in the fields) are used to dress the large wagons after the model of the carnival of Nice. These wagons are drawn in a many-coloured, gay array on a fixed Saturday-afternoon in May or June. It is in these weeks when the tulips are blooming that thousands of inhabitants from all parts of the country visit Sassenheim.

The local inhabitants participate in some festivities in the neighbouring communities. On each third of October, Leyden celebrates the anniversary of the liberation from the Spanish siege and blockade in 1574. Bread and herrings are distributed among the inhabitants in commemoration of the starvation during this siege. Historical processions and dances in national or historical costumes are organized.

The last mentioned festivities have little impact upon family-life. Much more important are the private feasts—the birthdays. Owing to the large families, birthdays are a regular institution. In the evening, the brothers and sisters with their families meet in the house of the person celebrating his birthday. They bring some small presents and are served cups of extra-strong coffee with cake or toffees and some drinks (in the later hours) in exchange. In some families, the birthday-party is postponed until the week-end so that acquaintances and friends may come in the afternoon, or even in the morning between the church-service and the noon-meal. It is on this occasion, that family-news is exchanged and family-conferences are held. Quite informally, the birthday parties help to determine the attitude of the whole family to various events under discussion.

In the latter respect, the birthdays resemble the important events which help to space life in terms of its generation-rhythm: weddings, child-births, and deaths. They also form an opportunity for the families to meet and face these changes together.

CHAPTER VII

CULTURAL LIFE

A) MATERIAL BASIS OF CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS

By comparison with the highly differentiated political, religious, and economic spheres, there are comparatively few institutions serving a distinct cultural purpose. Few groups engage in the process of the acquisition and the distribution of knowledge. Those which are found are mainly schools in which elementary knowledge, experience, and skills (e.g., writing, reading, handicraft) are passed on from the older to the younger generations.

The schools are practically the only cultural institutions which are confined to special buildings. There is a cluster of Roman Catholic schools situated in the vicinity of the church. Two of these are housed in old buildings that also house the Roman Catholic nuns. The other two are low, modern buildings with large windows. In contrast to the latter, there is a very old Roman Catholic higher-grade school "Don Bosco" at the opposite end of the community.

Not far from the church of the Dutch Reformed Community, a peculiar building with a high, thatched roof can be seen. This school of the Dutch Reformed Church was built in the prosperous period of 1930. It can be seen from its expensive, roomy construction.

Finally, there is a high "De Visser School" which is among the highest and largest buildings in the community. It is attended chiefly by the children of the members of the Calvinist (Gereformeerde) group.

It is typical of the local population-group that education is practically the monopoly of the churches. Each of the major churches forms a special committee to care for the maintenance and the prosperity of their own schools. These school-boards are usually presided over by a clergyman (with the exception of the "De Visser School"). Their task has become easier because the community authorities cover the maintenance expenses of the buildings and the central authorities (the Ministry of Education, Arts, and Sciences) pay the salaries of the teachers. In order to avoid frictions, the subsidy of the local government is paid in a standardized way, i.e., a fixed amount per pupil is paid to every school (fl. 23.— for every pupil in elementary school and fl. 34.50 for every pupil in higher grade school, in 1950). In spite of this regulation, tension does arise among the main local factions on account of the special subsidies which may be asked for

when general repairs or new buildings are decided upon. Usually, the school boards of the churches (or of the church-members) try to provide their own funds by voluntary contributions of their members. These boards decide the general policy: whether the school will be maintained or fused with a school of another Protestant church; whether it will accept pupils of other denominations or from other communities, etc. They appoint the head of the school who is, however, more or less free to choose his own personnel, to fix the curriculum, and to decide the method which will be followed. This freedom, however, is restricted by various government regulations. In addition to the board, the headmaster is also responsible to an inspector, a Civil Servant employed by the Ministry of Education, who regularly visits the schools (usually once a year) to see that the schools adhere to the legal regulations.

B) STRUCTURAL ASPECTS

A few remarks can be passed about the organization and social structure of the principal schools.

Roman Catholic School. The Roman Catholic girls' school "St. Anna" is the largest, with 343 pupils on the register in 1950. The girls are aged six to fourteen years. Most of them are from Sassenheim (310), but there are some 24 girls from the neighbouring Voorhout and 8 pupils from Lisse (one came from an even more distant place, Alkemade). Pupils of all social groups are to be found here. The group of children of the working-class is somewhat smaller than the other groups, owing to the existence of another Roman Catholic school between Sassenheim and Lisse (at a place called "De Engel") which is attended chiefly by working-class children living in the vicinity.

The school is run by Roman Catholic nuns who started a kindergarten in the community as early as 1890. Its head employs also lay-teachers, though the key positions in teaching as well as in the administration are held by the nuns. There are frequent changes among the lay-teachers, owing to the fact that wages in Sassenheim are lower than in the neighbouring communities (Lisse is a second class community, Heemstede a first class). In order to improve their positions, the better qualified teachers leave Sassenheim and consider their stay here as a temporary one. This is accentuated by the fact, that the head does not allow the staff to give additional private lessons to the pupils.

According to the school-head, the whole educational process is focussed on one distinct objective: to teach the girls how to realize the Roman Catholic ideal of family-life. A preparation for the realization of this ideal takes especially place in the two highest grades,

which were added to the original six grades after the age for compulsory education was raised from twelve to fourteen years.

The curriculum for all eight grades is as follows:

Weekly hours per class									
Subject	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	Total
Religion	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	22
Reading	5½	4¾	3¾	3	3¼	3¼	4½	4½	32¼
Writing	2	1½	½	½	½	½	—	—	5½
Arithmetic	5½	5½	5½	5½	5	5	2	2	36
Dutch Language	4	5½	5½	5	5	5	(see Reading)		30
Dutch History	—	—	½	¾	¾	¾	½	½	3¾
Geography	—	—	¾	1¼	1½	1½	1	1	7
Natural History	—	—	½	¾	1	1	1	1	5½
Singing	2	1½	1	1½	1	1	1	1	9½
Drawing	¾	¾	1	1	1	1	2	2	9½
Gymnastics	1	1	1½	1½	1½	1½	1½	1½	11
Handicrafts	2	2	2	2	2	2	7	7	26
General History	—	—	—	—	—	—	½	½	1
Domestic Economy	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	4
Total	25½	25½	25½	25½	25½	25½	25	25	203

This is the curriculum of the education which most of the Roman Catholic girls receive before marrying or starting work. There is practically no difference in the total number of lessons each week in the various grades. School starts usually about nine o'clock each morning, with a break at noon for one hour and a half, and continues on some afternoons until about four o'clock. Though the total number of lessons differs slightly in various grades, there is a difference in their contents; the two higher grades are characterized by less courses on Dutch history and language and by more on practical subjects such as handiwork, economy, and drawing. In addition to the compulsory classes, there are additional courses in book-keeping, child-care, and dietetics. In order to compensate for the absence of a suitable gymnasium, the girls learn to swim and take part in swimming competitions (after an examination by the school-physician). In the highest grade, several visits to local industries are organized each year.

During the holidays, lasting five weeks in summer, two weeks at Christmas, and ten days at Easter (in addition to three days at Whitsuntide and three days in the autumn), trips are organized to more distant places: the Zoo in Wassenaar, the air-field of Schiphol near Amsterdam, etc.

There is practically no contact between the school-staff and other

associations (including the youth-clubs) in Sassenheim. The nuns do not consider the making of these contacts as their task. To a certain extent, the chaplain fulfils the rôle of a mediator linking the school with the association of parents and with various youth-clubs within the Roman Catholic Church. In spite of this lack of contacts with parents, school attendance is higher than in several other schools in Sassenheim.

School of the Dutch Reformed Church. The School of the Dutch Reformed Church differs from the St. Anna's School in several respects. Though it is attended by both boys and girls, there are fewer pupils. In addition to the 193 pupils from Sassenheim there were 7 pupils from Voorhout, 6 pupils from Lisse, and 13 pupils from more distant communities, in 1950. There is even less selection of pupils than in the case of St. Anna's School. No distinction is made between children without a denomination and the children of members of the Dutch Reformed Church, or between the latter and the children of Calvinist or of Christelijk Gereformeerd parents. The school is designed for children between six and fourteen years of age. Somewhat more stress is laid on the preparation for higher-grade schools (MULO) or for secondary education than in St. Anna's School.

The head revealed to us that it was his general policy to advise the more talented pupils to leave the school after finishing the sixth grade and to enrol at a technical school or at a school of domestic economy instead. He gives this advice in spite of risking the loss of pupils in the two higher grades. Such a loss brings about lower government grants for the salaries of the teaching staff, as the number of pupils determines the amount of the subsidy. The headmaster thinks it proper to sacrifice the interest of his institution to those of individual pupils. The two highest forms, that are destined for those who plan to enter practice, consist of more lessons of handiwork and on practical subjects. Owing to the small number of pupils, no teachers specialized in these subjects are engaged by the school and the lessons are given by the members of the staff.

There are seven teachers, four men and three women. The head of the school has no objections to their private tutoring. Referring to one young married teacher, he mentioned that extra-money is much needed, in spite of the recent salary rise.

As for the curriculum, there is slightly more stress on geography and natural history and less on time given to handiwork, drawing, and reading than in St. Anna's School (the latter being compensated, however, by more time spent on the teaching of the Dutch language). For the three highest grades the curriculum was as follows:

Weekly hours per class			
Subject	VI	VII	VIII
Religion	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$
Writing	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
Reading	2	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$
Arithmetic	$4\frac{3}{4}$	$3\frac{1}{4}$	$3\frac{1}{4}$
Dutch Language .	5	$6\frac{1}{2}$	$6\frac{1}{2}$
Dutch History .	2	2	2
Geography	3	3	3
Natural History .	2	2	2
Singing	1	1	1
Drawing	1	1	1
Gymnastics	1	1	1
Handicrafts	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$
General History .	—	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
Total	$26\frac{1}{4}$	$26\frac{1}{4}$	$26\frac{1}{4}$

To prepare pupils for actual life, excursions into local factories are organized. Every Saturday, one lesson is spent in discussing the contents of the newspaper.

In contrast to St. Anna's School, the head of the Dutch Reformed Church School participates actively in community life. He has been an elder of the church for a long time. He organizes social evenings for the parents of the pupils, being mindful that the parents are an important source of additional school funds. In addition to this formal contact, he spends several evenings each week in visiting the parents of his pupils. Thus, he secures their backing through the two most important channels in Sassenheim: the family and the church. In spite of these good public relations, he does not find an efficient deterrent to the high rate of absenteeism. Many pupils stay at home at the time of bulb-cleaning and of other seasonal activities.

Calvinist Schools. The Calvinist "De Visser School" consists of two distinct departments: the elementary school of six grades for the children of six to thirteen years and the higher-grade school (for those who have passed through the elementary education) consisting of three additional grades. The former has 255 pupils: 225 pupils from Sassenheim, 10 from Lisse, 9 from Voorhout, and 11 from Haarlemmermeer. The composition of the ULO-School (the higher-grade school) is even more heterogeneous: 64 pupils from Sassenheim, 11 from Haarlemmermeer, 12 from Warmond, 2 from Lisse, 6 from Noordwijkerhout, 2 from Voorhout, and 1 from Alkemade. This is

caused by the fact that there are no higher-grade schools giving "Calvinist education" to children in the neighbouring communities. The pupils who do not wish to receive more education than prescribed by law do not join the higher-grade school but remain in the elementary school for another two years. The elementary school consists, therefore, of eight grades, as is the case with all other elementary schools in Sassenheim.

The pupils are recruited from all social classes. Though there are no objections to children of members of the Dutch Reformed Church attending the school or children of other Protestant denominations, the Dutch Reformed community sticks to its own education and the members of the more liberal Protestant churches (more frequent among the immigrants to Sassenheim) prefer the school of the Dutch Reformed Church to the "more orthodox christian" De Visser School.

Like the other schools in Sassenheim, the "De Visser School" is managed and run by a staff of teachers from outside the community. There are three women and five men teachers on the staff of the lower-grade school. Due to their different backgrounds (many of them come from the northern provinces of the Netherlands, Groningen, and Friesland), they do not participate much in the local associations and community life. The group of teachers is rather heterogeneous. Besides the differences of place of origin there are differences of age, sex, and social background. This is probably the reason why remarks were communicated to the interviewers that there should be more cooperation in the team. Like the teachers of other schools they complain that the salaries in Sassenheim are low when compared with the considerably high cost of living. The teachers spend an average of five hours in class a day. With the exception of one, nobody gives private lessons to better his economic position.

As to the general curriculum, there are not many differences from the curricula of other schools. Somewhat more stress is laid on the main subjects (reading, arithmetic, and the Dutch language) at the cost of natural history, handiwork, and additional subjects, such as general history or domestic economy. Religion is taught for three hours a week in all classes by the teacher. There is, to a certain extent, less preparation for actual life situations and more concentration on theoretical subjects.

The holidays are of the same length and fall in the same months as those of the other schools. Once a year, a social evening for the parents takes place. The attendance is higher when the pupils give a theatre-play, or some singing-comedy; the lectures or addresses are not very popular with the population.

The higher-grade school of the Calvinist group is not the only one of that type in the community. The Roman Catholics have the "Don Bosco" school. It depends to a greater degree on pupils from outside Sassenheim: of the 181 pupils in 1950, only 74 were living in Sassenheim, while the rest (107 in number) came from neighbouring

communities (37 from Noordwijkerhout, 29 from Warmond, 27 from Voorhout, 7 from Lisse, 7 from the more distant places).

Both boys and girls are admitted to the school, the latter forming, however, a minority (about a third of the total number of pupils). According to the headmaster, social background is not decisive in the selection of pupils. He admits, however, that most of his pupils are children of bulb-growers. Intelligence-test are not applied in the selection; the pupils are simply directed to the school by the parents and by the teachers of the lower-grade schools, in the same way as the gifted among them are sifted by the staff for higher or more specific education. The school is designed to serve two aims: the preparation for life and jobs as well as the preparation for any eventual further education.

The staff of the school consists of seven members. Their educational level is somewhat higher than that of the teachers of the elementary schools (special exams are required, entitling the teachers to give lessons in secondary schools). Each teacher teaches two or three subjects. There are, as a rule, no social evenings organized for parents. The headmaster considers them too costly. He gives a course in "prudent parenthood," instead, which is sometimes attended by twelve or more parents of his pupils. Such a course consists of about ten meetings, one of which is reserved for the priest. In this way, contacts with several parents are maintained. Several parents make use of occasional chats in the streets or elsewhere to enquire into their childrens' progress at school.

To fulfil its double function (the preparation for further education and for life) the curriculum reserved considerable time for the teaching of a subject which is very much appreciated in this region (owing to the high percentage of dealers travelling abroad) — foreign languages. Almost one third of all time is given to the teaching of English, French, and German (there are still at least two hours spent on the Dutch language, too). For the school-year 1950—1951 the curriculum was as follows: (see page 206).

In recent times the interest in modern languages has grown owing to another factor: emigration. The Calvinist secondary school and the Catholic "Don Bosco" school lose pupils to the emigration each year; the children get often involved in the emigration plans of their parents with the result that they cannot concentrate on their school work. The headmaster accepts the emigration as a given fact and tries to meet the needs of the population by organizing courses (in English, geography, and religion) for the emigrants. In spite of the good public relations of the staff (the headmaster was asked to become a member of the school board), the school is very poorly housed in an old, dark building and furnished with old benches. Some of our spokesmen were inclined to ascribe this to the lack of direct control. The school-board is parochial — its members are the members of the Church Board at the same time. As it is charged with the care for all local Roman Catholic schools (with the exception of the modern St. Antonius' school), less attention can be paid to the grievances of the single school-heads. The average age of its members is rather high — only one of them has a child attending the school. This accounts for the lack of vested interest on the side of board-members.

Weekly hours per class			
Subject	I	II	III
Religion	1½	1½	1½
Reading	¾	1	¾
Writing	¾	¾	—
Arithmetic	2¼	—	—
Dutch Language	2½	2¼	2¼
Dutch History	1	¾	¾
Geography	1½	1½	2¼
Natural History	2½	2¼	3
Singing	¾	—	—
Drawing	¾	—	—
Gymnastics	1½	1½	1½
Handiwork	¾	¾	—
French Language	3	3	3
German Language	2¼	3	3
English Language	3	3	3
Mathematics	2¼	3	3
Commercial Knowledge	¾	2¼	3
General History	¾	¾	¾
Total	27½	26½	27¾

The four educational institutions which are briefly described above are not the only schools in Sassenheim. There are two other schools for Roman Catholic youth. Both of them have been the subject of a violent controversy among the population. The larger one, the school for boys, shares the lot of other Roman Catholic schools in Sassenheim in being administered by the parochial school board, suffering from material poverty and insufficient space. Once the largest school in the community (numbering 292 pupils in 1948), it had to release a good many pupils to the recently established "St. Antonius' School," which is the most selective school at Sassenheim. It is designed for the more gifted among the Roman Catholic boys, to prepare them for a more advanced educational career. A special school board, consisting of the interested, influential parents, has been established. Thanks to its care and support, the school prospers in material respects. In the eyes of several inhabitants it remains, however, a living symbol of the inner division of the Roman Catholic group of inhabitants.

Kindergartens. In addition to these schools in the proper meaning of the word, there are two kindergartens here. The division along the line of religious denominations is carried out even with them. There

is a Roman Catholic kindergarten run by the nuns, which has no less than six teachers and almost 250 children who attend it for several hours each day. They play with boxes, sing, and dance, Froebel's methods being applied to further the early development of some of their aptitudes. The members of the Dutch Reformed Church and of the Calvinist groups cooperate in the field of pre-school education and have a common kindergarten. Over a hundred children were cared for there, in January, 1950.

Libraries. Our enumeration and description of the educational and the cultural institutions in Sassenheim will be more complete if we add the local public libraries. As one might expect, there are three of them, each serving again a distinct group of the population: the Roman Catholic, the Protestant, and those without a denomination. In both "christian" libraries a certain censorship is imposed. The books are read in advance before being placed in the libraries; usually the reviews in the periodicals of the church are consulted.

In the library of the Calvinist (Gereformeerde) Church, special reading-clubs have been formed. The more expensive books are bought by the clubs and lent to the members for a somewhat higher amount than usual (it is a rule to lend out the book for 10 cents a fortnight in the library). If one of these more expensive books is not considered suitable for the library, it is sold to the members of the club in an auction. This library of the Calvinist (Gereformeerde) Church owes its origin to the war and the German occupation. There was a general aversion to the German-censored press for which a compensation was sought. From individual gifts a library arose that now amounts to over 2,000 volumes. At present, it is split into two departments; one with some 550 volumes for young people and another one with some 1,600 volumes for adults. It often happens, however, that children and adolescents ask for "adult books" and are allowed to borrow them. Though the general level of the readers is not too high, in the opinion of some members of the Library Management Board, only a few adults ask for juvenile lecture. Most people are interested in "light fiction." Adolescent girls are the popular heroines in the novels which are read by both men and women. The young boys prefer historical subjects and novels about the resistance movement during the last war. There is not much interest in novels describing the life of the region, though several of these novels are placed on the shelves, according to the librarian.

The books are distributed among the population on Saturday-afternoons by a staff of about three volunteers headed by one of the local teachers. There are about four alternating teams which fulfil this duty in the library in turn. The library is open from September until July. Each week, on an average, 120 books are distributed among the inhabitants.

It is worth mentioning how a "neutral" library was established in this rather orthodox community. It is a private enterprise owned by a young couple running a similar commercial library in a neighbouring community in the region (Noordwijk) and living in the city of Leyden.

A few free-thinking workers, employed by the lacquer factory, came into contact with the owner in Noordwijk and borrowed books regularly from his library. In this way, the young couple learnt of the situation in Sassenheim where, because of the church censorship, no "progressive or atheist books" or books written by neutral authors, of a recent date, were available. They searched for a long time for a suitable shop without success. Finally, they established themselves in a former bulb-shop, where they put more than 700 books on the 18 shelves. The library is open until late afternoon, from 5 to 7 p.m. each Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. There are many adolescents among the customers; workers predominate. In the judgment of the owners, only about twenty per cent of the population read the more serious books. These are usually advised by the owners as to the choice of the book. There are many passionate readers of cheap adventure stories and love stories; a young agricultural worker used to borrow about eighteen books each week, in the three winter-months. Very few books are lent after April, when the seasonal work begins.

Music Clubs. Another cultural institution claiming neutrality in religious respect is the music-club "Crescendo." Though it hopes to unite people from different confessions who like music and are willing to practice it in an active and collective way, this club is even more exclusive than several religious sub-groups, because only the members of the working-class are admitted. Only in its juvenile section are there one or two sons of middle-class parents. For the rest, the club consists exclusively of old inhabitants of Sassenheim who have been born in the place. Over 75 per cent of its members are persons over forty-five years of age.

During the forty years of its existence the club has been presided over by the same person. The exclusively autochthonous character of the club led to a serious problem: the number of its members was constantly dwindling. The young members who joined it immediately after the war, somehow did not feel at ease with the old experienced members and usually left the club after one or two years. Mainly to save its existence, the members agreed that a separate juvenile section should be established in the club. Some thirty boys were won. They participate in one of the two annual concerts given by the club and attract the main attention of the public.

The neutral character of this music association in the community has not been preserved. Owing to the lack of a suitable building, the club used to meet in the Calvinist church. This was probably a severe violation of the "neutrality" in the eyes of the Roman Catholic participants. They split from "Crescendo" and formed a musical club of their own. Differentiation along the line of religious denomination has thus been carried out also in this field of culture.

C) MAIN FUNCTIONS

Integration vs. Differentiation. There are countries in which the educational and cultural institutions foster the spirit of national unity and form thus an important factor of social control.¹ In the United States, for instance, the children of various ethnic backgrounds are assimilated to a high degree at school.² The assimilation of children of various social-class backgrounds is one of the main objectives of the Soviet pedagogists.³

In the community under study, such a function of cultural integration of schools cannot be observed. A great majority of educational and cultural institutions exist, as it were, in two or three versions. They help to divide the population into distinct denominational groups. The differentiation sets in at a very early age. In the kindergartens, for instance, children learn to choose their friends from the Roman Catholic or the Protestant *milieu*; the songs they sing, the verses they learn, differ in both groups. The differences are accentuated in the system of elementary education. A considerable time is spent on religious teaching in each grade. The classes on religion as well as "singing" (consisting of singing psalms and religious hymns) foster the denominational differences that are not counterbalanced by an exhortation to national unity in other classes. In the courses on the "Dutch Language" stress is laid more on the lessons in grammar than on the stimulation of a consciousness of national cultural inheritance and unity. An insignificant part of the curriculum is spent on teaching Dutch History (merely half an hour a week in some Roman Catholic schools). In these short lessons, the pupils are not taught to interpret history from a common national standpoint but rather from the standpoint of their own denominational group. Even a superficial analysis of the textbooks reveals the conflict of values that is rooted in the different interpretations of the history.⁴

The values that are passed over to the young generation of pupils are rather those of religious sub-groups than those of an integrated national culture. In schools and in other cultural institutions the inhabitants become involved in the norms and values of their corresponding reference groups.⁵ The process of acculturation is split into two or three distinct processes. (The differentiation of the cultural

¹ See Chapters X and XVI for the explanation of this term.

² ROBERT S. LYND & HELEN MERRELL LYND, *Middletown in Transition*, New York 1939, pp. 175, 235 ff. Also: SAMUEL KOENIG, Second- and Third-Generation Americans, Chapter 21 in FRANCIS J. BROWN & JOSEPH S. ROUCEK (eds.), *One America*, Prentice-Hall Inc., New York 1945.

³ W. SCHRAMM & JOHN W. RILEY, Communication in the sovietized state as demonstrated in Korea, *American Sociological Review* 1951, Vol. 16, p. 757—766. Also our own: *The Political Control in Czechoslovakia*, Leyden 1953, Chapter 4.

⁴ See Appendix E.

⁵ M. SHERIF, H. CANTRIL, *The Psychology of Ego Involvements*, New York 1947, pp. 7, 114, 137.

life into three major segments is generally recognized in the country. The term "verzuiling" i.e., "denominational columns" is used to describe it in terms of common language).

Training for Job and Leisure. While the schools help to fit the individual into one of the accepted systems of values, the question can be raised as to whether they fit him adequately into the present economic system; whether they prepare him for his job and the real life-situation.

On the side of the teachers we found understanding for the problem raised. Several of them reported the annual excursions to factories in the locality or in the neighbouring communities that are arranged for the pupils. The pupils are thus made acquainted with their future job-environment. They can more easily decide their future careers. The women teachers stress the training in table manners that the girls receive in addition to the sewing lessons in the highest forms of the school. Some other teachers give extra-lessons in foreign languages to meet the urgent demands of the bulb-exporting branch. In order to prepare the pupils for their rôles of citizens they teach them how to read the newspaper in an efficient way.

In spite of the positive testimony of teachers, the following more sceptical reactions were registered (partly when interviewing key-persons in the economic sector of the community, and partly when suggested to the research-workers in an indirect way). The question was raised whether the schools cannot convey the knowledge and the skills to the inhabitants which they need most urgently: the working knowledge of foreign languages (for future exporters and bulb-flower traders), the knowledge of the safe investment of money (for bulb-growers), for the housewives the skill of running the family affairs and family budget during the long absence of their husbands abroad. The shortcoming of the present educational system has been seen in the absence of a technical school in the region. The nearest technical schools are situated in towns which are considered as a source of moral peril by the local spiritual leaders. As a consequence, the surplus of the agricultural population lack technical skills; the better-paid, skilled jobs are taken by the workers from outside the region who have to be imported to Sassenheim together with the equipment for the factories. Owing to the housing shortage their number must, however, be limited. The absence of technical schools thus means the retardation of the industrialization process.

The functional inadequacy does not concern the jobs only. The shorter working-hours of the industrial labour aggravate the problem of leisure-activities in this industrializing community. As we shall see in the next chapter, the absence of commercial recreational institutions in Sassenheim makes this problem very urgent. Anticipating the results published on p. 226 we have to state that the local inhabitants spend less time in reading, music, and self-study than is the average in the country.

The question can be raised as to whether the schools cannot contribute to the dissemination of regular reading habits among the population.

Prestige of Education. Symptomatic for the present situation in education is the low prestige of schools. Several teachers expressed their amazement about the discrepancy between the educational level and the socio-economic status in Sassenheim. The children of rich bulb-growers leave school at fourteen years of age as is usual with other strata of the local population. The low percentage of pupils who remain at school even after having reached fourteen years testifies that only a small part of the population sees in education a means to a better position. A great majority do not appreciate the present educational system and see in the compulsory school-attendance an economic burden preventing the children from starting in their fathers' business or from earning money in the busy periods of harvest.

School Absenteeism. This aversion to education explains why absenteeism in schools is considerably high and child-labour still frequent in spite of its prohibition by law for several decades. In some schools the two highest grades are quite deserted at the time of cleaning the bulbs. Everyone tries to earn additional money and the parents abandon their usual pedagogical scruples. The only defense of the teachers is to warn the local police to fine the employer hiring the children. Such is the influence of public opinion in this community living on tulips and other bulb-flowers, that little is expected from the police-intervention. The police do not, as a rule, enter the bulb-sheds behind the houses where the work is done.

Even less effective are the measures which are taken against the pupils and their parents. As mentioned in Chapter III, there is a school attendance committee established in conformity with the law. It is presided over by one of the schoolmasters who has resigned from his position several times. Some teachers reproach the committee with ineffectiveness. It is, however, probably due to the lack of sanctions, which the committee might be allowed to apply, that child-labour is still frequent in Sassenheim. The reports of the committee are sent to the Inspector of Education and are not returned usually for a year. The pupil is then often over fourteen years of age so that no measure can be taken. In one case, the pupil was warned several times not to take a job and to attend school regularly. In spite of the previous warning, he remained at home from April until October. After several months, his parents were fined *fl.* 3.— (equivalent to some six hours' work of the child). As the child earned a dozen times as much by seasonal work, and boasted of his extra pocket-money to his fellow-pupils, this measure turned out to be quite ineffective.

“Alien Culture” of Teachers. When registering the data on the functional adequacy of the local educational system and of the possible causes of low prestige of education, we came across one structural aspect that deserves attention. None of the headmasters and the teachers in

Sassenheim at the time of our survey was a Sassenheimer by origin; all were born outside the community. This finding should be placed in an even more general setting; the whole intellectual *élite* has been imported to Sassenheim. Not only the teachers but also the clergymen, the doctors, the burgomaster, his secretary, the notary public, and possibly others were born and educated elsewhere. As the main task of the *élite* is to care for the cultural integration of the community and for the dissemination of cultural values, the question may be raised whether this group of strangers does not bring strange values into Sassenheim while not satisfying the local needs. Without assuming to have found a final answer to such a basic question by means of our general (and, therefore, in many details vague) survey, we still think the question to be relevant enough to be touched on here. According to their own testimony, the teachers bestow a great part of their time on the preparation of a few pupils for secondary education—the career they followed themselves. Much less care is bestowed on hundreds of pupils leaving school in order to start jobs or fulfil their household duties. This gives some weight to the hypothesis that the teachers often project their own cultural standards in the pupils regardless of the occupational and existential needs of the latter.

D) MAIN PROCESSES

It is not surprising to find some minor tensions and conflicts between the schools after having described the diversity of the schools and the lack of a unified, national culture they might spread.

Generic Processes. Insight can be gained into the processes which take place in this field, if we examine the factors which make for the differentiation and the fusion of the local school system. Several of the present schools owe their origin to the "school-struggle" (*Schoolstrijd*) that was fought on a national scale at the beginning of the century. At that time, the churches claimed the right to have their own schools and demanded the abolition of the state monopoly of education. They won the struggle and, in consequence, Sassenheim got its "School with the Bible" and its Roman Catholic School in addition to the existing neutral public school. In this religious community, the latter had not much chance of survival and was abolished early in the twenties. Its liquidation can be accounted for chiefly on economic grounds; the local "private schools" ("*bijzondere scholen*;" this is the general term denoting the schools that are run by the associations and not directly by the community) saw a chance to raise the government subsidy by abolishing the neutral school. Later in the twenties, in the period of general prosperity, the "School of the Dutch Reformed Church" and the "De Visser School" were separated from the "School with the Bible." Since then, actually, the fate of the

"School with the Bible" was decided upon; without the full backing of any of the local churches it had almost no chance of survival. Owing to tradition and good personnel policy, the school maintained itself until 1943, when, partly owing to the war circumstances, it fused with the "De Visser School." It was mainly due to the effort of one of the aldermen (delegated to the Council by the local Anti-Revolutionary faction), who functioned as the chairman of the Community School Board as well as the chairman of the school board of "De Visser School", that the fusion actually took place.

This fusion was not the only one which the alderman planned to carry out. He tried to form one large school board for all Protestant schools in the community and started negotiations with the chairman of the School of the Dutch Reformed Church. But he met resistance of the Dutch Reformed group. At the time when several leading personalities of the Dutch Reformed Church on the national scale were pacting with the socialists to form one strong movement of the non-Marxian but christian socialism (the so called "Doorbraak"), such a local union with the orthodox Calvinist groups in the educational field seemed to contradict the general policy of the Church, in the opinion of the preacher of the local Dutch Reformed community. This preacher, who presided over the Dutch Reformed school-board became himself involved in the "Doorbraak"-movement at that time, and opposed the attempts to fuse all Protestant schools. His decision did not weaken the position of his school. In recent years, when immigration into Sassenheim reached a considerable extent, the children of liberally minded parents, (i.e., those without denomination or members of the more liberal Protestant churches) joined the School of the Dutch Reformed Church, there being no other alternative (the Roman Catholic and the more orthodox Calvinist schools not coming into consideration for this "import-group"). The De Visser School suffered, on the other hand, heavy losses of pupils in the higher forms owing to the emigration which affected more severely the Calvinist groups than the other denominational strata of the community. These circumstances made the unification-plans of the chairman of its board even more urgent and understandable.

Though we witness a tendency to unification and fusion in the Protestant group, differentiation is still going on in the Roman Catholic camp. At almost the same time as this study started, important action was taken to found a selective school in Sassenheim.

When enquiring into the motives of this action, we received somewhat ambiguous answers. Some people referred to the lower prestige of the Roman Catholic School for boys, while others considered the whole action as being more or less a personal affair. All witnesses seemed to agree that the old school for boys was looked upon with disdain by some higher status members of the Roman Catholic group who were afraid to waste the talents of their children by sending them to this old institution. A petition was organized among the inhabitants for a new school by a committee that was established for this purpose. Many persons, who had signed

it, later on became convinced that the action was planned against the old Roman Catholic School and against its headmaster. Some of them complained to the interviewers of being "deceived". Others thought that the school would accentuate the tensions between the different social classes within the church. This was, in the first years, actually the case. Several interviewees, whose children attended the old school, openly referred to the modern "St. Antonius' School" as being a humbug. They denied its selective nature; but its supporters maintained that the school was not designed for the children from higher classes but for the more gifted children. In some circles the controversy was held in terms of different I.Q.'s, the supporters of the school maintaining the higher average intelligence quotient at this school, its opponents denying it.¹ Whether the inequality is described in terms of social status or in terms of I.Q.'s, the fact remains that the whole Roman Catholic group was agitated by the foundation of the new school and remained divided by it into two distinct factions.²

While the Roman Catholic petition for a new school in Sassenheim met with success, a similar petition of the local "neutral" group was repeatedly outvoted in the Community Council. As was mentioned already in Chapter III, this petition was backed and organized chiefly by the local socialist faction. This faction is, however, a small minority in the Council (holding one of the thirteen seats). In spite of the weak political support, the organizers of the petition succeeded in winning signatures outside the ranks of their own political faction: members of the liberal party, persons without a distinct political affiliation but belonging to some liberal Protestant church, and persons without a denomination. The reason for the Council's refusal of the petition signed by such a large number of influential persons and supported by the traditional spirit of tolerance (which is rooted in the historical development of the country) can be seen in the fact that the highest values were at stake: the influence of the churches and the material, financial support. According to law, a smaller government subsidy is granted to each "private school" if there is a "public school" in the community. The fear that the subsidies to their own schools would be considerably cut made for unity among the christian factions. Not only the representatives of the local Roman Catholic factions were united, but there was also cooperation between the Catholics and the Protestants (as is quite usual whenever an action against the freethinkers or the atheists has to be decided upon). In consequence of this united action, the immigrants to Sassenheim and some employees of the recently planted industries, continue to send their children each day by bus or bicycle to neigh-

¹ Thanks to the work of Mr. S. Wieggersma, a psychologist engaged in the Department of Mental Health of the Institute of Preventive Medicine, who tested the pupils in the higher forms of all schools in Sassenheim independently of our project, we were able to ascertain that the average I.Q. in the new "St. Antonius' School" was significantly higher than that in the old Roman Catholic School.

bouring Lisse to attend the public school there; this in spite of the fears of accidents and objections to irregular meals. ¹

Government Censorship. While the organs of local government function as a strong agent of social control, defending the community against the growing influence of new-comers and against deviators, they do not strictly guard the cultural unity of the community. Legally, the Burgomaster has the power of censorship. He might forbid the use of a handbook by the school in his community in cooperation with the inspector of education whom he is expected to warn if a textbook threatens public morals, national unity, or the dignity of a political or religious group. In reality this right of censorship is hardly ever used. The Burgomaster relies in educational matters entirely upon the school-board. In this community school board all local factions, which have the schools of their own, are represented. This explains why no unification of textbooks (for instance of those on Dutch History) takes place. Each faction tolerates the views and the teaching methods of the others but wishes to be tolerated in return. The desire of the religious factions to preserve their educational methods also explains their concerted action against any attempt of the neutral group (not represented in the community school board) to create a neutral, independent school system.

E) IMPACT OF CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS

After having briefly described the institutions, their functions, and their processes, let us deal, as in the foregoing chapters, with some

Educational level	Number	Per cent
6 forms or less of elementary school	186	46.1
7 forms or more	84	20.7
Higher-grade school, MULO (some classes)	28	6.9
Higher-grade school (all classes)	42	10.4
School for artisans	22	5.5
Some forms of secondary school	10	2.5
Secondary school (completed)	11	2.7
Technical School, Teachers' College	17	4.2
University, High Techn. School	4	1.0
Total	404	100.0

¹ Such are, however, the rights of minorities in this freedom-loving, democratic country that Sassenheim is going to get its neutral school in spite of the opposition of its Community Council. The right of citizens to have their children educated in the spirit of their fathers is sanctioned by law and is exempt from the competency of the organs of local government. The latter can effect the postponement of its realization but cannot cancel it by the majority-vote.

quantitative aspects of the conduct and the attitudes of the population.

Educational Level. The educational level of the population as revealed in our sample was as follows: (see page 215).

Only the persons in the four lower educational categories had the chance to receive their school training in Sassenheim, because Sassenheim houses no colleges. All those wishing more education had to attend schools in neighbouring communities or more distant towns. All the pupils receiving their school-education in Sassenheim can be classified into the following categories:

Type of school	Number of pupils in schools of various denominations				
	Protestant		R.-Catholic		Total
	boys	girls	boys	girls	
Kindergarten	63	67	108	142	380
Elementary School	266	233	343	372	1,214
Continuation School	—	—	62	—	62
Higher Grade School	40	48	126	59	273
Total	369	348	639	573	1,829

(The source of this data for January, 1951, is a letter of the Centraal Bureau v. d. Statistiek to the Community of Sassenheim, of April 28, 1953). It can be seen that there are relatively many more Roman Catholic pupils in this community than there are Roman Catholic inhabitants. This can without doubts be accounted for by the higher birth-rate in this group of the population. In both denominational groups there are more boy than girl pupils. The boys receive more education than girls in the Roman Catholic group. A similar tendency is not noticeable in the Protestant group of pupils.

In order to estimate the educational level of the children of the present generation of parents, a simple index was computed. The number of the school-years of the interviewees' children not attending school any more was totalled and divided by the number of these children. Only 102 persons in the sample of the adult population had children over the school-leaving age for whom the index could be computed. They could be divided into the following categories according to the scores which they obtained: (see page 217).

The majority of parents (over sixty per cent) do not allow their children to go to school beyond the legally required age. Owing to the fact that persons over sixty years of age were also included in our sample, it seems that a good many parents send children to school for less than seven years

Average no. of school-years of children	Number	Per cent
Less than 6	1	1.0
— 7	43	42.1
— 8	20	19.6
— 9	8	7.8
— 10	6	5.9
— 11 or 12	12	11.8
— more than 12	12	11.8
Total	102	100.0

(owing to the different legislation some twenty years ago). Less than a quarter of all parents (23.6 per cent) give their children a training period equivalent in length to secondary education or more.

Home Preparation for School. After having ascertained the scope and the frequency of school education, we may examine how much educational training children receive at home. Only seventy-two parents in the sample of 404 adult persons from Sassenheim admitted that their children had some school-work to do at home. Thirty-eight mentioned that this work did not take more than two hours a day, thirteen mentioned that their children had to prepare themselves for more than three hours a day while an equal number mentioned a period between two and three hours (eight did not specify the length of time.) Of these seventy-two parents only twenty-three (somewhat less than a third) admitted to help and assist their children in their preparation for school. Usually, the father would help (twelve persons mentioned him explicitly; three referred to the mother, eight to both father and mother; two persons mentioned that their children were being helped by their elder brothers or sisters, one did not specify his answer). These answers verify what was suggested to us by the interviews with the teachers and the schoolmasters: the low prestige of school-education in the community. As a consequence, the teachers avoid asking their pupils to do home-work.

Books and Reading Habits. In addition to school education or home-work, children are affected by the educational stimuli of their home-environment, such as books, newspapers, and magazines. Today, about eighty per cent of the total population acknowledge the possession of some books. Some have a considerable library of their own; more than a quarter own more than fifty books, according to the information which they gave to the interviewers. The distribution of the population in this respect was as follows:

Possession of books	Number	Per cent
None	88	21.8
— 5	28	6.9
— 10	26	6.4
— 20	55	13.6
— 30	39	9.6
— 50	47	11.6
— 75	40	9.9
— 100	12	3.0
100 or more	63	15.7
No or inadequate reply	6	1.5
Total	404	100.0

This table is likely to suggest more intellectual habits among the population than the reality revealed. It often happened that a person who mentioned the possession of twenty or more books was unable to give the title of any of them. Several of the interviewees referred to old text-books which were kept in a wooden case in the garret or elsewhere. Others specified their possessions by referring to the popular editions to which they subscribed (e.g., "De Spiegel Serie").

Instead of the title, the interviewer often had to register "christian books" which implied not only the Bible and the very popular Bible edition for children, but also serious novels that were written by authors approved of by the church. While in the lower-status families the cheap editions and thrillers prevailed, in the more well-to-do families more expensive novels could be found. The trilogies and long sagas are popular. Books by Pearl Buck, Cronin, Margaret Mitchell, and Gulbrandsen were often mentioned besides the books of Dutch authors, such as *Ciske de Rat*, *Bartje*, *Jeugd in de Pijp*, enz. The popular Dutch encyclopaedia (Winkler Prins) was found by the interviewers in several households.

In spite of the rather continuous distribution of books that the foregoing table is likely to suggest, the titles of books that have been registered suggest the existence of two groups of inhabitants: those possessing many books and knowing the titles (a small group) and those who mention some books but are unable to remember one single title (a large group).

Somewhat more reliable information about the actual reading habits was obtained from the answers to the direct question: "*Do you read books? How many per month, approximately? Mention a few titles of the books which you have read lately!*" The number of those who admitted that they did not read books was more than twice the number of persons not possessing any books:

Number of books usually read per month	Number	Per cent
None	186	46.0
— 1	62	15.4
— 2	54	13.4
— 3	22	5.5
— 4	24	5.9
— 5	27	6.7
— 6	5	1.2
— 7	5	1.2
7 or more	17	4.2
No or inadequate answer .	2	0.5
Total	404	100.0

It can be seen that more than half of the population hardly read a book at all. In contrast to this group, Sassenheim has a group of passionate readers, too. There are some six per cent of the inhabitants who usually read more than one book per week; some four per cent read two books or more per week.

As to the contents of these books one should not expect to find many scholarly works or books of exquisite literary taste. Books on war and on the problems of the present divided world (such as the novels by Remarque, Kravtchenko's *I Chose Freedom*, Gheorgiescu's *The 25th Hour*) are very often chosen by the male readers. Women mention more often "family novels," love-stories, the books by Lagerlöf, *Het Achterhuis* (a diary of a Jewish girl, A. Frank from Amsterdam who was hiding for the Gestapo during the war, captured, and killed), etc.¹

Though the majority of the regular readers like and usually do have a couple of books of their own, a good many of them rely on other sources for reading than their own library: (see page 220).

The large number of "no or inadequate answers" is no surprise as 46 per cent of the inhabitants do not read books regularly. "The commercial library" is the library which is owned by a Roman Catholic, from which books are lent on commercial basis. As the survey took place in 1951, when the "neutral" library was not yet established at Sassenheim, there is no reference to it in our sample. The "factory library" is owned by the largest plant in the community (Sikkens' Lakfabrieken).

Magazines and Newspapers. While the reading of books belongs to the important leisure activities of some inhabitants, magazines and other

¹ Compared with the country average Sassenheim cuts rather a poor figure. According to the Gallup poll of February, 1949, only 24 p.c. of the total population in the country do not read at all, 43 p.c. read sometimes, and 33 p.c. read frequently. The most popular books appeared to be: "*Hollands Glorie*" by JAN DE HARTOG, "*Gone with the Wind*" by MARGARET MITCHELL, GULBRANSEN'S trilogy, and "*The Citadel*" by A. J. CRONIN.

Source of reading matter	Number	Per cent
Bought	60	14.9
Borrowed from an acquaintance	42	10.4
A factory-library	3	0.7
Church-library	34	8.4
School-library	2	0.5
A commercial library	20	5.0
A circulating reading case	4	1.0
Partly bought, partly borrowed	45	11.1
No or inadequate answer	194	48.0
Total	404	100.0

periodicals are more often read than books. Almost a half of the inhabitants report to read three or more magazines.

Number of non-daily periodicals usually read	Number	Per cent
None	45	11.1
1	80	19.8
2	88	21.8
3	95	23.6
4	49	12.1
5	22	5.4
6	11	2.7
7	1	0.3
8 or more	10	2.5
No or inadequate answer	3	0.7
Total	404	100.0

A great majority of the magazines are illustrated weeklies. They were mentioned by 209 interviewees (more than 50 per cent of our representative sample). Next to them rank the periodicals of the various churches (referred to by 157 persons). Only slightly less popular are the women's weeklies which are read not only by the wives but often by the husbands (141 of the interviewees mentioned that they read them regularly). Probably owing to their specialized contents, technical magazines and periodicals of trade-unions are not widely read (88 interviewees mentioned them; among these not many were women, for they do not read them as a rule). The most usual habit is to subscribe to one illustrated weekly in addition either a church weekly (41 cases) or a women's weekly (47 cases); 22

interviewees mentioned to read regularly all three more popular kinds of periodicals: the illustrated weekly, the women's weekly, and the periodical of the church. Only 15 subscribe to one of the main national political or cultural weeklies (*Elsevier*, *De Linie*, etc.), i.e., 3.7 per cent of the total population. Five persons explicitly referred to a reading case; they receive sets of eight or more magazines at home which they are expected to pass to one of the neighbours in due intervals. This explains why some interviewees mention to read more than eight periodicals regularly.

Though it consumes a considerable part of the leisure-time of the inhabitants, reading weeklies does not represent the main source of information. Most inhabitants depend in this respect upon the daily press to which they subscribe. In the sample of 404 persons, only 13 interviewees (3 per cent) did not receive a newspaper at home, each day. One of these thirteen admitted to buy a paper regularly, without subscribing to it. Of the remaining groups the great majority subscribed to one paper without buying any additional newspaper (313 persons, 77.5 per cent of the total population, according to our sample), and 77 persons (19.0 per cent) reported to read, as a rule, more than one newspaper a day (one interviewee did not give an adequate answer to our question).

There is a distinct preference for local and regional papers to national ones. Twice as many people subscribe to regional papers than to national papers as the following table demonstrates:

The type of newspaper read	Number	Per cent
Leidse Courant	88	21.8
Leids Dagblad	42	10.4
Nieuwe Leidse Courant	84	20.8
Haarlems Dagblad	1	0.3
Other papers of the bulb-region	5	1.2
Volkskrant	42	10.4
Handelsblad	8	2.0
Other papers from outside the region	66	16.3
More papers, both from the region and outside	53	13.1
No or inadequate answer	15	3.7
Total	404	100.0

It turned out to be extremely difficult to estimate the motives which make people subscribe to a particular newspaper. After some hesitation a question was included into the questionnaire which was intended to provide some information on this subject without any ambition of "measuring" precisely the intensity of cultural interest: "When you get a newspaper what do you read

first? Which sections do interest you most?" As some persons gave ambiguous answers to this question (implying more than one category of answer), we decided to register the answers in the same order as they were expressed and to take the first answer as the basis for evaluation. The answers fell roughly in the following categories:

What is read first in the paper	Number	Per cent
Political news	105	26.0
Commercial and business news	7	1.7
Sport news	46	11.4
Advertisements	46	11.4
Story, "comics"	27	6.7
Accidents	32	7.9
Local news (weddings, deaths, etc.)	42	10.4
Other news	18	4.5
Other topics	42	10.4
No or inadequate answers	39	9.6
Total	404	100.0

It is our impression that the population is much less "politically minded" than the foregoing table is likely to suggest. Into the first category fall many newspaper readers who read the headlines on the front-page to skip over to the sport-news or the local news immediately afterwards. Strikingly few persons refer to business news as being their centre of interest (this is in agreement with the witness of the notary, according to which few persons in the community invest their money in stocks and bonds). About a third of the population read the papers not so much for information but rather for pleasure or excitement.

In addition to the newspapers, books, and magazines, people get acquainted with cultural values through various other media: radio, film, theatre. The latter are, however, to an even greater extent than the press, exploited as sources of recreation. People have recourse to them not so much for useful information or the possibility of cultivating their intellect or feeling but rather for recreation. Owing to these two functions they will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VIII

RECREATION AND LEISURE ACTIVITIES

A) PLAYGROUNDS

In the evenings or on Saturday afternoons, the visitor would find the population chiefly concentrated around the sport-grounds; only a few of them would be in the inns.

There are several very good football fields and tennis courts in the community. As mentioned already in Chapter I, the inhabitants are very proud of them and would remind visitors that an English team used them for training for a match with the Dutch national team. They are situated at the southern end of the community, surrounded by pasture lands. On Sundays or Saturday afternoons when Sassenheim's clubs play with some club of neighbouring communities (sometimes even a more distant one, e.g., Rotterdam's third class team), the national flag (red-white-blue) is flown alongside the local flag of Sassenheim (yellow-red.) The courts (four in number) are surrounded by a row of young poplar trees that do not hide them yet from the eyes of onlookers, as the tennis-courts have only been established by the community authorities shortly before our survey.

In summer, the youth of Sassenheim usually gathers at the swimming pool. This has been established near the old mansion-house of Ter Leede and is surrounded by clusters of trees which are comparatively rare in Sassenheim. There are two separate parts for men and women; not only the cabins and the banks but also the basins. While a wooden fence separates the sunbathing boys from the girls, a similar barrier of barbed wire separates the male from the female swimmers.

In winter, when the frost sets in, skaters appear on the frozen pool in the local park "Rusthof" which is illuminated for this purpose. If frosts fail to come, there are few opportunities for the inhabitants to spend their leisure outdoors (which assumes considerable proportion owing to the seasonal unemployment, then).

There are about six or seven inns in the community, situated along the Mainstreet. In addition, there is the old building of the Roman Catholic Workers' Movement (K.S.A. gebouw) with a large gymnasium in the annex and the Concordia building near the Old Haven where the Protestant groups and clubs meet.

All buildings to which we referred serve, however, also other purposes than mere recreation for the inhabitants. The inns are exploited commercially, the other buildings serve the single religious groups, only.

In organizational respect, there are comparatively few associations with a distinct recreational function that are quite independent of the churches or of the local economic system.

As the local swimming pool is exploited directly by the community authorities, the local Skaters' Association ("Schaatsvereniging") is actually one of the few remaining neutral recreational institutions. In almost all other clubs or organized groups only persons of the same denomination would meet.

B) SCARCITY OF RECREATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

The scarcity of recreational associations and institutions is not confined to the "neutral" segments of society, only. There is not much to do for the Roman Catholic or Protestant boys and girls. One of the alternatives is to join the local gymnastic association or the group of the Roman Catholic scouts. The first is usually preferred because the gymnastic clubs offer an opportunity for contacts between both sexes, which opportunities are very scarce in the community. Those not liking physical exercise would prefer the choral societies or a dramatic society where boys and girls meet, too.

The great majority of young people remain unorganized, complaining of the lack of any leisure-time arrangements. On Saturday afternoons, the girls as well as the boys visit the market in the neighbouring city of Leyden and go to the movies afterwards. Such trips form the only excitement after the days of monotonous work in the autumn and the winter when rain makes trips by bicycle impossible. These "escapades" to Leyden are, however, not appreciated by the local clergy and the elders of the churches. In order to weaken the attraction of the city, the chaplains participate in the recreational clubs and often organize some activities to serve as compensation. For this reason, dancing lessons are organized in the Roman Catholic K.S.A.-building. These are given on a selective basis: only teachers and pupils of the same denomination are admitted. Now and then, a movie is shown in the K.S.A.-building for religious instruction or introduction to and acquaintance with the important activities of the Church; mission-work, the life of a saint, etc., are the preferred subjects.

Until now, no concession has been made by the local leaders for the establishment of a local movie theatre. The usual argument put forward, when enquiries were made for the reasons, was that such a theatre could not be run with profit in the small community of Sassenheim. Considering its 8,000 inhabitants, one may wonder if there can be any justification for this argument. If, however, the present denominational division of the inhabitants is considered, the argument has soundness. There could be few films that would appeal to the wider population and would not be objected to by one or other of the denominational groups.

The rôle of the community authorities in the recreational field is somewhat ambiguous. On the one hand, they stimulated the local recreational activities by founding a swimming-pool, tennis-courts, and by their support of the local Football Associations (by building their splendid football fields). On the other hand, the community abolished the local concert-hall before the war; the schools were refused the permission to build gymnasiums of their own under the pretext that a central gymnastic hall for the whole community would be erected by the community authorities, in the future. Until now, neither a new music hall, nor a gymnasium have been built in Sassenheim.¹ The latter is particularly missed by the population with respect to recreational and educational purposes. Gymnastics are very popular and the need in this respect is so urgent that occasionally the Protestants make use of the Roman Catholic gymnasium in the K.S.A.-building. This concerns chiefly the pupils of the school of the Dutch Reformed Church. The Calvinist group found a refuge in the De Visser School, which possesses a wide courtyard of concrete where basket-ball matches are organized each year.

In one important respect the community authorities have improved the situation during the years of our research. They have established play-grounds for the children and thus have met one of Sassenheim's most urgent needs. Until its opening, there was little opportunity for the little ones to play outdoors in spite of the rural character of this community. With the exception of the community park, (the only remainder of the old "common") practically all territory was used either for building or for economic purposes. Even in the park, however, visitors were not allowed to walk on the lawns and had to confine themselves to the few paths and a couple of benches. Under the circumstances, the only opportunity for children to play was in the tiny, crowded yards or the streets. They usually chose the street.

With the exception of fishermen and persons practising various kinds of water-sports at the near-by lake of De Kaag, the "import group" of Sassenheim look in vain for an opportunity of spending their leisure in a social, joyful way.

C) MAIN PATTERNS OF RECREATION

Considering the fact that an average inhabitant spends about nine hours a day working and some eight and a half hours sleeping, the question arises as to how he spends the remaining six or seven hours of leisure. This problem is the more urgent when considered in the light of the growth of industrialization which is likely to bring about more regular and shorter working-hours. There being very few opportunities of spending one's leisure in associations, one wonders what the average citizen of Sassenheim does after work.

It was not easy to evaluate statistically the answers to such an open

¹ At the time of reading the proofs of this text, the news reached us that a decision to build a gymnasium was taken by the Community Council of Sassenheim.

question. As more alternatives were mentioned by the interviewees, we took (as in the case of estimation of the newspaper-reading habits) the first spontaneous answer as the basis of evaluation. The whole sample could be classified into the following categories:

The way of spending leisure	Number	Per cent
Work at home	163	40.3
Reading	81	20.1
Walking, cycling	44	10.9
Sports	32	7.9
Music	7	1.7
Listening to radio	7	1.7
Visits	4	1.0
Other activities	48	11.9
No leisure	12	3.0
No or inadequate answer	6	1.5
Total	404	100.0

We notice that "work at home" is most often referred to by the inhabitants. One should interpret the foregoing percentage with reserve because several housewives considered mending and sewing as leisure activities, which caused a certain bias. Yet, "work at home" (repairs to pieces of furniture, gardening, etc.) also ranked No. 1 with men. "Walking and cycling" was usually mentioned by the young girls of lower educational status. "Reading" turned out to be the usual pastime of the group of people who have immigrated to Sassenheim. It is in this group that most evenings are spent at home, as one does not participate in the local public life and has no friends to visit in the community.¹

¹ With regard to a few categories we are able to compare Sassenheim with the country-average. *Radio en vrije-tijdsbesteding* (see Note on p. 194) refers to the following distribution of the main leisure activities over the national sample:

work at home	45 p.c.
reading	51 p.c.
walking (cycling not included)	8 p.c.
music	20 p.c.

(Source: *Radio en vrije-tijdsbesteding*, p. 42, Table 52). We notice that with regard to the main "cultural" ways of spending the leisure (namely reading and practicing music), Sassenheim is lagging far behind the country-average, there being less than half the people reading novels and less than a tenth of the quota of "musicians" than have been ascertained for the Dutch population taken as a whole.

It is, however, worth mentioning that the Gallup poll (of the N.I.P.O.) reveals figures which deviate from those ascertained by the authors of *Radio en vrije-tijdsbesteding* and approach the distribution in Sassenheim: (see next page).

Evenings Spent Outdoors. Whether because of the climate that does not favour outdoor activities or because of the lack of attractive clubs and institutions, people spend their leisure mostly at home. We registered for each person in our sample how many evenings in the week preceding our interview he spent at home. It appeared that about a half did not leave their homes on any of the seven preceding evenings: ¹

No. of evenings spent at home	Number	Per cent
None	12	3.0
1	10	2.5
2	15	3.7
3	26	6.4
4	25	6.2
5	43	10.6
6	71	17.6
7	198	49.0
No or inadequate answer	4	1.0
Total	404	100.0

Not all of those who do spend some evenings outdoors (about a half of the adult population) do so in clubs and associations. Some of them call on their friends, others go to the cinema in one of the neighbouring cities, still others visit a restaurant. In the course of our enquiry we were able to estimate the frequency of all these major categories of outdoor leisure activities.

Reading	24 p.c.
Film, theatre, concert	19 p.c.
Radio	15 p.c.
Visits and calls	12 p.c.
Playing cards	8 p.c.
Clubs, associations	8 p.c.
Sport matches	7 p.c.
Café, restaurant.	4 p.c.
Dancing	3 p.c.
Total	100 p.c.

Source: *De Publieke Opinie*, II, No. 20, March 1948.

This deviation may perhaps be explained by the fact that the N.I.P.O. tried to ascertain the preference for certain leisure activities while in *Radio en vrijetijdsbesteding* the actual time-budget of the interviewees was studied. Our general question ("How do you usually spend your leisure-time?") resembles that of the N.I.P.O. This probably accounts for the similarity of results.

¹ One should be careful not to consider these tables as presenting the precise picture. As the majority of interviews took place in the summer and the autumn one should consider the possible bias with regard to time. See in this respect the discussion of visits to the inns on p. 230.

Social Participation. Only some fifty-five per cent of the population are members of other associations and clubs than political parties, trade-unions (or other occupational associations), and churches: 135 (33.4 p.c.) claimed membership in one club or organization, 63 (15.6 p.c.) did in two, 15 (3.7 p.c.) in three, 10 (2.5 p.c.) in four, and 2 (0.4 p.c.) in five clubs or organizations. This does not, however, imply that the members actively participate in all clubs and associations which they mentioned to the interviewer. Very often they referred to associations outside Sassenheim (e.g., the association of Roman Catholic Radio Listeners). Participation in such organizations on a national scale is limited to paying membership fees or to subscribing to the magazines of the organization. Some forty per cent of the inhabitants report visiting the meetings of at least one club or association; only twelve per cent participate in more than one club, two per cent in at least three clubs.

Calls on Friends and Acquaintances. As for calls on friends and acquaintances, the situation is not much different. Almost a half of the adult population mentioned that they did not call on their friends in the week preceding the interview; 29 per cent said that they made one call, 14.3 p.c. made two calls, 7.8 per cent made three or more calls. These informal contacts are not confined to the people living in Sassenheim for 13.6 per cent of our interviewees said to have visited friends outside Sassenheim in addition to some 9 per cent who referred to friends both outside and in the community; but a majority of inhabitants, 28.1 per cent, still confined their calls and visits to their neighbours.

Cinema. The absence of a movie-theatre is probably responsible for the poor, irregular movie attendance. A survey of the two months which preceded our interview showed that only three out of every ten inhabitants go to the movies at all.

Frequency of movie-attendance per two months	Number	Per cent
no visit	274	67.8
once	58	14.4
twice	34	8.4
three times	16	4.0
four times	8	2.0
five times	3	0.7
six times	2	0.5
eight times	4	1.0
no or inadequate answer . .	5	1.2
Total	404	100.0

We notice that only one per cent of the inhabitants go to the cinema regularly each week. About three per cent go to the movies fortnightly.¹ As there is no cinema in Sassenheim, most people go to Leyden (92 out of the 121 persons who gave a distinct positive answer to our question); some two per cent of the total sample mentioned Haarlem and one per cent Lisse. Usually the people do not go to see the pictures because of attractive films; only a few of them were able to recall the titles of the films which they saw. Some of them referred to the plot instead.

Though movie-going is not very popular with the population, there is no general aversion to it if we may conclude so from the answers received to the following question: "*Do you find the film a good or a bad invention?*" Almost a half of the total population (49.7 p.c.) said "good", as compared with about an eighth (13.9 per cent) who condemn it as "bad" (141 persons, i.e., 34.9 per cent, had either no definite opinion or started analysing our question; six persons gave no or an inadequate answer).

Theatre and Exhibitions. People in Sassenheim are not only poor movie-goers, but also poor visitors of various cultural performances. At least 42.8 p.c. of the population did not attend a theatre performance, a concert, or an exhibition during the year preceding our interview; only a quarter went at least twice to such performances, and a small group (some 6 p.c.) seemed to go more frequently.

When asked to specify what attracted them, many referred to the flower-exhibitions (65 persons, i.e. 16.1 per cent). It can be doubted whether visits to such exhibitions can be considered as leisure-activities, as many visit the exhibitions to find new sorts of bulb-flowers. Several of the visitors are real experts in flower-hybridization capable of analysing each flower in detail. In addition to the flower exhibitions, the "ice-revues" are also very popular with the local population. Several inhabitants made the comparatively long journey to the Hague or to Amsterdam to admire the ice-ballets which were performed by foreign groups. Another large group consists of those inhabitants who contend themselves with visiting the one or two concerts or theatre performances of the local amateur actors and musicians. Only some fifteen per cent visit concerts, plays, or revues outside Sassenheim.

Inns and Cafes. One of the interesting features in the community under study is the fact that the local inns are almost exclusively visited by persons from outside Sassenheim. There are very few people in Sassenheim who will admit to dropping in there every now and then. Only some fifteen per cent admitted to have visited a restaurant or a

¹ This is far below the country average since one goes on average 8.3 times a year to see the pictures in the Netherlands, (see *Radio en vrije-tijdsbesteding*, p. 42, Table 53). As to the other ways of spending leisure, we learn that a sport-match is visited eight times a year, a theatre performance 3.3 times, a concert is attended 1.1 times a year by the average citizen in the Netherlands.

“café” in the week preceding the interview. Of these fifteen per cent a majority (8.9 per cent) visited a café outside Sassenheim, and only a small group (4.2 per cent of the total population) went to one of the local establishments (about 1.2 per cent visited cafés both in Sassenheim and outside). There seems to exist a general resistance to regular visits to cafés.

Without doubt this resistance is rooted in the system of local mores: it is not considered proper to drop into inns in this religious-minded community. Does this mean that drinking is unknown in Sassenheim? There is some evidence to the contrary. Drinking has become one of the indoor habits, though it is ritualized in most families. It is confined to solemn occasions or to times when acquaintances call in. One drinks one or two glasses of gin or vermouth before the evening meal in the well-to-do families, or a glass of wine towards ten p.m., after the visitors have been served the usual cups of coffee.

Sometimes, one does not stop at one glass and the formal visit changes into a merry party. At such occasions the usual divisions of class, religious denomination, and place of birth are forgotten. All this is, however, a private affair. One of the interviewees regretfully complained to us that he invited his neighbour, who belonged to a higher social class (being a milkman while the interviewee was “a common worker”), and had a merry night with him, drinking several glasses, but that his greeting was not returned when he met the milkman in the street next morning. Drinking is an affair similar to the private, almost illicit, inter-class contacts in this community.

We may assume that in reality visits to the inns are even less frequent, on the average. The majority of the interviews took place in the summer and the early autumn when many inhabitants take their annual holidays. At this time, they often visit inns when hiking through the country. Such trips are arranged on bicycles, motors, or cars, according to the socio-economic status of the person concerned. Of the 205 persons in our sample who told the interviewer where they spent their annual holidays, 77 (i.e., 18.9 per cent of the total sample) referred to such trips through the country (“het trekken door het land”), 26 mentioned the neighbouring provinces of Zuid and Noord Holland as their usual holiday-resort; 16 persons in the sample spent their holidays abroad, while 64 remained at home without travelling at all. Between these two extremes is a group of those who spent their holidays with relatives in one of the neighbouring communities in the region (10 persons) or at sea (2 persons). As mentioned in Chapter V, about 43 per cent have no vacations at all.

Radio. The people who call on their friends, go to the cinema, attend theatre plays, or travel through the country, form a minority in Sassenheim. The majority, as observed above, avoid outdoor activities and spend their leisure at home. Partly we have already mentioned what they usually do; a considerable time is consumed by reading the newspapers, the magazines, and by sewing,

knitting, and furnishing the house. In addition to these, the radio should be mentioned. As we found a wireless-set or a radio diffusion set in practically each household, we were interested to know the impact of the latter upon the leisure-activities of the inhabitants. In most households, the wireless set is usually on during the whole day, from early in the morning until late at night. This habit explains the distribution of answers to the question on the frequency of listening:

How often one listens to the radio	Number	Per cent
Each day, the whole day . .	98	24.3
Each night	98	24.3
Several hours each day . .	44	10.9
Several times a week . . .	28	6.9
During the week-end . . .	3	0.7
"Sometimes"	42	10.4
Seldom	22	5.4
Not specified how often . .	43	10.6
Never	20	5.0
No or inadequate answer .	6	1.5
Total	404	100.0

The foregoing figures should be interpreted with reserve. The fact that some sixty per cent say that they listen to the radio for several hours each day does not imply that they actually concentrate on the broadcasting programme. They simply refer to the fact that their sets are on during most hours of the day, while cards are played, socks are mended, or the newspaper is read by the members of the household.¹ There seem, nevertheless, to be days on which the attention of the listeners is concentrated to a greater extent. Such a day is, for instance, Saturday, when the whole family gathers around the wireless-set in the evening in order to listen to the "stars," i.e., the popular singers, accordeon-players, comedians, etc., (the so called "steravond"). Sunday and Thursday rank next in popularity:²

¹ In the national survey on listening habits (see Note 1 on page 194) one tried to eliminate the passive listeners by explicitly asking the programme numbers to which one listened with attention. We regret that this different wording together with the different classification of data make it difficult to compare the intensity of listening in Sassenheim with the country average. According to *Radio en vrije-tijdsbesteding* (pp. 20—21) about fourteen per cent of the total population above eighteen years in the Netherlands listens to an average programme number.

² *Radio en vrije-tijdsbesteding* report similar results for their national sample. According to Table 16 published on page 20, the frequency of listening to the radio

Days on which one listens more often to the wireless set	Number	Per cent
Saturday	69	17.1
Sunday	45	11.1
Monday	5	1.2
Tuesday	8	2.0
Wednesday	4	1.0
Thursday	15	3.7
Friday	1	0.3
No special preference	209	51.7
No or inadequate answer ¹	48	11.9
Total	404	100.0

Though only obtained from a fraction of the total sample, these answers reveal something of the taste and the interest of the population regarding listening. Both main transmitters in Holland (which are managed by the state authorities together with the four main broadcast associations on national scale) adhere to a fixed periodical programme; on Saturdays, Sundays, and Thursdays most broadcast plays, light music, and "star-programmes" are given. Preference for the lighter programme became evident from the answers to another question which we asked in this connection: "*For which parts of the broadcasting programme do you have preference?*" While mainly taking the first answers into consideration, the answers could be grouped as follows: (see page 233).

We notice that the light, thrilling plays or the popular cabarets enjoy the main attention of the population. ² Strikingly few people refer

can be summed up as follows:

Sunday 18 per cent of the total population

Saturday 16 per cent of the total population

Other working-days together 12 per cent.

Sundays and Saturdays are days when one listens more than on all five working-days together.

¹ Including those who, as a rule, do not listen to radio.

² Similar results were found by the authors of *Radio en vrije-tijdsbesteding* (p. 25, Table 20) for their national sample. The average number of listeners over eighteen years of age per programme number was divided as follows over the main categories:

Cabarets ("Bonte programma's") 24 p.c. of the population

Light music 11 p.c.

"spoken word" (including broadcast plays) 10 p.c.

Religious missions 5 p.c.

Symphonic or chamber music 2 p.c.

In addition to the different categories used, there was a different technique of measuring the preference. Instead of a preference attitude, the real behaviour was measured.

Broadcast numbers preferred	Number	Per cent
Symphonic music, chamber music	30	7.4
Light music	51	12.6
Jazz	3	0.7
Mass, Church music	8	2.0
Broadcast play	24	5.9
Cabarets	18	4.5
Cabarets or broadcast plays	77	19.1
Lectures	9	2.2
Others	144	35.6
No or inadequate reply ¹	40	10.0
Total	404	100.0

to jazz as their preference. This can probably be accounted for by the comparatively rare opportunities for dancing in the community. We also notice that light music is more popular than classical music and that lectures only draw the attention of some two per cent of the inhabitants.

In order to ascertain whether the listeners use their wireless sets as sources of information and instruction apart from recreation, we investigated how many people listen to the news, to church-news, and to foreign broadcast missions. It appeared that more than a half listen to the news and the government broadcasts regularly (65.6 per cent according to our sample), while only about a fifth (21 per cent) would listen to church-news and the various talks on religious subjects. Approximately a third (31.1 per cent) admit to tuning into some foreign broadcasting station now and then, not, however, solely to listen to the lectures or the news but also to listen to concerts or songs.

Having the division of the population along the denominational lines in mind, we tried to poll the attitudes to the various denominational broadcasting associations. The results showed, however, that more than a half (50.2 p.c. of the sample) clearly stated that they did not care which association presented what programme, i.e., they listened to those programmes that they liked, and that 7.2. p.c. did not answer the question. The sixty-five persons who clearly showed their dislikes could be classified according to these dislikes in the following way:

¹ Including those who, as a rule, do not listen to radio at all.

The broadcasting association which one dislikes	Number	Per cent
VARA (socialistic)	21	5.2
VPRO (liberal Protestant)	15	3.7
NCRV (orthodox Protestant)	10	2.5
KRO (Roman Catholic)	10	2.5
AVRO ("neutral")	9	2.3

The 103 positive answers were distributed as follows:

The broadcasting association which one likes	Number	Per cent
VPRO or NCRV	54	13.4
AVRO or VARA	24	5.9
KRO	29	7.2

The only conclusion which might be drawn from these figures is that the socialistic broadcasting association (VARA) ranks rather low. This need not astonish us when taking the previous facts on the religious and the political composition of the population into consideration. Upon the whole — if the reactions of all persons in the sample are considered — it can be concluded that the religious denomination does not play a decisive rôle in determining listening habits.

Games. A word remains to be said about those activities which were not explicitly polled in our survey. From informal channels we learned that playing cards, draughts, and various other social games are important pastimes. Anticipating our causal analysis, we may draw the attention of the reader to the fact that the inhabitants who participate more in various outdoor activities also spend more time in reading than those who sit at home for most evenings of the week, and not the other way round, as one would expect.

CHAPTER IX

MORALS: GROUP SOLIDARITY AND RESPONSIBILITY

A) FACTORS MAKING FOR INTEGRATION

The description of the community would remain incomplete without the picture of the social institutions, processes, and groups that are clustered around its moral norms. There are several "mechanisms" reinforcing the appeal of the various "you-shoulds" and "you-should-nots." In addition to them, there are groups professionally engaged in carrying out activities that are morally approved of by the community (the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, the health associations and services, etc.) and those "professionally" violating and trespassing the norms (e.g., the criminals). In short, there are forces making for unity and those making for disunity in this population group that have not been treated under any previous heading and need special consideration here.

Protecting the Poor. Let us begin with the more integrating forces and, for example, examine the measures which are taken to protect the weaker members of the community. As mentioned already in Chapters III and V, the poor are not left at the mercy of a few benevolent individuals. The government's social policy aims at the elimination of poverty from society. The unemployed as well as the aged are protected by law. The local churches act chiefly as mediators between the local government and the few remaining cases where due to sickness or invalidity of the main breadwinner (working on his own account) the family falls into economic troubles. There are community funds reserved for such special cases of persons who, owing to their own neglect or misfortune, do not fall into one of the official categories which are covered by social legislation. As a consequence, there are no beggars in Sassenheim. The few of them who still try to appeal to the charity of the inhabitants do so under the guise of travelling salesmen, offering shoe-laces, combs, or post-cards for sale. Even they have, officially, to ask for the permission of the community authorities to be allowed to offer their goods. In these circumstances, the eventual beggars are not recruited from the local poor but rather from other communities. The Burgomaster and the Aldermen do not give permission to would-be travellers with the result that begging remains an illegal activity; the local citizens, being known to the population, have to avoid it.

While the group of beggars is considerably small, the number of those depending on the economic support of the community is much larger. In 1950, there were almost 250 persons in Sassenheim who were not capable of supporting themselves or their families and had to be supported by the community authorities in agreement with the Poor Law (Armenwet). According to a letter of the Burgomaster and the Aldermen to the Central Office of Statistics, these 246 persons grouped under the following categories:

Family-heads:	
(a) male, under 65 years of age	72
male, over 65 years of age	47
(b) female, under 65 years of age	24
female, over 65 years of age	19
Single persons	
(a) male, under 65	5
male, 65 and over	6
(b) female, under 65	8
female, 65 and older	18
Persons confined to institutions	64
Persons boarded out to family-care	3
<hr/>	
Total	246

Among these 246 persons, the sum of fl. 92,581 was distributed to cover their expenses of living. Only a small part of this sum, amounting to fl. 26,916, was collected among the local population, from individual gifts. (Similar collections for charitable purposes are held on Saturdays under the supervision of the local government; no collection for any private or charitable purpose is allowed to take place without permission of the community authorities). The rest, roughly amounting to the wages equivalent to 75,000 working hours of unskilled workers, had to be covered by the governmental funds.

Protecting the Unemployed. As mentioned in Chapter V, the poor are not the only people who are supported by the government authorities in economic respect. There are persons in the community who, either owing to their own fault or the general economic structure of the region, are excluded from the economic process and are deprived of the possibility of supporting themselves. Several of them are supported by the local government that in the case of seasonal unemployment receives the funds from the central government. From a letter of the community authorities to the Central Bureau of Statistics of May 7, 1953, we extract the following figures concerning the number of unemployed and the sum of money paid to them for support:

Month	No. of persons receiving temporary unemployment assistance	Sum in fl.	No. of persons on social relief	Sum in fl.
January . .	44	5,360	2	178
February . .	52	6,924	2	302
March . . .	22	3,896	3	579
April . . .	22	3,286	5	611
May	25	3,380	5	527
June	10	1,764	4	570
July	2	421	1	120
August . . .	2	239	1	139
September .	5	789	1	141
October . . .	4	564	—	—
November . .	14	1,813	1	18
December . .	70	11,737	1	22
Total . . .	272	40,173	26	3,207

Assisting the Sick or Injured. Though the poor and the unemployed are more or less cared for by the government, another group requiring protection and aid, the expectant mothers, the sick, and the infirm, still depend on various non-government associations and organizations, as well as on private means. The government partly protects the employees (under a certain income-level, amounting to fl. 5,500 per year) by making health-insurance compulsory. Quite automatically, the insurance premium is subtracted from their wages by the employers who are compelled to do so by law. In case of illness, all their medical expenses are covered, while they obtain at least 80 p.c. of their wages starting the third day after the onset of the illness. Maternity expenses are covered by insurance that pays fl. 55.— per delivery, so are the costs of an operation or hospitalization, and partly those for dental care. One should, however, not forget that important groups are exempt from social legislation; besides the better-paid employees also those who work on their own account and persons who, owing to their own negligence, lost their jobs and with them their right to free medical care. The principal way to security for the artisans, farmers, or other independent workers is private health insurance. Owing to the high costs of the premium, many of them fail to insure themselves and bear the risk of accidents and illness themselves. Among these people, cases of need are found; they have to be supported by local associations.

There are three such associations in Sassenheim, each for a separate denominational group: the White-Yellow Cross for Roman Catholics, the Orange-Green Cross for Protestants, and the Green Cross for the

“neutral,” non-confessional groups of inhabitants. Somewhat different in nature and function is another “neutral” organization, the Red Cross. It might be useful to say a few words on each of these associations, as they belong to the largest groups in Sassenheim in terms of membership.

“*White-Yellow Cross.*” The Roman Catholic Association of Public Health and Sick-Nursing, “The White-Yellow Cross,” unites about ninety per cent of all Roman Catholic families in Sassenheim; it had about 750 members towards the end of 1952. It possessed considerable financial funds as each member was expected to pay annually fl. 6.50 in membership fees. Almost fl. 5,000 were thus gathered in 1952. In order to stimulate the activities of the “Cross Associations,” the community authorities pay to each of them a yearly grant amounting to forty per cent of the total sum of collected dues. In addition, 20 cents are paid for every family head who is a member. The White-Yellow Cross thus received fl. 3,372 in government grants, in 1952. Its total income amounted to fl. 11,366.99 in that year.

Two nurses who visit on bicycle Roman Catholic patients are paid, a nursery is rented, and the costs of infant centres and tuberculosis examinations are covered with this money. The infant centres seem to be very costly because of the salaries of the physicians and the rent of suitable buildings. As the local Cross Associations are still much too small to cover individually all expenses of running an infant centre, they cooperated in Sassenheim and had a common centre. Recently, however, the Protestant “Orange-Green Cross” withdrew and started a child-welfare centre of its own. Although there was already a deficit of about fl. 700.— a year, it will be more than doubled now, because each cross association will have to cover the expenses individually. A solution for this problem is expected in the fusion of the various local branches of the Cross Associations with corresponding ones in neighbouring communities with the objective that, for example, all Roman Catholics from these communities will run and visit one infant centre in one of these communities.

A similar regional organization is already established in the field of maternity care. There is a maternity centre in Sassenheim housing about 23 nurses and 13 student-nurses.

The expectant mothers are registered at this centre some five months before the child is expected to be born. Prenatal care is given by the nurses under the supervision of a physician. When the child is due, the mothers are assisted by the physician. The mothers usually stay at home; the nurse takes over the care for the whole household and spends about ten days in the house, preparing meals, looking after the children, doing even some necessary washing and assisting the mother in every possible way. The nurse works about twelve hours a day for fl. 5.—, the amount of the fee which the mother has to pay to the centre for each of the first three children (in

agreement with the general Roman Catholic attitude favouring large families the assistance-fee for a fourth or subsequent child is less; however, all rates have been raised by ten percent to cover the costs of the social insurance which was introduced for the personnel of the centre, last year). After these ten days, the nurse has two free days, then she returns to the centre "waiting" for the next delivery (she receives about fl. 2.— a day during this "waiting period"). The Centre receives a government grant from the central "Commissie inzake de Kraamhulp:" for each day a nurse spends in a household fl. 2.50 is paid to the Centre. In 1953, the nurses assisted about 620 mothers in the region. Only a small fraction of this number (about 74 cases) were from Sassenheim.

Though the budget of the maternity-centre (owing to its regional nature) is independent from the budget of the local White-Yellow Cross, the previously mentioned district nursing is entirely paid with local funds.

The nurses of the White-Yellow Cross call on about one hundred patients a year, bringing them medicines, changing bandages, or performing other charitable services. According to the secretary of the association, they made 3,400 calls in 1952. They receive their instructions from a physician who notifies the cases needing some additional care. They are not expected to interfere with the work of the maternity nurses though they are entitled (on account of their training) to do so. They are allowed to assist the mothers only in the case of a miscarriage. Their function is also defined with regard to the work of the social workers, who take over the tasks of the mother if she becomes sick and incapable of fulfilling the usual household duties.

All the activities of the local White-Yellow Cross are coordinated by a committee which is responsible to the annual general meeting of members. According to the secretary of this committee, these meetings are usually poorly attended. It is not exceptional that not a single member appears; in that case the general meeting only consists of the committee members. This is the more striking, as there are more than 700 members. The lack of participation causes constitutional difficulties: according to the regulations, the members have to resign at regular intervals and are replaced by election. This cannot be done and the committee functions with the same officers for a couple of years, as a rule.

Other "Cross Associations." It is difficult to describe the organizational structure of the two remaining Cross Associations without considering their historic growth. As in the field of education, the neutral institution, the Green Cross, was originally the only one in Sassenheim. It started its work as early as 1907, by distributing medicines and additional food among the sick. Later on, an infant centre and a centre for tuberculosis patients were established. Until 1952, no

district nursing was done, the latter being reserved from the very beginning to the denominational groups. In illness one should not have to depend upon the help and the mercy of a person of another denomination, it was argued. The Green Cross was chiefly concerned with the management of the infant centre. This was housed in the Roman Catholic infirmary, owned by the White-Yellow Cross. The Green Cross paid rent to the White-Yellow Cross as well as the salaries of the physicians and the nurses. It was able to do so, because it formed a huge organization in Sassenheim; the members of the denominational organizations were at the same time member of the neutral Green Cross which received all government subsidies. A few years before our survey was launched, in 1948, the government refused to pay a subsidy to such a sham-organization. At the same time, the Protestant group more strongly objected that the centre was in a Roman Catholic institution and began building a centre of its own, in the building of Bethesda. In order to get moral support, the Protestant group, organized until now in the local "Association for the Sick Nursing *Bethesda*," decided to join the national Protestant association Orange-Green Cross. To save what could be saved from the neutral organization, its chairman decided to run the administrative affairs of all (about 1,100!) members of his sham-organization while delegating the actual work to the confessional groups. This, however, could not long be maintained. When the final decision of the central government came that no subsidy would be granted to an association that did not maintain district nursing, the Green Cross, finally, hired a nurse of its own. At the same time, however, the Orange-Green Cross terminated its cooperation with the Roman Catholic White-Yellow Cross in the only remaining field, i.e., infant care, and established an infant centre of its own in Bethesda. All three Cross Associations became financially quite independent, each collecting contributions of its own members and competing for government subsidies with each other. Before the final separation took place, the chairman of the Green Cross sent about 1,700 leaflets to the former members of the "sham-organization" urging them to remain in the old Green Cross. Only 96 leaflets were returned. He would visit all new-comers to Sassenheim in order to ask them to join his organization before an agent of the other Cross Association might appear. In spite of all efforts, he succeeded to keep only about 10 per cent of the former membership. At present, the Green Cross is almost exclusively composed of persons without a denomination and of members of the liberal Protestant churches. Only a few members of the Dutch Reformed Church and of the Calvinist group belong to it; these have been misled by the recruiting campaign of the Green Cross committee members who tried to pass their association for a "Christian organization." Owing to the high costs of maintaining

an infant centre (the Green Cross decided to cooperate in this field with the Orange-Green Cross by paying one third of the costs). it was decided to open the local organization to the inhabitants of the neighbouring communities.

This proved to be a wise decision as the nurse of the Green Cross has but a few patients among the local inhabitants. In order to secure the government grants, both the infant centre and the district nursing service are maintained. There are joint consultation hours for the members of the Orange-Green and the Green Cross. In the course of the whole year, only 7 members of the Green Cross appeared. Owing to the joint maternity centre for the non-Catholic population in Noordwijk, the nurses are not expected to help expectant mothers or mothers in child-bed. Neither should they help families in such specific circumstances as general neglect, poor housing, etc. These cases are cared for by one of the two social workers in Sassenheim.

The social workers are organized in a similar way; they are paid partly by the local churches and partly by the local government. The Gereformeerde, the Dutch Reformed, and the Christelijk Gereformeerde (Christian Calvinist) churches pay the salary of one of them, the Roman Catholic Church contributes to the salary of the other.

While the Green Cross struggles with financial difficulties under the changed circumstances, the Orange-Green Cross prospers owing to wealthy members and the loyalty of the members to the objectives stipulated by the church. In spite of the extension of services (the infant centre and the child centre), the mortgage of Bethesda has been redeemed with money collected on one single evening. In 1949, before the final rift between the associations took place, its budget already surpassed by more than four thousand guilders that of the Green Cross. It amounted to fl. 11,159.79 (as compared with fl. 7,078.69 of the Green Cross.)

While the local Cross Associations as well as the physicians are recognized by the population as rendering useful services to the inhabitants, the Red Cross Association has to struggle with lack of understanding. Its tasks differ partly from those of other Cross Associations being of more national significance and, therefore, somewhat more distant and abstract in the eyes of the inhabitants. The Red Cross helps in cases of national calamities; it organizes the first-aid posts along the roads outside the communities, the assistance to the blind, etc. Being of a quite neutral (i.e., non-confessional) nature, it does not receive direct support of the local organized factions, although the burgomaster's wife presides its local branch.

In addition to the above mentioned Cross Associations, there used to be an Anti-Tuberculosis Association at Sassenheim. This used to be financed by the Green Cross at first, later by all Cross Associations.

At present, each group advertises consultation-hours and care-centres for t.b. patients in the local directory. It was, however, the chairman of the Green Cross who played a leading rôle in organizing the mass-examination (through X-rays) of the total population that took place soon after our general survey, in 1951.

There is also a first-aid service in the community, maintaining two first-aid posts during the busy days when the bulb-fields are in bloom.

Physicians. The local physicians are rather independent, not working directly in the service of the single Cross Associations. It is not due to chance that each of them is of different religious denomination. In general, the Roman Catholic inhabitants prefer a Roman Catholic doctor, the members of both Calvinist churches would consult the physician who attends the services of the Gereformeerde Church, while the members of the Dutch Reformed church, of the liberal Protestant groups and persons without a denomination would visit the physician who goes to the Dutch Reformed church, living not far from Ter Leede, the quarters where most immigrants to Sassenheim have their residence.¹ Under these circumstances the number of patients is determined by the religious composition of the population.

The Roman Catholic doctor has over 4,000 patients, most of whom are living in Sassenheim (a few of them have their residence near the lake "De Kaag" where no physician is living; several visitors to "De Kaag" are helped by the doctors in Sassenheim, each year). The great majority of the patients (3,600 i.e., about 80—90 p.c. of all patients, according to his own estimate) are persons who are insured in agreement with the law (being employees with less than fl. 5,500 annual income). Regardless of the number of calls, the doctor receives annually fl. 5.— for each of these patients from the insurance company. As he has to assist all cases of confinement of his patients (there being no midwife in Sassenheim) his is rather a busy job. In these circumstances, he gladly accepts the help of the White-Yellow Cross nurse to be relieved of the most "dreary cases," requiring little professional insight.

As there is no pharmacy in Sassenheim, all physicians are apothecaries as well. According to law, the physicians are forbidden to sell the medicines themselves, *if* there is a pharmacist in the community. This regulation affects, however, only the recently settled physicians; those who used to sell medicines before a pharmacist settled down are permitted to continue this practice for their life. Evidently, no pharmacist establishes himself in Sassenheim because the average age of the local physicians is low. The costs of competition under these circumstances are too high.

¹ Mr. G. van Zoest (see further p. 247) examined the relation between religious denomination and preference for a family-doctor in the group refusing X-ray examination in Sassenheim. He found a positive, significant association between the religious denomination of the patient and that of the doctor amounting to $T = .48$ ($P > .001$).

The cooperation among the physicians is good; as with the nurses of different Cross Associations, the doctors take charge of each other's patients during an illness or during a vacation, the length of which is mutually agreed upon. They do not, on the other hand, consult each other in complicated cases but send such cases usually to specialists or the hospitals in the neighbouring city of Leyden. With the exception of a specialist for eye-diseases there are no specialists settled in the community. The cooperation with the local infant centres is arranged on a commercial basis: the Cross Associations pay the doctor who supervises the centre and advises the mothers.

While the social position of the local dentist does not differ from that of the family doctor (he also depends for his fee on private and insured patients), the school-doctor takes a different place in the local social structure. She is employed by a group of communities in the bulb-region that pay her a regular salary (much lower than the average income of a family doctor in Sassenheim) for the inspection of children at schools. She visits periodically all schools in Sassenheim in order to examine the children. Special attention is paid to those who swim or eventually take part in swimming competitions. In addition to regular surveys, she holds a special consulting hour for the parents of the pupils who have some special problems. In order not to encroach upon the field of the family-doctor she confines herself to diagnoses, leaving the more curative treatment either to the family-doctor or to the more specialized agencies: the psychologist, some of the specialists, or the Child Guidance Clinic in Leyden (Medisch Opvoedkundig Bureau, M.O.B.).

The present system accounts for the marginal position of the school doctor in several respects. To begin with, the school-doctor belongs to the professional group being a Civil Servant at the same time. There is a tendency among the physicians to consider as weaklings those of their colleagues "not working on their own." In addition, there is the actual fear of the family doctors of government encroachment on their own traditional field.

Another factor is the ambiguous relation of the school doctor to the organs of local government; though employed by them, the doctor still exercises a certain controlling influence over them.

Still another group, the relation to which remains ambiguous, is that of the headmasters and teachers. These also consider the work of a school-doctor as partly infringing on their own activities. Both teachers and the school doctor are consulted by the parents as to whether their children's intelligence level enables them to follow normal education. As such demands are rather frequent, both the teachers and the school doctor do some psychological testing.

In Sassenheim, thanks to the tactful attitude of the school doctor, the larger frictions with family-doctors have been avoided as the field of competence of both professional categories was sharply defined. The school-doctor inspects the schools and backs the complaints of the head-

masters about bad illumination of class-rooms, the lack of a suitable gymnasium, bad, unhygienic benches, etc. In several cases these complaints have led to an improvement.

In order to intensify the cooperation with the local group of teachers, the doctor organized several courses that were planned to deepen the insight of the teachers into the health-problems of children. In spite of a prior enquiry among the teachers, the courses were but poorly attended.

In the four communities, Sassenheim, Warmond, Lisse, and Hillegom, the school doctor thoroughly examined more than 3,000 pupils in 1951, while about 7,000 were partially examined: 2,500 swimming examinations, about 2,000 visitors to the consultation hours, about 2,500 special cases of re-examination at schools. Special attention was paid to vaccination, to the children from families where tuberculosis was found, to the problems of nutrition, to the physically handicapped, and to the children with learning problems. Almost 400 cases were referred to family-doctors for further treatment.

In her annual reports, the school-doctor would regularly refer to the possibility of engaging a school dentist for the schools of her district. In spite of her argument that the general health conditions depend very much on a good set of teeth and that many insurance companies would welcome regular examinations, the idea of a school dentist did not win general support. The main resistance can be localized in Calvinist circles who argue that the responsibility for the well-being of children lies with the parents and not with the government or school-boards; in their view, parents themselves should see to it that children are sent to the dentist in time. They fear a further expansion of the nationalized sector of the society and advocate the maintenance of private dental care.

Other Ethical Objectives. There are still other ethical objectives than the support of the poor or the sick that make people in Sassenheim unite. There is, for instance, a local branch of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals ("Nederlandse Vereniging tot Bescherming van Dieren") maintaining that the responsibility of man should not be confined to the protection of the weak members of his own kind but also be extended to the protection of the weaker members in the whole animal world. Like the Red Cross Association, it belongs to those organizations that have actually been imported to Sassenheim; its committee is presided over by two lady-members, both of whom are immigrants (one came from Germany, the other from Indonesia). In the daily life of the community of Sassenheim, the Society does not play a rôle of importance.

There are also some groups intending to improve the individual conduct of the inhabitants in a certain direction. The "Bond without a Name" (Bond zonder Naam) appeals, for instance, to the local Roman Catholics by numerous printed pamphlets and leaflets ex-

horting them to sobriety and to charitable love. In the latter aspect it tries to promote a feeling of solidarity within the Roman Catholic group: people are exhorted to help each other and to assist a fellow citizen in need. Quite different in purpose is the Netherlands' Association for Sexual Reform ("Nederlandse Vereniging voor Sexuele Hervorming") striving for a more public instruction on sexual matters and publicly propagating the principles of neo-Malthusianism. It has no special branch in Sassenheim; its members work chiefly among the industrial workers and are organized and registered in the regional centre in Leyden.

Besides these groups having distinct ethical objectives there are groups striving for solidarity as such without distinct ideological motives. To the latter belong the local Neighbourhood Associations. Originally, there were four or five of them in Sassenheim. As time went on, the more peripheral associations became dissolved and only one survived. This association is known to the majority of the inhabitants only under its initials D.V.V. ("Door Vrijheid Verenigd" i.e., Through Freedom United). Once or twice a year, it organizes the procession of children through the community and public celebrations in which every inhabitant, regardless of status or of denominational group is expected to take part. Though usually frequented only by the members of the working class and some shopkeepers, it remains one of the few bonds cementing the highly differentiated and divided society together.

Another organization striving for the cohesiveness of the community is the local Orange Association (Oranjevereniging), to which we already referred (Chapter VI). With the exception of the more radical socialists and the communists, practically all inhabitants are members. In spite of its rather political name, the association concentrates on quite unpolitical tasks: it organizes motor car trips for the aged people in the community and large-scale festivities for the children. Besides these festivities and the occasional processions of children on national holidays, there is practically no group-life in this large organization; thus membership is rather nominal.

B) FACTORS MAKING FOR DISORGANIZATION

Until now we have dealt chiefly with the more integrating forces in the form of organized groups and associations. In order to gain some insight into the dynamic processes in the community, one should also pay attention to those breaking the rules of "normal" conduct or to those lacking the feeling of responsibility for their own health, self-support, or group solidarity.

Crime. We did not find any organized crime in Sassenheim. This does not imply, however, that there is no crime or criminal offenders

in the community. According to official sources (Criminele politionele statistiek), 427 police warrants were issued here in 1950. The main attention of the local police (consisting of nine members in that year) was centred upon persons violating traffic rules: more than a half of all warrants (283 in number) were for traffic violations. Only a small part formed the more serious offences of the Penal Code (Wetboek van Strafrecht), namely 29 cases. These could be classified into the main categories as follows:

	Number
Sexual offenses	3
Insult	1
Iltreatment	3
Assault and battery	6
Larceny	8
Robbery, house breaking	1
Embezzlement	3
Fraud	2
Fencing	1
Refractory conduct	1
<hr/>	
Total	29

According to the witness of the local policemen, most offenders are persons not living in the community. There are only some two or three families of professional thieves.

The group of offenders is almost exclusively composed of men: 48 were men and only two were women in the group of 50 offenders in 1952; 48 persons were adults and only two were minors (two boys).

According to the opinion of the police the offenders come to Sassenheim along the main highway. Besides the irresponsible car-drivers, there come couples who stop their cars or bicycles near the bushes along the highway to engage in illicit sexual practices. The local police is very keen on pursuing such cases of public misconduct, according to the words of the sergeant.

Irresponsibility. The greater part of the sick cannot be held responsible for their ill-health, for several types of illness and disease are still not conquered by today's medical science; neither are the present social conditions unfavourable for these diseases. Some epidemic diseases (e.g. those caused by a virus or a germ), some cases of cancer, and hereditary deformations should be mentioned here. There are, on the other hand, a good many cases of illnesses and ailments caused by personal neglect or by the shortcomings of social organizations. Poor dietary habits may serve as an illustration of what we have in mind.

The reports of the school-doctor and the statements of the family-doctors concur that the population suffers from a protein deficiency in Sassenheim. High meat prices result in little meat consumption, which is insufficiently

compensated by fish, milk, cheese, eggs, and other foods rich in protein. There is a general belief among the inhabitants that the lack of meat can sufficiently be compensated by the use of fats. Owing to the excessive use of fats there are many cases of liver-trouble, considerably above the national average, in the opinion of the school doctor. The latter is also inclined to ascribe the bad posture of the school children to food-deficiency.

Another illustration of the social roots of illness can be seen in several cases of occupational illness. According to the witness of one family-doctor to whom we spoke, there is a factory in Sassenheim where the workers are exposed to draughts and to sudden changes of temperature. The doctor pointed out the high incidence of rheumatism as well as the early invalidity among the personnel. In the course of the survey, we ascertained that the population is well aware of the occupational risks in this factory. The occupational hazards are confined not only to the industries. The workers cutting or sorting tulips may get a special kind of dermatitis, especially when the bulbs are dry and dusty and when no protective measures are taken.

The incidence of illness and of ailments, avoidable if sufficient care is paid to their prevention, is not the only indicator of the degree of responsibility that people take in order to protect their health. A few months after our general survey in 1951, the whole population (with the exception of small children) was summoned for a tuberculosis examination. Over 6,500 persons were put on a list and were visited by a member of the local preparatory committee that was presided over by the chairman of the local Green Cross Association. In spite of his rather optimistic testimony, we were able to ascertain that the number of people refusing the examination was considerably high. Thanks to the work of Mr. G. van Zoest who raised the problem of collective responsibility towards mass X-ray examination independently of our project, and his kind decision to focus his attention on Sassenheim, we were able to estimate that over 1,200 persons refused cooperation. According to the classification of Mr. G. van Zoest, about 1,000 of those refusing had no objective reasons to do so, because they were not under medical control elsewhere. This implies that approximately one of each six inhabitants was not willing to spend the very short time and low costs upon the examination. (The latter occurred by means of an X-ray field-station, especially built for mass-diagnostics). As six cases of positive tuberculosis and one case of lung cancer were discovered, we may conclude that the non-cooperating group not only deliberately renounced the responsibility for their own individual health but also that for the collective struggle against this epidemic disease. By means of a statistical analysis, the details of which he intends to publish later, Mr. Van Zoest found significantly more men, more persons without a denomination, members of the Dutch Reformed Church, more persons born in

Sassenheim, of higher age-groups, and chiefly belonging to the clerical or liberal professions in the group refusing participation.

C) IMPACT ON INHABITANTS

Our own statistical survey shed a light on some less relevant aspects of the responsibility for one's own health. We were, for instance, interested to know, how many people had the necessary equipment at home that would make the hygienic treatment of some minor wounds and the diagnosing of an on-coming illness possible.

Care for One's Health. Only 51.2 per cent of the total population reported to have a thermometer at home; 71.7 per cent mentioned to have tincture of iodine or another antiseptic or at least some bandage or some piece of cotton wool ready for first aid. Only 54.2 per cent reported to have some other medicines at home, while not more than 42.3 per cent had what could be called a complete elementary dispensary at home, consisting of a thermometer, some antiseptic or bandage, and some of the most common drugs (e.g., aspirine.) Eleven per cent admitted to have none of the objects after which we enquired (1.2 per cent gave no or an evasive answer).

The low percentage of those who are well enough equipped to face an emergency in the form of an accident or an illness can probably be accounted for by the fact that the doctor is easily available and that medical assistance is free of charge for the majority of the population:

Way in which the costs of medical assistance are covered	Number	Per cent
Pays the doctor's bill himself	64	15.8
The parents pay the bill	11	2.7
Social insurance	222	54.9
Private insurance	99	24.5
Institution (nunnery, etc.)	4	1.0
No or inadequate reply	4	1.0
Total	404	99.9

We notice that only about a fifth of the population has to consider an illness or an accident as an economic emergency. More than a half (about 56 p.c.) are insured against all risks without having to pay a premium from their salaries or wages, because the employer pays the premium himself. A part of those who are not covered by social legislation (a quarter of the population) insure themselves privately against all risks (including visits to the family-doctor). The majority would prefer to insure themselves against the costs of hospitalization and special treatment (surgery, anti-biotics, etc.).

The frequency of medical assistance is considerably high. More than a fifth of our random sample reported to have called on the doctor in the month preceding the interview, six per cent did so during the past week; 44.4 per cent called on the doctor in the past half year; 63 per cent go to the doctor at least once a year. Only one per cent mentioned never to have consulted a physician, while 31.6 p.c. visited the doctor during the years preceding the year of our survey (4.5 per cent did not give an adequate reply to our question).

The same can be said of the frequency with which people visit the dentist: 27.2 per cent of the total population reported to have visited the dentist in the half year preceding the interview, almost 38 p.c. visit the dentist at least once a year, while only 6.7 per cent reported never to have been at the dentist, (4.2 per cent gave no or evasive answer). It should be realized that people who are insured by social legislation are put under considerable pressure to have their teeth examined twice a year, because failure to do so implies the automatic loss of free treatment. The fact that the number of insured is twice the number of those who visit the dentist regularly should not surprise us, because a good part of the older people have a set of artificial teeth and therefore do not need regular dental care anymore.

Absenteeism and Work Morale. In spite of the medical care and the local health-organizations, about a half of the inhabitants still lose a couple of working-days each year due to accident or illness. According to the statements of the inhabitants, the frequency of absenteeism, caused by illness, can be tabulated as follows:

Number of working-days that one thinks to have missed owing to illness in the last year	Number	Per cent
None	266	65.9
— 7	47	11.6
— 10	18	4.4
— 14	7	1.7
— 20	16	4.0
— 30	10	2.5
— 45	9	2.2
— 60	2	0.5
60 —	17	4.2
No or inadequate reply	12	3.0
Total	404	100.0

We notice that a majority miss their work due to short periods of illness or accident.

It is striking that people insured in accordance with the law miss significantly more working-days, according to their own witness,

than those who pay the medical assistance themselves. We notice this if we cross-tabulate the data:

TABLE 37

Distribution of the population of Sassenheim by the number of missed working-days and the way of paying medical assistance

The way of paying medical assistance	No. of missed working-days			Total
	none	— 10	11 —	
Insured by law	138	40	37	215
Paying themselves or parents . .	54	13	5	72
Total	192	53	42	287 ¹

Source: 404 Persons of the Random Sample.

The difference that we found in the foregoing table (more than a half of the insured people admit that they missed some working-days as compared with a third of those paying the doctor themselves) was significant at the level of $P < .001$, $T = .22$.

Whether owing to the greater occupational risks or the cheaper and easier medical assistance, the group of insured employees report to be more ill than the employers or the workers on own account, paying the doctor themselves.

While interpreting these findings, one should not forget that they are based on the subjective evaluations of the interviewees and not on the actual measurement of absenteeism by the employers or the insurance companies. That a subjective distortion is not impossible, can be shown with the answers to some other questions we asked. It appeared, for instance, that the population, on the average, does not possess a deeper medical knowledge and refers to the illness in lay terms. When enquiring after the causes of their illness, we received the following groups of more frequently mentioned answers (see p. 251).

In spite of the fact that two thirds of the population refer to some illness, a great majority, amounting to 71.5 per cent of the total population, is quite satisfied with their general state of health. Only somewhat less than seven per cent (6.7 p.c.) express a feeling of dissatisfaction while the rest (21.8 per cent) give answers of a neutral nature ("matig," "gaat nog," etc.). Even larger satisfaction was expressed with regard to the medical assistance. The question

¹ Three persons paying the doctor's bill themselves and seven persons who were insured by law did not answer the question about the number of days missed; they are not included in the table above.

The main cause of illness in the past year	Number	Per cent
"Nerves," "feeling nervous," "pains"	45	11.1
"Stomach," "indigestion"	43	10.6
"Influenza"	29	7.2
"Heart weakness"	15	3.7
"Accident"	14	3.5
Complaints about ears, nose, or lungs	14	3.5
"Colds"	8	2.0
Epidemical disease	4	1.0
Other causes	97	24.0
No or inadequate answer	135	33.4
Total	404	100.0

included in the interview ran as follows: "*Do you think that you receive good and adequate care in the community or the place where you work in case of an accident or illness?*" ("Vindt U dat U in geval van ziekte en/of ongeluk snel en goed wordt geholpen?"). Only 4.5 per cent of the inhabitants gave a definitely negative answer to this somewhat suggestive question; 5.2 per cent gave a neutral answer ("redelijk" i.e. reasonably), 4.2 per cent tried to evade it by the usual "does not know," while 83.9 per cent gave definitely positive answers (there were nine abstentions amounting to 2.2 per cent).

It appeared that the people who are insured are significantly less satisfied with the medical assistance than those who pay the doctor themselves (owing to the high concentration of positive answers, we found very small frequencies in the cells denoting the number of less satisfied persons; the test of significance for the distribution of small frequencies brought out a significance at the $P = .01$ level. About the further methodological considerations see Parts II and III).

Attitude to Criminals. In addition to the questions that were designed to poll the attitudes of the inhabitants towards health and towards the medical services, we included one question to estimate the attitude to criminals and to the present penal system:¹ "*Do you think that thieves and criminals are punished: too severely, too lightly, rightly?*" It appeared that many more people wish for a reinforcement of the present penal system than for a weakening of the present legal norms and sanctions:

¹ The reason why they are treated in this connection is that the penal system is actually rooted in the norms and mores of the population. A chapter on morals should cover the attitudes to crime in the same way as it describes the responsibility for one's own health or for one's own life in general.

Measures against criminals are considered	Number	Per cent
Too strong	10	2.5
Too weak	103	25.5
Just as they should be	140	34.7
"Discriminative"	40	9.9
Other sophisticated answers	3	0.7
No judgment	105	26.0
No answer	3	0.7
Total	404	100.0

In spite of the large number of evasive and indefinite answers, we notice a distinct tendency towards a more retributory conception of law and penal system. One quarter of the population spontaneously expressed the wish to have stronger measures taken against the offenders, while only ten persons wished for more clemency (the uninformed reader should know that the Penal Code of the Netherlands does not acknowledge capital punishment as an appropriate sanction in the cases of civil offences or treason).

Perception of Threat to Collective Life. Finally, an attempt was made to ascertain the attitude towards the more fatal issues of our time. A question was framed as follows: "Do you think that life today in the Netherlands is being threatened by one of the foreign countries?" A majority of the population (56.7 per cent) gave an affirmative answer to this question, only about a quarter (25.5 per cent) did not perceive any danger at all, while the rest (16.8 p.c.) gave the evasive answers of "does not know," (four persons, one per cent of the sample, did not answer the question). Though not asked for it, several interviewees mentioned the reasons for their fears: 54 (13.4 per cent of the total sample spontaneously referred to Russia as being the object of their fears, while 11 persons (2.7 per cent) mentioned the United States as the main threat to the Netherlands' independence.)

It is no wonder, that many people fear another world war under the present conditions. Our direct question ("Do you think you will witness another war?") was answered in the affirmative by a large majority of the inhabitants: 60.6 per cent said "yes," 16.3 per cent said "no," 22.5 per cent said "does not know" (0.6 per cent abstentions).¹ It appeared that richer people less frequently expect

¹ In this respect, Sassenheim does not deviate from the average established opinion in the country. According to the results of the polls in 1949, 55 p.c. of the total population expect another war, 24 p.c. think there will be no war, 21 p.c. give indefinite or neutral answers.

another war than the poorer ones. About forty per cent of the population often speak about the war, while 7.2 per cent report to dream often of its horrors; 56.4 per cent neither dream nor speak about it, (1 per cent refused an answer to this question).

As they are living with the prospect of a future cataclysm, the inhabitants are characterized by a somewhat dismal, pessimistic outlook. There is a small percentage of "optimists" if we define optimism in terms of answers to our question: "*Do you think the future will be: just as the present, better, or worse for the people?*" More than twice as many people expect a worse instead of a better future (respectively 44.8 and 19.1 per cent); 20.8 per cent think that nothing will change in this respect; 14.0 per cent give an evasive answer ("does not know"), while 1 per cent did not answer at all.

Suggestions for Improvement. This somewhat gloomy outlook finds expression in the scarcity of suggestions for a possible change or improvement of the present situation. Somewhat less than a third of the population (28.5 per cent) think that nothing can be improved or changed by the government in their community, while another 28 per cent answer "do not know." Still fewer people perceive a possibility for improvement through other (non-governmental) channels. Only some thirty per cent think that something can be done to make life in the community better. Even those giving a positive answer are, however, rather vague as to what should be changed and through what channels. A majority of them (16.1 per cent of the total sample) refer to the general category "people themselves," intimating that the reform should be rooted in the growing awareness of the citizens to improve themselves, being thus chiefly of an ethical nature. Some 4.5 per cent denoted the church as the agent that should take the initiative, while about 1.2 per cent expected the trade unions to do this. It should be mentioned that an association was found between the optimistic attitudes of the inhabitants and their expectancy of an improvement through governmental action. The "optimists" turned out to be more often inclined to think that something could still be done; they also gave more concrete suggestions for a reform than the persons thinking that life in the future would be worse or the same as today. This brings us, however, again to the problem of causal analysis of data, the treatment of which is reserved for the following Parts II and III.

The percentage of those expecting war seems to correlate with the periods of aggravated international tensions:

Year	Percentage of those expecting war (based on a N.I.P.O. sample of the population in the Netherlands)
1945	50
1946	63
1948	71 ¹
1949	55

¹ The year of the "coup of Prague" and of the foundation of the N.A.T.O.
Source: *De Publieke Opinie*, 3, no's. 7—8, 1949

PART II
COLLECTION OF DATA, ANALYSIS,
AND CONCEPTUALIZATION

CHAPTER X

THE BASIC ISSUE AND FRAME OF REFERENCE

A) ISSUE

In the preceding chapters, the life of the population of Sassenheim has been described in rather plain terms. Although focussed alternately on its specific aspects, now on history or geography, then on religion, politics, economy, etc., the book did not explain why these manifestations of social and cultural life take their specific forms, why the processes, which were described, take place. To give such an explanation, to analyse the community in more scientific concepts, will be the main task in the remaining parts of this book.

Such an explicit, theoretical objective, namely to explain human behaviour in terms of social and cultural variables and to describe the impact of the "cultural pattern" in the Netherlands upon individual conduct, formed the very issue of this study.

In other words, we were primarily concerned with the problem of societal causation. While surveying the literature about the concrete projects focussed on the explanation and the prediction of human behaviour in various cultural and social settings, we found several serious shortcomings and inconsistencies. With all due respect for the fruitful concepts (e.g., "culture," "culture-trait," "pattern of culture," and "acculturation") which cultural anthropology brought into the conceptual arsenal of social science, we noticed a frequent use of unscientific, ambiguous terms in the work of many sociologists with training in anthropology. Most books are written in common, often figurative language. Few attempts are made to build up concepts with one specific meaning, which would help to remove misunderstandings on subjects in which many readers are emotionally involved. Few concepts are defined in such a way that they make possible not only qualitative but also quantitative distinction between the facts. In similar qualitative, descriptive studies, the causal relation is often confused with subjective hunches and unverified hypotheses. The results are not always satisfactory, even where they are based on the statistical evaluation of data.

Until relatively recent times it used to be a general practice of sociologists to look for statistical correlations between the most heterogeneous variables. These correlations usually connected, however, only two variables by the presumed causal link, without taking the distribution of other variables over the units covered by the survey into consideration. The result of such a methodological procedure was shown in the inconsistency between the ascertained relationships. While, for instance, in the Netherlands religion was found highly correlated with birth-rate (the Roman Catholic families showing a higher rate than the rest of the

population), when considered in terms of larger (international) units this association did not stand the test: France had the lowest birth-rate among the Western European countries before the last war though it belonged to the bastions of Roman-Catholicism in Western Europe. To explain these inconsistencies in the results of correlation studies has become a serious problem for sociological theorists. This problem caused some of them to become sceptical about the application of causal determinism to social phenomena; they gave up the quest for a general explanation in the field of social science.

In our view, the inconsistency of correlation in sociological research should be accounted for by the complexity of data rather than by a too early recourse to the principle of indeterminism. Instead of ascribing it to chance and causal void, we can consider it as a product of the combination of forces: an association of two variables can be reinforced or invalidated by the interference of another variable or cluster of variables.

B) METHODOLOGICAL POSTULATES

From this basic tenet the following methodological claims can be laid upon the research-procedure.

Study of Closed Structure. The necessity to study closed social structures instead of the separate abstract individual items of a society. In the study of the cultural pattern, preference was given to the thorough survey of a community rather than to a national survey of a random sample of the total population. The reason for doing so was the fear of applying the indices of social psychological research to persons of different background; these indices receive different connotations in different settings. If we decide, for instance, to measure the degree of social participation by means of the cumulative index based on Stuart Chapin's scale, we should take the existence of the associations in the place of residence into consideration and investigate whether membership in them is open to all groups to the same degree. Otherwise we run the risk of listing under identical categories of social participation persons with a different degree of "sociability." A similar danger is less imminent in a community study where not only the more stable social background of the subjects but also the influence of important public events and current processes can be registered and evaluated against individual indices and ranks.

In agreement with this, we chose for our study the community of Sassenheim as the basic source of our data and as the main object of our study. Our choice, as mentioned already in the Introduction, was strongly influenced by the fact that we already possessed information about one of the largest factories in this community, that was collected by social psychologists associated with the Department of Mental Health of the Institute of Preventive Medicine in Leyden.¹ Their research interest, to have the

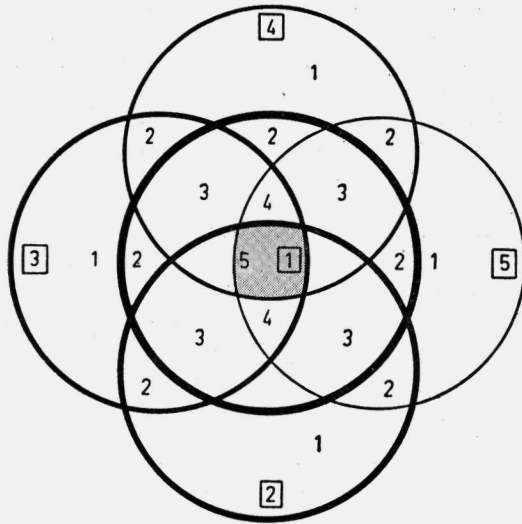
¹ See the preliminary report of H. A. HUTTE, *Op zoek naar het gelaat der arbeidsgroep*, in *Mens en Onderneming*, IV, No. 5, pp. 321—349, December 1950.

psychological data about the workers supplemented with data about the cultural backgrounds and the social structure of the community, converged with our own research objective. With its 7,170 inhabitants at the time of the preparation of our project, Sassenheim could be studied in terms of its local institutions and associations without fear of neglecting its major segments or of drawing too small and biased samples of interviewees. Still being a rural community in a prevailing urban region, mainly an agri- and horticultural community though not without industry, and composed in religious respect in a fairly similar way as the whole population of the Netherlands (with somewhat less "free thinking" and non-confessional persons and more members of the Calvinist Church (Gereformeerde Kerken) than the average in the country) it promised a sufficient variety of factors to be drawn into our analysis. As we realized the futility of looking for a community which could be considered as being representative for the population of the Netherlands, or for the whole group of more than a thousand communities in this country, we made our choice with caution. Although interested in a general pattern of Dutch community-life, we decided not to neglect the possible unique features of Sassenheim. As, however, the uniqueness or the "representative character" can be ascertained only after the structure of the whole community has been described in terms of research-variables and after the function of the community in its broader regional or national context has been sufficiently established in our cognitive field, we have to request the reader to postpone his judgment regarding the representative character of our work until he has read the last sections of this book. Even then the quest for general, "representative" data should be pursued along the line of a new research-project in a region or community presumably different from the community under study. This alone would make a critical comparison possible.

Relationship between Culture, Society, and Personality. Associated with the above mentioned claim for the study of closed social structures is the postulate that we should centre our research upon the reactions of individual subjects in the context of the whole social and cultural situation.

The assumption that individuals react differently to uniform social stimuli because they belong to different social groups, or are involved in different ideological systems, belongs to the basic working hypotheses of our study.

Social Individuation. For the sake of our work we conceived of the individual personality as being (among others) the product of interfering social forces. Topologically one could visualize it as an overlapping space at the crossection of such macro-social concepts as "church," "occupation," "marital status," "sex-group," etc. This model could roughly be described in the following way:



Legend:

- (1) group of inhabitants who were born in Sassenheim
- (2) group of married men
- (3) group of members of the Calvinist Church
- (4) group of inhabitants born in 1896
- (5) group of drivers in Sassenheim

The figures without brackets refer to a combined group-membership; 1 refers to the persons who are members of only one of the above mentioned groups, 2 to those sharing membership in two groups, etc., until 5, designating persons characterized by membership in all five groups.

Figure 4. Social individuation according to Stuart Chapin

According to this conceptual model, the unique character of any individual is explained by the unique combination of a couple of general characteristics. Because every characteristic limits the universe of possibilities, usually five or six of them suffice to determine the identity of any person. If we know of a certain person that he is a man born in Sassenheim in 1896, that he is married, that he is a member of the Calvinist Church, and that he works as a driver, we may be practically sure that it is Jan Janssen and nobody else. Why? Because out of about 3,600 male inhabitants not more than 1,600 were born in Sassenheim, of these 1,600 only 36 were born in 1896, about 30 were married, and not more than 6 belonged to the Calvinist Church. Of these six only one person works as a driver; i.e., Mr. Jan Janssen, about whom numerous additional data are available.

In our opinion, there is no objection against enlarging this general scheme of explaining the uniqueness and the identity of a person to an attempt to explain the uniqueness of individual conduct out of the

combination of sociological forces. In the same way as we are able to identify a person on account of a couple of characteristics of known distribution in its cross-sections (i.e. the distribution of males and females among the present population, the number of males who were born in 1896 and are still living at Sassenheim, the percentage of married, single and widowed among these, etc., in our specific case) we hope to be able to identify and predict the *social* conduct of a person if we know his characteristics and the basic causal influences emanating from and connected with them.

The following consequences for our research project were drawn from this hypothetical frame: (a) We decided to study the institutions and the other macro-sociological aspects of the community separately from the individual characteristics and the reactions of the population. For this purpose, we listed the names and addresses of the clergymen, members of the local government, leaders of the trade unions, important employers, doctors, and other persons who are responsible for the activities of a certain institution or association, and arranged individual interviews with each of them. Thus we collected additional material to the charts of organization, regulations, etc., gathered previously. Special attention was paid to those aspects of these organizations which could possibly exercise influence upon the conduct of their members and upon the formation of their attitudes and referential sets. (b) A sample of the total population was taken for individual approach. Uniform questions were put to every member of this sample in order to compare the reactions to the uniform stimuli with respect to the social characteristics of the respondents (their socio-economic status, marital status, church-affiliation, etc.). These individual reactions (e.g., attitudes) and ascertained characteristics were taken as the units for the comparison and the further analysis in our study. Thus it was theoretically possible to split the bulk of collected data into the numerous variables, each determined by the nature of the stimulus (the question of the interviewer or his judgment), and characterized by a distribution of different reaction-categories over the whole sample. Some examples: the question "Are you a member of a party?" would divide, let us say, 400 persons of the sample into roughly three groups; namely, those who admit to be party-members, those who deny the suggestion of membership, and those who give indefinite, evasive, or no answers. Similarly the observation of the interviewer would divide the whole sample into, let us say, 48 p.c. male and 52 p.c. female respondents. It was a matter of technical feasibility to examine the cross-distribution of these variables, e.g., the percentage of females and males among the members and non-members of the political parties, and ascertain the degree of deviation from the distribution which would be expected if both variables were not associated (the deviations due to chance were taken into consideration). Such an analysis, we thought, adequately links the individual's responses with his social and his cultural background and would lead to statistically verified propositions about the working of the general social factors in their combination. If we would solve the technical and statistical problems of the analysis of a larger number of simultaneously operating variables, we might expect the

isolation of "causes" accounting for any reaction in the interview situation. (c) In addition to both previous ways of approach, we thought it useful to synthesize the interview data by means of the case-study method. We decided to select a few cases of special practical interest for this approach such as unemployment, poverty, and migration, and tried to find out whether the social characteristics and traits assume a similar configuration and pattern as we were justified to expect on the hand of the analysis mentioned in sub *b*.

In short, we hoped to obtain a research scheme in which both analysis and synthesis, individual and macro-sociological approaches would be combined. After having described the institutions and the associations, having formed some hypotheses about their influence in the molding of individual personality and conduct, we would analyse the latter by means of a refined statistical method. After this we would synthesize and once more check our results with the life-histories of a few specific cases.

Description and Explanation. Another postulate, imposed upon our research-procedure by the intention to avoid the shortcomings of the former narrow correlation research, was to combine both description and explanation in our approach. This does not mean that we approved of a dichotomic division of both categories. Taken in a strict sense, any explanation, even in its most cogent mathematical form, is only "a shorthand description of facts." It describes in the most appropriate and intelligent way the natural course of events. While in this sense any explanation may be taken as a description, not every scientist describing the facts he observes is explaining them. He may refer to a mere coexistence of facts without assuming (not to say proving) a causal association between them. In this latter sense we thought it useful to mention in the first part of this book also those aspects of the community under study which might prove irrelevant for the causal explanation in the long run.

Several reasons might account for such a decision: (a) we realized that the material which we obtained might serve an additional purpose to that of the scientific explanation of social behaviour. Some readers might be interested in drawing a comparison between the pattern of life at Sassenheim and another pattern at a different place or time. Their interest might also be focussed on those aspects of this community which are outside the scope of our causal analysis; (b) there also was the difficulty of estimating the relevancy of factors and variables at the beginning of our study. The uncertainty about the results to which the course of the investigation would lead us cautioned us not to omit some of the data at the start of our study; (c) in presenting the piles of uncensored data, we also opened the possibility to criticism while enabling the reader to check them and correct our possible misinterpretation; (d) we also realized that a study of the origin of personality traits in a concrete social setting is not yet

developed to a satisfactory degree and that better insight might be gained from our data by means of more refined analytical instruments in the future.

The explanation as given in this book should not be identified with quantification. The distribution of certain characteristics of the population group under study was already presented in the descriptive sections of Part I. On the other hand, we usually abstained from considering the distribution of answers to one question over the answers to another question or over another variable. The latter we purposefully reserved for the treatment of causal relationships, for our attempt at explanation. Thus the concept of explanation is bound with the concept of multiple relationships in our frame of reference. A fact or an event is considered to be explained if it is brought into meaningful relation with another fact or event in a similar way as a proposition finds its justification or validation in the relation to another (already validated) proposition.

C) REFERENCE CONCEPTS

Multiple Causation. An event can hardly be explained by one social or cultural factor; the principle of combination of forces and causal influences implies that any event is co-determined by several factors. This consideration led us to the acceptance of the concept of "multiple causation" or of "structural relationship" as distinguished from the earlier concepts of causality based on the "necessary cause" or the "sufficient cause," at an early stage of the study. In our opinion, no social event can be caused by one cause, one circumstance alone, but by a cluster of circumstances or 'causes.' Yet, we did not dispense with the temporal aspect entirely, i.e., the conception of "causality as an asymmetrical relation." Causality as conceived in the first phase of our enquiry was distinguished from mere coincidence or co-existence, though, it is true, statistical coincidence of events or characteristics was considered the main tool for analysis of causal relationship. Somehow, we still felt that causality should account for the changes and the events occurring both in space and time as it does in classical theory. It was, on the other hand, obvious to us that the changes and events which we studied could not be placed in the time-space continuum of the Minkowski-Einstein universe. The subtle elements of meanings, norms, and values which sufficiently distinguish two otherwise completely similar events can not be placed in the mathematical model of space-time of modern physics and require a revision of both 'space' and 'time' for use in the social and cultural sciences. Such a systematic attempt, being rather of a philosophical nature, can be forsaken here.¹ Only a few remarks should be allowed

¹ It was dealt with briefly in the appendix to our *The Political Control of Czechoslovakia*, Stenfort Kroese, Leyden 1953.

here, to make our frame of reference somewhat more comprehensible. We believe that, once revised for use in the social science, the concepts of time and space will enable us to apply the methodological strictures of operational empirical research to this field of study. We hoped to accept the sharp logics of "empiricism" without necessarily subscribing to all its epistemological implications.

Sociological Space and Time. The concept of sociological space was coined to help to order the societal phenomena in a similar way as the concept of physical space orders all material objects by distinguishing their three dimensions of length, width, and depth. In agreement with P. A. SOROKIN,¹ we felt that the large field of values, meanings, and norms forms an essential part of all social phenomena, the other parts being the organizations, groups, social strata, and the interacting persons themselves. The first are covered by the abstract concept of culture, the second by the abstract concept of social structure, the third by the concept of personality. Each of these abstract concepts can be further subdivided.

Basic Constructs. *Culture* is considered as consisting of culture traits and culture complexes, *social structure* as composed of organizations, groups, strata and other structural properties of society, *personality* as built up of various traits.

The concrete configurations of these parts are correspondingly called culture-pattern, social structure (in its concrete meaning) and personality. Similar concrete manifestations of these three basic concepts of our frame of reference can be found in each culture-area which is a territory covered by a certain culture group — a population group characterized by a concrete pattern of culture. 'Culture area' is to be considered as a coordination concept, linking the sociological universe with physical space in a similar way as the concept 'culture-era' links it with physical time. Considered in its dynamic aspect, the culture-pattern and the social structure are perpetuated in their specific forms by the mechanisms and the process of social control. As the pattern of culture or social structure may provide the avowed channels for a change, the process of social control should not be interpreted as the maintenance of the status quo of a society. The ensuing change of a pattern of culture is a cultural change, that of a social structure we designate as social change. In the case of sudden changes unprovided for in the process of social control, we speak of social upheavals or revolutions. From similar changes split-up cultures may emerge, two or more different culture-patterns existing in the same culture-area. These patterns are then referred to as sub-cultures, the corresponding mechanisms of control as primary or secondary patterns of social control.

We assume that single culture-complexes are causally interlinked to the extent that a change in one of them is followed by a change in another one. It depends on the rate of change and on the intensity of

¹ P. A. SOROKIN, *Sociocultural Causality, Space, Time*, 1943. Also his *Society, Culture, and Personality*, 1947.

causal relationship (number of intervening variables) whether the changes occur in a direct temporal sequence or whether a longer interval separates them both. In the latter case, we are inclined to speak of cultural lag.

According to another assumption the changes are interlinked along all basic dimensions in the sociological space. A sudden shift in social structure can result in a change of culture pattern and in the dominant (the most frequent) social personality type, and the other way round. In other words we assume a correlation between the specific configuration of cultural traits, the specific social structure, and the personality. In the attempt to explain a change in any of the basic regions (culture, social structure, or personality) we shall look for the explicative variables in the other regions. As an example: the explanation for a shift in social structure (e.g., the smaller size of family on account of the declining birth-rate) will be sought in the other structural aspects (e.g., the larger density of the population, the higher frequency of contacts and of interaction, urbanization, etc.) as well as in the cultural change (e.g., the growing rôle of science in the loss of religious controls, the prevalence of economic or political values over religious values, etc.) or in the personality changes (e.g., the higher occurrence of the more rational, less impulsive, more progressive, self-assured, comfort-seeking personality type).

It is evident that the basic constructs are defined here in rather an apodictic, self-evident way. It will obviously depend on the intellectual background of the reader whether they will be incorporated in his system of concepts. Bearing this in mind, we shall try to avoid the use of highly abstract concepts (such as 'sociological space and time') in the following Part II and Part III of the book. Instead we shall try to confine ourselves to somewhat more concrete terms as 'pattern of culture,' 'social structure,' and 'personality' on which more scientists can agree. As even with regard to these concepts, agreement is only partial, we thought it necessary to define our basic notions as sharply as possible in spite of the preliminary and assertive nature of such definitions.

CHAPTER XI

MAIN CONCEPTS AND VARIABLES

A) METHOD OF SELECTION OF CONCEPTS

In the previous chapter, the general purpose of our study was described as an attempt to explain human behaviour in terms of social and cultural variables. In the preliminary stage of research much time was spent in considering the various aspects of the community under study to be included in our project. The various concepts of social science were examined in order that they might either be included in or dropped from the arsenal of our methodological tools. In the very beginning of our work, we realized the selective nature of all concepts in empirical research. We imagined that once the concepts and the problems are defined, the process of selection of data will be influenced by them; that our perception of social and cultural reality will be influenced by our expectations and notions even if the latter are chiefly motivated by scientific interests. All these problems became urgent in the period of the framing and the wording of the questionnaire. Once the questions were decided upon, no additional data could be obtained for the statistical evaluation.

For this reason, we looked for concepts to be included in our analysis in the fear that some relevant data might be left out. This inevitably enlarged the original scope of the questionnaire. Another reason for the large number of concepts included was the inevitable complexity of motives with which we approached the subject. On the one hand, the purely theoretical, methodological objectives can be mentioned. We strove for concepts already used and applied by other research-workers which might make a comparison and a discourse on the subject possible. Many of them were dictated to us by the general situation of our science; the awakened interest in the problems connected with the measurement of social stratification in the Netherlands, the application of more comprehensive statistical analysis to sociological data, the quantification of the concept of culture-pattern, etc. The more practical motives also played a rôle; the wish to describe and to explain those aspects of social behaviour in the community which might be of some relevance. This problem of relevancy of data was a very crucial one in this first stage of the research, as comparatively little could be deduced from the existing studies in the Netherlands about the nature of important causal factors and variables. All this explains why more than 200 questions were included in our questionnaire and why four I.B.M. cards were needed in the process of tabulating the answers.

It was in this phase of selecting the items for our questionnaire that we perceived a close relationship existing between the nature of scientific concepts and that of scientific hunches and hypotheses. As every concept determines the nature of the data which are to be collected, only those concepts which are judged to be relevant as possible causes or effects are admitted into the conceptual scheme. Their selection depends upon the estimate of their possible association with other concepts. These estimates are often made at a less conscious level: sex, age, educational status, religion, occupation, and still others are usually automatically registered in any survey, because their relevance is considered as sufficiently evident from previous studies. The inclusion of other concepts often depends upon less conscious hunches which formulated might run somehow as follows: "what makes for . . .?" or "what are the effects of . . .?" or "which is still important for . . .?" or "what else might be interesting to find out?"

At about the same time as we started to think of the subjects whom we planned to interview in terms of age, sex, optimism, tolerance, conservatism, sociability, social class, etc., the methodological censorship of empiricism began to operate. Only the concepts with an unambiguous meaning could be admitted into our scheme. This meaning should be fully comprehensible in terms of our data. The old operational device was resorted to. The concepts were translated and defined by the procedure of collecting and measuring the data. As we intended to collect the data from a large number of inhabitants who had to be approached during their leisure time, this procedure could not be long. The solution was found in the creation of the usual interview-situation; the scientific concepts were translated in the questions and the items of the questionnaire. Though the general way of thinking was from concepts to constructs and variables, in a few cases a reverse path was followed: a question was found suitable for the research by a sudden hunch and included into the questionnaire. Its full conceptual meaning was examined afterwards, in the final phrasing and the checking of the questionnaire.

Another postulate influencing the choice of our concepts by the methodological procedure of inductive study was that of quantification. To be able to evaluate our data statistically, we had to translate the concepts into quantitative constructs — the variables.

There were two possibilities of attaining the minimal degree of quantification allowing for the use of statistical methods. One consisted in the strict uniformity of reaction-stimuli. The questions had to be put in an exactly similar way and under exactly the same conditions. The relative frequencies of positive, negative, or evasive answers to the dichotomic items of the questionnaire could serve as a basis for a further evaluation. In this way, the dichotomous properties as "male-female," "owner — non-owner," or the qualita-

tative categories as "birth-place," "religious denomination" can also be viewed as "classifying properties"¹ dividing the sample of subjects chosen for interviews into at least two different "subsets." If the sample itself is split into fragments, the relative size of the "subsets" can be measured — the usual practice in contingency analysis.

Another way of quantification is that of scaling. Instead of questions to which alternative answers are given or answers which cannot be arranged into any kind of ordered series, questions arousing more specific responses are used. They divide the set of individuals into more than two subsets in such a way that a numerical value can be ascribed to each.

Both ways were followed in this study. In spite of our attempt at reaching the degree of more precise quantification which scaling affords, we were not able to translate most of our concepts into variables measurable by scales. As such a translation implies a number of questions to be included into a questionnaire, we could do so only at the costs of other concepts which we considered indispensable for any serious analysis of the culture-pattern concerned (such as "occupation," "religious denomination," "party-affiliation," etc.). Another shortcoming of the application of scales in our study was the limited use of *scale analysis* investigating the latent, inherent structure of the scales. This was caused by the fact that little was known to us of the work of L. Guttman, W. H. Goodenough, S. A. Stouffer, and P. F. Lazarsfeld in this field in 1949, the time of the theoretical preparation of our project. Only in one case we tried to apply Goodenough's technique; even here, however, our work regarding the inherent structure of the scale is severely handicapped by the small number of items of which the scale consisted (see farther our application of the social distance scale to the members of different churches at Sassenheim).

B) MAIN CATEGORIES OF VARIABLES

The factors that were included in our study could be classified into the following categories according to the nature of information that they convey:

1. *Factual Information about the Subject; of Dichotomous Nature.* Several examples can be mentioned: Sex. Parenthood. Help to wife (husband) with her (his) work. Children's homework. Experience of unemployment. Possession of the Bible. Father's help to Mother. Mother's help to Father. Mother's earnings.

2. *Factual Information about the Subject; of Non-Dichotomous, Qualitative Nature.* Examples: Birth-place. Father's occupation. Grandfather's

¹ We owe this term to N. GÖSTA CARLSSON, *Dimensions of Behaviour. A Study in the Logic of Psychology and Sociology*, Lund 1949, page 10.

occupation. The residence of the parents. Marital status. Place of work. Method of obtaining work. Educational status. The newspapers read. The items read in the paper. The radio-programmes listened to. Way of spending leisure.

3. *Factual Information about the Subject; of Quantitative Nature.* Examples: Age. No. of children. No. of siblings. No. of rooms shared. No. of places where one lived before. No. of working-hours. The age at the first job. No. of positions held. Length of unemployment period. Years of severe unemployment. Hours of sleep. Incomes. Length of holidays. No. of books possessed. No. of books on religious subjects. Frequency of church-attendance. Frequency of going to the pictures. Frequency of illness.

4. *Information of Qualitative Nature about the Attitude.* As examples might serve the answers to questions as: "*If your wages or salary would be raised how would you spend your surplus money?*" "*When you consider someone as belonging to a higher or lower class, on which of the following characteristics of the person concerned do you base your judgment: his descent, fortune, cultural level, or work achievement?*" ("Als U van iemand denkt, dat hij of zij meer of minder is dan U, wat is dan doorslaggevend voor Uw oordeel: afkomst (of zij van adel zijn of uit een goede familie stammen)? rijkdom (of zij flink eigendom hebben)? beschaving (wat zij weten en hoe zij voor bepaalde dingen voelen)? prestatie (wat zij doen?). "*Do you think that life to-day considerably differs from what it used to be when you went to school? In what respect?*" ("Vindt U, dat het leven thans belangrijk veranderd is in vergelijking met Uw schoolleeftijd? Zo ja, in welk opzicht?"). "*Do you think that life will change in the future? In what respect?*" ("Denkt U, dat het leven in de toekomst zal veranderen? In welk opzicht?"). "*Do you think that the government can improve the conditions of living in your community or in the Netherlands? What then, and in what way?*" ("Vindt U, dat er iets in Uw gemeente of in Nederland van overheidswege veranderd kan worden om het leven beter te maken? Zo ja, wat en door wie?"). "*Do you think that living conditions here can be changed for the better in any other way? In what way, by whom?*" ("Vindt U dat het leven er op een andere manier verbeterd kan worden? Wat, door wie, op welke wijze?").

A few comments regarding the nature of these examples may be allowed here. They comprise questions which cannot be answered in such a way that the answers of a group of subjects can be classified according to the relation of "more than" or "less than" which would characterize any category of answers. It is for this reason that we refer to them as being of a qualitative nature. The answers could not, as a rule, be anticipated, being of a quite individual nature (this concerns especially the last two examples). The question about the standard of judgment which one applies when speaking of "classes" served as additional information to the series of questions concerning the social prestige of different categories of occupation.

The next two questions were presented on purpose in an open form in order to register the spontaneous reactions of the population regarding social and cultural change (their own perception of it). The last questions were framed in order to register opinions regarding possible practical changes, i.e., practical suggestions for reform and improvement.

5. *Information chiefly of Dichotomous Nature about Attitude, Opinion, or Involvement.* The large scope of the questionnaire, the fact that the questions were not presented to the subject in a written manner, and still other technical aspects of our survey (see Chapter XIII), were the reason for the limitation of the scales chiefly to three instead of the more precise five items. We usually only registered the positive or the negative reactions to the stimulus, the absence of any reaction at all, or the vague or inadequate reactions. Similarly, in several cases only the presence or absence of a certain characteristic property was registered. The loss of precision was outweighed, in our opinion, by, the possibility of enlarging the number of variables which we thought necessary for the study of the whole cultural pattern and the social structure of a given community. A few examples may be mentioned. The questions were asked as follows: "*Are you satisfied with your present housing conditions?*" ("Bent U tevreden met Uw tegenwoordige woning?"). "*Are you afraid of future unemployment?*" ("Is U bang voor werkloosheid in de toekomst?"). "*Do you find satisfaction in your occupation and work?*" ("Is U tevreden met Uw tegenwoordig beroep of werkomstandigheden?"). "*Do you think that you have made advancement in your life, that a tendency to rise can be perceived in it?*" ("Vindt U, dat U in Uw leven promotie gemaakt heeft, dat er een stijgende lijn in Uw leven valt waar te nemen?"). "*Do you see any chance for advancement in the future?*" ("Ziet U nog kansen tot verbetering in de toekomst?"). "*Do you believe in God?*" ("Gelooft U in God?"). "*Are you satisfied with your health or physical conditions?*" ("Bent U tevreden over Uw gezondheid en Uw lichamelijke toestand?"). "*Do you think that you will witness another war?*" ("Denkt U, dat er nog tijdens Uw leven een nieuwe oorlog zal komen?"). "*Do you think that life in the Netherlands is being threatened from abroad at present?*" ("Denkt U, dat het leven in Nederland thans vanuit het buitenland bedreigd wordt?").

6. *Information of a More Quantitative Nature about Attitudes.* Some questions were asked to which there were at least three possible answers and not only alternatives. The vague or inadequate answers as well as "refusals" were distinctly separated from the middle value, the range of the attitude scale being somewhat larger than in the preceding category. In order to measure the conservative-progressive attitude we asked, for instance: "*Do you think that our society (public life) in the future: a. should be organized in a new and different way? b. should remain the same as today? c. should be more like the one in the past?*" ("Vindt U dat onze maatschappij in de toekomst: nieuw en anders moet

worden georganiseerd? liefst zoals vandaag moet blijven? meer op het verleden moet lijken?"). Another question of similar nature was framed to measure the degree of bureaucracy in the community: "*Whenever you come into contact with the public authorities, what kind of service do you get? Quick and good? Reasonable? Tardy and poor?*" ("Als U iets met de overheid-, gemeente- of rijksambtenaren te maken hebt, hoe wordt U dan geholpen? Vlug en goed? Redelijk? Langzaam en slecht?"). Still another question was designed to measure the attitude of the population towards persons who transgress the law: "*Do you think that thieves and criminals are punished: a. too severely? b. too lightly? c. rightly?*" ("Hoe vindt U dat er tegen dieven en misdadigers wordt opgetreden? Te streng, te zacht, net als het hoort?"). To measure the "optimism-pessimism attitude" the following question was included in our questionnaire: "*Do you think the future for the people will be: just as present, better, or worse?*" ("Denkt U, dat de toekomst voor de mensen: beter zal zijn? ongeveer dezelfde zal zijn? slechter zal zijn?").

7. *Information Obtained by Means of More Complex Scales or Indices.* This information concerned both the attitudes and the factual behaviour characteristics of the subjects. From the methodological standpoint it was rather of a heterogeneous nature, being obtained by means of different methodological devices. For this reason, it cannot be described here as a single category but rather as a number of more or less distinct tools which will be treated separately.

a. *Social participation scale and index.* To measure the different degree of participation in the associations, Stuart Chapin's scale was used. Care was taken not to apply it without re-testing to our population group which was expected to vary in several aspects from the American cultural pattern for which it was designed. For this reason a short questionnaire was drawn. It comprised questions about the nature of the associations in which the interviewee participated, about the length and intensity of his participation, and the following complex question: "*In your opinion who participates more in the life of his group or organization:*

- () *one who pays financial contributions;*
- () *one who attends meetings;*
- () *one who shares the membership;*
- () *one who is the leader of the group;*
- () *one who works on its committee or sub-committee?"*

The answers to this question should be expressed in figures which the subjects were asked to put to each item. They were asked to put a 5 to that item denoting the highest degree of participation and a 1 to the item denoting the lowest degree, reserving 2, 3, and 4 for the remaining three items. Thus we hoped to obtain an ordinal scale of social participation which would consist of five ranks.¹ From a

¹ For the full Dutch text of this short questionnaire see Appendix A.

state almanac,¹ a sample of forty-seven functionaries in various associations throughout the country was drawn to which about ten members of students associations in Utrecht and in Leyden were added. All main provinces of the Netherlands were represented in our sample which consisted of about 14 functionaries of students' associations, 11 members of various religious associations, 10 representatives of trade unions, 4 functionaries of political parties, about 5 members of various youth-associations, 3 members of women-associations, while the rest were members of various organizations and associations which cannot be classified under one common heading: the association of teetotalers, film-league, Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, etc. To all these persons the short questionnaire was sent together with a short introductory letter and an envelope with a return-address and stamp. In total, we received thirty-five questionnaires which were adequately filled in. The scores of these 35 persons were added, the means and the interval-values for each item computed. The results may be summed up in the following way:

Rank	Category	Sum of scores	Interval between categories	Means	Mean value of intervals
1	Leader, chairman . .	156		4.5	
			21		0.6
2	Committee-member .	135		3.9	
			20		0.6
3	Attending meetings . .	115		3.3	
			48		1.4
4	Paying contributions .	67		1.9	
			15		0.4
5	Membership	52		1.5	

According to these results, the five categories of social participation are ascribed the same ranks of importance by the subjects in the Netherlands as by those in the United States. On the other hand, they bear out the fact that the scale of social participation can by no means be considered as an ordinal metric scale, the intervals between the single categories being not of equal size. This is especially striking with Rank 4 (contributions) as compared alternatively with Rank 3 and Rank 5. The interval between 3 and 4 is more than three times as large as the interval between 4 and 5. This can, in our view, be ascribed to the strong emotional loading of the words denoting the financial circumstances in the group of "judges."

Although aware of the metric shortcomings of our scale, we still used it for the construction of "social participation index." By

¹ L. J. VAN DIJK, *Nederlands Staatsalmanak voor Iedereen*, Zaltbommel 1949.

means of a series of questions we tried to ascertain from each member of the representative sample in Sassenheim (404 persons) the degree of participation in each association, church, political party, or club, in which he took part at the time of our interview. Separate series of questions were included to register the participation in the church and in the political party, as a majority of the inhabitants were not accustomed to reckon both among associations. This was the reason for asking: "Are you a church-member?," and "Are you a member of a political party?," and "Of what other associations are you a member? To what clubs or associations do you pay regular membership fees? Are you a committee-member or do you have a function in some club or association? What function, in what association? Do you regularly attend meetings? Of what club or association?" The answers to these three similar series of questions were evaluated in terms of the social participation scale by simply adding the rank-ciphers for each association or organization. Thus, someone paying membership dues to the Union of Agricultural Labourers but not taking part in the meetings, at the same time being a member of the church, going to church on each Sunday, not participating in any of the political parties but being a committee-member of a local football club will rate nine points according to our index (2+3+4). The same score would be ascribed to a chairman of an electoral committee who perchance does not participate in any other association except the trade union in which he is a vice-chairman. As our social participation index covered the numerical values from 0 to about 30, we divided it into the intervals of three points which made possible the use of only one column on the Hollerith card. The ten categories of social participation thus obtained were introduced as a variable into our causal analysis which was performed on the hand of a statistical analysis of contingency.

b. Occupational stratification index. This was computed as a measurable counterpart of the concept of social status which we had in mind. As it was very difficult to ascertain precisely the total social position of any individual, we decided to examine his position only in one respect. In agreement with the previous work of one of the leading Dutch sociologists,¹ we took occupational prestige as a basis for the study of social stratification. This was done on the assumption that people in their judgment of their neighbours' positions refer mostly to their occupations and jobs. This assumption suggested by the research of F. van Heek found a validation in the distribution of answers to the question regarding the possible basis of social prestige: "When you refer to someone as belonging to a higher or lower class than yourself, on which of the following characteristics do you base your judgment: descent, property, cultural level, or work achievement?" Strikingly few persons referred to the first two

¹ F. VAN HEEK, *Stijging en Daling op de Maatschappelijke Ladder*, Leiden 1945.

categories as the basis of their judgment. A large majority of answers fell under the two last mentioned values. The answers were distributed as follows:

Standard of judgment	No. of persons	Per cent
Descent	8	2.0
Property	5	1.2
Cultural level	148	36.6
Work achievement	145	35.9
Cultural level and work achievement . .	69	17.1
Descent and cultural level	8	2.0
None of the categories stated	16	4.0
No or inadequate answer	5	1.2
Total	404	100.0

We can see that more than a half, namely 53 p.c., of the population (according to our sample) admit that they examine what work one does when judging the social class (actually the status in the social hierarchy according to the Dutch wording of our question). Still more persons, namely 55.7 p.c., when passing their judgment, refer to "cultural level" (beschaving), namely 55.7 p.c. The latter was, however, rather a vague category and very difficult to measure. Personal manners, habits, as well as attitudes and opinions were probably involved because we explained "cultural level" to the interviewees as "how much one knows and how one evaluates things." In the course of further analysis, there appeared to be a difference in standards of judgment associated with the sex-differential. Women refer more often to the category of "cultural level" than men do, who refer to "work achievement" more often than women in their judgment of another person's status. This can be demonstrated with the cross-tabulated data which are presented in the following Table 38. The difference in the distribution of answers was found highly significant, at the level of $P < 0.001$ (Chi-square being 46.66, at three degrees of freedom).

Somewhat less intensive association was found between the "standard of judgment" and the educational level of the persons in our sample. The group of persons with more school-education refer more frequently to "cultural level" as the basis of their judgment of social class position ($P < 0.02$). Both factors seem to operate independently of each other because, as we discovered later, women at Sassenheim, taken as a group, are characterized by a lower educational status than the group of men

TABLE 38

Distribution of 404 persons over eighteen years randomly selected from the population of Sassenheim by sex and standard of judgment of social position

Standard of judgment	Sex		Total
	Males	Females	
Cultural level	49	99	148
Cultural level and work achievement	36	33	69
Rest (descent, property, no and inadequate reply)	17	25	42
Work achievement	91	54	145
Total	193	211	404

Source: Random sample of 404 Persons

(see Chapter XIII). No association was ascertained with birth-place, age, occupational group, incomes, class-identification, church-affiliation, social status, and social mobility index (the latter categories will be described presently).

By inspecting once more Table 38, we can notice that about sixty-six per cent of all males over eighteen years at Sassenheim refer to the work one does when judging his position in the system of social classes (127 out of 193). This seems to justify our assumption that social status to a certain degree coincides with occupational status. The social status, if interpreted as one's position in the social-class system, usually refers to both the bread-winner and his wife, especially in a community where women do not usually have jobs after marriage, as is the case in Sassenheim. In addition, one should bear in mind that educational level is associated with occupational status, persons with more school education receive better-paid jobs and positions than people of lower educational levels. All these considerations reinforced the decision to take occupational status as the basis of the scale.

The next objective was to obtain a series of occupational categories ranked according to the degree of prestige ascribed to them by the population. As we assumed an association between one's own occupation and one's rating of other occupations, we could hardly apply the same method as in the social participation scale. In the latter case, the scale was based rather on semantic discrimination than on social valuation. For this reason, we did not linger on the problem of the composition of the group which was asked to judge the single categories. When considering the highly emotional questions concerning the occupational hierarchy the problem of the composition of the group of judges emerged with all its urgency. What occupations had to be judged and by whom? Assuming a relationship between

the occupational composition of the referential group (the group of "judges") and the rating of occupations, we decided to enlarge the referential group to comprise the whole sample of the population under study. Thus conceived, the scale of occupational stratification would measure the mean values of prestige ascribed by the whole population to different occupational categories (assuming the representative nature of the sample).

Thus we hoped to escape the difficulties arising from the uncertainty as to whom to comprise and whom not to comprise in the referential group. This decision had, as is usual with the intricate methodological problems, other limitations as a consequence. The fact that we allowed our interviewees to establish themselves the standards for measurement and rating made it necessary to limit the number of occupational categories. A question consisting of more than fifteen items would either mean a severe trespassing on the patience of even a very indulgent interviewee, or the necessity to drop some essential parts of our already lengthy questionnaire. As "occupational status" was considered as one of the numerous variables in our study, we decided to limit the number of categories even at the cost of precision. The possibility of examining at least a crude index of status with a number of other variables outweighed the claims for precision in our eyes. The categories were selected from a list of occupations in Sassenheim, partly drawn from the Municipal Register, partly from direct information gained from the sample. We tried to list the more frequent occupational categories under one common heading. In addition to these, the profession of physician and the category of "clergyman" were included. "Tramp" was mentioned at the suggestion of one colleague who wished a category lower in prestige than that of any other occupation in the sample; the latter was not, however, considered as an occupational category in the proper sense and was not included in the statistical evaluation (many interviewees did not pay it any consideration either).

The following complex question was then included in our questionnaire: ¹ "Which of the following occupations belong to the higher class, which to the lower class, and which to the middle class?"

- ... *Agricultural Worker*
- ... *Artisan*
- ... *Bulb-grower*
- ... *Civil Servant*
- ... *Florist's Mate* (bloemistknecht)
- ... *Exporter* (bulbs)
- ... *Foreman*
- ... *Tramp*
- ... *Industrial Worker* (skilled)

¹ For the complete Dutch text of this question see Appendix B.

- ... *Industrial Workers (unskilled)*
- ... *Office Clerk*
- ... *Physician*
- ... *Clergyman*
- ... *Shopkeeper*
- ... *Teacher*
- ... *Salesman (Travelling)*

The answers of the subjects were evaluated in such a way that one point was ascribed to each occupational category which was reckoned to the lower class, two points to each middle-class occupation, and three points to occupations reckoned to the higher-class. The scores for each occupational group were distributed as follows:

Mean score	Rank	Occupational category	Sum of scores	No. of adequate answers
2.93	1	Physician	1172	400
2.66	2	Clergyman	1050	395
2.29	3	Teacher	886	387
2.23	4	Exporter	847	380
2.09	5	Civil Servant	818	391
2.07	6	Artisan	797	385
2.06	7	Bulb-grower	797	387
2.03	8	Shopkeeper	787	386
2.03	8	Traveller (Salesman)	784	387
1.95	9	Foreman	747	384
1.78	10	Industrial Worker (skilled)	671	377
1.75	11	Office Clerk (Kantoorbediende)	674	384
1.46	12	Agricultural Labourer	562	385
1.45	13	Horticultural Worker (Bloemist-knecht)	554	382
1.23	14	Industrial Worker (unskilled)	475	385

In the next phase of our work, the scale was contracted to comprise seven items in order to make possible an easy evaluation, by means of the Hollerith technique (one column on a punching card). Regard was paid to the mean scores. Occupations that nearly scored alike were given the same rank. The result was as follows: (see p. 278).

Not all the occupations of the present population could be classified under one of the above mentioned categories. The scale could only be used as a rough yardstick for further evaluation. A list of 225 occupations ascertained in our sample was rated independently by the research-workers by means of the scale. As a consequence, rather subjective interpolations had to be used. To provide at least a partial check, the results of the individua

Rank	Occupational categories
1	Physician, Clergyman (university graduates)
2	Civil Servant, Teacher, Exporter
3	Shopkeeper, Bulb-grower, Artisan
4	Foreman
5	Office Clerk, Skilled Workers (in Industry)
6	Agricultural and Horticultural Worker
7	Unskilled Worker (in Industry)

raters were compared, discussed, and the mean values computed in the cases of larger deviation. Only in the most doubtful cases no rank was ascribed to the subject concerned. As we also asked the kind of job or occupation of the husbands and the wives, we were able to estimate even status of the housewives who were simply ascribed the ranks of their husbands.

The use of this imperfect technique of scaling found a justification in the fact that, as mentioned above, we looked for a short-cut method which would attain a higher degree of "objectivity" and precision without sacrificing some of the other variables. Our fear of basing the whole scale on the judgments of a too small group of raters proved justified. As the following Table 39 demonstrates, a significant difference was found between the ratings of the same occupational category by the members of different occupational groups. The occupation of agricultural and horticultural worker is rated higher by the agricultural and the horticultural workers themselves than by the owners (farmers and bulb-growers) and the foremen in agriculture and horticulture. The association between one's occupation and the rating of occupational categories was found significant at $P < 0.001$ level (Tschupproff's coefficient of contingency being $T = .35$).

Similar differences in rating were also found with other occupational groups (e.g., the "foreman" enjoys higher prestige with the industrial workers than with their superiors in industry). *The occupational composition of the group of raters invariably influences the results of the ratings in the study of social stratification.*

c. *Occupational mobility index.* Similarly as the occupational status was measured as an approximate estimation of the more general social status, occupational mobility was investigated as one aspect of the more general social mobility. It was measured chiefly by means of the index of the occupational stratification scale which was described above. The large scope of the study again imposed limitations upon our work. Although the whole occupational career

TABLE 39

Ratings of the occupation of agricultural and horticultural workers by these workers themselves and by farmers, bulb-growers, and foremen in agriculture and horticulture

Occupational group	Scores ascribed to agricultural and horticultural workers			
	higher (3)	middle (2)	lower (1)	Total
Agricultural and horticultural workers.	8	39	23	70
Farmers, bulb-growers, foremen in agriculture and horticulture.	6	17	35	58
Total	14	56	58	128

Source: 128 Persons of the Random Sample Employed in the Agriculture and Horticulture.

of every interviewee was registered in the course of the interview, we took the occupational status of the parents as compared with that of the subjects as the basis of our index. In the same way as the present occupation of the interviewee, the occupation of his parents was also rated by the different raters with our scale and the differences were weighed.¹

The occupational status of the interviewees was subtracted from that of their parents. If both occupations fell under the same rank, we would obtain 0. This figure denotes that there is no occupational (social) mobility (as expressed in terms of occupational status of both parents and children). In a case where the status of the parents is higher than that of the children (let us say 3 and 5) the result will be a negative figure (in this case: $3 - 5 = -2$), which is an index of downward occupational mobility; if the status of parents is lower (let us say 6 as compared with 5 for the children) the result will be a positive figure (in this case $6 - 5 = 1$), denoting a slight upward mobility. The direction and the

¹ A basis for evaluation was formed by the answers to the question: "What was the occupation of your father?" If two or more alternative answers were given, we inquired after the "longest held" or "main" occupation. We only had to do this in a few instances.

Thus, for brevity's sake, little attention was paid to differences in status due to careers in one life-span (as contrasted with those in the span of two or more generations). Possibly our measurement of social mobility is slightly biased; the generation of the interviewees will be ascribed a lower average social status than is its due as the son usually starts his career at a point which is lower in the social hierarchy than the one occupied by the final position of his father.

degree of the occupational (social) mobility could be expressed with this rough index. Its evident drawback is again the somewhat subjective interpolation of our scale to comprise occupations not falling under any of the categories. As there were occupations in the generation of the parents which could not be found in the present changed circumstances, such an interpolation was quite inevitable. One should also bear in mind that we measured the mobility in terms of the *present* occupational stratification. Little, practically nothing, is known to us about occupational prestige some 50 years ago. Probably in no other field of social study does the relativity of social perception become so obvious as in the study of social mobility. It varies not only with time and space but also with the groups of different occupational and social composition.

d. The scale for measuring the social distance between religious groups. This scale should provide us with an operational definition of tolerance between religious groups in Sassenheim. It was framed after the model of Bogardus' and Dodd's scales¹ with two modifications: *a.* the number of categories has been reduced and, *b.* the categories themselves have been modified to correspond more closely with local circumstances. We noticed that family-ties were strong in the community under study and used this fact for the construction of the scale. The question to be put to each person in the representative sample was worded as follows: "Would you object to your children or brothers and sisters *a.* being married to *b.* getting acquainted with, or *c.* working with a person of a different religious denomination?" ("Vindt U het goed indien Uw kinderen of broers en zusters met een persoon van andere godsdienstige gezindheid gaan: trouwen, nauwe vriendschap sluiten, gaan werken?"). The answer to each particular item of this question was separately registered. We assumed that the answers expressed different degrees of the "tolerance-intolerance" continuum. Those who did not object to the admittance of a person of a different religious denomination into their families should be placed on such a continuum much nearer to 1 (denoting the maximum degree of tolerance) than people accepting other forms of relationship or no relationship at all. In other words, we expected that a nominal scale could be assumed consisting of the main categories of answers to our question: 1. admittance as a family-member; 2. close friendship; 3. acceptance as a companion, or co-worker; 4. avoidance of any contact at all. This implied that the relation "more than" could be assumed between any two categories: $1 > 2 > 3 > 4$. Another assumption was that the difference in answering the question was mainly or exclusively due to the difference of "tolerance" of the subjects whom we interviewed.

¹ See BOGARDUS, E. S., *Immigration and race attitudes*, Boston 1928, and DODD, S. C., "A social distance test in the Near East in *Amer. J. of Sociology*, *XLI*, Sept 1935.

Only a partial validation of both assumptions could be obtained through the analysis of the structure of the scale as it appeared in the distribution of answers to our question. In the attempt to test the validity of the scale we combined both assumptions by reasoning that the scale could be considered as unidimensional (measuring one single variable) if it was *factually* ordinal, i.e., if all (or practically all) answers could be ordered into series. According to the structure of the scale one might have expected that any person positively accepting the relationship ranked 1 (admittance to family) would also accept the lower categories (friendship and work-contact; the avoidance of contact could not be considered as a category belonging to our scale in the proper sense). Similarly, persons accepting friendship with people of different religious denominations were expected to accept work-contacts as well. The discrepancy between the expectations and the actual answers was taken as a measure of the unidimensionality of the scale. As the number of questions (the number of items in a complex question) was rather small and as we did not possess a scalogram board, the number of persons giving answers not compatible with the expected pattern of the scale formed the units on which our measure of unidimensionality was based. A simple coefficient was computed by dividing the number of subjects who gave incompatible answers by the total number of subjects. This coefficient was borrowed from Goodenough¹ rather than from the authors of *Measurement and Prediction*,² who compute the coefficient of reproducibility as a function of "false" replies, number of items, and number of subjects.

If we consider once more our complex question, we notice that it consists of three stimuli: (a) the possibility of marriage, (b) friendship, or (c) work-relation, with a person of different religious denomination. On theoretical grounds we may assume that any one of these items can be approved of or rejected by the subject (the rejection of all of them being an extreme case, similarly as the approval of all items.)

The reaction of the subject to our complex question is also of a complex nature. If leaving the postulate of unidimensionality and the latent structure of the scale out of consideration, we may expect that the answers will assume one of the following patterns: abc, ab, ac, bc, a, b, c, d. If, however, we assume the ordinal, unidimensional nature of the scale (that $a < b < c < d$) then the actual answers which we receive in the course of our survey should all fall in one of the following categories: abc, bc, c, d. The answers of the type ab, ac, a, b are not compatible with the structure of the ordinal scale.³ Only under ideal circumstances can we expect the actual answers to be quite compatible with the expected patterns. In any real situation there will always be a discrepancy owing to chance or

¹ GOODENOUGH, W. H., A technique for scale analysis, in *Educat. Psychol. Measmt.*, 1944, 4, 179-190.

² SAMUEL A. STOFFER, L. GUTTMAN, EDWARD A. SUCHMAN, PAUL L. LAZARSELD, SHIRLEY A. STAR, JOHN A. CLAUSEN, *Measurement and Prediction*, Princeton University Press, 1950.

³ For the definition of these terms cf., C. H. COOMBS, "Mathematical models in psychological scaling," in *J. of the Amer. Statistical Association*, 46, Dec. 1951, pp. 480-489; also his *The Theory and Methods of Social Measurement*, in L. FESTINGER, D. KATZ, *Research Methods in the Behavioral Sciences*, pp. 471-535, New York, 1953.

to the lower *degree* of unidimensionality (we were even inclined to think of this characteristic of the scale rather in terms of a 'continuum' than in those of a dichotomous quality). A simple coefficient of unidimensionality (C_u) can then be computed as follows:

$$C_u = 1 - \frac{\text{number of answers of type ab, ac, a, b,}}{\text{number of all adequate answers}}$$

For obvious reasons only the lost questionnaires and those of the interviewees who did not reply or comprehend the question should be subtracted from the total to get the correct denominator in our formula.

The answers which were given by the 404 persons of our sample were spread over the categories in the following way:

Category of answer	Number of persons	Per cent
Accept all suggested forms of relationship (abc)	64	15.8
Accept 'family-relationship' and 'friendship,' reject (work-relationship) (ab)	0	0.0
Accept 'family-relationship' and 'work-relationship' reject 'friendship' (ac)	1	0.3
Accept 'friendship' and 'work-relationship,' reject 'family-membership' (bc)	162	40.1
Accept 'family-relationship,' reject other categories (a)	0	0.0
Accept 'friendship,' reject other categories (b)	6	1.5
Accept 'work-relationship,' reject other categories (c)	123	30.4
Reject all suggested forms of relationship (d)	40	9.9
No or inadequate answers	8	2.0
Total	404	100.0

If we substitute these figures in our formula, we find

$$C_u = 1 - \frac{7}{396} = 0.98$$

As only less than two per cent of the answers were not compatible with the structure of the scale, we might conclude that our scale is of an ordinal nature and that it really measures only one variable. Instead of ascribing a high value to the result of our procedure, one should, however, bear in mind that besides the small number of items another shortcoming is that all questions (items) were put in sequence. In these circumstances, it is questionable to what extent we measured solely the attitude of the subjects and how much the answers registered the ability of the interviewees to comprehend the semantic aspects of the questions concerned. A person who objects to friendship with persons of another denomination may find

it consistent and logical that he must object to marriage, regardless of what his attitude might be. The measurement of the scale structure (its unidimensionality) is partly disturbed by the perception of this structure by the interviewees. Both shortcomings were not preconceived at the time of framing of the questionnaire. They should be taken into consideration in the interpretation of the data.¹

The foregoing is the enumeration of the basic categories of variables which were included in our study. In the evaluation of data the problem of unidimensionality was given more importance than its exclusive treatment in connection with the social distance scale might suggest. Very often the factual contents of an attitude-question were mixed up with its emotional loading. In that case the question was dropped from our analytical table and another question was used, if available. As an example, the question, designed to measure the intensity of political feeling, can be mentioned: "*How would you rate political party activity in your community: too much activity? too little activity? appropriate?*" ("Vindt U dat er aan het partijleven in de gemeente: 1. te veel wordt gedaan? 2. te weinig wordt gedaan? 3. er niets op aan te merken valt?"). We expected that the interviewees would refer the terms "too much," "too little," "appropriate" to their own referential scales of judgment that are based on attitudes. In reality, several of them used their previous domiciles as a basis for comparison and gave rather sophisticated answers. For this reason another question. ("*Did you think and speak about these [political] matters before?*") was used as the variable in our analytical table.

Other questions had to be dispensed with because they divided our sample into too disproportioned parts: the question about the satisfaction with medical care was answered, for instance, by almost 84 p.c. of the population in a decisive, positive way, while only 16 p.c. fell under the remaining three categories of answers. In several cases (e.g., the question about satisfaction with work or working conditions), we were not able to replace the question by another one of a more differentiated nature (consisting of more expected reply-categories). All this imposed severe limitations on the process of crosstabulation of data. (The reader interested in the distribution of answers to the questions of our questionnaire should consult Appendix C).

Before closing this section, we should like to stress that no attempt was made to consider the concepts, as defined in this study, as absolute, reified entities. The chief aim was to ascribe them a single, unambiguous meaning. There are, in our view, no objections to the possible revision of the relation of these "scientific concepts" to their counterparts in daily speech in order to find some additional connotations — the notions which might be examined in a more controlled way

¹ See p. 447.

in future research projects. Whether such a revision occurs on semantic or phenomenological grounds is a matter of predilection for a certain personal frame of reference.

Finally, it should be mentioned that only the concepts considered as variables in the explanatory scheme were treated in this chapter. The more general social concepts of the theoretical frame (those of "structure," "pattern of culture," "social function," "causality," etc.) will be dealt with once more in the single chapters of Part III insofar they were not described in Chapter X.

CHAPTER XII

THE COLLECTION OF DATA

A) THEORETICAL PREPARATION

The process of the collection of data was guided by the following principles. First, a sheet of questions about the community under study was drawn up. These questions were dictated to us by the immediate research-objectives and determined the general scope of our work in this preliminary stage. They were based on a previous theoretical study of literature on community life, and were grouped into sections similar to those into which this book is divided. There were several hundreds of detailed questions which had to be answered empirically. In order to examine the possibilities of obtaining adequate answers to these questions and to prevent the omission of some in the course of the survey, a source of possible information was noted behind each question, in the second phase of our preliminary work. Thus we obtained two sheets which would guide further empirical work. One listed the issues and the problems with which we were concerned, the other the possible sources of information about them.

These sources were critically examined and classified into several categories according to the degree of control which we had over the method of collecting the original empirical data. Public documentary sources were distinguished from the documentary sources which we gathered ourselves in the archives or the files of the authorities concerned. Personal sources were subdivided into indirect and direct sources. The former comprised the information which we received from the interviewee about other persons, institutions, or groups with whom he had good contacts, the latter consisted of the information gathered by the interviewer concerning the interviewee himself.

Next, the general plan of campaign was decided upon. In order to prevent uncontrolled interference with the community under study prior to an official introduction, we decided to tackle the documentary and the secondary sources outside Sassenheim first; after this was done we would introduce the project to the official authorities and the more influential persons in Sassenheim. Once being introduced, we planned to dive into the local archives and files and to start the interviews with the local *elite*. In view of the information gathered in these preliminary phase, the text of the schedule for our survey had to be prepared. The main interview-campaign would follow another introductory effort in which the whole population had to be

informed about our work. There was no objection to individual interviews with "key-persons" to take place in this final phase of the survey or at the time of writing the final report. This plan was in fact followed without any major deviation. Let us, therefore, deal in more detail with its single phases in the same sequence as they followed each other during the research-campaign.

B) DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

For the official documentary sources, we drew mainly on the publications of the Dutch bureau of census (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek) that issues demographic, economic, and cultural data as well as data about the family-habitat computed in tables for each community of the Netherlands. This data gave valuable information about some important parameters of the population group under study, and promised an important check on the technique of sampling to be followed in the survey. Their evident shortcoming was that they were gathered at intervals which did not quite coincide with our work. Another shortcoming was that they were presented in a form not suitable for an analytical evaluation because only the most obvious cross-tabulations of data (age-sex, sex-marital status-age, age-habitat, age-religious denomination, etc.) were published. It turned out to be difficult to have the census data additionally tabulated according to the wishes of the research-workers. This made a large "statistical survey" of our own indispensable.

Several other documents were examined during the first approach to Sassenheim. The reference library of the Department of History of the University of Leyden afforded some insights into the history of the community. Our knowledge of the hydrographical and the climatological conditions is based almost entirely upon similar public documentary sources. Literature about the nature of the bulb-growing industry and on its history gave us the minimum of technical knowledge which was necessary to converse with local people about their jobs and working conditions.

C) FREE INTERVIEWS — INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH

Parallel to the study of official documents ran the preparation of interviews with the persons having daily contacts with the local population and those who keep the local institutions functioning. The general form of these interviews was as follows: after a short introduction, explaining once more the purpose of our visit (the interview only took place after the person concerned agreed on a suitable date either by phone or in a letter) the most relevant data about the interviewee were gathered: the length of his residence in Sassenheim, place of birth, social backgrounds, etc. Next, the essential data about

him as the exponent of a certain institution, as a functionary, which were the reason for our approach to him in our quest for information, were gathered, such as: what was his position in the organization concerned, his personal contact with his colleagues, superiors, or clients, etc. In addition to this, questions were asked concerning the main purpose of our visit: the structure of the organization to which he or she belonged, the nature of his or her contacts with the population-group, the main rhythm of the institutional life as the interviewee saw it, the main processes with which he was confronted (as a priest in the Church, a leader of a union, an employer of a larger number of employees, a physician, a teacher, etc.). Finally, his more general, personal impressions about the population were registered. Before the interviewer took leave, he used to give the interviewee an opportunity to ask questions himself and tried to assure his future cooperation.

At approximately the same time some of the scales which we described in the previous chapter were constructed: the social participation scale and some more complex questions which could be tested outside the group in Sassenheim. We kept the population-group of this community "intact" until the formal introduction took place.

This occurred in October, 1950, when a meeting was arranged between the Burgomaster and the Aldermen of the community of Sassenheim and the staff of the Department of Mental Health of the Netherlands' Institute of Preventive Medicine (Afd. Geestelijke Gezondheid van het Nederlands Instituut voor Praeventieve Geneeskunde). This meeting was also attended by the Director of the Communal Works of Sassenheim, because the community-authorities assumed that one of our research-objectives was to investigate the possibilities of further industrialization, a misconception suggested by other industrial research-projects in which the Department was involved. In this meeting, the community-authorities were made acquainted with our research-objectives and asked for cooperation. Stress was laid on the purely scientific nature of the research, which, however, resembled in many respects similar projects in other communities in the Netherlands. Assurance was given that the costs of the research-project would not be borne by the community and it was pointed out that the main service expected from the community-authorities would consist of putting the community archives and files at the disposal of the research-workers, of informing an eventual enquirer from the local population about the research-project, and of helping to introduce the research-workers to "the prominent citizens" in the community who could give them some valuable information. The meeting resulted in mutual agreement and understanding which proved to be of a profound nature lasting throughout the whole course of the enquiry.

During the ensuing months, we were able to sift the bulk of the material which we found at the village-hall. We were allowed to copy the data from the Community Register in which the name and address, sex, marital status, religion, occupation, number of children, birth-date, and the places of residence in the past (together with the dates in which the

migration took place) were registered. Though not all information could be taken for granted, we still extracted the data of persons over eighteen years of age whom we planned to include in our general statistical sample. As we were able to study the whole correspondence and the official agenda of the local government covering several years, we obtained considerable insight into community-affairs as well as into the recent development of Sassenheim. Special attention was paid to the period of some twenty-five years ago which we planned to use as a basis for the estimation of social change (it was expected to roughly correspond to the youth-reminiscences of the present population whom we interviewed).

At the same time, we started our interviews. Once more, we spoke individually with the burgomaster, the secretary, both aldermen, several members of the Council, and several of the clerks. In these first interviews, we asked our interviewees the addresses of persons who could inform us on the subjects which they themselves were not competent or able to report on, such as: the history of the community, the recreational life, the religious life, family-customs, etc.

Thus we slowly penetrated into the various circles in the community, practically always being able to mention some of the local citizens as a reference when introducing our research-objectives to the inhabitants. Such references were scarcely ever recurred to. The small size of the community, in which favourable or disparaging rumours were likely to spread rapidly, made such references often superfluous. We were soon able to establish good contacts with the local clergy who promised to support our work and gave us the information we asked for, regarding their respective church communities. The contacts with the local physicians were very easily made, as the Netherlands' Institute of Preventive Medicine functioned as the official sponsor of this research. Through the members of the Community Council we reached the local politicians, trade union leaders, the officers of the school-boards, and those of the public assistance committees. Thanks to the especially friendly cooperation of the secretary, we came into touch with the prominent members of various associations. With some other persons and institutions such as some major firms the notary public, the librarian, etc. direct contact was made by means of an introductory letter.

In the choice of the subjects for these "open interviews," we did not confine ourselves to the territory of the community. Several persons and institutions outside Sassenheim were visited: the school doctor at Hillegom, the Ministry of Food, Fishery, and Agriculture in the Hague, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Leyden, the labour-office at Lisse, the Meteorological Institute in Den Bilt, the Provincial Planning Office in the Hague, etc. In all about fifty interviews took place, casting light upon the institutional life in Sassenheim from various angles.

Many of the observations in the first part of this book are based upon

the data collected in this phase. They were utilized in the next stage of work — the preparation of the statistical survey.

D) STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS — INDIVIDUAL AND STATISTICAL APPROACH

Interview Sheets. As statistical evaluation was to form the main method of dealing with the data, the questions which were put to the persons of the general sample had to be of a strictly uniform nature. For this reason, interview sheets were drawn up which would be a guide to each interviewer as to the choice, the precise wording, and the sequence of the questions. In several cases, even the expected categories of answers were printed in order to cut the evasive answers and the descriptive rationalizations. These sheets were planned, however, as a guide for the interviewer, not for the interviewee. The material collected by the previous free interviews proved to be of use not only as far as the content of the questions was concerned but also in the wording of the questions: terminology and idioms understandable to the local population.¹

Again a rather systematic procedure was followed. A sheet of items was drawn up which would guide the interviewer in his work with the representative sample. Those items which were of a rather specific nature and could not be presented to the large part of the sample had to be restricted in number and, unless inevitable, entirely eliminated. Later on, the questions were worded to distil the information about the attitudes of people. Most of these questions were already treated in the previous chapter so that very little remains to be said in this context. We tried to make the questions understandable for each person of the sample in order to make a comparison possible. The final wording was, therefore, submitted to the criticism of the enlarged staff of research-workers of the whole department.

The next step consisted of deciding the sequence of the questions. The major difficulty was formed by the questions concerning the youth memories which were included to measure or register the social and cultural change. They were also designed to reveal some of the most important youth-experiences of the subjects (in order to get some data for a possible characterological approach). These questions repeated in most cases topics already discussed in regard to the present situation and it would be *logical* to treat them immediately after their counterparts concerning the present. We found it, however, difficult for the subjects to switch constantly in their imagination from the past to the present over a period of some twenty-five years or more.

¹ This does not mean that we succeeded to reach this objective entirely. In one question the word "society" (*maatschappij*) was used of which the connotations were not known to all interviewees. For this reason, an additional explanation had to be used.

We thought it *psychologically* more appropriate to treat them separately and included them not far from the closing questions of the interview. Another difficulty was to group the heterogeneous items into somewhat meaningful series in order to ease the work of the interviewers. Whenever possible, the questions on similar subjects were put in direct sequence. Nevertheless, the sheets consisted of about ten groups of heterogeneous questions the transitions between which were rather sudden. This added to the directive nature of the interview and sometimes made a free talk after the interview necessary, to relieve possibly accumulated tensions.

Towards the end of this phase, the interview-sheet to be used in the survey, assumed a form which did not deviate essentially from its final edition (see Appendix B). In this form it had to be tested. Being afraid again of disturbing the population-group by an unprepared action, we tested the questionnaire outside Sassenheim, by inviting some students and workers from Leyden, a town situated only a few miles from Sassenheim. Except for a few questions which were obviously only designed for the inhabitants of a small community ("*Give the name, function, or occupation of two persons in your community whom you esteem most!*"), the questionnaire fulfilled our expectations of being understandable, and in spite of its obvious length, kept attracting the attention of the interviewee by means of frequent changes of topic.

Interview Technique. Immediately after the text of the interview-sheet was mimeographed, the research-staff was enlarged by two students of sociology to help with the interviewing. The number of interviews was roughly estimated at 400 so that each of the students would take fifty interviews and the remaining three hundred would be divided between the research-worker and his half-time assistant. In order to secure uniformity in the presentation of the questions, several sessions (seven in number, each lasting on an average two hours) were arranged in which each particular question on the sheet was repeatedly discussed. Care was taken that each of the interviewers should grasp the reason for the inclusion of a certain question (whether to measure an attitude or simply a factual circumstance). Both students had experience in interviewing prior to our survey. This made a "general training" superfluous. For this reason, more attention could be paid to the special aspects of our survey.

As suggested above, we chose for our research directive, structured interviews. The interviewers were expected to visit the subjects after a previous introduction in their homes, out of working-hours, with the interview-sheets in their hands. They were to put the questions in the same order and in the same wording as they were printed on the sheets and should record the answers immediately. (This offered no difficulties as the majority of questions were either of a dichotomous nature or allowing a choice between a limited number of answer-categories one of which the interviewer had to underline.) In the case of a few open-end questions, he was expected to register

the answers verbatim; with the questions to which several answers were expected (e.g., regarding the preference for radio-programmes or the way of spending leisure), the answers had to be put down in the same sequence as they were given by the interviewee. The interviewer had to abstain from any display of his own opinion or attitude in order to limit possible bias to a minimum. He was expected to give evasive answers before getting the answers from his subject. However, all care had to be taken to establish a good *rapport* by talking about neutral subjects and no objection was raised to sympathetic conversation afterwards; he was advised not to take sides in any too distinct way even then, since it was feared that this might be passed on in this small community.

The interviewer received the basic information about each person included on his list such as: sex, age, birth-place, marital status, occupation, religious denomination. All these were copied from the Community Register and proved to be of value in the planning of the interviews and in preparing the interviewer for his immediate task. He would be able to estimate the number of questions to be omitted (there being no point in asking the questions about the marriage-partner if the person was single, or the questions about the rearing of children if he or she was childless). He would also be able to choose his story for the introduction or the "after-talk:" avoiding Protestant terminology if dealing with a Roman Catholic (there being several synonyms for parallel ritual manifestations in the Protestant and the Catholic churches in the Dutch language) and vice versa use a more colloquial language if dealing with a worker, etc. Though he was allowed to skip some questions in order to avoid absurdities (asking about the education of children if the interviewee had no children), he was expected to check distinctly each question whether it was left out or asked. This was done in order to distinguish between the questions which were omitted from those to which no answer was given.

Each interviewer was expected to obtain replies solely from the persons included in the sample. This did not prove to be an easy task in every case. The person had to be approached out of working-hours, and the interview to take place privately. This was not possible with several interviewees. Sometimes the whole family was assembled in the room in which the interview took place. This was usually the case when the interview had taken place in the autumn months and if the interviewee had a lower social level. There being only one heated room in the house, the interviewer had to reckon with the presence and possible interference of the members of the family or acquaintances. He was asked to note any attempt of the latter to influence the interviewee and to put down immediately behind each answer its source of origin. The whole interview-situation should be described in detail by him on the front-page of the sheet which was to be filled in separately, outside the house of the interviewee. He should describe the kind of dwelling which he had visited, the details of his introduction (whether the interview took place immediately after his first visit; how often did he call before a date was fixed; with whom he dealt in his efforts to secure the interview, etc.); his impressions of the interviewee (the looks, clothes, mental qualities, etc.); and, finally, the course of the interview together with other remarks which might be

of interest to the research-worker. He should keep the front-page of the interview-sheet and the list of interviewees copied from the Community Register out of sight, in order to avoid creating a "guinea-pig" feeling in the interviewees. He was, however, allowed to let them see the rest of the sheets, in order to break through their eventual resistance and to get their permission to take notes during the interview.

Introduction and Publicity. After familiarizing each member of the enlarged staff with these points of general policy, an introductory campaign for the survey was started. The priests, ministers, and other influential persons were once more approached and informed about the research. A series of articles describing and explaining the objectives of the survey in popular terms were published in the three daily papers usually read in Sassenheim and in a local weekly (*De Leidse Courant* of May 23, 1951; *De Nieuwe Leidse Courant* of May 19, 1951; *De Volkskrant* of May 19; and *Sassenheimse Courant* of June 1, 1951). From this time on, the survey was launched. Each person in the sample received a personal letter from the Director of the Netherlands' Institute of Preventive Medicine explaining to him the objectives of the research in more concrete terms and inviting him to cooperate (for the text see Appendix D). These letters were not mailed together but in groups of fifty each week, to avoid a long lapse of time between the written and the personal introduction. It was, namely, the task of each interviewer to call on the person who received the introductory letter, to explain once more the objectives of the research, to make it clear what was expected from the person concerned, and to try to make an appointment. He was allowed certain freedom in his introductory story in spite of the warning not to use contradictory themes and terms. The general story was that one had to know the conditions of living before being able to better the circumstances of people; that modern science has discovered that the health and the well-being of people depend on various social factors, and that to ascertain these was one of the remote objectives of the present research. Stress was laid upon the anonymity of the respondents, on the fact that all subjects (about 400 in number) were asked precisely the same questions, and that the persons to whom we were going to speak were selected strictly at random, regardless of their religion, occupation, or other characteristics.

If the interviewer did not find the interviewee at the address copied from the Community Register, he was asked to return until he either reached the person concerned or learnt positively the reason for his inability to make contact. If he received an evasive answer, he had to suggest to come once more (after the person concerned had discussed the matter with the husband, the wife, neighbours, friends or acquaintances, or simply "thought it over"). If he succeeded in making an appointment but the person concerned did not

keep it, he had to come back and try again. While being very persistent in the effort to collect the data, the interviewer had to abstain from any "back-door" approach. He had to explain to the interviewee (if necessary) that the enquiry was not obligatory and that it was entirely up to him whether he decided to answer certain questions or not. In spite of this caution, most people did not hesitate to answer the particular questions once they had decided to cooperate.

If the person whom we came to interview refused to answer our questions, we tried to investigate the motives for the refusal. In this way, we often succeeded in getting some insight into public opinion about the project and heard some of the rumours which were in circulation. Several times, however, no adequate information about the motives was gained. "I don't feel like being interviewed by you" was a kind of answer which excluded any further approach. After having obtained such a distinct answer, we did not persist any more and listed the person concerned among those who refused to cooperate.

Sampling Technique. Immediately after the contact with the community-authorities was established, we started to prepare the representative sample of the population. The rather broad research objectives made it difficult to use stratified sampling. We could not decide a priori which strata were relevant for the purpose of our study because one of the objectives was to discover the most important variables which might make sampling more efficient in future studies. Any attempt to decide the strata beforehand would mean encroaching upon the research objective itself.

It was not difficult to obtain a strictly random sample of the population to be approached in our survey. The community authorities register very accurately any change of residence of the inhabitants; at a time of the housing shortage, the chance that some people fail to notify their change of residence is not high. Another factor adding to the accuracy of the official registration, was the system of food-rationing and coal rationing which was abolished only about eighteen months prior to our research. As the law states that parents are obliged to announce the birth of their children at the village-hall, and as the casual resident had little chance of getting a house, food, or coal unless officially registered, we could assume the reliability of the Community Register as this was likely to comprise all residents of the community with the exception of possible outlaws.

In order to obtain a random sample, we copied the data of all the inhabitants over eighteen years of age who resided (being registered as residents) at Sassenheim from November 1950 up to February 1951. In this way, a large group of 4,786 persons, born in 1932 or earlier, was sifted from the Register and numbered from 1 to 4,786. By means of random sample numbers a sample of 492 persons was

selected from the total adult population of 4,786 persons, i.e., somewhat more than ten per cent. All these had to be approached by the interviewers in the course of the enquiry. We succeeded in collecting the required, appropriate answers only from 404 persons, i.e. 82.1 p.c. of the original strictly random sample. The rather long interviewing campaign (from June, 1951 until January, 1952) accounted for the loss of twenty-two interviews; eighteen persons left Sassenheim, changing thus their residence, four died. In addition to these twenty-two there were ten persons who had Sassenheim only as a nominal place of residence; in fact they either lived in another place (where they studied or were temporarily employed) as was mentioned in six cases or were prevented by military service from participation in our survey. Owing to the fact that almost every tenth adult citizen was included in our sample and owing to the large families in the community, in several cases two or more persons from the same family were interviewed. We eliminated three of those whose relatives refused to cooperate and listed them among the group of persons whom we could not reach. One sheet got lost in the course of the evaluation of the data by the Hollerith technique. The number of persons who explicitly refused any cooperation with our project and from whom no adequate answers were obtained amounted to 52, i.e. 10.6 p.c. of the original strictly random sample of the population. The results of the survey may be summed up in the following table:

	Number	Per cent
Persons who adequately answered most questions	404	82.1
Persons who moved from Sassenheim in the course of our research	18	3.7
Persons deceased	4	0.8
Persons actually living outside Sassenheim	6	1.2
In military service (1 in Korea)	4	0.8
Persons whom we did not approach	3	0.6
Sheet lost	1	0.2
Persons who refused to cooperate	52	10.6
Total (original random sample)	492	100.0

Except for the last named groups, there were no special reasons to fear bias by losing a significant part of the random sample. As we were interested in the population of Sassenheim, we could afford to neglect the group of persons who had recently moved from Sassenheim or who actually lived in other communities. There was no

reason to expect a bias because of those deceased or in military service, for except for age, sex, and general state of health, both death and military service affect all strata of the population. It actually was mainly the last group of fifty-two persons (10.6 p.c. of the sample) who refused the interviewers that might represent a distortion of the sample. Supposing that all persons of a certain religious affiliation or a certain occupational group refused to cooperate, how can the representative nature of our study be proved?

Fortunately, we possessed two sources of information enabling us to estimate the parameters of the population and thus to check the representative nature of the sample. One of these were the census data which were collected on May 31, 1947 (about four years before our enquiry). The other was the information which we were able to gather about the group who refused cooperation from the Community Register. By means of a statistical comparison of the group of refusals with the actual sample, we could reconstruct the parameters and estimate the sampling errors. Let us consider both methods of control in some more detail.

In addition to the fact that a long lapse of time passed between the date when the Census took place and the date when we drew our sample, another shortcoming was found in the fact that the age-parameter as stated by the census was grouped in intervals different from those which we considered in our study so that the estimated population over eighteen years (better: born in 1932 or earlier) could not be properly reconstructed. As the difference was not more than one year, we still tried to draw some conclusions from the comparison of the statistic with the corresponding parameter while bearing the difference in mind. (The population from which the parameters were drawn was of a lower mean age than the ideal population from which our sample was drawn).

For the sex-composition the difference between both parameters (reconstructed for our sample and for the census data) amounted only to 0.7 p.c., as the following table demonstrates:

	Census data		Sample data		Difference
	Number	P.c.	Number	P.c.	P.c.
Male	2,170	48.5	193	47.8	-0.7
Female . . .	2,300	51.5	211	52.2	0.7
Total	4,470	100.0	404	100.0	—

This difference is evidently too small to account for any significant bias. In order to avoid any arbitrary estimate of what "small" has to mean we applied the chi-square test to both distributions. The chi-square, which we computed, amounted to only 0.08 (1 degree of freedom); the probability that both distributions were drawn from the same universe is higher than seventy per cent ($P < .80$).

In other respects the comparison gives less convincing results. Let us, for instance, compare the distribution of the population by religious denomination as reconstructed again from the census data and for the sample of the persons whom we successfully interviewed. For brevity's sake we give both distributions in percentage. The reader should bear in mind that the sample comprised 404 persons, while the census data were collected on May 31, 1947, from the 4,470 residents in Sassenheim over 15 years of age.

Religious denomination	Per cent		
	Census data	Sample data	Difference
Roman Catholic	49.6	49.0	— 0.4
Dutch Reformed	21.7	21.2	— 0.5
Calvinist	22.7	20.6	— 2.1
Christian Calvinist	2.1	0.5	— 1.6
Lutheran	0.2	1.2	1.0
Mennonite	0.2	0.5	0.3
Other	1.2	1.5	0.3
Without	2.3	5.2	2.9

Though the difference is not more than 3 p.c. in any of the sub-categories, we notice a certain consistency in their direction. The members of the more liberal-minded, unorthodox groups were more strongly represented in our sample than the members of the larger churches. It is significant that the persons without a denomination account for the highest positive difference, while the members of the orthodox Calvinist church belong to the group which was most under-represented in our sample. This suspicion of a probable bias, suggested to us by the direction of the differences between both distributions, was reinforced by the test of reliability which was applied. We took the census data as representing the expected frequencies, and tested the hypothesis that both the data of the census and those of our sample belong to the same universe. The distribution of the expected and the observed frequencies was as follows: (see p. 297).

(The two persons in the sample whose religious denomination we failed to ascertain were left out of consideration.) The value of the chi-square which we computed amounted to 20.4 (5 degrees of freedom). The probability that both distributions were drawn from the same universe was less than 0.01, but more than 0.001. This means that our sample could not be considered as representative for the census population of Sassenheim in religious respect. Does this, however, imply the inadequacy

Religious denomination	Expected frequency	Observed frequency
Roman Catholic	199.4	197
Dutch Reformed	87.2	86
Calvinist	91.3	83
Christian Calvinist	8.4	2
Other	6.4	13
Without	9.2	21
Total	401.9	402

of the sampling technique? We had positive evidence of important changes in the composition of the population in Sassenheim during the period immediately preceding our survey: it was between the census date and our survey date that the new immigration policy of the community authorities began to bear fruit. Dozens of people from various parts of the country bought or rented the newly built houses in this community, which was very hospitable, issuing many housing-permits. We discovered by means of our survey, that the groups which then settled at Sassenheim comprised significantly more liberal-minded people and persons without denomination than the autochthonous groups. This seemed to be a well-founded explanation of the suspected bias of our sample. It became, nevertheless, obvious that the census data could not be used to test this hypothesis. Another source of information had to be resorted to. This was found in the comparison of the composition of the two groups: that which refused and that which accepted the interviewers.

The group of "returns" was compared with the group of "refusals" in the same way as it was done with the census data.

For the sex-composition of both groups, no difference of significance was noted; the results are in agreement with those of the comparison with the census data:

Sex	Refusals		Returns		Difference in p.c.
	Number	P.c.	Number	P.c.	
Males	22	42.3	193	47.8	5.5
Females	30	57.7	211	52.2	-5.5
Total	52	100.0	404	100.0	

By applying the test of significance we obtained the values of $\chi^2 = 0.94$ (1 d.f.) $P < .50 > .30$. The chance that both distributions are drawn from

the same universe is considerably high. We can hardly conclude that the sample was biased because women refused to cooperate more frequently than men.

A similar result was obtained from the comparison of the age composition of both groups.

Year of birth	Refusals		Returns		Difference P.c.
	Number	P.c.	Number	P.c.	
1932—1923	15	28.8	104	25.7	— 3.1
1922—1913	10	19.2	100	24.8	5.6
1912—1903	10	19.2	84	20.8	1.6
1902—1893	8	15.4	63	15.6	0.2
1892—	9	17.3	53	13.1	— 4.2
Total . . .	52	99.9	404	100.0	

$$\chi^2 = 1.679 \text{ (4 d.f.)}$$

The probability (P) that both distributions were drawn from the same universe is higher than 70 per cent. We may assume that our survey was not significantly biased because some age-groups of the adult population at Sassenheim refused more frequently to be interviewed.

The same technique of comparison was also applied to the distribution of the religious denominations over both groups. The comparison with the census data suggested a bias in the group of returns indicating an under-representation of the more orthodox, larger churches among the persons who cooperated with the project. When compared with the group of refusals, the following picture was obtained:

Religious Denomination	Refusals		Returns		Difference P.c.
	Number	P.c.	Number	P.c.	
Roman Catholic .	35	67.3	197	49.0	— 18.3
Dutch Reformed Calvinist (Chr. Calvinist)	9	17.3	86	21.4	4.1
Other, Without Denomination . .	8	15.4	85	21.1	5.7
	0	00.0	34	8.4	8.4
Total	52	100.0	402	99.9	

$$\chi^2 = 4.8 \text{ (3 d.f.)}$$

The probability that both distributions were drawn from the same universe is lower than in the case of sex or age compositions but is high enough, namely about twenty p.c., not to be excluded. We are now able to examine the bias suggested by the comparison of both methods. We notice then, that of the churches the Christian Calvinist group accounted for the largest difference between our sample and the census data. When inspecting our table, we observe that of the three members of this church, who were included in our original strictly random sample, two answered adequately the questionnaire while one refused. The group of three persons is so small that it decidedly did not bias the composition of our sample. While there was, on the other hand, only a slight difference between the census data and the sample data in the representation of Roman Catholics (0.4 p.c.), we notice that Roman Catholics are more strongly represented among the refusals than in the group of returns. The difference is more than eighteen per cent. Large as this percentage might seem it proved not to be significant in terms of the chi-square as it refers to small numbers (total is fifty-two refusals). Both comparisons agree with regard to the members of minor Protestant churches and the persons without denomination. These appear to be better represented in our sample, as practically none of them refused contact with interviewers. Even if there is a distinct tendency in this direction, the bias from this over-representation of the liberal groups is significant neither at the five nor at the ten per cent level. The sample turns out to be fairly representative for the population as far as church affiliation is concerned.

Using the data about the group of "refusals" from the Community Register, we were able to examine whether some occupational groups were more or less consistently avoiding contact with the interviewers, thus affecting the representative nature of the sample. Owing to the large percentage of persons without a job (the housewives) and to the variety of occupational categories, only about a half of the persons fell into some of the main sub-groups which we drew for the purpose of analysis. Because of the low frequencies in the group of refusals, no attempt was made to apply the chi-square test to both distributions. (See p. 300). When measured by means of these rough and inaccurate categories of occupational composition, both groups (of refusals and returns) resemble each other to that extent that there is no reason to doubt the representative nature of the sample in this respect.

The comparison of the "refusals" and the "returns" from the original strictly random sample on four characteristics (sex, age, church affiliation, and occupation) reveals no severe bias due to the resistance of the corresponding segments of the population. We may thus assume that the sample was fairly representative of the population of Sassenheim over eighteen years of age in 1951.

Though we were able to distil some valuable information from the Community Register about the non-cooperative group, we were less successful in gaining insight into the motives for their resistance. The majority gave evasive answers as the second table on p. 300 demonstrates.

Occupational group	Refusals		Returns		Difference P.c.
	Number	P.c.	Number	P.c.	
Agricultural labour.	5	9.6	38	9.4	— 0.2
Growers, Farmers, Super- vising personnel in agricul- ture	3	5.8	30	7.4	1.6
Industrial labour.	1	1.9	15	3.7	1.8
Industrialists, Supervising personnel in industry.	2	3.8	19	4.7	0.9
Commerce	6	11.5	30	7.4	— 4.1
Civil Service	1	1.9	14	3.5	1.6
Education	1	1.9	8	2.0	0.1
Crafts	4	7.7	23	5.7	— 2.0
Without job, other than above.	29	55.8	227	56.2	0.4
Total	52	99.9	404	100.0	

Reasons for refusing the interview	Number	Per cent
“Does not feel like being interviewed” (“Voel er niets voor”)	13	25.0
No time	9	17.3
Too old, mental illness	6	11.5
Lack of confidence in the project	10	19.2
Other	9	17.3
Quite unknown	5	9.6
Total	52	99.9

About a half of the group (28 out of 52 persons) definitely refused any cooperation during the first visit of the interviewer, six were called on twice, eight three times, while nine persons were approached at least four times before a distinct negative answer was obtained that they did not wish to cooperate (in one case the interviewer forgot to fill in how often he made calls).

Time Scheme. To sum up the main phase of the collection of data, we present the table of frequencies of the interviews which were successfully performed in fortnightly periods during the campaign:

Time interval	Number of successful interviews
From May 15 up to June 15, 1951	90
up to July 1, 1951	35
up to July 15, 1951	38
up to August 1, 1951	25
up to August 15, 1951	60
up to September 1, 1951	68
up to September 15, 1951	9
up to October 1, 1951	28
After October 1, 1951	51
Total	404

The 404 successful interviews were divided in the following way among the members of the research team:

A (a female student-interviewer)	32 interviews
B (a male student-interviewer)	44 interviews
C (assistant-member of the team)	137 interviews
D (full-time member of the team)	119 interviews
E (the wife to the latter)	72 interviews
Total	404 interviews

The final "refusals" were registered by the members of the team in the following way:

A	6 refusals
B	2 refusals
C	18 refusals
D	16 refusals
E	10 refusals
Total	52 refusals

Some inhabitants were visited successively by two or even more interviewers. There is no reason to assume that refusals were significantly more concentrated with some of the interviewers.

CHAPTER XIII

EVALUATION OF DATA

A) CODING AND TABULATION

A great variety of data was obtained by means of the field-techniques that have been described in the preceding chapter. It had to be reduced to one common denominator, the data had to be made comparable. The answers of the interviewees, the observations of the interviewers, the extractions from archives — all these had to be classified and tabulated in order to maintain one frame of reference. This was the reason for coding the whole bulk of material from the very start, for making several copies of the less structured interview reports, covering several fields of information, and for making the coded files.

A somewhat different technique of classification was applied to the data which was gathered by interviewing the 404 persons belonging to the sample of the adult population. Owing to the large number of persons and interview items, the mechanical tabulation by means of Hollerith machines was used.

From the very beginning it was realized that the data had to serve both the description and the explanation of the life in the community under study, and we tried to plan our coding sheets accordingly. The data which were considered as most relevant for further causal analysis had to be punched on the same Hollerith cards. Very soon, however, we learnt that it was impossible to do so (owing to the large field covered and the rather vague state of hypothesizing at this stage).

In total, four Hollerith cards were used, of which the first card comprised the more basic data (such as sex, age, marital status, occupation, educational status, religious denomination, etc.) as well as the more important "dependent variables" (such as the social participation index, migration index, job satisfaction, etc.)

On the remaining three cards, the items were punched approximately in the order of the questions on our interview-sheets. Two coders worked independently on the material, guided by detailed coding sheets. They discussed the doubtful cases together in order to safeguard the unity of standpoint and of interpretation. Check-coding was applied to a limited degree: two items on the interview-sheets were chosen at random (sex and religious affiliation) and were recoded for the whole sample of 404 persons. The deviations between the coded sheets were checked against the original interview sheet. In this way, we found one mistake in 808 items (2×404 sheets of our sample). This ratio has, however, more to do with the degree

of accuracy of the coders (mistakes caused by the lapse of attention and of concentration) than with the different interpretation of the material. As check-lists were used wherever possible and comparatively few open questions were included in the schedule, the danger of bias owing to different interpretation was low, in our opinion. The coding of the socio-economic (occupational) status of the population was somewhat more biased. A complete list of occupations (as they were reported by our interviewees, including the occupations of the parents) was drawn up and scored independently by two coders according to the socio-economic status scale. The differences between the scores were discussed and in most cases the mid-values of scores were chosen for the occupations under question.

After the period of coding, which lasted for about three months, we started to tabulate our data by means of an I.B.M. equipment. Later, when more insight was obtained and the hypotheses assumed a more distinct character, we decided to drop the variables which we considered as less relevant and punched the more important ones of the four cards on one card. For administrative reasons, in the final phase of evaluation, the main variables were once more recoded and punched on simple cards, suitable for hand sorting and tabulation (cards perforated at the sides in such a way that a needle could be stuck through the hole; cards fell or remained hanging according to whether they were punched or not).

As a result of the first phase of coding, we had some 210 items extracted from the interviews punched on the four Hollerith cards. Each of these items represented a variable as it consisted of at least three categories of answers. They were punched in the rows of the columns (or groups of columns if the number of categories was higher than twelve). The distribution of each variable over the various categories could be obtained through tabulation in practically the same short interval of time as the distribution by cross-tabulation of two or more variables. In spite of the comparative ease of mechanical tabulation, we decided not to apply the method of cross-tabulation generally, to obtain all possible cross-tabulations. This would mean that the 404 cards should have to pass through the tabulator $210 \times 210 = 441,000$ times. Only those variables were examined through cross-tabulation which seemed to be of some relevance for the causal interpretation of our data. Previous experience, knowledge which was acquired by reading, and simple intuition were resorted to in choosing the variables for the tabulation-process. Several hundreds of sheets, on which the distribution of a certain variable was tabulated over the categories of another variable or variables, were obtained towards the end of this period. These sheets were carefully inspected and sifted for further statistical evaluation. Where visual inspection was unsatisfactory, the percentage of distribution was computed.

B) PRELIMINARY STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Test of Significance. As the variables were chiefly of a qualitative nature, which hardly allowed for the use of more precise methods, the analysis of contingency was chiefly resorted to. We tried to ascertain associations between the variables by means of the chi-square test.

This comparatively simple method of statistical evaluation seemed quite suitable for qualitative and heterogeneous data. As the variables consisted of dichotomous categories as well as of a few scale-scores and of quite unordered categories (e.g., birth-place, religious denomination), caution had to be taken not to leave out important parts of the material. We decided to take the whole representative sample as a basis for the computation of dichotomous and quantitative variables. Only in the cases of variables consisting of unordered categories (which could not be placed in a series of items that were linked with each other by the relation "less than" or "more than" e.g., the membership in the Roman Catholic Church, the membership in the Calvinist Church, the membership in the Dutch Reformed Church, no church membership), we sometimes took a part of the data as a basis for statistical work. While interpreting the nature of the association between similar variables, we always tried to refer to the sub-categories between which the association was found.

The association between "church-affiliation" and "optimism"¹ was, for instance, ascertained in the following way:

Church affiliation	The perception of the future			
	Will be better	Just the same	Worse	Total
Roman Catholics . . .	49 (39.1)	51 (45.3)	73 (81.6)	173
Members of the Calvinist Church . . .	7 (16.9)	14 (19.7)	44 (35.4)	65
Total . . .	56	65	117	238

The figures in the brackets refer to the expected frequencies (f_0). If we substitute the above values in the usual formula,

¹ For brevity's sake, we refer to the variables in this shorthand way; sometimes the quotation marks are used to distinguish the variable from its common speech counterpart. Whether thus marked or not, "optimism," class-identification, job-satisfaction, etc., have a specific meaning; no interpretation seems justified which does not refer them to the original interview items from which they have been derived.

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(f - f_0)^2}{f_0}$$

we obtain for the uncorrected data $\chi^2 = 13.68$, for the corrected data $\chi^2 = 12.11$. If we consult the tables of the distribution of chi-square we find that both values denote a probability somewhat greater than .001, in any case, however, lower than .01 (for two degrees of freedom).¹

Though referring to this statistical association in terms of "church-affiliation" and "optimism" for the sake of brevity, we had to consider the specific nature of the association between the two sub-groups when trying to interpret the finding. Without such a specification the interpretation of the association between the above mentioned variables is either misleading or meaningless.

In the case of dichotomous variables, obviously all data of the sample were used. As an example:

Sex	Membership in the political parties		
	Organized	Unorganized	Total
Men	84	111	195
Women	51	157	208
	135	268	403

Only the persons who gave no or an inadequate reply or eventual losses owing to mistakes in sorting, tabulation, or administration (1 case in the foregoing table) were not taken into consideration. The chi-square for the table above was computed according to the short method

$$\chi^2 = \frac{/(AB) (ab) - (Ab) (aB)/^2 N}{(A) (a) (B) (b)}$$

Substituting the values of the foregoing table, we obtained

$$\chi^2 = \frac{/(84) (157) - (51) (111)/^2 403}{(135) \cdot (268) \cdot (195) \cdot (208)} = 15.56.$$

¹ See R. A. FISHER and F. YATES, *Statistical Tables for Biological, Agricultural, and Medical Research*, London, 1938, Table IV, p. 27.

In the statistical evaluation of our data we have chiefly drawn on M. J. HAGOOD, *Statistics for Sociologists*, New York, 1947 (Henry Holt & Co.).

In the table of the chi-square distribution we found that the value of probability corresponding to 15.56 (at one degree of freedom) was $P < .001$. The two samples (of men and women) cannot be considered as being drawn from the same universe with regard to political affiliation. The difference of the proportions of organized and unorganized people (amounting roughly to 3/7) is so great that it occurs in less than one of thousand samples that have been drawn at random. "Sex" (or another factor that is closely associated with it) evidently divides the population into the two subgroups of those organized and those unorganized in political parties.

The same procedure of taking all items of the sample into consideration when computing the values for the test of significance was also adhered to with the variables of a more quantitative nature. The following example demonstrates this. It also reveals the main problems with which we were faced when applying the method of contingency-analysis to this kind of data:

Year of birth	Scores on the social participation scale					Total
	- 4	- 7	- 10	- 13	13 and more	
1932—1923	25	28	30	14	16	113
1922—1913	23	29	28	13	7	100
1912—1903	21	21	20	10	4	76
1902—1893	23	15	10	7	7	62
1892—	19	17	11	4	2	53
Total	111	110	99	48	36	404

The value of chi-square as computed by a short-cut method¹ is $\chi^2 = 57.71$. The corresponding value of probability at 16 degrees of freedom is $P < .001$. The association proved to be statistically significant to such an extent that we decided to neglect a small inaccuracy in the method of computation caused by the fact that the value of the expected frequency in the lowest cell of the fifth column falls below six (being 4.75). A somewhat graver objection against such a method is that it is based on the assumption of the linear nature of the association while the data concerning biological growth, as a rule, does not fit the linear form of distribution. As a matter of fact, we found several deviations from linearity when examining the factors "age" and "social participation." It could even be ascertained by a mere inspection of the tables that a regression curve

¹ See HAGOOD, *op. cit.* p. 522.

of the U or J forms would better suit the data. Another objection could be raised that by applying the method of correlation more precise results could be obtained, though the "open" intervals (denoting all persons being born before 1892 and all persons who scored 13 or more regardless the size of the interval) offered some difficulty when applying the methods suitable for strictly grouped data. Without any attempt to confute these objections, we still adhered to the method of contingency in our main argument while trying to get an insight into the structural aspect of causal relationships. We looked namely for a coefficient which would make it possible to compare the degrees of association between the very heterogenous variables.

Coefficient of Contingency. For the sake of such a structural analysis we had to use a very simple measure reserving the correlation and regression analyses (as well as some cases of the analysis of variance) for the detailed elaboration of more specific problems. Such a coefficient that could be used for the comparison of associations which were established between the qualitative, the dichotomous, and the quantitative variables was found in a simple function of chi-square. It takes the number of degrees of freedom into consideration and covers the values from 0 to 1: the Tchupproff's coefficient of contingency. The main advantage of this coefficient is that it enables us to compare the results which have been computed for the tables of contingency of 4, 6, 8, or more cells. The usual formula, which was applied, is:

$$T = \sqrt{\frac{\frac{\chi^2}{N}}{\sqrt{(s-1)(t-1)}}}$$

where N means the number of observations (units), s the number of rows, and t the number of columns in the table. If we substitute the values from the foregoing tables on age and social participation, we obtain

$$T = \sqrt{\frac{\frac{57.71}{404}}{\sqrt{(5-1)(5-1)}}} = .189$$

We notice that, though the association between age and social participation is very significant, it is only of rather low intensity. In order to realize the difference between the significance and the degree of an association, the reader should consider the fact that we found associations of such various degrees as $T = .89$ (between church-affiliation and sympathies with a certain political party) and $T = .09$ (between the "tolerance" and "progressivness") both significant at least at a five per cent level of probability. Though in the first phase of the analysis stress was laid upon the possibility of

finding a measure for the comparison of the degrees of association, in a later phase the significance of the association in terms of the probability-level was taken as a decisive criterion for a further consideration. Only those associations which were found significant at at least a five per cent level of probability were selected for the ensuing analysis. This explains why coefficients as low as .09 were still mentioned and considered in our tables of findings. We deliberately chose the five per cent level, though it is considered as rather risky (especially in the study of a large series of associations where mistakes also occur due to chance accumulated according to a special distribution law¹) by some research-workers who prefer the .02 or the .01 levels instead. This choice was done because the associations which we ascertained in this simple way were only considered as a raw material for the following analysis and search for the intervening variables. Yet, we tried to make sure that the associations held at the five per cent level; the method of small numbers was resorted to whenever the observed frequencies in the cells were too small, which made the application of the usual chi-square tests rather questionable (the value of T in such instances was obtained by approximation).

Results. The results of the preliminary statistical analysis are summed up in the following two tables, referring to the associations which were found between the variables. For the sake of brevity, we had to describe the variables in as few words as possible. In order to avoid a possible confusion in interpretation, a figure between brackets was added to each variable, referring to the question in our questionnaire (see Appendix B). In both tables mainly the results of our statistical computations can be found, with regard to the existence or non-existence of the association. In a few additional instances, we were able to ascertain *the non-existence* of the association by mere inspection.

¹ See the article of J. BROŽEK and K. TIEDE, Reliable and questionable significance in a series of statistical tests, in the *Psychological Bulletin*, July 1952, pp. 339—341.

TABLE 40

Statistical associations with the main variables

Source: Hollerith Sheets Based on the 404 Interview Sheets.

1. SEX (2)

Women:

less organized in political parties	P < .001	T = .20
participate less in associations	P < .001	T = .27
more satisfied with their work-conditions.	P < .02	T = .13
receive lower incomes	P < .01	T = .16
lower educational status	P < .02	T = .13
less afraid of unemployment.	P < .001	T = .19
perceive less progress in their life-careers	P < .01	T = .16
more among immigrants to Sassenheim	P < .01	T = .13
think and speak less about politics	P < .001	T = .25
complain more of bad health	P < .05	T = .11
miss less working days owing to illness	P < .05	T = .11
spend more evenings at home	P < .01	T = .14

No association found with: migration index, class-identification, church-affiliation, perception of chances, tolerance, progressiveness, optimism, attitude to penal system, attitude to bureaucracy, expectation of war, reading habits, satisfaction with housing conditions, perception of change.

2. NUMBER OF SIBLINGS (9)

From large families:

migrate less frequently.	P < .01	T = .12
agricultural occupations (workers)	P < .02	T = .18
members of the Roman Catholic Church	P < .001	T = .59
lower income groups	P < .02	T = .17
lower socio-economic status	P < .001	T = .20
those who decreased in status	P < .05	T = .14
lower educational status	P < .001	T = .23
born in Sassenheim	P < .05	T = .14
better church-goers	P < .01	T = .15

No association: social participation, progressiveness, evaluation of career.

3. MIGRATION INDEX (15)

Higher index:

persons from smaller families	P < .01	T = .12
older persons	P < .001	T = .28
other religious denominations than R. Cath- olic	P < .05	T = .12
see fewer chances in the future.	P < .001	T = .30
higher income groups	P < .001	T = .20

higher socio-economic status	P < .01	T = .22
persons who rose in status	P < .02	T = .16
persons born in the more distant places	P < .001	T = .25
more unemployment	P < .001	T = .18
poor church-goers	P < .01	T = .14
think and speak more about politics	P < .05	T = .11
are less satisfied with health	P < .001	T = .18
spent more evenings at home	P < .01	T = .24
perceive more social change	P < .01	T = .16

No association: sex, political affiliation, social participation, job-satisfaction, tolerance, progressiveness, educational status, optimism, evaluation of career, attitude to penal system, reading habits, satisfaction with housing conditions.

4. OCCUPATIONAL GROUP (35)

Agricultural workers:

from larger families	P < .02	T = .18
higher age groups (than industrial workers)	P < .02	T = .35
identification with lower class	P < .001	T = .31
more organized in political parties	P < .02	T = .25
participate more than industrial groups	P < .05	T = .17
less satisfied with job than employers	P < .05	T = .18
see fewer chances in the future than industrial workers	P < .01	T = .29
lower income groups	P < .01	T = .43
lower socio-economic status	P < .001	T = .33
decreased in status more frequently	P < .001	T = .34
lower educational status	P < .001	T = .30
more pessimistic (than industr. workers)	P < .01	T = .13
more afraid of unemployment	P < .05	T = .17
more unemployed in the past	P < .001	T = .37
better church-goers	P < .001	T = .35
think penal system too mild	P < .05	T = .19
complain less of bureaucratism	P < .01	T = .29
more satisfied with medical care (than industrial occupations)	P < .05	T = .18
ascribe the rôle of punishing the children to the father	P < .05	T = .22
Employers and managing personnel: complain less of bad health	P < .001	T = .32

No association: church-affiliation, tolerance, progressiveness, evaluation of career, birth-place, attitude to politics, expectation of war, reading habits, satisfaction with housing conditions, frequency of illness, no. of evenings spent at home, perception of change.

5. AGE (1)

Older people:

higher migration index	P < .001	T = .28
agricultural workers (than industr. workers)	P < .02	T = .35
participate less in associations	P < .001	T = .19
see fewer chances in the future.	P < .001	T = .33
receive higher incomes.	P < .001	T = .30
increased in status	P < .05	T = .10
more conservative groups	P < .02	T = .15
more pessimistic	P < .001	T = .24
born outside Sassenheim	P < .001	T = .29
more unemployed	P < .001	T = .18
think and speak more about politics . .	P < .001	T = .42
complain less of bureaucracy	P < .01	T = .19
expect less another war in the span of their lives	P < .001	T = .57
complain more about bad health	P < .001	T = .39
spend more evenings at home	P < .001	T = .32
perceive more social change in the past .	P < .01	T = .15
Persons born between 1913—1922: are less satisfied with housing conditions than the rest	P < .02	T = .12

No association: church-affiliation, class-identification, social status, tolerance, fear of unemployment, evaluation of career, church attendance, attitude to penal system, reading habits, satisfaction with medical assistance, frequency of illness.

6. CLASS IDENTIFICATION (61)

With higher classes:

other occupational groups than workers .	P < .001	T = .31
persons seeing more chances in the future	P < .02	T = .22
higher socio-economic status	P < .001	T = .31
those who have risen in status	P < .05	T = .12
higher educational status.	P < .001	T = .30
more optimistic	P < .001	T = .30
think more to have made careers.	P < .01	T = .17
were less unemployed	P < .001	T = .20
milder to criminals	P < .02	T = .15
Those identifying themselves with middle- groups: more among good church-goers	P < .05	T = .11

No association: sex, age, church-affiliation, political affiliation, social participation, job-satisfaction, income, tolerance, progressiveness, fear of unemployment, birth-place, attitudes to political affairs, to bureaucracy, expectation of war, satisfaction with housing conditions, evenings at home.

7. CHURCH AFFILIATION (67)

Roman Catholics:

from larger families	P < .001	T = .59
migrate less	P < .05	T = .12
members of the K.V.P. (Catholic P. Party)		
rather than of other parties	P < .001	T = .87
participate less than members of the Ger.		
Church, more than other groups	P < .001	T = .18
see more chances to better their conditions	P < .05	T = .13
lower income groups	P < .02	T = .13
lower socio-economic status	P < .05	T = .13
less tolerant	P < .001	T = .31
lower educational status	P < .001	T = .23
more optimistic	P < .01	T = .19
born at Sassenheim	P < .001	T = .15
good church-goers	P < .001	T = .37
think and speak less about political affairs	P < .001	T = .2
read less books	P < .001	T = .20

Members of the Gereformeerde Church: expect

more often another war	P < .05	T = .12
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No association: sex, occupational group, age, class-identification, job satisfaction, social mobility, progressiveness, fear of unemployment, attitude to penal system, satisfaction with health, satisfaction with housing conditions, no. of evenings at home, perception of social change, church affiliation.

8. PARTY AFFILIATION (76)

Members of the Catholic People's Party:

Roman Catholics	P < .001	T = .87
participate more in associations	P < .02	T = .28
less tolerant	P < .001	T = .35
more optimistic	P < .001	T = .38
more progressive (than C.H.U. and A.R.)	P < .01	T = .27
less afraid of unemployment	P < .05	T = .19

Members of the Anti-Revolutionary Party:

think more to have made careers	P < .02	T = .24
read more books	P < .001	T = .18
think and speak more about political matters	P < .05	T = .19

Unorganized persons:

women	P < .001	T = .20
persons working in industry	P < .02	T = .25
lower income groups	P < .02	T = .135
lower socio-economic status	P < .001	T = .30
less thinking and speaking about politics	P < .001	T = .18
poor church-goers	P < .001	T = .24
less satisfied with housing conditions	P < .01	T = .15

No association: migration, class-identification, social mobility, educational status, birth-place, unemployment, attitude to penal system, attitude to bureaucracy, expectation of war, evenings at home, perception of social change.

9. SOCIAL PARTICIPATION (55—57, 67—70, 76—77, 99—102)

More participating in associations:

men	P < .001	T = .27
other than industrial groups	P < .05	T = .17
younger age-groups	P < .001	T = .19
members of Calvinist or R. Catholic churches	P < .001	T = .18
members of the Catholic People's Party (as compared with members of the C.H.U.)	P < .02	T = .28
see more chances in future.	P < .05	T = .13
higher socio-economic status	P < .01	T < .15
rose in status	P < .01	T = .19
less tolerant	P < .05	T = .09
think more to have made careers.	P < .05	T = .12
born at Sassenheim	P < .01	T = .21
good church-goers.	P < .001	T = .20
think and speak more about polit. affairs	P < .001	T = .19
read more books	P < .001	T = .18
spend fewer evenings at home	P < .001	T = .23

Participating either very little or very much:

progressive	P < .05	T = .22
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No association: no. of siblings, migration, class-identification, job-satisfaction, income, educational level, optimism, fear of unemployment, attitude to penal system, satisfaction with health.

10. JOB SATISFACTION (49)

Well satisfied:

women	P < .02	T = .13
other occupational groups than workers.	P < .05	T = .18
higher income groups	P < .01	T = .19
those who rose in status	P < .001	T = .22
higher educational level (than elem. school)	P < .02	T = .13
less afraid of unemployment	P < .001	T = .18
born outside Sassenheim	P < .01	T = .14
less unemployed	P < .01	T = .16
more satisfied with general health	P < .05	T = .12
more satisfied with medical assistance	P < .01	T = .16

No association: migration, church-affiliation, social participation, perception of chances, socio-economic status, progressiveness, optimism, evaluation of career, church-attendance, attitude to political affairs, reading habits, satisfaction with housing conditions, frequency of illness.

11. PERCEPTION OF CHANCES (51)

Those who see chances to better their position:

migrate less	P < .001	T = .30
work in industry	P < .01	T = .29
younger people	P < .001	T = .33
identification with higher classes	P < .02	T = .22
Roman Catholics	P < .05	T = .13
participate more in associations	P < .05	T = .11
higher socio-economic status	P < .02	T = .22
higher educational level	P < .001	T = .16
more optimistic	P < .01	T = .15
think more to have made careers	P < .001	T = .19
those who were less unemployed	P < .05	T = .11
more satisfied with their health	P < .01	T = .14

No association: sex, job-satisfaction, income, social mobility, progressiveness, birth-place, church-attendance, expectation of war, satisfaction with housing conditions, frequency of illness.

12. INCOME (46)

Higher income groups:

men	P < .01	T = .16
from smaller families	P < .02	T = .17
higher migration index	P < .001	T = .20
employers and managing personnel (than workers)	P < .001	T = .39
older people	P < .001	T = .30
other denominations than Roman Catholic	P < .02	T = .13
persons organized in pol. parties	P < .02	T = .135
more satisfied with jobs	P < .01	T = .19
higher socio-economic status	P < .001	T = .44
rose in status	P < .001	T = .20
higher educational level	P < .001	T = .20
think more to have made a career	P < .02	T = .13
born outside the bulb-region	P < .01	T = .17
were less unemployed	P < .01	T = .16
expect less frequently another war	P < .02	T = .18
more satisfied with housing conditions	P < .01	T = .27

No association: class-identification, social participation, perception of chances, tolerance, progressiveness, optimism, fear of unemployment, church attendance, attitude to penal system, attitude to bureaucracy, reading habits, satisfaction with health, satisfaction with medical care, frequency of illness.

13. SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS (35, 60)

Higher status:

from smaller sibling families	P < .001	T = .20
higher migration index	P < .01	T = .22
other than agricultural workers	P < .001	T = .33
identification with higher classes	P < .001	T = .37
other denominations than Roman Catholic	P < .02	T = .13
organized in political parties	P < .001	T = .30
participate more in associations.	P < .01	T = .15
see more chances	P < .02	T = .22
higher income level	P < .001	T = .44
those who rose in status	P < .001	T = .38
higher educational level	P < .001	T = .385
less afraid of unemployment	P < .05	T = .12
think more to have made careers.	P < .01	T = .16
born outside bulb-region.	P < .01	T = .15
less unemployed	P < .001	T = .34
reading more books	P < .01	T = .20
spend fewer evenings at home	P < .001	T = .17

Middle group: more conservative P < .001 T = .195

No association: age, job-satisfaction, tolerance, optimism, church-attendance, attitude to penal system, attitude to bureaucracy, expectation of war, satisfaction with health, satisfaction with housing conditions, frequency of illness.

14. SOCIAL MOBILITY (35, 60, 6)

Those who have risen in status:

from smaller families	P < .05	T = .14
higher migration index	P < .02	T = .16
employers, managing personnel	P < .001	T = .34
older persons	P < .05	T = .10
identify themselves with higher classes	P < .05	T = .12
participate more in associations.	P < .01	T = .19
more satisfied with working conditions	P < .001	T = .22
higher income groups	P < .001	T = .20
higher socio-economic status	P < .001	T = .38
think more to have made careers.	P < .01	T = .15
born outside the Bulb-region	P < .001	T = .17
read more books	P < .02	T = .14
spend fewer evenings at home	P < .02	T = .13

(than those who have decreased in status)

Those of the same status as their parents:

less frequently unemployed than those who increased or decreased in status	P < .001	T = .26
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No association: sex, church-affiliation, political affiliation, perception of chances, tolerance, progressiveness, educational level, optimism, church attendance, attitude to penal system, attitude to bureaucratism, expectation of war, satisfaction with health, satisfaction with housing conditions, frequency of illness.

15. TOLERANCE (75)

Less tolerant:

Roman Catholics	P < .001	T = .31
members of the Catholic People's Party	P < .001	T = .30
participate more in associations.	P < .02	T = .09
less progressive	P < .05	T = .09
lower educational status	P < .001	T = .22
born at Sassenheim (as compared with more distant places)	P < .001	T = .23
good church-goers	P < .001	T = .18
read less books	P < .01	T = .14

No association: sex, migration, occupational group, age, class-identification, income, socio-economic status, social mobility, optimism, evaluation of career, unemployment, attitude to politics, attitude to penal system.

16. PROGRESSIVENESS (80)

More progressive:

younger people	P < .02	T = .15
members of the K.V.P. (as compared with members of C.H.U. and A.R.)	P < .01	T = .27
higher socio-economic status	P < .001	T = .195
more tolerant.	P < .05	T = .09
higher educational level	P < .01	T = .16
more afraid of unemployment	P < .001	T = .18
think more to have made good careers	P < .02	T = .13
born elsewhere than in big cities	P < .001	T = .16
more unemployed	P < .05	T = .12
poor church-goers	P < .01	T = .14
think and speak more about politics	P < .001	T = .22
milder to criminals	P < .05	T = .11
participate very little or very much in associations	P < .05	T = .22

No association: sex, no. of siblings, migration, occupational group, class identification, church-affiliation, job-satisfaction, perception of chances, income, social mobility, optimism, attitude to bureaucracy, expectation of war, reading habits, satisfaction with housing conditions, satisfaction with medical assistance, perception of social change.

17. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL (84)

Higher:

men	P < .02	T = .13
from smaller families	P < .001	T = .23
agricultural workers	P < .001	T = .43
identification with higher classes	P < .001	T = .30

other denominations than Roman Catholic	P < .001	T = .23
more satisfied with work	P < .02	T = .13
perceive more chances	P < .001	T = .16
higher income groups	P < .001	T = .20
higher socio-economic status	P < .001	T = .385
more tolerant.	P < .001	T = .22
more progressive	P < .01	T = .16
less afraid of unemployment	P < .001	T = .22
born in big cities or more distant places	P < .02	T = .17
less unemployed	P < .001	T = .29
speak and think more about political affairs	P < .05	T = .10
milder to criminals	P < .01	T = .17
read more books	P < .01	T = .20
complain less about bad health.	P < .05	T = .11
spend fewer evenings at home	P < .02	T = .12

No association: migration, political affiliation, social participation, social mobility, optimism, evaluation of career, church attendance, expectation of war, perception of social change.

18. OPTIMISM (149)

More optimistic:

industrial workers	P < .01	T = .13
younger people	P < .001	T = .24
identification with higher classes	P < .001	T = .30
Roman Catholics (than Calvinists)	P < .01	T = .19
members of the K.V.P. and the P.v.d.A. (than members of the A.R. and the C.H.U.)	P < .001	T = .38
perceive more chances to better their position	P < .01	T = .15
less unemployed	P < .01	T = .13
think and speak less about political matters	P < .001	T = .205
expect less another war	P < .05	T = .13

No association: sex, migration, social participation, job-satisfaction, income-level, socio-economic status, social mobility, tolerance, progressiveness, educational level, fear of unemployment, evaluation of career, birth-place, church-attendance, attitude to penal system, reading habits, satisfaction with health, satisfaction with housing conditions, satisfaction with medical care, frequency of illness.

19. FEAR OF UNEMPLOYMENT (42)

Afraid of unemployment:

men	P < .001	T = .19
agricultural workers	P < .05	T = .17
members of other than the Catholic People's Party	P < .05	T = .19

less satisfied with work	P < .001	T = .18
lower socio-economic status:	P < .05	T = .12
more progressive	P < .001	T = .18
lower educational level	P < .001	Y = .22
more unemployed	P < .02	T = .14
think and speak more about political mat- ters	P < .05	T = .12

No association: age, class-identification, church-affiliation, social participation, income level, optimism, evaluation of career, birth-place, church-attendance, expectation of war, satisfaction with health, satisfaction with housing conditions, frequency of illness.

20. EVALUATION OF CAREER (50)

Those who think to have made progress:

men	P < .01	T = .16
identification with higher classes	P < .01	T = .17
members of the Anti-Revolutionary Party	P < .02	T = .24
participate more in associations.	P < .05	T = .12
see more chances to better their positions	P < .001	T = .19
higher income groups	P < .02	T = .13
higher socio-economic status	P < .01	T = .16
increased in status	P < .01	T = .15
more progressive	P < .02	T = .13
complain less of bad health	P < .01	T = .16
more satisfied with housing conditions	P < .02	T = .13
miss few working days owing to illness	P < .05	T = .12
born in other places than big cities, Indies or abroad	P < .05	T = .10

No association: no. of siblings, migration, occupational group, age, job-satisfaction, tolerance, educational level, optimism, fear of unemployment, unemployment, attitude to politics, perception of social change.

21. BIRTH-PLACE (1)

Born at Sassenheim:

men	P < .01	T = .13
from larger families	P < .05	T = .14
younger	P < .001	T = .29
Roman Catholics and Calvinists	P < .001	T = .15
participate more in associations.	P < .01	T = .21
less satisfied with work	P < .01	T = .14
lower income groups	P < .01	T = .17
lower socio-economic status	P < .01	T = .15
less frequently risen in status	P < .001	T = .17
less tolerant	P < .001	T = .23

lower educational level	P < .02	T = .17
think and speak less about politics	P < .01	T = .13
read few books	P < .02	T = .16
spend few evenings at home	P < .001	T = .27
Born at more distant places: migrate more	P < .001	T = .25
Born at more distant places: poor church- goers	P < .001	T = .25
Born in big cities: less progressive	P < .001	T = .16
Born in the province of Zuid Holland: com- plain more of bureaucracy	P < .01	T = .17
Born in the bulb-region (outside Sassenheim): more unemployed than those born in big cities.	P < .05	T = .17
Born in big cities, Indies, or abroad: think less to have made careers	P < .05	T = .10

No association: occupational group, class-identification, political affiliation, perception of chances, optimism, fear of unemployment, attitude to penal system, expectation of war, satisfaction with health, satisfaction with housing conditions, frequency of illness, perception of social change.

22. UNEMPLOYMENT (40)

More unemployed:

are more afraid of unemployment in future	P < .02	T = .14
higher migration index	P < .001	T = .18
agricultural workers	P < .001	T = .37
older people	P < .001	T = .18
those identifying with lower classes	P < .001	T = .20
less satisfied with work	P < .01	T = .16
perceive fewer chances to better their position	P < .05	T = .11
lower income groups	P < .01	T = .16
lower socio-economic status	P < .001	T = .34
those who rose or decreased in status (as compared with those who remained on the same level as their fathers)	P < .001	T = .26
more progressive	P < .05	T = .12
those born in the bulb-region (outside Sas- senheim) more unemployed than those born in big cities	P < .05	T = .17
lower educational level	P < .001	T = .29
more pessimistic	P < .01	T = .13

No association: political affiliation, tolerance, evaluation of career, attitude to bureaucracy.

23. CHURCH ATTENDANCE (75)

Good church-goers:

from larger families	P < .01	T = .15
lower migration index	P < .01	T = .14
other than industrial and commercial professions	P < .001	T = .35
identifying themselves with middle-class	P < .05	T = .11
Roman Catholics	P < .001	T = .37
organized in political parties	P < .001	T = .24
participate more in associations	P < .001	T = .20
less tolerant	P < .001	T = .18
less progressive	P < .01	T = .14
born at Sassenheim	P < .001	T = .25
read fewer books	P < .05	T = .11

No association: sex, age, job-satisfaction, perception of chances, income-level, social status, social mobility, educational status, optimism, fear of unemployment, attitude to penal system, no. of evenings at home.

24. ATTITUDE TO POLITICAL MATTERS (81)

Thinking and speaking about political matters:

men	P < .001	T = .25
higher migration index	P < .05	T = .11
older people	P < .001	T = .42
Calvinists (than Catholics)	P < .001	T = .20
people organized in parties (than those unorganized)	P < .001	T = .18
members of the A.R. party (than K.V.P. members)	P < .05	T = .19
participate more in associations	P < .001	T = .19
more progressive	P < .001	T = .22
higher educational level	P < .05	T = .10
more pessimistic	P < .001	T = .205
born outside Sassenheim and bulb-region	P < .01	T = .13
read more books	P < .001	T = .22
more afraid of unemployment	P < .05	T = .12

No association: occupational group, class-identification, job-satisfaction, tolerance, evaluation of career, no of evenings at home.

25. ATTITUDE TO PENAL SYSTEM (83)

Those who find penal system too mild:

agricultural workers	P < .05	T = .19
identification with lower classes	P < .02	T = .15
less progressive	P < .05	T = .11
lower educational level	P < .01	T = .17

No association: sex, migration, age, church-affiliation, political affiliation, social participation, income, social status, social mobility, tolerance, optimism, birth-place, church-attendance, expectation of war.

26. ATTITUDE TO BUREAUCRACY (82)

Those who complain:

craftsmen and businessmen more than		
other occupational groups	P < .01	T = .29
those born after 1902	P < .01	T = .19
those born in the province of Z.Holland .	P < .01	T = .17
less satisfied with housing conditions . .	P < .05	T = .11
less satisfied with medical assistance. . .	P < .05	T = .14

No association: sex, class-identification, political affiliation, income, social status, social mobility, progressiveness, unemployment, attitude to bureaucracy, expectation of war.

27. EXPECTATION OF WAR (151)

Expect another war during their life-span:

younger people	P < .001	T = .57
Calvinists	P < .05	T = .12
lower income groups	P < .02	T = .18
more pessimistic	P < .05	T = .13

No association: sex, occupational group, class-identification, political affiliation, perception of chances, socio-economic status, social mobility, progressiveness, educational level, fear of unemployment, birth-place, attitude to bureaucracy.

28. READING HABITS (85)

Reading more books:

members of the Calvinist (Gereformeerd)		
Church	P < .01	T = .15
members of the A.R. party	P < .001	T = .18
participate more in associations.	P < .001	T = .18
higher socio-economic status	P < .01	T = .20
risen in status	P < .02	T = .14
more tolerant.	P < .01	T = .14
higher educational levels.	P < .01	T = .20
born in big cities and more distant		
places	P < .02	T = .16
poor church-goers.	P < .05	T = .11
think and speak more about politics . .	P < .001	T = .22
spend few evenings at home	P < .001	T = .45

No association: sex, migration, occupational group, age, class-identification, job-satisfaction, income, progressiveness, optimism, attitude to penal system.

29. SATISFACTION WITH HEALTH (106)

Well satisfied:

men	P < .05	T = .11
lower migration index	P < .01	T = .15
employers and managing personnel (as compared with workers)	P < .001	T = .32
younger people	P < .001	T = .39
satisfied with work	P < .05	T = .12
perceive more chances to better their position	P < .01	T = .14
higher educational level	P < .05	T = .11
think more to have made good careers	P < .01	T = .16

No association: church affiliation, social participation, income-level, socio-economic status, social mobility, optimism, fear of unemployment, birth-place, satisfaction with housing conditions, satisfaction with medical assistance.

30. SATISFACTION WITH HOUSING CONDITIONS (18)

Those satisfied with their dwelling:

other age groups than that born between 1913—1922.	P < .02	T = .12
persons organized in pol. parties	P < .01	T = .15
higher income groups	P < .01	T = .27
think more to have made good careers	P < .02	T = .13
complain less of bureaucracy	P < .05	T = .11

No association: sex, migration, occupational group, class-identification, church-affiliation, job-satisfaction, perception of chances, socio-economic status, social mobility, progressiveness, optimism, fear of unemployment, birth-place, satisfaction with health, satisfaction with medical assistance.

31. SATISFACTION WITH MEDICAL CARE (113)

Those satisfied with the assistance of the physician:

agricultural occupations more than industrial occupations	P < .05	T = .18
more satisfied with work	P < .01	T = .16
complain less of bureaucracy	P < .05	T = .14

No association: sex, age, income, progressiveness, optimism, satisfaction with health, satisfaction with housing conditions.

32. FREQUENCY OF ILLNESS (108)

Those who missed more working days:

men	P < .05	T = .11
think less to have made good careers	P < .05	T = .12

No association: occupational group, age, job-satisfaction, perception of chances, income, socio-economic status, social mobility, optimism, fear of unemployment, birth-place.

33. NO. OF EVENINGS AT HOME (103)

Spending more evenings at home:

women.	P < .01	T = .14
higher migration index	P < .01	T = .24
older people	P < .001	T = .32
less participating in associations	P < .001	T = .23
lower socio-economic status	P < .001	T = .17
those who decreased in status	P < .02	T = .13
lower educational level	P < .02	T = .12
born in big cities and more distant places	P < .001	T = .27
read few books	P < .001	T = .45

No association: occupational group, class-identification, church-affiliation, political affiliation, church-attendance, attitude to politics.

34. PERCEPTION OF SOCIAL CHANGE (145)

Find the life at present changed:

higher migration index	P < .01	T = .16
older people	P < .01	T = .15

No association: sex, occupational group, church-affiliation, political affiliation, progressiveness, educ. level, evaluation of career, birth-place.

TABLE 41

Statistical associations of additional variables

Source: Hollerith Sheets Based on the 404 Interview Sheets.

1. POLITICAL AFFINITY (78)

Those sympathizing with the K.V.P.

agricultural occupations P < .05 T = .33

members of the Roman Catholic Church P < .001 T = .89

younger groups (than those sympathizing
with the C.H.U.) P < .05 T = .16

less tolerant P < .001 T = .29

more progressive (than sympathizers with
the C.H.U. or the A.R.) P < .01 T = .23

lower social status P < .02 T = .20

good church-goers P < .001 T = .38

Sympathizers with the A.R.: participate more
in associations P < .05 T = .13Sympathizers with the P.v.d.A., the V.V.D.
and persons sympathizing with no party:
more among those born outside Sassen-
heim P < .001 T = .34*No association:* class-identification, social mobility, educational level,
job-satisfaction, reading habits, optimism.

2. ATTITUDE TO PARTY POLITICS (79)

Those who think that there is little being done in political respect at
Sassenheim:

men P < .001 T = .17

members of Gereformeerde Church (as
compared with Roman Catholics) P < .02 T = .13*No association:* evaluation of career.

3. PARTICIPATION IN PARTY ACTIVITIES (77)

Those little participating:

women P < .001 T = .24

4. ACCEPTANCE OF GOVERNMENTAL CHANGE (154)

Those suggesting that government could improve the conditions of
living at Sassenheim:

men P < .001 T = .21

participate more in associations P < .01 T = .14

more progressive P < .01 T = .18

more optimistic P < .001 T = .17

those accepting and suggesting change
through other (than governmental) chan-
nels $P < .001$ $T = .49$

No association: birth-place, political affiliation, fear of unemployment,
evaluation of career.

5. ACCEPTANCE OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL CHANGE (156)

Those suggesting that life at Sassenheim could be made better:
more progressive $P < .01$ $T = .19$
accepting governmental change $P < .001$ $T = .49$

No association: optimism.

6. POSSESSION OF BOOKS ON RELIGION (73)

Those possessing books:
members of Calvinist church (the least:
Roman Catholics and those without
denomination) $P < .001$ $T = .20$

7. ATTITUDE TO RELIGIOUS PROBLEMS (66)

Those thinking and speaking about religious matters:
other than Roman Catholic groups . . . $P < .001$ $T = .32$

No association: sex.

8. TELEOLOGY (64)

Believing in the purpose and goal of their own existence:
Calvinists (Roman Catholics and groups
without denomination the least) . . . $P < .001$ $T = .24$

9. TRANSCENDENTAL SANCTION (65)

Believing in the consequences of one's conduct for the life hereafter:
members of the Geref. Church (Calvinists)
the most, Dutch Reformed and without
a denomination the least. $P < .001$ $T = .28$

10. NUMBER OF WORKING-HOURS (31)

Those mentioning shorter working-days:
women $P < .01$ $T = .22$
agricultural workers (than tradesmen and
businessmen) $P < .05$ $T = .24$

No association: birth-place, church-affiliation, social participation,
socio-economic status, social mobility, no. of rest-hours.

11. PLACE OF WORK (32)

Those working outside the bulb-region:

take fewer meals at home P < .001 T = .30

No association: satisfaction with housing conditions, migration index.

12. OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY (39)

Those reporting to have had few jobs in the past:

low migration index. P < .001 T = .16

foremen in agriculture (as compared with
those in industries) P < .02 T = .33middle groups on the socio-economic status
scale. P < .02 T = .14*No association:* educational level, social mobility.

13. MEANS OF OBTAINING WORK (37)

Those who applied for it on their own initiative:

higher migration index (than with those
who received jobs through their relatives) P < .01 T = .19

14. THE WAY OF SPENDING EVENTUAL HIGHER INCOME

Those planning to buy a car, a wireless set, or similar objects:

higher income groups (lower groups pre-
ferring better food and clothing) . . . P < .01 T = .32

15. MEMBERSHIP IN OCCUPATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS (55)

Members of trade-unions:

less satisfied with work (than employers or
free professions) P < .05 T = .17

more afraid of unemployment P < .01 T = .25

think less to have made good careers . . P < .001 T = .28

take more often holidays (than tradesmen
or members of employers' associations). P < .001 T = .28*No association:* birth-place.

16. LENGTH OF HOLIDAYS (52, 53)

Short or no holidays:

lower income groups P < .05 T = .16

members of tradesmen or employers'
associations P < .001 T = .28

17. HOUSE TENURE (12)

The house-owners:

less among workers (as compared with employers and managing personnel) . . .	P < .05	T = .13
larger dwellings	P < .01	T = .18
more satisfied with housing conditions . .	P < .001	T = .76

Those living in the house of the parents:

lower migration index	P < .001	T = .35
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No association: church-affiliation.

18. THE SIZE OF DWELLING (13)

Those living in more rooms:

other than agricultural workers	P < .01	T = .21
house-owners	P < .01	T = .18
are more satisfied with housing conditions	P < .001	T = .23

No association: church-affiliation, migration index.

19. HOUSE RENT (47a)

Low house-rent:

those born at Sassenheim (as compared with those born in big cities and more distant places).	P < .01	T = .36
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No association: migration, evaluation of career.

20. NUMBER OF CHILDREN (11)

Small families:

high migration index	P < .001	T = .17
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No association: number of siblings.

21. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF CHILDREN (11)

Lower school education:

Roman Catholics	P < .001	T = .28
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No association: occupational group.

22. FAMILY COHESIVENESS AT MEALS (23)

Those taking fewer meals together:

those working outside the bulb-region . .	P < .001	T = .30
more defined rôles of wife and husband .	P < .02	T = .28

23. NUMBER OF REST-HOURS (HOURS OF SLEEP) (43—44)

Those resting less:

men	P < .001	T = .185
older people	P < .001	T = .17
participate more in associations.	P < .05	T = .12
Those taking afternoon nap: women	P < .05	T = .11

No association: birth-place, occupational group, church-affiliation, income-level, socio-economic status, educational level, social mobility.

24. THE WAY OF SPENDING THE LEISURE (105)

"Walking or cycling:"

lower educational level (higher: reading, music)	P < .001	T = .37
those born at Sassenheim (as compared with those from cities and more distant places)	P < .01	T = .33
women (men: reading, music, sports)	P < .001	T = .29

No association: age, occupational group.

25. MAGAZINE READING (90)

Those more reading magazines:

higher educational level	P < .01	T = .15
higher income groups	P < .01	T = .19
the readers of books	P < .001	T = .18

26. THE MEANS OF OBTAINING BOOKS (86)

Those buying books:

higher educational level (lower levels get them from friends or libraries)	P < .01	T = .20
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27. ATTENDANCE AT CONCERTS, EXHIBITIONS AND THEATRE PERFORMANCES (98)

Those more frequently attending:

born at Sassenheim (as compared with those born in cities and more distant places)	P < .05	T = .14
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No association: income-level, book-reading.

28. PLACE OF RECREATION (98)

Concerts, theatre performances etc., outside Sassenheim:

lower educational levels	P < .01	T = .22
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29. MOTIVES OF THE LAST MIGRATION (17)

- Those who move in order to get their own or a better house:
 moved more frequently $P < .01$ $T = .20$
- Those who moved owing to their jobs:
 more satisfied with the housing conditions. $P < .001$ $T = .29$

No association: church-affiliation, birth-place, occupational group.

30. ATTITUDE TO THE CLASS SYSTEM (61a)

- Those approving of the class system:
 born at Sassenheim (as compared with those
 born in big cities or more distant
 places) $P < .05$ $T = .15$
- lower income levels (as compared with the
 higher levels, receiving fl. 66 or more per
 week) $P < .05$ $T = .25$

No association: sex, age, educational level, unemployment, socio-economic status, social mobility, social participation, evaluation of career, tolerance.

31. PRESTIGE VALUES (59)

- Those appreciating more "culture and refinement" (beschaving) than
 "work achievement" (prestatie) of a person:
- women (than men) $P < .001$ $T = .30$
- higher educational level $P < .02$ $T = .15$
- participate less in associations $P < .05$ $T = .14$

No association: age, income, class-identification, socio-economic status, social mobility, occupational group, church affiliation, birth-place.

32. MEANS OF OBTAINING MEDICAL ASSISTANCE (112)

- The persons insured in agreement with the legal prescription:
 report more missed working days owing to
 illness than those paying themselves . . $P < .001$ $T = .22$
- less satisfied with the assistance they get
 than those paying themselves $P < .01$ $T = .11$

No association: church affiliation, frequency of doctor's call, satisfaction with health.

33. FREQUENCY OF DOCTOR'S CALL (110)

- Frequent contacts with the physician:
 those complaining of bad health $P < .01$ $T = .14$

No association: sex, occupational group, church affiliation, means of obtaining medical assistance.

C) MATRIX PRESENTATION AND MATRIX ANALYSIS OF DATA

The length of the foregoing tables clearly demonstrates the shortcomings of the usual method of graphic presentation of research data in structural sociological analysis. As the associations which we have ascertained always connect two variables, we are inclined to treat them twice while describing every variable concerned. The only alternative to this procedure seemed to be to take some variable as a starting-point and try to avoid those relationships which have already been mentioned, when discussing the other variables. The tables could thus be somewhat shortened, though economizing over the printed space would be paid for by the longer time which would be required in order to identify all associations with a certain variable.

Presentation for Inspection. Because of these difficulties we sought for a new way of presentation and registration of the results of the multiple statistical analysis. At an early stage of the research, we were struck by the vectorial nature of the statistical and the causal associations; we considered the possibility of treating the latter by means of a simple matrix analysis, which had already been applied to the analysis of sociograms. One can better examine the research-situation when presenting the findings in a simple matrix of relationships. For this purpose the variables can be registered as the columns and the rows of a square table in the same order. The cells of the matrix represent the inter-secting variables. They can be filled with symbols denoting the presence or the absence of an association, its degree, direction, and nature. At the early stage of the research, one can also differentiate between the expected relationship and the one which was already ascertained either through inspection or through the statistical evaluation. These differentiated symbols can be used as entries in the matrix.

A similar matrix, that was used at an early stage of the evaluation of our research-data, contained about a hundred variables. It was mainly used as a suitable device for systematizing the hypotheses which were conceived during this phase and for the sifting of the variables. Those variables which did not seem to be interconnected with the basic factors to a significant degree had to be dropped as the necessity to economize with time and means made limitations of the research design necessary. After some hesitation thirty-four variables were separated from the others and designated for further analysis.

As Table 40 shows, these variables were of quite heterogeneous nature, implying quasi-biological and quasi-geographical characteristics (sex, age, place of birth), some elements of social structure and processes (social participation, socio-economic status, social mobility), of culture pattern (religious and political affiliations, education) as

well as the attitudes belonging to the social make-up of the personality ("conservatism," "tolerance," indices of satisfaction with work, housing conditions, health, etc.). They promised a sufficient variety which was necessary to get some insight into the interconnection between the main concepts: the social and cultural structures, and the social personality, in the population group under study.

It was during this second phase of the analysis that the matrix device proved to be of a great value. Neglecting the degree of associations and the level of probability, the results of the previous statistical evaluation, as presented in Table 40, were expressed in one matrix as follows: see p. 332.

The only thing that one has to do to find the associations of a certain variable is to read the entries in the cells in the row or in the column of the variable concerned. One will find a 1 in the cell at the inter-section of two variables between which a positive statistical relationship was found; a 0 denotes the cases in which a relationship was looked for but not ascertained. The empty cells in the matrix mean that no association was looked for between the variables concerned — the limitation which the research-economy imposed upon the systematic analysis.

By a visual inspection of the matrix, one will be able to get some information about the structure of the social relationships. One will notice, for instance, that factor 4 (occupational group) is associated with more variables in the matrix than factor 3 (migration index), or any factor in the lower part of the matrix. It takes, however, some time to decide whether factor 8 ascends over factor 9 in terms of positive statistical associations, as one has to add all positive symbols in the two rows (or columns) of the factors concerned. Neither is it possible to gather any information regarding the *nature* of these associations. The matrix only registers some results of the *statistical* computations without indicating whether the associated variables are *causally* linked with each other. That is why this basic matrix of relationship is symmetrical.

Spurious Associations. On a priori grounds it can be assumed that each symmetrical statistical association may causally be interpreted in one of the following three ways. If there is an association ascertained between the variables A and B, then either A is caused by B, or B is caused by A, or both A and B are caused by another variable or a cluster of variables X. It seemed possible to decide between the first two alternatives in some cases of association by inspecting the original data (it was obvious, for instance, that the association between "church affiliation" and "optimism" could not be interpreted as optimism making people to become members of the Roman Catholic Church, because the number of conversions is quite insignificant in Sassenheim and practically all Roman Catholics become church-

members by birth. In this case the plausible interpretation seems rather to be that people are more optimistic by reason of the fact that they are members of this church and not of the Calvinist Church or by some accidental characteristic associated with membership in the Roman Catholic Church). It was, on the other hand, quite impossible to accept the last alternative (the operation of an unknown factor X) by a mere inspection or examination of the bulk of data. Even when finding accidentally some possible "intervening" variables, it was unthinkable to depend solely on intuition in examining the spurious or the genuine nature of, let us say, all 183 associations. Therefore, a more systematic method was looked for.

In agreement with this third alternative of the causal interpretation of statistical association, we define a *spurious correlation* between two variables as an association which can be "explained away" by the intervention of another factor or cluster of factors. If all individuals who have the characteristics A and B in common also share the characteristic C, and if no persons without C can be found (in a sufficiently large group of available cases) having both A and B in common, we shall call the association between A and B as being of a "spurious nature." Since such "pure" cases can hardly be found due to the operation of chance, we may define the "spurious correlation" in an inverse way. If the individuals who have the characteristics A and B in common do not have in common any independent quality (in a given research-design), or if there is a significant number of individuals sharing A and B and not C (regardless of the number of those sharing all three characteristics), we shall consider the association between A and B as being of a "genuine nature." As an example: let A denote "membership in a large family," B "agricultural occupation," and C "membership in the Roman Catholic Church." If all agricultural workers in our sample who descend from large families are Roman Catholics and if no non-Catholic agricultural workers from large families can be found in our sample, we may consider the association between the occupational group and the number of siblings as being of a spurious nature. Or, in less strict sense, if we cannot find any variable associated with both the agricultural occupation and the family-size (the church-affiliation not excepted), or if we find that many agricultural workers from large families are Roman Catholics, but, on the other hand, a statistically significant number of agricultural workers from large families do belong to other categories of "church-affiliation" than Roman Catholic, we may consider the relation between family-size and occupational group as genuine (in terms of variables implied in the research design).

Clusters of Inter-Related Variables. It follows from the foregoing definitions that the first step in identifying the spurious associations would consist of finding the clusters of three or more variables. Such a

cluster would be defined as a series of three or more variables which are interconnected with each other. If A—B—C be a cluster in terms of our analysis, than A is significantly associated with B and C, B is associated with A and C, while there also is a significant association of C with A and B. If we succeed in identifying such clusters of variables in the basic matrix of relationships, we would be able to determine by cross-tabulation of the data (into the categories implied in the variables) the nature of the associations, and the problem would be solved.

As mentioned above, we were struck at the early stage of the research by the analogy between our problem and that of the distant field of social psychology — the analysis of sociograms. Considered on a high abstract level, the analyses of the matrix of social relationship, and of a sociomatrix have similar objectives, namely, to isolate the clusters of interrelated variables and to isolate the sub-groups. The sub-groups and the clusters have essential logical properties in common; both consist of series of units (individual subjects in sociometric studies, variables in a causal analysis) in which each member stands in a reciprocal relation to each other member. The units are interconnected by a net of reciprocal relationships. As both problems have the same essential logical properties, there was, in our opinion, no objection against applying the method of identification of sub-groups in a sociogram to our own problem of identification of clusters. Such a method was found by Festinger in the application to sociograms of matrix-algebra which was developed for this purpose by Luce and Perry at the Massachusetts' Institute of Technology.¹

Identification of Clusters by Matrix Multiplication. Several clusters of variables can be found in the basic matrix of relationship through simple inspection, by trial and error. There are no objections to this procedure if we are certain that we did not overlook some possible clusters. This certainty cannot be obtained from a matrix covering many variables (such as ours) by a mere inspection. We can attain it, however, if we square and cube the matrix concerned.

The procedure is relatively simple. To obtain the value for the cell of the squared matrix, the figures in the column and the row of the original matrix corresponding to the coordinates of the cell are multiplied. The multiplication occurs in such a way that we sum up the products of the cells of the row and the column in their order. If, for instance, we look

¹ See L. FESTINGER, "The analysis of sociograms using matrix algebra," *Human Relations*, II, pp. 153—158, 1949. R. DUNCAN LUCE and ALBERT D. PERRY, "A method of matrix analysis of group structures," *Psychometrika*, 14, No. 1, pp. 95—116, March 1949.

Also: J. CHABOT, "A simplified example of the use of matrix multiplication for the analysis of sociometric data," *Sociometry*, XIII, No. 2, pp. 131—140, 1950. More recently: IAN C. ROSS and HARRY FRANK, "On the determination of redundancies in sociometric chains," *Psychometrika*, 17, pp. 195—208, 1952.

for the number corresponding to the cell at the cross-section of the second row and the fourth column of the squared matrix ($A^2_{2,4} = 5$, see Figure 6), we multiply the number in the first cell of the second row by the entry in the first cell of the fourth column, add this to the product of the second cells in the row and column, the result again to the product of the third cells, etc., until the thirty-fourth cell in the row and the thirty-fourth cell in the column, according to the formula

$$A^2_{2,4} = A_{2,1} A_{1,4} + A_{2,2} A_{2,4} + A_{2,3} A_{3,4} + \dots + A_{2,34} A_{34,4}.$$

This seems to be a long, dreary procedure. It can be simplified by the use of an elementary mechanical device. On a slip of paper of the same length as the coordinates of the matrix we put marks in corresponding intervals as there are entries in the row (or the column) corresponding to one of the coordinates (let us say column 2 in Figure 5; we shall find entries corresponding to the rows 3, 4, 7, 12, 13, 14, 17, 21, and 23). Then we shift the slip to the row corresponding to the other coordinate (4 in our example). We inspect this row in order to ascertain which entries correspond to the marks on the slip, multiply the marks by the entries in the row and add them together. The result will be the entry in the cell of the squared matrix ($A^2_{2,4}$), we were looking for. (In our example there were entries only in five corresponding cells, namely cells 12, 13, 14, 17, and 23 of the fourth row.) The whole procedure of obtaining the entry in the cell of a squared matrix lasts only a few seconds; as there are, however, 1,156 cells in a matrix of 34 variables, a considerable time is consumed in squaring the matrix. The following Figure 6 shows the squared matrix of relationship which was obtained by squaring the basic matrix (Figure 5) for each single cell: see p. 332.

The cubed matrix can be computed in the same way by multiplying the squared matrix by the original matrix of relationships. The rows or the columns of the original matrix multiplied by the columns or the rows of the squared matrix. For the purpose of our analysis we have done so only for the cells along the principal diagonal of the cubed matrix. In order, for instance, to obtain the entry in the second row and the second column of the cubed matrix, we multiply the entry in the first cell of the second row of the original matrix by the first entry in the second column of the squared matrix, add the result to the product of the entries in the second cells, this again to the product of the entries in the third cells, etc., until the thirty-fourth cell of the second row in the original matrix and the thirty-fourth column of the squared matrix, according to the formula,

$$A^3_{2,2} = A_{2,1} A^2_{1,2} + A_{2,2} A^2_{2,2} + \dots + A_{2,34} A^2_{34,2}.^1$$

As in the case of squaring the matrix, the mechanical device can be used to simplify the procedure. In the above mentioned case, we only have to

¹ Expressed in a more general, algebraic form, the formula for cubing a matrix can be described as follows:

$$A^3_{ij} = A_{i1} A^2_{1j} + A_{i2} A^2_{2j} + \dots + A_{in} A^2_{nj},$$

where A^2_{ij} is the sum of the products of row i of the original matrix and column j of the squared matrix.

add the entries in the cells 3, 4, 7, 12, 13, 14, 17, 21, and 23 in the second column of the squared matrix, i.e.: $6+5+6+7+7+5+5+7+4 = 52$, which is the entry of the cell at the cross-section of the second row and the second column in the cubed matrix:

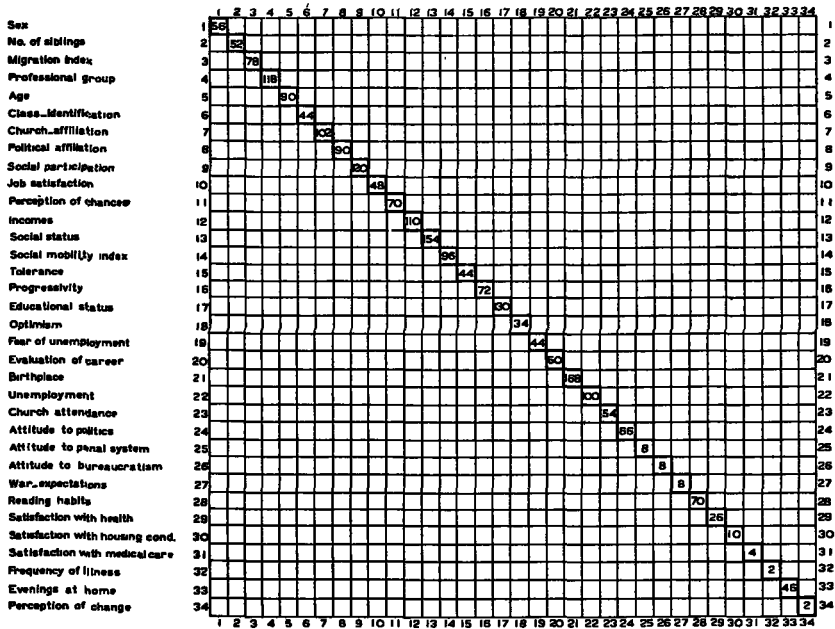


Figure 7. The principal diagonal of the cubed matrix

Functions of Squared and Cubed Matrices of Relationships. Let us now consider the information which can be gathered from the squared and the cubed matrices. The entries in the cells of the squared matrix denote the number of one-step chains between two given variables. These two variables are determined by the corresponding row and column of the cell. The number 5 in the cell at the cross-section of the first row and the twelfth column denotes that there are 5 series of interconnected variables, each consisting of factors 1 (sex) and 12 (income) and one unknown variable (X). This can be schematically expressed in the following way:

$$1-X-12.$$

By inspection of the original matrix we find five variables which are associated both with factor 1 and factor 12, namely factors 8, 10, 17, 20, and 21. Each of them can be substituted for X in the above mentioned series. The reader should realize the nature of these series, consisting of three members, and compare it with the nature of causal clusters which we defined above (p. 334) in order to perceive that we approach the solution of the first problem of our analysis.

In terms of our causal interpretation, the association, which we found between the factors 1 and 12 (the significantly lower income of women than of men), can be considered as a genuine causal association only after being isolated from the factors 8, 10, 17, 20, and 21. The fact that women report lower incomes than men can be, for instance, accounted for by their lower education, as the persons of lower educational level earn less than those of higher educational level. Thus, the entries in the cells of the squared matrix denote the number of possible intervening variables¹ in the case of each single association.

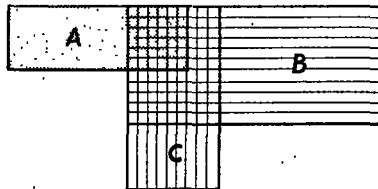
This is, however, only true for the entries in the cells of the squared matrix which correspond to the cells with positive entries in the original matrix. The members of a series of three variables are not mutually interrelated. In this respect the series differs still from the "cluster" as defined above. This explains, why we also find entries in the cells which remain empty in the corresponding original matrix. Take, for instance, the sixth cell in the first row in which number 2 can be found in the squared matrix that corresponds to a zero in the original matrix. This number means that there are (as in the previous case) two possible chains from the factor 1 to the factor 6 of the form

$$1-X-6.$$

This means, in this case, that factor 1 is not associated with factor 6 directly, but that there are two factors associated with 1 which are also associated with 6. By inspecting the original matrix, we find that these factors are 17 (education) and 20 ("evaluation of career").

¹ In agreement with the foregoing definitions of the spurious and the genuine associations the intervening variable can be defined in terms of intersecting classes of properties.

If in a class characterized by *A* there is a certain number of individuals who are characterized by *B* and *C*, we say that *B* is an intervening variable in regard to the relationship *A*—*C*, if no (or practically no) individuals who have *A* and *C* but no *B* can be found; or, if individuals sharing both *B* and *C* but not *A* have been identified. If, for instance, we substitute for *A* "industrial worker," for *B* "lower average age," and for *C* "perception of chances for a better future," then *B* will be identified as an intervening variable if we find practically no industrial workers of advanced age who perceive chances to better their positions in the future or, if also in other occupational categories people of lower age perceive chances to better themselves (both instances have, actually, been found). Topologically we can visualize this concept as follows:



In the cells along the principal diagonal, the entries will have a special significance, as they designate the number of chains from a given variable via the factor X back to the same variable, thus a number of reciprocal relations of each variable. The entry at the cross-section of the twenty-first column with the twenty-first row means that factor 21 (birth-place) is associated with no less than 20 other variables. If we add the positive signs in the twenty-first row (or column) of the original matrix (Figure 5), we notice that this is really the case. The form of the chains which are designated here is

21—X—21, or more generally,

A—X—A.

Though we arrived very near to the solution of our problem by finding the number of possible intervening variables, we did not attain certainty, as yet. We did not arrive at the clusters of variables which would be mutually interconnected by reciprocal associations. Neither did we find a method enabling us to identify larger clusters than those consisting of three members (one intervening variable). Both shortcomings can be avoided when working with the cubed matrix of relationships. According to the mathematical proof of Perry and Luce, the entries in the cells of a cubed matrix denote the number of two-step chains between any two variables, thus, in their general form

A—X—Y—B.

Redundancies make the use of these figures in analysis of sociograms a doubtful enterprise. The figures which appear in the cells along the main diagonal are much more relevant. It can be shown on mathematical grounds that any series of reciprocal, interconnected variables of n-members, of which a certain variable is a member, adds a fixed value in the cell of the cubed matrix diagonal. This value can easily be computed according to the general formula,

$$A_{ii}^3 = \sum (n - 1) (n - 2).^1$$

A cluster of three variables (for the definition of the series overlaps in this case the definition of causal clusters as given above) will add a value of $(3 - 1) (3 - 2) = 2$ in the cell, a cluster of four variables $(4 - 1) (4 - 2) = 6$, etc.

In agreement with this, the entry 8 which appears in the diagonal cell corresponding to the 25th column and row of the cubed matrix can be interpreted in that way that there are 4 clusters of the form

¹ We abstain here from referring to the mathematical argument on which this formula is based. The reader who might be interested in it should consult the article of Luce and Perry, mentioned above.

$$\overbrace{25-X-Y-25}^{\quad},^1$$

identifiable on the hand of our data. It can also mean that there is only one cluster of that size in addition to another larger cluster of the form

$$25-X-Y-Z-25.$$

We need not be surprised by this alternative solution. In fact, each cluster of four members can be split up into three clusters of three members, having one member in common. If we consult our original matrix in order to substitute the unknown variables in the clusters associated with factor 25 (attitude to penal system), we shall find the following concrete clusters:

$$\begin{array}{ll} 4-6-25 & 6-17-25 \\ 4-17-25 & 16-17-25 \end{array}$$

There is, however, no objection to contracting the three clusters containing the same variable and write them in a following way:

$$4-6-17-25 \qquad 16-17-25$$

The series of four variables (4-6-17-25) fulfils all conditions imposed by our definition on a cluster, because they all are interconnected with each other as can easily be shown in the basic matrix of relationship.² There is thus no objection to interpret number 8 in the entry of factor 25 in both ways, as denoting four clusters of three variables, or one cluster of four and one of three variables.

Presentation of Results. Thus far our problem appeared solved; we were able to identify the clusters on the basic matrix of relationships in a quite systematic way, knowing by the squared and the cubed matrices the number of possible intervening variables in the case of each association and the number and size of clusters in connection with each variable. This identification was done by means of a simple technique which was devised by Mr. G. G. van Blokland. One can identify the clusters of a certain variable in a systematic way by using three rulers or slips of paper, two of which are used parallel to the columns while one is used to check the marks in the rows. By means of this technique, all 364 clusters (each consisting of three mutually

¹ For the sake of brevity we shall print the clusters in the simplified form, e.g., 25 — X — Y — 25 in the following pages. It should be noted that they refer to the mutually interrelated variables.

² The fact that only reciprocal relationships are entered in the basic matrix of relationship makes the solution easier; the sequence of factors in a cluster is of no importance — the redundance does not invalidate the results to the same extent as in sociograms. Furthermore, the clusters consist of mutually interrelated variables.

associated variables) which have been signalled in the cubed matrix could be identified and put on the following list:

TABLE 42
Simple clusters of interrelated variables

Source: Figures 5-7.

1-8-9 ¹	2-4-17	3-12-21	4-9-14	5-11-22
1-8-12	2-4-23	3-12-22	4-9-23	5-11-29
1-8-19	2-7-12	3-13-14	4-10-12	5-12-14
1-8-20	2-7-13	3-13-21	4-10-14	5-12-21
1-8-24	2-7-17	3-13-22	4-10-17	5-12-22
1-9-20	2-7-21	3-13-33	4-10-19	5-12-27
1-9-21	2-7-23	3-14-21	4-10-22	5-12-30
1-9-24	2-12-13	3-14-22	4-10-29	5-14-21
1-9-33	2-12-14	3-14-33	4-10-31	5-14-22
1-10-12	2-12-17	3-21-22	4-11-13	5-14-33
1-10-17	2-12-21	3-21-23	4-11-17	5-16-21
1-10-19	2-13-14	3-21-24	4-11-18	5-16-22
1-10-21	2-13-17	3-21-33	4-11-22	5-16-24
1-10-29	2-13-21		4-11-29	5-18-22
1-12-17	2-14-21	4-5-9	4-12-13	5-18-24
1-12-20	2-17-21	4-5-11	4-12-14	5-18-27
1-12-21	2-21-23	4-5-12	4-12-17	5-21-22
1-17-19		4-5-14	4-12-22	5-21-24
1-17-21	3-5-11	4-5-18	4-13-14	5-21-26
1-17-24	3-5-12	4-5-22	4-13-17	5-21-33
1-17-29	3-5-14	4-5-26	4-13-19	5-26-30
1-17-33	3-5-21	4-5-29	4-13-22	
1-19-24	3-5-22	4-6-11	4-14-22	6-11-13
1-20-21	3-5-24	4-6-13	4-17-19	6-11-17
1-20-29	3-5-29	4-6-14	4-17-22	6-11-18
1-20-32	3-5-33	4-6-17	4-17-25	6-11-20
1-21-24	3-5-34	4-6-18	4-17-29	6-11-22
1-21-33	3-7-11	4-6-22	4-18-22	6-13-14
	3-7-12	4-6-23	4-19-22	6-13-17
2-3-7	3-7-13	4-6-25	4-26-31	6-13-20
2-3-12	3-7-21	4-8-9		6-13-22
2-3-13	3-7-23	4-8-12	5-9-11	6-14-20
2-3-14	3-7-24	4-8-13	5-9-14	6-14-22
2-3-21	3-11-13	4-8-18	5-9-16	6-17-22
2-3-23	3-11-22	4-8-19	5-9-21	6-17-25
2-4-12	3-11-29	4-8-23	5-9-24	6-18-22
2-4-13	3-12-13	4-9-11	5-9-33	
2-4-14	3-12-14	4-9-13	5-11-18	7-8-9

¹ As mentioned in the note on p. 340 each of these clusters should be actually written in this general form: A-B-C; it should be noted that there is a significant association between the first and the last variables in the cluster. The foregoing notation was, however, chosen to avoid awkward printing.

7-8-12	8-9-13	9-14-33	12-13-14	14-21-28
7-8-13	8-9-15	9-15-16	12-13-17	14-21-33
7-8-15	8-9-16	9-15-21	12-13-20	14-28-33
7-8-18	8-9-20	9-15-23	12-13-21	
7-8-23	8-9-23	9-15-28	12-13-22	15-16-17
7-8-24	8-9-24	9-16-20	12-14-20	15-16-21
7-8-28	8-9-28	9-16-21	12-14-21	15-16-23
7-9-11	8-12-13	9-16-23	12-14-22	15-17-21
7-9-13	8-12-20	9-16-24	12-17-21	15-17-28
7-9-15	8-12-30	9-20-21	12-17-22	15-21-23
7-9-21	8-13-16	9-21-23	12-20-21	15-21-28
7-9-23	8-13-19	9-21-24	12-20-30	15-23-28
7-9-24	8-13-20	9-21-28	12-21-22	
7-9-28	8-13-28	9-21-33		16-17-19
7-11-13	8-15-16	9-23-28	13-14-20	16-17-21
7-11-17	8-15-23	9-24-28	13-14-21	16-17-22
7-11-18	8-15-28	9-28-33	13-14-22	16-17-24
7-12-13	8-16-19		13-14-28	16-17-25
7-12-17	8-16-20	10-12-14	13-14-33	16-19-22
7-12-21	8-16-23	10-12-17	13-16-17	16-19-24
7-12-27	8-16-24	10-12-21	13-16-19	16-20-21
7-13-17	8-18-24	10-12-22	13-16-20	16-21-22
7-13-21	8-19-24	10-14-21	13-16-21	16-21-23
7-13-28	8-20-30	10-14-22	13-16-22	16-21-24
7-15-17	8-23-28	10-17-19	13-17-19	
7-15-21	8-24-28	10-17-21	13-17-21	17-19-22
7-15-23		10-17-22	13-17-22	17-19-24
7-15-28	9-11-13	10-17-29	13-17-28	17-21-22
7-17-21	9-11-20	10-19-22	13-17-33	17-21-24
7-17-24	9-13-14	10-21-22	13-19-22	17-21-28
7-17-28	9-13-16		13-20-21	17-21-33
7-18-24	9-13-20	11-13-17	13-21-22	17-24-28
7-18-27	9-13-21	11-13-20	13-21-28	17-28-33
7-21-23	9-13-28	11-13-22	13-21-33	
7-21-24	9-13-33	11-17-22	13-28-33	
7-21-28	9-14-20	11-17-29		21-23-28
7-23-28	9-14-21	11-18-22	14-20-21	21-24-28
7-24-28	9-14-28	11-20-29	14-21-22	21-28-33

D) CAUSAL ANALYSIS OF CLUSTERS OF INTERRELATED VARIABLES

The first goal of our methodological analysis has been reached. The interpretation of the foregoing list of clusters is that we are not allowed to consider the statistical association between any two variables of a cluster as a causal association before examining the relation to the third variable in the cluster. There are 1092 variables which can be identified on logical grounds as possible intervening variables. This is the number of all variables which are implied in the clusters in the foregoing list, the same number which we obtain

by adding the entries in the cells along the main diagonal of the cubed matrix and dividing them by two (as $(n - 1)(n - 2)$ is two for a cluster of three).

Reduction to Elementary Clusters. The next task was to examine the clusters themselves. Here an important problem had to be solved. One has probably observed, that only the clusters of three variables were included in our list (Table 42), though there are evidently larger clusters identifiable in the original matrix.

Instead of breaking down the data into four or more cross-sections, the more complex clusters were reduced to simple clusters. The cluster of four was split up into four clusters of three, the cluster of five into ten clusters of three variables, etc., according to the formula:

$$\frac{n!}{3!(n-3)}$$

where n is the number of variables in a complex cluster. When trying, for instance, to prove the hypothesis that the occupation of agricultural worker makes for a more retributive attitude toward criminals, one did not break down the cluster 4—6—17—25; i.e., one did not isolate the people identifying themselves with the low social class (6) being of the same educational level (17) in order to look for the association between the agricultural occupation and the more vindictive attitude in thus isolated groups. Instead, the cluster was split into the following four series of three variables:

$$\begin{array}{l} 4-6-17 \\ 4-6-25 \\ 4-17-25 \\ 6-17-25 \end{array}$$

Each of these clusters was analysed separately. One tried to ascertain the association between 4 and 6 in 17, that between 4 and 17 in 6, and that between 6 and 17 in 4. This was done for each of the four clusters of three variables. Several techniques were employed.

Direction of Associations. The first possibility of sifting the clustered variables was that of examining the direction of associations. In order to simplify the matrix analysis of the data, we registered the associations in the basic matrix regardless of the fact whether they were positive or negative. Neither did we take the concrete categories of the variables into consideration. In this way, the variables associated in opposite or irrelevant directions were included in the list of clusters (Table 42).

As an example, let us consider the cluster 1—17—19. We found that "sex" correlated both with "education" and "fear of unemployment" and that all these three factors are correlated with each other as can be easily ascertained in the basic matrix (Figure 5). If we refer to the original data on which this matrix is based we find that the

associations between these three variables can be formulated somewhat as follows: women are more often represented in the groups of lower educational level and are less afraid of unemployment; the lower educational groups report, however, more often to be afraid of unemployment than the higher educational groups. Thus we notice, that women *are less afraid* of unemployment though they *are expected to be more afraid* on account of their lower educational level. The factor "sex" (or another factor which is associated with sex and which was not implied in our research-design) makes for a difference in attitude towards unemployment independently of "education," that influences "the fear of unemployment" in the opposite direction.

Dozens of variables were isolated by a mere inspection of Table 40 or of the original data in the contingency tables as to the direction of the association. Not all associations could, however, be verified in this simple way. Most of the clusters contained variables which were associated in the same direction. We found, for instance, that Roman Catholics descend from the larger families and belong to the lower income groups. We also found significantly more people from larger families in the lower income groups in our sample (cluster 2—7—12). Similar clusters suggested the presence of spurious associations and had to be considered more in detail.

Independence of Variables. First, we had to examine once more the nature of the variables and to decide which of them could not be considered as being independent variables by definition and by means of measurement. The associations of both church affiliation and political affiliation with social participation, for instance, should be interpreted with reserve, as both first-mentioned factors automatically scored at least 2 points each on the social participation scale; (thus a member of a church who was organized in a political party scored 4 points more than a person without denomination who remained unorganized, on a priori grounds, the other conditions being equal). A similar association of a "nominal nature" could be found between the socio-economic status and the index of social mobility, since the latter was ascertained as a function of the former (the difference between the status score of the interviewee and that of his father). Some other variables could be considered as being of a nominal nature on account of the causal analysis itself. The correlation between, for instance, church-affiliation and membership in certain political parties was so high ($T = .87$) that it was quite impossible to consider both factors as two independent variables, each accounting for a statistically significant part of the variation in the distribution of other variables. We simply did not find any Protestants or persons without a denomination in the Catholic People's Party, thus cross-tabulation was quite impossible. The factor of "political affiliation" had, therefore, often to be interpreted as a dichotomic

variable consisting of two sub-categories: those organized and those unorganized in political parties (see p. 389).

Cross-Tabulation. After this preliminary sifting, we obtained the clusters that consisted of independent variables only, and that were associated with each other in a congruous direction. They might be referred to as the clusters in the proper sense. There were still several hundreds of them. With the exception of those which did not play an important rôle in the causal interpretation of data or theory formation (e.g., we did not isolate "occupational group," "social status," "level of income," in all cases as their natural contiguity or correlation was quite obvious) all had to be analysed and examined.

In order to demonstrate the way in which the clusters were broken down, let us consider the following example. By inspecting the table of the statistical associations on which the original matrix is based, we find that variables 1, 21, and 33, (sex, place of birth, and number of evenings which one spends at home in the week) are all associated with each other in a concurrent direction. Women appear to spend more evenings at home than men, so do the persons who have been born outside the community and outside the region. The women are, at the same time, significantly more represented in the latter group of inhabitants i.e., those who were born elsewhere and migrated into Sassenheim. Under these circumstances the following question can be raised: does sex really make for a less intensive participation in outdoor activities or can the association between "sex" and "number of evenings at home" be explained away as an outcome of the accidental fact that women are more often represented among the immigrants, "birth-place" being the main, or only causative factor? Cannot, on the contrary, the causative nature of the birth-place differential be questioned on account of the larger percentage of females among the immigrants, the rather passive rôle of the latter in public life? We will be able to refute the first sceptical question, if we succeed in proving the operation of another factor (sex) beside the "birth-place." In order to do so, we might choose one single category of 21 (birth-place) and examine whether the examined factor 33 (number of evenings which are spent at home, in it still varies with sex. Is this the case, then we have proved that 1 accounts for a differential in 33, independent of 21; its association with 33 is of genuine nature (the other possibly intervening variables not being taken into consideration). Let us apply this procedure to our data:

TABLE 43

Distribution of people born at Sassenheim by sex and number of evenings which they spend at home in a week

	less than 6 evenings at home	6 or 7 evenings at home	Total
Men	54	54	108
Women.	33	63	96
	87	117	204

Source: Random Sample of 404 Persons

The chi-square which we computed while applying the usual correction for small frequencies amounted to $\chi^2 = 4.461$ (1 degree of freedom). The association between sex and number of evenings at home holds at the probability level of five per cent ($P < .02$, without correction). The chance that a difference as high as in the above table can be found in a sample drawn of the same universe being less than five per cent, we may neglect it, and conclude that the difference should not be ascribed to the operation of chance but to a causal influence.

With the second question the same procedure can be used. To ascertain whether the birth-place is causally associated with the frequency of out-door activities, we shall examine whether the latter varies with the different places of birth within one single category of sex. This appeared to be the case, as the following table demonstrates:

TABLE 44

Distribution of the male population at Sassenheim by birth-place and numbers of evenings spent at home in a week

	Less than 6	6 or more	Total
Born in the bulb-region . .	54	54	108
Born outside the region . .	63	24	87
Total	117	78	195

Source: 404 Persons of the Random Sample.

The chi-square which we again computed with the correction for small frequencies is even higher than in the previous case, $\chi^2 = 9.173$. The probability corresponding to one degree of freedom approaches the 0.001 level. The association which we thus ascertained in the cross-tabulated data appears to be highly significant.

Thus, we are able to refute both sceptical questions concerning the genuine nature of the associations as these were computed in our preliminary analysis. Both sex and birth-place (respectively the fact whether one is born in the region or whether one immigrates to it) seem to be associated with the frequency of outdoor activities. Women and immigrants participate less, and spend more evenings at home.

Not all clusters could be analysed in the same unequivocal way. There was some difficulty with the non-dichotomous, qualitative variables which had to be split into several categories. Nor did we apply the chi-square test to all cross-tabulated tables (which amounted to more than 500 in number). In most cases, we resorted to a mere inspection of the tables, and considered a variable as isolated when there was a distinct tendency of data to accumulate in one of the

cells. In this way, even those associations which were not found significant were mentioned in this final stage of the analysis. The reason for this was that the frequencies in the cells of the cross-tabulated tables were too small, and that we hesitated to deny the genuine nature of associations only on account of insufficient data.

Results. The results of this final phase of the analysis are summed up in the following table. As with the list of computed associations, we have to appeal to the patience of the reader while presenting a table of a similar length:

TABLE 45
Analytical table of the intervening and the isolated variables

I Asso- ciation ¹	II No. of possible inter- vening vari- ables ²	III Isolated by examining the direction of association	IV Isolated by cross- tabulation	V Not affirmed in	VI Not sought in
I— 8	(5)	19, 20	9, 12	—	24
I— 9	(5)	—	8, 21	—	20, 24, 33
I—10	(5)	12, 17, 29	19, 21	—	—
I—12	(5)	10, 21	20	8, 17	—
I—17	(7)	19, 21	10, 12	—	24, 29, 33
I—19	(4)	8, 17	10, 24	—	—
I—20	(6)	8, 32	9, 12, 21, 29	—	—
I—21	(7)	12, 17, 24	—	—	9, 10, 20, 33
I—24	(5)	21	8, 9, 17, 19	—	—
I—29	(3)	10	17, 20	—	—
I—32	(1)	20	—	—	—
I—33	(3)	—	17, 21	9	—
2— 3	(6)	—	23	7, 12, 13, 14, 21	—
2— 4	(5)	23	12, 13, 14, 17	—	—
2— 7	(6)	—	3, 12, 13, 17, 21, 23	—	—
2—12	(7)	—	4, 7, 21	3, 13, 17	14
2—13	(7)	—	21, 3, 14, 4, 7, 12, 17	—	—
2—14	(4)	—	3, 4, 12	13	—

¹ The entries in the cells of a basic matrix of relationship; see p. 332 and the table on the p. 309 ff.

² The entries in the cells of a squared matrix, see p. 336.

I Asso- ciation	II No. of possible inter- vening vari- ables	III Isolated by examining the direction of association	IV Isolated by cross- tabulation	V Not affirmed in	VI Not sought in
2-17	(5)	—	4, 7, 12, 13, 21	—	—
2-21	(7)	—	3, 7, 12, 13, 14, 17, 23	—	3, 7, 12
2-23	(4)	—	7, 21	4, 3	—
3-2	(6)	—	23	7, 12, 13, 14, 21	—
3-5	(9)	—	—	—	11, 12, 14, 21, 22, 24, 29, 33, 34
3-7	(7)	—	2, 12, 13	21	11, 23, 24
3-11	(5)	13	7	5, 22	29
3-12	(7)	22	5, 7	—	2, 13, 14, 21
3-13	(8)	11, 22, 33	2, 7	14	21, 12
3-14	(7)	22, 33	2, 13	5	12, 21
3-21	(10)	—	2, 7, 12	—	5, 13, 14, 22, 23, 24, 33
3-22	(6)	12, 13, 14,	5, 11	—	21
3-23	(3)	—	2, 7	21	—
3-24	(3)	—	7	5	21
3-29	(2)	—	5	11	—
3-33	(4)	13, 14	5	—	21
3-34	(1)	—	5	—	—
4-2	(5)	23	12, 13, 14, 17	—	—
4-5	(8)	9, 22, 26, 29	11, 18	—	12, 14
4-6	(8)	18, 23	11, 13, 14, 17	22	25
4-8	(6)	12, 18, 19	9, 23	—	13
4-9	(6)	5, 11,	23, 13, 14	8	—
4-10	(7)	22, 31	12, 14, 17, 19, 29	—	—
4-11	(8)	9, 13, 17, 29	6, 18, 22	5	—
4-12	(8)	8	10, 13, 17	—	2, 7, 14, 22
4-13	(10)	11	2, 6, 9, 12, 14, 17	—	8, 19, 22
4-14	(8)	—	2, 6, 9, 10, 13	—	5, 12, 22
4-17	(10)	11	6, 10, 12, 19	13	2, 22, 25, 29
4-18	(5)	8	5, 6, 11, 22	—	—

I Asso- ciation	II No. of possible inter- vening vari- ables	III Isolated by examining the direction of association	IV Isolated by cross- tabulation	V Not affirmed in	VI Not sought in
4-19	(5)	8	10, 17, 22	—	13
4-22	(10)	5	17	—	6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 18, 19
4-23	(4)	6	2, 8	9	—
4-25	(2)	—	17	6	—
4-26	(2)	5, 31	—	—	—
4-29	(4)	5, 11	—	10, 17	—
4-31	(2)	10	26	—	—
5-3	(9)	—	—	—	11, 12, 14, 21, 22, 24, 29, 33, 34
5-4	(8)	9, 22, 26, 29	11, 18	—	12, 14
5-9	(7)	4, 16	11	21	14, 24, 33
5-11	(6)	13	4, 9, 18, 22	—	29
5-12	(7)	22, 30	—	—	3, 4, 14, 21, 27
5-14	(7)	—	—	—	3, 4, 21, 22, 33, 9, 12
5-16	(4)	9, 21, 22, 24	—	—	—
5-18	(5)	27	—	4, 11	22, 24
5-21	(9)	16, 26	9	—	3, 12, 14, 22, 24, 33
5-22	(8)	4, 6, 12	21	—	11, 14, 16, 18
5-24	(5)	16	9	—	3, 18, 21
5-26	(3)	4, 21	—	—	30
5-27	(2)	18	12	—	—
5-29	(3)	4	—	—	3, 11
5-30	(2)	12	—	—	26
5-33	(4)	—	3, 21	—	9, 14
5-34	(1)	—	—	—	3
6-4	(8)	18, 23	11, 13, 14, 17	22	25
6-11	(6)	—	4, 13, 17, 18, 20, 22	—	—
6-13	(6)	—	11, 14, 17, 20	4	22
6-14	(4)	—	20	4, 13	22
6-17	(5)	—	4, 11	22	13, 25
6-18	(3)	—	22	4, 11	—

I Asso- ciation	II No. of possible inter- vening vari- ables	III Isolated by examining the direction of association	IV Isolated by cross- tabulation	V Not affirmed in	VI Not sought in
6—20	(3)	—	11, 14	13	—
6—22	(6)	—	4, 13, 14, 17, 18, 11	—	—
6—23	(1)	4	—	—	—
6—25	(2)	—	—	4, 17	—
7— 2	(6)	—	3, 12, 13, 17, 21, 23	—	—
7— 3	(7)	—	2, 12, 13	21	11, 23, 24
7— 8	(8)	9, 15	18	—	12, 13, 23, 24, 28
7— 9	(8)	8, 13, 15	11, 21	—	23, 24, 28
7—11	(5)	13, 17	9, 3, 18	—	—
7—12	(7)	27	2, 13, 17, 21	—	3, 8
7—13	(9)	8, 9, 11	2, 3, 17, 21	12	28
7—15	(6)	9	8, 17, 23, 28	—	21
7—17	(8)	11	—	2, 12, 13, 15, 21	24, 28
7—18	(4)	—	11, 8, 24, 27	—	—
7—21	(10)	—	23	—	2, 3, 9, 12, 13, 15, 17, 24, 28
7—23	(7)	—	3, 21, 28	—	2, 8, 9, 15
7—24	(7)	—	3, 18, 9, 17, 21, 28	—	8
7—27	(2)	12	18	—	—
7—28	(8)	—	21, 23, 24	13	8, 9, 15, 17
8— 1	(5)	19, 20	9, 12	—	24
8— 4	(6)	12, 18, 19	9, 23	—	13
8— 7	(8)	9, 15	18	—	12, 13, 23, 24, 28
8— 9	(10)	7, 13, 16	1, 4, 15, 23	—	20, 24, 28
8—12	(6)	7, 4, 20	1	—	13, 30
8—13	(8)	7, 9, 16, 19, 20, 28	—	—	4, 12
8—15	(5)	7, 16, 23, 28	9	—	—
8—16	(7)	9, 13, 15, 19, 20, 23	24	—	—

I Asso- ciation	II No. of possible inter- vening vari- ables	III Isolated by examining- the direction of association	IV Isolated by cross- tabulation	V Not affirmed in	VI Not sought in
8-18	(3)	4	24	7	—
8-19	(5)	1, 4, 13, 16, 24	—	—	—
8-20	(6)	1, 12, 13, 16, 30	9	—	—
8-23	(6)	7, 9, 15, 16, 28	4	—	—
8-24	(7)	19, 28, 16	18	—	1, 7, 9
8-28	(6)	13, 15, 23, 24	9	—	7
8-30	(2)	20	—	12	—
9-1	(5)	—	8, 21	—	20, 24, 33
9-4	(6)	5, 11	13, 14, 23	8	—
9-5	(7)	4, 16	11	21	14, 24, 33
9-7	(8)	8, 15, 13	11, 21	—	23, 24, 28
9-8	(10)	7, 13, 16	1, 4, 15, 23	—	20, 24, 28
9-11	(5)	4	5, 7, 13, 20	—	—
9-13	(10)	7, 8	4, 11, 20, 21	14, 28	16, 33
9-14	(7)	21	5, 13, 20, 28	4	33
9-15	(6)	7, 16, 28	8, 23, 21	—	—
9-16	(8)	8, 5, 15, 20, 21, 23, 24	—	—	13
9-20	(7)	16	1, 11, 13, 14, 21	8	—
9-21	(12)	13, 14, 16, 24, 28	5, 7, 23	—	1, 15, 20, 33
9-23	(7)	16, 28	4, 7, 8, 21	—	15
9-24	(7)	16, 21	5, 7, 28, 4	8	—
9-28	(9)	8, 15, 21, 23, 33	7, 24, 13	—	14
9-33	(6)	28	5, 21	—	1, 13, 14
10-1	(5)	29, 12, 17	21, 19	—	—
10-4	(7)	31, 22	14, 17, 12, 19, 29	—	—
10-12	(6)	1	4, 17, 22, 21, 14	—	—
10-14	(4)	—	12, 21, 4	—	22
10-17	(7)	—	21, 19, 1, 22	4, 12, 29	—

I Asso- ciation	II No. of possible inter- vening vari- ables	III Isolated by examining the direction of association	IV Isolated by cross- tabulation	V Not affirmed in	VI Not sought in
10—19	(4)	—	22, 17, 1, 4	—	—
10—21	(5)	—	22, 1, 17	12	14
10—22	(6)	—	4, 12, 14, 17, 21, 19	—	—
10—29	(3)	1	4, 17	—	—
10—31	(1)	4	—	—	—
11— 3	(5)	13	7	5, 22	29
11— 4	(8)	29, 9, 17, 13	6, 18, 22	5	—
10— 5	(6)	13	4, 9, 18, 22	—	29
11— 6	(6)	—	4, 13, 17, 20, 22, 18	—	—
11— 7	(5)	13, 17	9, 18, 3	—	—
11— 9	(5)	4	5, 7, 13, 20	—	—
11—13	(8)	4, 3	6, 9, 17, 20, 22	7	—
11—17	(6)	4, 7	13, 6, 29, 22	—	—
11—18	(5)	—	6, 22, 5, 7, 4	—	—
11—20	(4)	—	6, 9, 13, 29	—	—
11—22	(7)	—	4, 6, 13, 17, 18	5	3
11—29	(5)	4	5, 17, 20, 3	—	—
12— 1	(5)	10, 21	20	8, 17	—
12— 2	(7)	—	21, 7, 4	3, 13, 17	14
12— 3	(7)	22	5, 7	—	14, 13, 21, 2
12— 4	(8)	8	13, 17, 10	—	2, 7, 14, 22
12— 5	(7)	22, 30	—	—	14, 21, 27, 34
12— 7	(7)	27	13, 17, 2, 21	—	8, 3
12— 8	(6)	4, 20, 7	1	—	13, 30
12—10	(6)	1	4, 17, 22, 21, 14	—	—
12—13	(10)	—	4, 7, 20, 2, 3, 8, 21, 22, 14, 17	—	—
12—14	(9)	—	20, 9, 3, 13, 4	—	21, 22, 28, 33
12—17	(8)	—	4, 7, 10, 2, 13, 1, 21	—	22
12—20	(6)	21, 8	13, 1	—	30, 14

I Asso- ciation	II No. of possible inter- vening vari- ables	III Isolated by examining the direction of association	IV Isolated by cross- tabulation	V Not affirmed in	VI Not sought in
12—21	(11)	20, 22, 1	5, 7, 2	—	3, 14, 13, 10, 17
12—22	(8)	5, 21, 3	4	—	13, 14, 17, 10
12—27	(2)	7	5	—	—
12—30	(3)	5	—	—	20, 8
13— 2	(7)	—	17, 12, 14, 3, 7, 21, 4	—	—
13— 3	(8)	11, 22, 33	7, 2	14	12, 21
13— 4	(10)	11	6, 9, 12, 14, 17, 2	—	8, 19, 22
13— 6	(6)	—	17, 11, 20, 14	4	22
13— 7	(9)	11, 8, 9	2, 3, 21, 17	12	28
13— 8	(8)	20, 28, 19, 9, 16, 7	—	—	12, 4
13— 9	(10)	8, 7	21, 4, 11, 20	14, 28	16, 33
13—11	(8)	4, 3	6, 9, 17, 20, 22	7	—
13—12	(10)	—	4, 7, 20, 2, 3, 8, 21, 22, 14, 17	—	—
13—14	(11)	—	4, 6, 9, 20, 2, 3, 12, 22	—	21, 28, 33
13—16	(7)	9, 17, 18, 19, 20	22	21	—
13—17	(12)	16	12, 7, 11, 2, 21, 22	—	19, 28, 33, 6, 4
13—19	(5)	8, 16	—	—	22, 17, 4
13—20	(8)	8, 21, 16	6, 12, 9, 11, 14	—	—
13—21	(12)	20, 33	7, 22, 12, 17	3	28, 14, 9, 2, 16
13—22	(10)	—	21	—	19, 17, 16, 14, 22, 11, 12, 9, 7
13—28	(7)	8	9, 21, 17, 33	7	14
13—33	(6)	21, 3	9, 28	—	17, 14

I Asso- ciation	II No. of possible inter- vening varia- bles	III Isolated by examining the direction of association	IV Isolated by cross- tabulation	V Not affirmed in	VI Not sought in
14— 2	(4)	—	12, 3, 4	13	—
14— 3	(7)	22, 33	13, 2	5	21, 12
14— 4	(8)	—	6, 9, 10, 13, 2	—	5, 12, 22
14— 5	(7)	—	—	—	3, 4, 21, 22, 33, 9, 12
14— 6	(4)	—	20	4, 13	22
14— 9	(7)	21	13, 20, 28, 5	4	33
14—10	(4)	—	12, 21, 4	—	22
14—12	(9)	—	20, 9, 3, 13, 4	—	21, 22, 28, 33
14—13	(11)	—	4, 6, 9, 20, 23, 12, 22	—	21, 28, 33
14—20	(5)	21	12, 6, 9	13	—
14—21	(11)	20, 9	5, 12, 13, 2, 3	—	22, 10, 28, 33
14—22	(8)	3	5, 12, 21, 13	—	4, 6, 10
14—28	(4)	—	9	21, 13	33
14—33	(6)	3	5, 9	21	28, 13
15— 7	(6)	9	17, 23, 28, 8	—	21
15— 8	(5)	23, 28, 16, 7	9	—	—
15— 9	(6)	28, 7, 16	8, 23, 21	—	—
15—16	(5)	9, 8	21, 23	17	—
15—17	(4)	—	16, 28	21, 7	—
15—21	(6)	—	7, 9, 16, 17, 28	23	—
15—23	(6)	—	7, 9, 16, 21, 28	—	—
15—28	(6)	8, 9	7	17, 21, 23	—
16— 5	(4)	21, 22, 24, 9	—	—	—
16— 8	(7)	19, 20, 23, 15, 13, 9	24	—	—
16— 9	(8)	23, 21, 24, 5, 15, 20, 8	—	—	13
16—13	(7)	19, 8, 17, 20, 9	22	21	—
16—15	(5)	8, 9	21, 23	17	—
16—17	(7)	19, 22, 13	21, 15, 25	24	—
16—19	(5)	8, 13, 17	24, 22	—	—
16—20	(4)	8, 21, 9, 13	—	—	—

I Asso- ciation	II No. of possible inter- vening vari- ables	III Isolated by examining the direction of association	IV Isolated by cross- tabulation	V Not affirmed in	VI Not sought in
16—21	(9)	5, 20, 9	13, 22, 15	17, 23	24
16—22	(5)	5, 17	13, 21	—	19
16—23	(4)	8, 9	15, 21	—	—
16—24	(6)	8, 9, 5	17, 19	21	—
16—25	(1)	—	—	17	—
17— 1	(7)	19, 21	12, 10	—	24, 29, 33
17— 2	(5)	—	21, 4, 7, 12, 13	—	—
17— 4	(10)	11	6, 10, 12, 19	13	2, 22, 25, 29
17— 6	(5)	—	4, 11	22	25, 13
17— 7	(8)	11	—	12, 13, 15, 21, 2	24, 28
17—10	(7)	—	21, 22, 19, 1	12, 4, 29	—
17—11	(6)	4, 7	6, 29, 13, 22	—	—
17—12	(8)	—	4, 7, 10, 2, 13, 1, 21	—	22
17—13	(12)	16	12, 7, 11, 2, 21, 22	(4)	19, 28, 33, 6
17—15	(4)	—	16, 28	21, 7	—
17—16	(7)	19, 22, 13	21, 15, 25	24	—
17—19	(7)	16, 1	13, 4, 10, 24, 22	—	—
17—21	(12)	33, 1	12, 2	7	22, 24, 28, 16, 15, 13, 10
17—22	(9)	16	13, 12, 21, 6	4	19, 11, 10
17—24	(6)	—	28, 21, 19, 1	7, 16	—
17—25	(3)	—	16, 6	4	—
17—28	(6)	—	7, 13, 33, 21	—	15, 24
17—29	(4)	—	4, 1, 11, 10	—	—
17—33	(4)	21	13, 28, 1	—	—
18— 4	(5)	8	5, 11, 22, 6	—	—
18— 5	(5)	27	—	4, 11	22, 24
18— 6	(3)	—	22	4, 11	—
18— 7	(4)	—	11, 8, 27, 24	(8)	—
18— 8	(3)	4	24	(7)	—
18—11	(5)	—	6, 22, 4, 5, 7	—	—

I Asso- ciation	II No. of possible inter- vening vari- ables	III Isolated by examining the direction of association	IV Isolated by cross- tabulation	V Not affirmed in	VI Not sought in
18—22	(4)	—	—	4, 5, 6, 11	—
18—24	(3)	—	7, 5	8	—
18—27	(2)	5	7	—	—
19— 1	(4)	17, 8	24, 10	—	—
19— 4	(5)	8	10, 17, 22	—	13
19— 8	(5)	1, 4, 24, 16, 13	—	—	—
19—10	(4)	—	22, 4, 17, 1	—	—
19—13	(5)	8, 16	—	—	22, 17, 4
19—16	(5)	8, 17, 13	24, 22	—	—
19—17	(7)	16, 1	13, 4, 10, 24, 22	—	—
19—22	(5)	—	4, 10, 13, 17, 16	—	—
19—24	(4)	8	17, 16, 1	—	—
20— 1	(6)	8, 32	9, 21, 29, 12	—	—
20— 6	(3)	—	14, 11	13	—
20— 8	(6)	13, 30, 16, 12, 1	9	—	—
20— 9	(7)	16	11, 13, 21, 14, 1	8	—
20—11	(4)	—	6, 9, 13, 29	—	—
20—12	(6)	8, 21	13, 1	—	30, 14
20—13	(8)	8, 21, 16	6, 12, 9, 11, 14	—	—
20—14	(5)	21	12, 6, 9	13	—
20—16	(4)	8, 21, 9, 13	—	—	—
20—21	(6)	12, 13, 14, 16	—	9, 1	—
20—29	(2)	—	—	—	11, 1
20—30	(2)	8	—	12	—
20—32	(1)	1	—	—	—
21— 1	(7)	24, 12, 17	—	—	20, 33, 9, 10
21— 2	(7)	—	14, 17, 23, 7, 12, 3, 13,	—	—

I Asso- ciation	II No. of possible inter- vening vari- ables	III Isolated by examining the direction of association	IV Isolated by cross- tabulation	V Not affirmed in	VI Not sought in
21—3	(10)	—	12, 2, 7	—	5, 14, 22, 23, 24, 33, 13
21—5	(9)	16, 26	9	—	12, 33, 22, 24, 14, 3
21—7	(10)	—	23	—	2, 3, 9, 12, 13, 15, 17, 24, 28
21—9	(12)	24, 28, 14, 16, 13	7, 5, 23	—	1, 15, 20, 33
21—10	(5)	—	22, 1, 17	12	14
21—12	(11)	1, 20, 22	5, 7, 2	—	3, 14, 13, 10, 17
21—13	(12)	20, 33	7, 22, 12, 17	3	28, 14, 9, 2, 16
21—14	(11)	9, 20	5, 13, 12, 2, 3	—	22, 28, 10, 33
21—15	(6)	—	7, 17, 16, 9, 28	23	—
21—16	(9)	5, 9, 20	13, 22, 15	17, 23	24
21—17	(12)	33, 1	12, 2	7	22, 24, 28, 16, 15, 13, 10
21—20	(6)	12, 13, 14, 16	—	9, 1	—
21—22	(8)	12	5, 13	17	19, 16, 14, 13
21—23	(7)	—	7, 9, 28, 3, 16	—	15, 2
21—24	(8)	9, 1	5, 7, 17	—	28, 16, 3
21—26	(1)	5	—	—	—
21—28	(9)	33, 9	7, 17, 15	13	24, 23, 14
21—33	(8)	9, 13, 28, 17	5, 1, 14	—	3
22—3	(6)	12, 13, 14	5, 11	—	21
22—4	(10)	5	17	—	6, 13, 10, 11 12, 18, 19, 14 16, 18, 14, 11
22—5	(8)	4, 12, 6	21	—	—
22—6	(6)	—	4, 13, 14, 17, 18, 11	—	—
22—10	(6)	—	4, 12, 14, 17, 19, 21	—	—
22—11	(7)	—	4, 6, 13, 17, 18	5	3

I Asso- ciation	II No. of possible inter- vening vari- ables	III Isolated by examining the direction of association	IV Isolated by cross- tabulation	V Not affirmed in	VI Not sought in
22—12	(8)	5, 21, 3	4	—	10, 13, 14, 17
22—13	(10)	—	21	—	19, 17, 16, 14, 22, 11, 12, 9, 7
22—14	(8)	3	5, 12, 21, 13	—	4, 6, 10
22—16	(5)	5, 17	13, 21	—	19
22—17	(9)	16	13, 12, 21, 6	4	10, 11, 19
22—18	(4)	—	—	4, 6, 5, 11	—
22—19	(5)	—	4, 10, 13, 16, 17	—	—
22—21	(8)	12	5, 13	17	13, 14, 16, 19
23— 2	(4)	—	7, 21	4, 3	—
23— 3	(3)	—	(2), 7	21	—
23— 4	(4)	6	8, (2)	9	—
23— 6	(1)	4	—	—	—
23— 7	(7)	—	21, 28, 3	—	2, 8, 9, 15
23— 8	(6)	15, 28, 16, 7, 9	4	—	—
23— 9	(7)	28, 16	4, 7, 21, 8	—	15
23—15	(6)	8	7, 9, 16, 21, 28	—	—
23—16	(4)	8, 9	15, 21	—	—
23—21	(7)	—	7, 9, 28, 3, 16	—	15, 2
23—28	(5)	8, 9	7, 21, 15	—	—
24— 1	(5)	21	19, 8, 9, 17	—	—
24— 3	(3)	—	7	5	21
24— 5	(5)	16	9	—	18, 3, 21
24— 7	(7)	—	21, 28, 3, 18, 9, 17	—	8
24— 8	(7)	28, 19, 16	18	—	9, 1, 7
24— 9	(7)	21, 16	5, 7, 28, 4	8	—
24—16	(6)	5, 8, 9	17, 19	21	—
24—17	(6)	—	28, 21, 19, 1	7, 16	—
24—18	(3)	—	7, 5	8	—
24—19	(4)	8	17, 16, 1	—	—
24—21	(8)	9, 1	5, 7, 17	—	28, 16, 3
24—28	(5)	8	7, 9, 21, 17	—	—

I Asso- ciation	II No. of possible inter- vening varia- bles	III Isolated by examining the direction of association	IV Isolated by cross- tabulation	V Not affirmed in	VI Not sought in
25—4	(2)	—	17	6	—
25—6	(2)	—	—	4, 17	—
25—16	(1)	—	—	17	—
25—17	(3)	—	16, 6	4	—
26—4	(2)	5, 31	—	—	—
26—5	(3)	4, 21	—	—	30
26—21	(1)	5	—	—	—
26—30	(1)	—	5	—	—
26—31	(1)	—	4	—	—
27—5	(2)	18	12	—	—
27—7	(2)	12	18	—	—
27—12	(2)	7	5	—	—
27—18	(2)	5	7	—	—
28—7	(8)	—	21, 23, 24	13	15, 17, 8, 9
28—8	(6)	13, 15, 23, 24	9	—	7
28—9	(9)	8, 33, 23, 21, 15	7, 13, 24	—	14
28—13	(7)	8	9, 21, 17, 33	7	14
28—14	(4)	—	9	21, 13	33
28—15	(6)	8, 9	7	17, 21, 23	—
28—17	(6)	—	7, 13, 33, 21	—	15, 24
28—21	(9)	9, 33	7, 17, 15	13	24, 23, 14
28—23	(5)	8, 9	7, 21, 15	—	—
28—24	(5)	8	7, 9, 17, 21	—	—
28—33	(5)	9, 21	17, 13	14	—
29—1	(3)	10	17, 20	—	—
29—3	(2)	—	5	11	—
29—4	(4)	5, 11	—	10, (17)	—
29—5	(3)	4	—	—	11, 3
29—10	(3)	1	4, 17	—	—
29—11	(5)	4	5, 17, 20, 3	—	—
29—17	(4)	—	4, 1, 10, 11	—	—
29—20	(2)	—	—	—	1, 11
30—5	(2)	12	—	—	26

I Asso- ciation	II No. of possible inter- vening vari- ables	III Isolated by examining the direction of association	IV Isolated by cross- tabulation	V Not affirmed in	VI Not sought in
30—8	(2)	20	—	12	—
30—12	(3)	5	—	—	20, 8
30—20	(2)	8	—	12	—
30—26	(1)	—	5	—	—
31—4	(2)	10	26	—	—
31—10	(1)	4	—	—	—
31—26	(1)	—	4	—	—
32—1	(1)	20	—	—	—
32—20	(1)	1	—	—	—
33—1	(3)	—	17, 21	9	—
33—3	(4)	13, 14	5	—	21
33—5	(4)	—	21, 3	—	9, 14
33—9	(6)	28	21, 5	—	1, 13, 14
33—13	(6)	21, 3	9, 28	—	14, 17
33—14	(6)	3	5, 9	21	13, 28
33—17	(4)	21	13, 28, 1	—	—
33—21	(8)	13, 17, 28, 9	5, 14, 1	—	3
33—28	(5)	9, 21	17, 13	14	—
34—3	(1)	—	5	—	—
34—5	(1)	—	—	—	3

Interpretation of Results. One should bear in mind that all figures in the foregoing table, except those in brackets, stand for the names of the variables. One should consult the original list of computed associations (Table 40), or any of the matrices in order to identify the variables. The information which can be gathered from the foregoing analytic table is the following: the first row shows, for instance, that there are five intervening variables which, on logical grounds, can be expected to invalidate the association between the variables 1 and 8 (the women being less organized in the political parties than men). This number five is the same figure as that which appears in the eighth cell of the first row in the squared matrix. By inspecting the list of basic associations (Table 40), we found that both 19 and 20 were

associated with the above two variables only in categories which were irrelevant for the association between 1 and 8. Women are less afraid of unemployment, and less frequently organized in the political parties. The fact of being or not being organized in a party is, however, of no relevance for the fear of unemployment (of relevance being the *membership of a specific party*). The same may be said of factor 20 (feeling of one's own promotion); this factor is well associated with membership in a specific party (the members of the Anti-Revolutionary Party perceive more progress in their careers than the members of any other party), but is not associated with the fact of whether one is organized or unorganized. Because only in the latter respect sex accounts for a differential in our data, we may eliminate factor 20 from the list of possible intervening variables in the same way as we did with factor 19.

By the method of cross-tabulation we isolated the variables 9 and 12. We found a significant difference in the percentage of people organized in a political party associated with sex within the single categories of 'income' and in most categories of social participation (though this factor could not be considered as quite independent of "political affiliation" by means of measurement and by definition).

We did not try to isolate factor 24 (denoting the difference in the degree of thinking about and discussing political matters) from factor 8, as such an isolation did not seem necessary in the light of our theoretical interpretation. The fact, that women possibly remained unorganized because of (or better to say 'while at the same time') not being interested in political matters to the same degree as men, did not invalidate the association between 1 and 8, in our opinion. Thus, in the light of the information which can be gathered from the first row of this table, we may conclude that the association between sex and the degree of political organization is of a fairly genuine nature (in terms of variables included in our research design and correlated in the basic table of relationship, Figure 5). Similar information may be gathered for any other row in the table, for each association that has been ascertained in the previous statistical analysis. What remains to be done is to decide which of the two genuinely associated variables is to be considered as the cause and which as the probable effect. To decide this, for some of the associations at least, one has to utilize all the additional data which is available. It is for this reason, that we postpone such an interpretation to the final Part III of this book.

PART III
APPLICATION OF CONCEPTS
AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

CHAPTER XIV

PATTERN OF CULTURE IN THE COMMUNITY UNDER STUDY

A) MULTIPLE WAYS OF APPROACH

In Part I the social life in Sassenheim was described in rather common language. In Part II the methodological aspects of the project were expounded: the composition of the schedule, the choice of the sample, the secondary sources of data, the general policy guiding the field work, the selection of the main factors, the statistical evaluation of data, and the isolation of intervening variables inherent in the research scheme.

Until now, very little has been done in interpreting the cross-tabulated data in terms of the general sociological concepts and of causal analysis. To undertake such an interpretation will be the main concern in Part III. This does not, in our opinion, imply the necessity of dealing with individual behaviour by trying to explain its concrete manifestations and to predict the individual's future conduct. Being chiefly concerned with collective behaviour, the study will try to explain why the social characteristics are distributed in the specific way as described in Part I, and are not grouped in one of many other possible ways. Put in slightly different words, the main task in Part III will be to describe how the single categories of "family size," "optimism," "educational status," "social participation," and other factors account for differential distribution of variables.

Another difference with regard to the previous parts lies in the more synthetic nature of this section. The various factors will not be treated separately but will be related to the basic concepts of our frame of reference: culture-pattern, social structure and process, and personality.

Such a synthetic procedure requires a certain modification of the traditional meanings of these concepts. Culture-pattern, for instance, has been defined as "the arrangement or configuration of culture-traits and culture complexes that make a particular culture at any given time."¹ As to the nature of this configuration and of the concrete meanings of "culture-traits," there still exists little unanimity. Ruth Benedict, who gave this concept a world-wide publicity,² treats classes of heterogeneous phenomena as culture-traits without any attempt to find the universal features of all cultures. Such an attempt was,

¹ H. P. FAIRCHILD, *Dictionary of Sociology*, (1944).

² RUTH BENEDICT, *Patterns of Culture*, (1934).

however, made by Clark Wissler, who examined the common traits of about 500 preliterate peoples.¹ Without using explicitly his concept, the Lynds used his method in their study of a pattern of culture in the United States.² They examined the basic functions of their community under study (e.g., economy, religion, recreation, etc.) and described the American pattern of culture in terms of the *functional interrelationships* of the established institutions. Another attempt to make of "pattern of culture" a workable concept was made by Cattell.³ He gave preference to the method of *quantitative causal analysis* and, by means of factor analysis, defined the pattern of culture in terms of similarity of patterns of associated variables.

Combining both latter standpoints one arrives at a concept of the *pattern of culture that is based on the functional and the causal interrelations of basic culture complexes.*⁴

Several social scientists might hesitate to use such a controversial concept in the study of community life. In our view, an interpretation of collective behaviour should begin with the analysis of systems of values, meanings, and norms. These systems form, in our opinion, the surest way of understanding human behaviour in its collective aspects. By determining the rôle that religion, politics, morals, education and knowledge, arts, economy, and possibly still other systems play in the life of the inhabitants, we hope to attain a deeper insight into the social processes and structure. We also hope to learn more of the forces that account for the social make-up of the dominant personality type.

There are several ways of determining the position of a certain cultural segment in a given social and cultural structure. One might, for instance, analyse the actual power-relationships and the organizational aspects of the social institutions: whether there are agents linking the local factions of the political parties with the organs of

¹ CLARK WISSLER, *Man and Culture*, (1923).

² R. S. LYND & H. M. LYND, *Middletown*, New York 1929.

³ R. B. CATTELL, "The dimensions of culture patterns by factorization of national characters," in *J. of Abn. Soc. Psychology*, 1949, 44, pp. 443—469. Also his "The principal culture patterns discoverable in the syntal dimensions of existing nations" in *J. Soc. Psychology*, 1950, 32, pp. 215—253; CATTELL, R. B., BREUL H. & HARTMAN H. PARKER, "An attempt at more refined definition of the cultural dimensions of syntality in modern nations," in *American Sociol. Review*, 1952, 17, pp. 408—421.

⁴ The frames of reference of the single research workers are of such an individual nature that we almost hesitate to translate the more common terms into more abstract referential concepts. A question may, however, be raised in how far we are justified to compare the concept of "culture complex" as applied to our western differentiated societies with Sorokin's "dimensions" or "regions of societal space" or with the "activity regions" of his opponent, Talcott Parsons (cf., P. A. SOROKIN, *Society, Culture, and Personality*, New York 1947, TALCOTT PARSONS, *The Structure of Social Action*, 1949. See also Chapter X of this book.)

the churches, whether there are governmental regulations or the prescriptions of the church that infringe upon the aspects of family-life, etc. Such an analysis has already been partly achieved in Part I of this book.

Another method would be to examine the number and the nature of the associations linking the segment of culture with other regions of the social and cultural universe and to interpret the social and cultural structures in terms of societal causation.

One might, finally, try to measure the degree of subjective preference for any of the culture segments concerned by means of psychological tests or inventories. In turn, all of these methods will be resorted to, if we are to obtain a picture of the culture-pattern under study.

B) PATTERN OF CULTURE AS A STRUCTURE OF CAUSAL RELATIONSHIPS

To begin with, let us resume the line of reasoning that was followed in Part II, and examine the culture of the population in terms of our explanatory scheme. There are about five variables in the total series of thirty-four that shed light upon the mutual relations between the cultural regions: "occupational group," "church affiliation," "political affiliation," "educational status," and "reading habits" (while "age" and "birth-place" may be considered as partly indicative of the length and the degree of the acculturation process).

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP ¹

	—larger families
	—higher average age—perception of fewer chances
	—frequently organized politically—higher social participation—higher church-attendance
	—lower incomes
	—lower social status—lower educational level
	—more downward social mobility
<i>Agricultural workers</i>	—more unemployment
	—more fear of unemployment
	—less satisfaction with work—less satisfaction with health
	—more pessimism
	—more retributory attitude
	—less complain of bureaucracy
	—less complain of medical service
	—(smaller dwellings)
	—(partizans of the Catholic People's Party)

Managers and foremen in agriculture—(higher occupational stability)

¹ In order to make the present discussion of our causal analysis a bit more readable we introduce each paragraph dealing with a new variable by this visual scheme. It is based on the analytical Table 45. The genuine associations are directly connected with the variable to be treated in the text. The spurious associations are connected with the genuine causal factor, which is to be considered as an intervening factor between the variable under study and its spurious associations.

“Occupational group” was defined as a more general category than the concrete occupations. It consisted of the following sub-categories: (1) farmers, growers, and other persons exercising supervision over agricultural work; (2) agricultural and horticultural labourers; (3) factory owners or the managing personnel in industries; (4) industrial labourers; (5) businessmen and commercial professions; (6) civil servants; (7) teaching professions, (8) artisans; (9) those without work or occupations not mentioned sub 1—8.

As may be seen in the basic or the squared matrices of relationship (p. 332) nineteen of the thirty-four variables in our analytical scheme showed a differential distribution in the various sub-categories of the “occupational group” that was found statistically significant. The percentage of agricultural labourers, growers, industrial workers, etc., in the community seemed to account for the percentage of large families, of people that were organized in various political parties, of poor church-goers, etc. Several genuine associations with this factor were found in the course of the following causal analysis.¹ The category of “agricultural labourers” appeared, for instance, associated with descent from larger families, with higher age, with a more frequent participation in the political parties, with more unemployment experienced in the past, less job-satisfaction and perception of few chances to better one’s position in the future, with lower income, lower status, more frequent decline of status, more fear of unemployment, more pessimism, fewer complaints of bureaucratism and fewer complaints of bad medical service, and a more retributory attitude to offenders against the law.

There were several other associations that we were inclined to consider as rather accidental effects of the above mentioned correlations. Because of more frequent membership in political parties, the agricultural labourers (as compared with the industrial workers) participate more in associations in general. As both “social participation” and “political affiliation” are not quite independent of each other, we do not have to linger upon the explanation of this relation too long. The association with “perception of chances” deserves somewhat more attention. The fact that industrial workers perceive more often chances to better their own positions in the future could be explained away by the fact that they were, on average, of lower age than the agricultural workers.

We also stated that the agricultural labourers belonged to the less educated groups of inhabitants; there was, on the other hand, no difference

Instance: the association of “agricultural workers” with “age” is of a genuine nature. “Age” is, however, an intervening variable in the association between “agricultural workers” and “less perception of chances.” In brackets, some simple associations (not analysed by means of matrix multiplication and cross-tabulation) can be found.

¹ The following analysis is chiefly based on the analytical tables on page 347ff. which the reader is advised to consult whenever missing the clarity of text.

in educational level between various occupational groups within the same categories of social status. As, however, status and occupational group are not quite independent variables, we might assume that the complex variable of social status and occupational group is associated with education. More independent than the "objective social status" proved to be the subjective status, based on the identification with a certain class. The agricultural labourers identified themselves more often with the lower classes than other occupational groups. The fact that we were not able to isolate this association within the single categories of unemployment suggests that the experience of unemployment directly affects the subjective status (the experience of status-shock, see p. 429).

Other pairs of associations that could not be isolated from each other in relation to occupational group were "social participation" — "church attendance" and "satisfaction with job" — "satisfaction with health." This suggests the presence of a common factor. The fact that we could not find an association between occupational group and frequency of church attendance within the single categories of social participation could probably be accounted for by the religious nature of both, the association in which one can participate, and, naturally, of the church-attendance. As for the relation to satisfaction with health, this can be accounted for by the intervention of a general "satisfaction factor" of a psychological nature. We shall suspend our judgment of it until the treatment of the dominant personality type and of other indices such as satisfaction with housing conditions, with medical care, etc.

Not all of the remaining thirteen single factors can be said to have been "caused" by occupational group if the temporal aspect is brought into the analysis. We hesitate to say, for instance, that occupational group causes the differential of social status and of vertical mobility, as the latter two are not defined independently of the concept of occupational group (the first being interpreted as the degree of prestige of a given occupational group and the second as the change of occupational group). Furthermore, we find it difficult to determine the causal agent in the association between occupational group and age. This association seems to be of a more complex, structural nature. Its underlying cause may be seen in the attraction of the recently established industries for the lower age-groups. The explanation may be sought in the fact that "age" also stands for "generation." In our opinion, the greater attraction the industry has for the younger age groups may be considered as a result of the latent generation-conflict in the community. The adolescent sons and daughters of the agricultural labourers seek independence in the factories. Their transition to the industries is much easier than that of their fathers, as they are not yet bound by life-long habits, as is the case with the older generation of the workers. In its turn, the work in industry sharpens the generation-conflict; in one of the most important facets of life, the earning of a living, the authority of

the fathers is undermined. They cannot pass on their experience to their sons, as they have no personal experience of this new, strange, industrial world. The association seems thus to be of a structural, reciprocal nature.

The association with the size of family is probably reciprocal, too. In the light of our data we would be inclined to consider family-size as a causative factor, because it was determined by the number of siblings of the interviewees, while occupational group was considered for the interviewees themselves. When having taken additional information into consideration, we were able to isolate the association between occupational group and family-size in the sub-groups of religious denomination. This means that the occupation influences the size of the family, the agricultural workers having, as a rule, larger families than other occupational groups, especially the businessmen. A more direct contact with nature, a stronger resistance to the "unnatural" practice of contraception, (probably partly caused by lack of knowledge because they have less contacts with groups outside the community than the business people), and a traditional reliance upon the members of the family as cheap manpower in agricultural occupations — all these are plausible hypotheses bringing additional understanding of the causal relation between "occupational group" and "family-size."

For the remaining associations we may assume that occupational group is a direct causative factor in regard to the level of income and unemployment. Because of their lack of skills and education (as well as the lack of financial reserves and their large number that makes the replacement of an individual worker easier than in most other occupational categories), the agricultural workers were, on an average, more unemployed in the course of their life. Probably owing to the same characteristics, they still belong to the lower income groups of the population (and to the lower status groups as well; most of those who decreased in status in relation to the occupation of their parents can be found in this group). It is no wonder, therefore, that *we found more pessimism (as measured in terms of attitude to the future of mankind) and more fear of unemployment with this occupational group.* Having experienced years of economic depression and unemployment, the agricultural labourers cannot get rid of the fear of a future misfortune in spite of the social security that they at present enjoy. One should not forget that they belong mostly to the older groups of inhabitants; the younger age groups, who have not had the dire experience of their fathers, join the industry.

Another group of factors that are causally influenced by the occupational differences is centred around the degree of political organization. We found that the industrial workers are less frequently organized in one of the political parties than the workers in agriculture.

An explanation for this association can be sought, in our opinion, in the total social structure, as described in Part I of this book. We described there that to a great degree the local leaders of the political factions are leaders of the trade unions as well (some spokesmen are inclined to identify "politics" with the organization and action of trade unions, see above, p. 66). In such circumstances it is easy to understand why comparatively few of the industrial labourers participate in the local political factions. As there are few unions of industrial nature (owing to the differentiation of the local industrial production), and as there is less fear of unemployment (owing to the smaller number of labourers who have experienced it for themselves), it need not surprise us that the political factions are dominated by the older agricultural workers and unions. The insight into the total social structure in the community may probably also help us to understand why the agricultural workers participate more in associations in general. The industrial workers, belonging to the lowest status groups in the community, probably ignore the associations that are dominated by persons of agricultural occupations; the rupture with the occupation of their parents being accompanied with a similar rupture in the usual way of spending the leisure.

Though not isolated in the single categories of the social participation index, another association was found with the occupational group: the frequency of church-attendance. The agricultural workers belong more frequently to the regular church-goers than other groups, in spite of the fact that both church attendance and social participation go hand in hand (which need not surprise us too much owing to the differentiation of the associations along the line of religious denomination). There are again, several explanatory hypotheses that throw some light on this relationship. Whether it be due to better contacts with nature that make for meditation and adherence to a religious cult, as some writers think,¹ or whether it be due to the more traditional structure of the agricultural life, we dare not decide with certainty. Possibly, both aspects play a rôle in this causal relationship.

Conservatism with regard to church-attendance may help us to understand other pairs of associations. The agricultural labourers complain less of bureaucracy, and are more satisfied with the care which they receive from the local medical services in cases of illness or accident. Though the first association can partly be accounted for by the fact that they are less in contact with the organs of the government than other strata of the population, we can hardly accept a similar explanation for the second association. According to their own evidence, they are more often ill and miss more working-days owing to illness than their bosses or the farmers do. The assumption that a common "mechanism" underlies the association of both factors with "occupational group"

¹ This opinion is, for instance, expressed in the well-known Dutch study on the social causes of the loss of religious faith by J. P. KRUIJT, *De Onkerkelijkheid in Nederland*, 1933.

is reinforced by the fact that agricultural occupations (or another unknown factor that is associated with them and that is not implied in our analytical scheme) make for a rather retributory attitude to the offenders against the law. Of all occupational groups agricultural workers are more often inclined to think that more severe measures should be taken against the offenders and ask for the enforcement of the present penal system by more severe sanctions. *While accepting more loyally the administrative organs and the agents of the medical service, they also identify themselves to a higher degree than the others with the system of norms and mores as expressed by the law.* This association cannot be explained away by the lower educational level of the agricultural labourers, as we found a variation in the attitude to penal measures within the groups of the same educational level caused by the occupational factor. Insight into the nature of this association can perhaps be deepened by thinking of the usual link that exists in almost every society between religious beliefs and existing mores or ethical norms. Being more regular church-goers, the agricultural labourers appear to be the stauncher defenders of the existing mores as well.

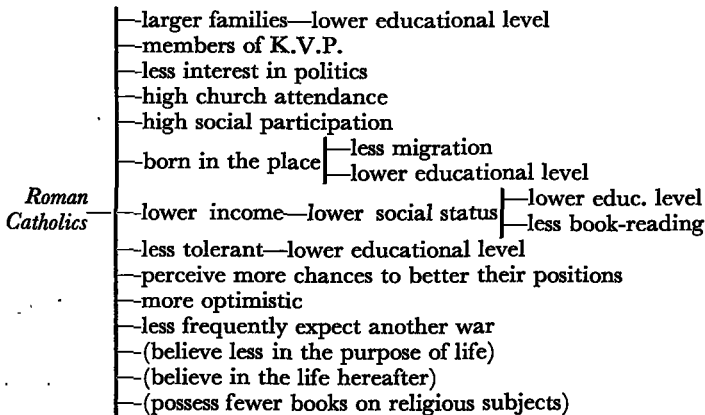
Finally, the type of occupation also seems to account for the degree of satisfaction that is found in work and for the satisfaction with one's general health. While many of the factors that we discussed until now seem to vary with the differentiation of occupations along the "horizontal plane," both "satisfaction indices" are connected with the 'vertical' differentiation of the occupational structure. The employers and the managers have more pleasure in their work and complain less of ill health according to the findings of our survey. We were inclined to treat both associations together, and to interpret the more frequent complaints of ill health of the employees rather by their subjective disposition than by the higher occupational risks, though both latter interpretations are possible. In spite of the fact that owners and managers earn more than workers, the difference in the satisfaction with one's job was also found in the groups of the same income level. There are probably some other aspects of the higher positions in the production process than income that make work attractive and enjoyable: the greater independence and spontaneity, less monotony of work, more interesting tasks to be solved, higher prestige and status.

In addition to those associations that were analysed by means of matrix-multiplication and cross-tabulation, there are some statistical correlates with "occupational group" that deserve mentioning here. We found, for instance, a significant relationship with the size of dwelling (measured in number of rooms shared by the family), *the agricultural workers being significantly more often housed in smaller dwellings though having the largest families.* These workers also appear to be significantly more frequently represented in the group with shorter working-hours than the tradesmen and the businessmen.

Yet another association accounts for the lower occupational mobility in

the group of farmers, growers, and foremen in agriculture as compared with those in industrial sector. Persons who hold higher positions in agriculture change less frequently their jobs than the foremen, managers, and owners in the industrial sector. We also found an association between "occupational group" and "political affinity." There were significantly more people with agricultural occupations among the sympathizers with the Catholic People's Party than of other occupational categories as compared with the groups of partizans of other parties. As the people sympathizing with the Catholic People's Party (K.V.P.) are almost without exception members of the Roman Catholic Church, we find in this association a certain validation of the theories of Max Weber, accounting for the more capitalist-minded outlook of the Calvinists. The fact that we did not find a similar association of "occupation" with "religious denomination" or with "political membership" imposes some reservations on a hasty generalization. It sheds, however, some additional light on the association that we ascertained between "church-affiliation" and "status" that will be discussed presently.

CHURCH-AFFILIATION



Another cultural variable, church-affiliation, accounted for the differential in an equally large number of factors. It consisted of the following sub-categories:¹ (1) membership in the Roman Catholic Church; (2) membership in the Dutch Reformed Church; (3) membership in the Calvinist (Gereformeerde) Church; (4) membership in the Christian Calvinist Church; (5) membership in more liberal Protestant churches; (6) and no church membership.

¹ No attempt was made to consider the intensity of church-membership in evaluating this variable. "Roman Catholics" or "Calvinists," as interpreted here, are simply the persons referring to the Roman Catholic or Calvinist (Gereformeerde) churches when asked: "Are you member of a church? What church?" Intensity of membership is partly expressed by the frequency of church-attendance, of thinking about or discussing religious matters, of Bible-reading and of still other aspects of "religious conduct" that were included as separate variables in our study.

If we consult Table 40 or one of the lower-degree matrices, we notice that there are fifteen variables that show a differential distribution in the various sub-categories of "church-affiliation" which were found statistically significant. Religion, which is acquired chiefly by birth in Sassenheim, seems to account for the percentage of large or small families, the migration rate, the membership of political parties, the degree of social participation, the perception of chances to better one's position, the distribution of incomes over the population, the status differences among the inhabitants, the degree of tolerance, the degree of optimism, the percentage of people of a certain educational level, of the good or poor church-goers, the good or poor readers, the degree of interest in political affairs, and the distribution of fear of another war. While the number of associations is lower than in the case of the occupational group, we notice few accidental associations, few associations of a reciprocal nature, or those due to a lack of independence of variables.

As to the occurrence of intervening variables, we could not isolate the relationship between the membership of the Roman Catholic Church and the average lower "educational level" in the sub-categories of "income," of "social status," of "number of siblings," or "tolerance." This indicates that we were not able to consider the hypothesis that Protestants, on account of their different religious ethos, have a higher esteem for education and sciences (as some writers assume¹), as proved and validated. Whether due to the insufficiency of data or to actual causal influence of intervening variables, the present association does not hold. It can be explained by the fact that the Roman Catholic population belong to the lower income and the lower status groups in the community, and that they, as a rule, descend from larger families than the majority of the Protestants. In addition to these, there is a rather unknown influence of birth-place as an intervening factor; the majority of the people of lower educational level are recruited from the autochthonous population, that adhere predominantly to the Roman Catholic religion. As the geographical factor enters into our analysis only as a specific configuration of variables (different social structure), we may conclude that large family-size, lower income, and status are the main factors that account for the spurious association between religion and educational level. The lower degree of tolerance in this religious group seems rather to be an effect than a cause of the lower educational level.

A similar spurious correlation was identified between "church-affiliation" and "reading habits." In the first phase of the analysis, we found that Roman Catholics read, as a rule, less books than Protestants do. We found it impossible to isolate this relation in the single sub-categories of social status by cross-tabulation. There seems to be some evidence that

¹ MAX WEBER, *The Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism*, New York 1930.
ROBERT K. MERTON, "Puritanism, Pietism and Science" in *The Sociological Review*, London, January 1936, pp. 103—113.

Roman Catholics read less because they belong to the lower status and the lower income groups in the community rather than on account of their difference in worship. If, however, the impossibility to isolate the correlation will be ascribed to the scarcity of data, we might accept the hypothesis that Protestants read more because of their better acquaintance with the Bible; their churches impose upon the members the duty to *read* from the Bible several times a day. This daily habit of reading the Bible might easily shift to the habit of reading in general. At present, however, the impossibility of isolating this association within social status lays some reservations upon such an interpretation.

Another accidental association seemed to be that of church-affiliation and social status. The Roman Catholic section of the population proved to be more frequently represented in the lower status groups. This relation could not be isolated in the sub-categories of income — a fact that should not surprise us if we take the nature of our variables into consideration. "Social status" was defined by means of scoring several categories of occupations. As incomes vary substantially with different occupations, it is likely that owing to the high correlation between both ($T = .44$) only a few cases will be found to test the relation with status independently of income. We shall, therefore, conclude that church-affiliation affects the social status, while the latter is not to be thought of separately from income. The Roman Catholic religion or some other factor associated with it, but not implied in our scheme, makes for a higher frequency of persons of lower status as well as for lower incomes in the community.

A similar complex association was that of "church-affiliation" on the one hand, with "migration" and the "birth-place," on the other. Owing to the considerably high correlation between "migration" and "birth-place" ($T = .33$) and the large number of sub-categories we were also unable to isolate the association of church-affiliation with migration in the sub-categories of "birth-place." The fact that Roman Catholics in Sassenheim migrate less than other groups may be accounted for by their autochthonous origin, there being significantly more Roman Catholics among the people that were born in Sassenheim than one might expect on account of their percentage among the inhabitants. The immigrants to Sassenheim are recruited more often from the Protestant or the free-thinking groups; while being born in more distant communities, they usually do not come to Sassenheim directly but first stay at various other places (see Chapter XV, "Migration").

As to the relation between "church-affiliation" and "birth-place," it is not easy to decide which is to be considered as the causative factor. One might argue that if the composition of the population in terms of the place of birth would be different, the composition in religious respect would differ, too. As there is no sense in saying that a different religious composition would cause a difference in origin of the present population (though it might lead to a higher or lower emigration from the community), we might conclude that birth-place is rather symptomatic than caused or causing. Care should be taken not to exclude the hypothesis that a lower or higher degree of stability of residence is associated with affiliation to a specific church (Roman Catholics being perhaps more

stable than other denominational groups). Such a hypothesis has been neither validated nor invalidated by our findings.

After the discussion of the associations that were not isolated during the causal analysis, let us turn to those, the genuine nature of which need not be questioned (except, possibly, owing to the limitation of the research-design).

To begin with, the correlation between the Roman Catholic denomination and the high birth-rate can be mentioned. Though we measured this relation in terms of the number of siblings, this need not be a shortcoming owing to the insignificant religious mobility, there being very few persons who differ in religious respect from their parents. Roman Catholics have, as a rule, many more siblings than persons without a denomination or the members of the Dutch Reformed Church. We surmise that the usual care can be abandoned owing to the same religion of parents and children, and the conclusion may be drawn that religion is one of the causes of the differential in family-size. It is not too difficult to explain this association if we take the official teaching of the churches into consideration (see Chapter VI, p. 177 ff.). What requires explanation is rather the fact that the official policy of the churches is strictly accepted by the large majority of members in the local social structure — a problem which occupies Dutch sociologists at present.¹

Though the general social and cultural structure seems not to be irrelevant for the existence of this association, we could isolate it even within the single categories of birth-place. It seems to be based on the general pattern of living in the whole country instead of on local differences. (Migration, income, social status, and educational level do not intervene with this causal relation, as may be seen in Table 45).

A higher correlation than that between family-size and religion was ascertained between church-affiliation and the membership of a

¹ There seems to be a difference between the birth-rate of the Catholics in the Netherlands and of those in the neighbouring countries. In his recent study (*Het geboortevolume der Nederlandse Rooms Katholieken*), professor Dr. F. VAN HEEK has demonstrated that the Roman Catholics in the Netherlands have a higher birth-rate than the Roman Catholics in the neighbouring countries. He compared the birth-rates in Belgian and German communities along the Dutch borders with the birth-rate in Dutch communities with a similar social and economic structure. According to his findings, the Dutch Roman Catholics have, on the average, more births than the Belgian R.-Catholics. Dr. Van Heek sees the explanation in the general attitude of a recently emancipated group with a favourable time-perspective. The results of his demographical and historical analyses strangely coincide with the results of our quantitative study. Roman Catholics do not only have the largest families of all denominational groups (a factor which was isolated also in the data broken down into status-groups, income-levels, migration-groups, and birth-place-groups), but also belong to the more optimistic groups, in terms of perception of both individual and collective chances.

specific political party. As described already above (p. 73) both distributions (of church-affiliation and party-membership) are parallel to the extent that it appeared quite impossible to treat both variables separately. Because of the very high correlation between both ($T = .87$) we had practically no uncorrelated units left for the analysis by cross-tabulation. In the following analysis both factors had to be considered as undifferentiated. The only reason for maintaining the factor "political affiliation" as independent of "church affiliation" lies in the possibility of differentiating between the members of a given church into those who are organized and those who are unorganized in their corresponding political party. It seems difficult to explain this conspicuous association of religious and political life.

We may assume that obedience to the teaching of the church regarding public life, like the already mentioned obedience to this teaching regarding birth-control, belongs to the basic relations of the social and cultural structure in the Netherlands. It would probably require a thorough historical analysis to trace its origin. From the facts mentioned in the historical introduction to this study, we may conclude that the struggle between the churches dates back to the very beginning of the Reformation. For centuries, the Roman Catholic and the Protestant groups had to live together on the rather small territory of the community, each being convinced of the absolute truth of its own creed. From the very beginning, frictions arose when the members of both groups decided to cross the usual frontiers separating them to entertain closer contacts (remember the conflict caused by the "mixed marriage" reported of as early as 1700, p. 19). To avoid these tensions, each group decided for seclusion trying to follow its distinct pattern of living. Observations like these, though they do not explain the present structure, may bring a perspective into our interpretation while helping to distinguish between the short term and long term series of social causation.

Though the members of the Roman Catholic Church show the most distinct tendency to be organized in a political party of their own, they are apparently less interested in political affairs than other denominational groups. They think less and speak less about political problems. This association can not be accounted for by their lower educational level, lower migration index, autochthonous origin, or any other factor in our research scheme. We may relate this to the fact that Roman Catholics also acknowledge that they think and speak less about religious matters than Protestants. An additional explanatory hypothesis might relate both phenomena to the differences of creed. As far as we are informed, somewhat more accent is laid on an individual interpretation of the teachings by the majority of the members of the Protestant groups, who are exhorted to decide their individual problems for themselves in accordance with their conscience. In Roman Catholic circles, one is more inclined

to accept the ready-made solution of the Church, and to try to conform to the opinion of the hierarchy of the clergy. This might serve as a tentative explanation of both associations though by no means we try to suggest that this is the only possible one.

Another factor directly affected by church-affiliation is social participation. We found that the members of the Calvinist (Gereformeerde) Church participate the most, followed by the Roman Catholics, while the members of the Dutch Reformed Church and of the more liberal Protestant churches (to say nothing, of course, of the persons without denomination who participate the least) are in the groups with the lower participation index. This statistical finding is validated by the sociological analysis presented in Part I.

There are many more organizations and associations open to the members of the Roman Catholic and the Calvinist churches, than for the members of the Dutch Reformed Church, of the minor churches, and for persons without a denomination. Besides the more or less obvious fact that the existence of associations is one of the necessary conditions for participation, we should like the reader to know that both Roman Catholics and Calvinists concentrate most often in their own political parties. Considered in a historical perspective, these two churches appear to have specific conceptions of what the relation of the state to the church should be; these conceptions deviate from that of the established Reformed Church which used to be the official church and a majority church for the centuries which followed the proclamation of the independent Dutch state. This general position of the two (in origin) minority churches might possibly help to explain the ardour and the organizational effort of their members.

It is typical that the members of these churches belong to the "better church-goers," while the members of the Dutch Reformed Church and of the minor churches fall in the categories of the "poor church-goers." The latter fact need not greatly astonish us, as their services are not held regularly each week. There is, however, a regular service of the Dutch Reformed Church so that the lower church attendance cannot be explained away by the "objective situation," but should be ascribed to the different attitude of the members to their church or to the different policy and attitude of the church itself. In several respects we found in the Roman Catholic and in the Calvinist groups more stress on collective experience than in the groups of members of the Dutch Reformed and of the liberal churches (to say nothing of persons without a denomination) where individual experience and conscience are left a free field. In addition to a less frequent participation in one single political party, less participation in general, and a more conscious attitude to religious problems, we also found a lower participation in the activities of the church in the Dutch-Reformed circles and in the more liberal churches.

Another group of factors affected by religious denomination implies

some distinct personality traits. We found, for instance, that Roman Catholics perceive more often a chance to better their own position than other denominational groups. They do so in spite of the fact that they are significantly more often represented in the lower status groups and in the groups of a lower educational level, which are, upon the whole, the groups less perceiving chances in the future. In spite of the contrary working of the latter two factors ("social status" and "educational level"), the Roman Catholic population is more optimistic with regard to their future careers. This optimism is not confined to the perception of individual possibilities. It also was shown that Roman Catholics are more often inclined to expect a better future for mankind. In terms of our general question on "optimism" (Appendix B, no. 149) they proved to be more optimistic than any other denominational group. This relationship was also isolated within the sub-categories of "perception of chances" and in other variables of the research design.

Another association accounting for the more optimistic outlook of the Roman Catholic group was that established between church-affiliation and expectation of another war. The Calvinists (members of the Gereformeerde Church) more often expect another world-war during their life than the persons of other denominations, among whom Roman Catholics form a large majority.

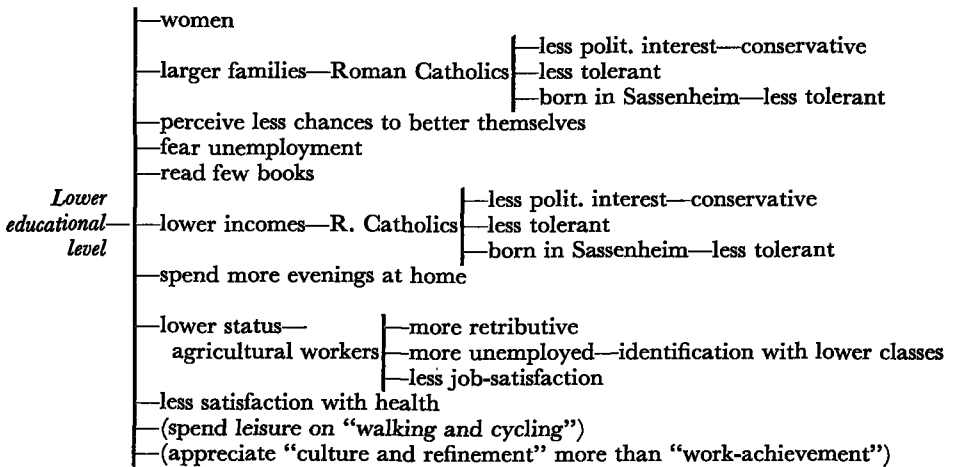
The strange coincidence of these associations, found independently of each other and all pointing in the same direction, makes us think of a common factor. In our opinion, such a common factor accounting for the more pessimistic outlook of the Calvinists (as compared with the Roman Catholics and persons without a denomination) or, to put it in other words, the more optimistic outlook of the Roman Catholics may be seen in the different doctrines of the Calvinist and the Roman Catholic churches as well as in the difference of the relation of the individual to the collective (the church). Calvinists are probably still worried by the old question of Bunyan's Mr. Badman, "What should I do in order to be saved?" to a greater extent than Catholics, and live more under the burden of the individual conscience. They lay more stress on the belief in the Final Judgment, on the dualism of the World and Salvation, and on the predestination of man either to spiritual peril or salvation.¹ These articles of their creed and belief may have helped to mould their whole personality and make for the more dismal, pessimistic outlook.

¹ The belief in the impossibility of improving human conditions appeared to be so strong in some Calvinist circles that the interviewer, trying to introduce his work by pointing out the necessity of learning to know the conditions of living in order to make an improvement and the prevention of social evils possible, was rebuked by the words that only God, and not man himself, is able to improve the conditions of mankind.

The Roman Catholic group also proved to be less inclined to accept social contacts (job-partnership, friendship, or family-relationship) with persons of other denomination. (For the discussion of this attitude see Chapter XVI, p. 447—448).

Some simple correlates of "church-affiliation" that were not analysed by the technique of cross-tabulation shed additional light on the associations that were treated above. The members of the Calvinist (Gereformeerde) Church significantly more often (than those of other denominational categories) suggest that people in Sassenheim should be more interested in local politics. Significantly more often than Roman Catholics they report of thinking and discussing religious matters. When asked about the purpose of their lives and about the life hereafter, they give significantly more affirmative answers. Roman Catholics, who are prevailingly concentrated among the partizans of the Catholic People's Party, not only read fewer books than other denominational groups, but also possess fewer books than the rest of population. Upon the whole, they are characterized by stronger personal, face-to-face contacts, a more optimistic outlook, less individualistic attitude, and weaker contacts through the medium of printed word than other denominational groups.¹

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL



The next cultural variable in our analytical design was that of educational level. The latter was of a rather formal nature as only school education was taken into consideration, and even here only rough measures of school-proficiency were used. In terms of this

¹ This suggested a more general hypothesis assuming a structural relationship (a) between the less individualistic attitude and optimism; and (b) between the strong primary contacts (intensive social participation) and the weaker reading habits (less intensive culture-involvement). The latter proved not to be the case as we found an association between higher social participation and more frequent reading habits (see p. 388).

variable the population was divided into the following sub-categories: (1) those whose formal education did not exceed six forms of elementary school; (2) those who passed through at least seven (or more) forms of elementary school; (3) those who attended some classes of higher-grade school (MULO or ULO); (4) those who passed with success through higher-grade school; (5) those who passed through technical school; (6) those who frequented some classes of secondary education; (7) those who successfully passed through the secondary education (H.B.S., lyceum, etc.); (8) those who passed through teachers' training college or higher-technical school (M.T.S.); (9) those with college or university education. These sub-categories were not considered as forming an ordinal scale (we could not consider technical school as being in any respect higher than higher-grade school; it also appeared objectionable to consider technical school as being higher than secondary schools, etc.), and were treated by the usual contingency analysis instead of by some more refined quantitative techniques.

No less than nineteen factors associated with this variable were found in the course of the first phase of the analysis: sex, family-size, occupational group, identification with social class, church-affiliation, job-satisfaction, perception of chances, income, social status, tolerance, progressiveness, fear of unemployment, birth-place, unemployment, interest in political affairs, attitude to penal system, reading-habits, satisfaction with health, and number of evenings spent at home in the week.

Though in terms of original associations "educational level" equals "occupational group" in importance, the analysis showed that only about eight associations were more or less isolated from possible intervening variables. The other eleven associations were not found in a pure, isolated form but could be accounted for by another intervening variable or by a variable forming an undifferentiated cluster with "educational level." Among the latter, a few have already been mentioned and discussed, namely: occupational group (which proved to be undifferentiated from "status") and church-affiliation (accounted for by income, status, family-size, and birth-place). Others require separate treatment.

The association that we found between higher educational level and more frequent satisfaction with one's job should be mentioned first. It appeared quite impossible to isolate this association within the single sub-categories of the occupational group, income, or satisfaction with health. In our opinion, one has to deal here with two undifferentiated clusters: the better paid occupations requiring a higher educational level and the people who are dissatisfied with their general health and with their jobs. We may assume the existence of a common factor accounting for the latter two factors (probably some psychological factor of general

"satisfaction"). The first cluster should be interpreted with caution as the scarcity of data might be the reason that we were unable to find a sufficient number of persons of higher educational level with lower incomes, and at the same time of occupation other than that of agricultural workers. As things are, one might conclude that people get more satisfaction in their jobs on account of the higher wages and the more interesting occupations to which education affords accession than on account of education itself.

It was equally impossible to isolate "education" from "occupational group," in the case of association between "education" and "attitude to the penal system." There is some evidence that people of lower educational levels ask for a more severe, retributory punishment of the offenders than people with higher education. We were not able to isolate this association within the single categories of occupational group it being mainly the agricultural labourers who asked for the severest punishment, the same group being of lower educational level than most other occupations. In other occupational groups, comprising people of various educational levels (the category of growers and managers in agriculture and of owners and managers in industry), no difference in attitude to the offenders was found which would correspond to the difference in educational level. We are, therefore, inclined to consider the occupation as the causative factor, and to think of education as an accidental characteristic.

The association between educational level and unemployment may serve as another example. People of lower educational level proved to have been more unemployed in the past. By cross-tabulating the data, we were unable to isolate this relationship within the single sub-groups of occupational group, though the latter accounted for the differences in "unemployment" within the single groups of educational level (as mentioned above). We may conclude that occupational group (or some other factor closely associated with it that was omitted in our research design) causes the experience of unemployment and that the educational level is merely an accidental characteristic.

Unemployment turned out to be the intervening variable accounting for the association between educational level and identification with a certain social class. Less educated people identify themselves more often with the lower social classes. No similar association can be found in the sub-divided data, if the population is divided into groups of those who experienced unemployment and of those who did not. The "subjective status" (or better "the perception of one's own class-belongingness") seems to be affected chiefly by the experience of unemployment. A lower educational level seems to be only of secondary importance, accidentally associated with "class-identification" via "unemployment." Those of lower educational level were more often unemployed and are, therefore, inclined to identify themselves more often with a lower class.

Tolerance, which is defined as the degree of acceptance or repulsion of social contacts between groups of various denominations (see p. 447), is affected by educational level only in an indirect way, too. Both birth-place and religious denomination seem to intervene. Upon the whole, the less

educated persons appeared to be less tolerant, but we did not find a variation in the degree of tolerance in the groups of people of the same denomination or of the same place of origin that could be caused by the difference in the level of education.

"Religious denomination" played a similar rôle with regard to the association between the birth-place and education. The fact that the autochthonous population proved to be less educated than the immigrants to Sassenheim could be explained by the higher percentage of Roman Catholics among the people born in the place and by the difference of "status" that "religious denomination" implied.

Another association that could be ascribed to the intervening influence of religious denomination was that between educational level and the attitude to political affairs. The less educated people think and speak less of political problems because they are prevailing of Roman Catholic denomination. An additional intervening variable is "progressive attitude." Less educated people think and speak less about political matters *mainly because they accept the present social order or wish for the establishment of the past state of affairs*. More school education makes for a growing interest in political affairs accompanied by a growing desire for change and improvement in the present order. This is the explanation why the genuine nature of the association between "education" and "progressiveness" cannot be assured; the latter was not isolated within the single sub-groups of the "attitude to political matters."¹

Among the more genuine associations, the relation between sex and education should be mentioned in the first place. In the present social and cultural structure women have less opportunity than men to be educated. Sex appears to be socially bound with a distinct discrimination as far as education is concerned. Taking the descriptive data into consideration we might try to explain it by the fact that education serves mainly as a channel to specific occupations (see the association of education with social status and the level of income in our analytical matrices) and as such, is chiefly destined for men — as woman's task is still traditionally seen in the household. Whatever the explanation might be, the fact remains that the difference of educational level is caused by the sex-differential within the single groups of "income," and "job-satisfaction." Women belong to the lower educational groups, regardless of the fact that they are more often represented among the immigrants to Sassenheim who, as a rule, have more school-education.

¹ There is, however, some evidence in previous studies that higher education and higher insight correlate with less conservative outlooks. Murphys and Newcomb refer to the tests of several hundreds of young adults in Minneapolis in 1936, which account for a negative correlation between economic conservatism and intelligence (G. MURPHY, L. MURPHY, & T. M. NEWCOMB, *Experimental Social Psychology*, New York, 1937, p. 931). The study of Eysenck enlarges the original hypothesis by showing that social insight correlates with "radicalism" irrespective of educational level (H. H. EYSENCK, Primary social attitudes and the "social insight test," in the *British Journal of Psychology*, 1951, 42, pp. 114—122).

Another genuine association is that with "family-size." The less educated people seem to come from larger families. Though our data, when strictly taken, allow only an interpretation assuming the causative nature of family-size, the question may be raised as to whether the parents of those with higher education did not belong more frequently to the higher educational groups themselves. This assumption, though not tested in our study, seems highly probable. We are inclined to think that education, in its turn, affects the average size of the family, because there is a tendency to more conscious birth-control in the groups of higher educational level. As we measured the size of the parents' families while referring to the educational status of the interviewees themselves, we are not allowed to consider such a hypothesis as tested and proved in the strict sense of these terms.

An important cluster of associations is that connected with "occupational group." We found a considerably higher number of agricultural workers among the less educated people. The fact that we were not able to isolate the association with the occupational group within the sub-categories of social status does not have to diminish the causative nature of education in our opinion, because social status is not defined independently of the occupational group. Besides the occupational group and the social status the level of income seems also to be directly affected by the educational level because persons with higher education receive as a rule higher wages or salaries. Education is thus evaluated in terms of occupational skills rather than in terms of its intrinsic value.

Having in mind the above mentioned associations with occupational group, social status, and income, we need not be surprised that school education increases the perception of chances to better one's position. The more educated people are more optimistic about their future careers than the people of lower educational levels. This association holds good even within the categories of "social status," "unemployment," "identification with social class;" neither is it invalidated by "religious denomination" or "occupational group."

It also was shown that the less educated are more afraid of future unemployment than the people with higher school education — an association of a quite obvious nature. To sum up, higher school education makes for higher occupational and social security and prestige in Sassenheim, in spite of the lower esteem which it enjoys with the bulb-growers as we described in Part I. Another association, easy to explain, is that with reading habits. People who enjoyed more education usually spend more of their leisure in reading books. This association was isolated in the sub-categories of "social status," "religious denomination," birth-place, and "number of evenings spent at home."

The association ascertained between education and the number of evenings spent at home in the week requires more explanation. According to our findings, persons of higher education are more engaged in out-door activities. At first, we were inclined to ascribe it to the fact that most of those with lower education were women who participated less in social life than men. This explanation failed, however, when the association was re-affirmed within the single categories of sex, in the groups of both males and females. It was confirmed independently of the place of birth and of the social status of the inhabitants as well. Whether because of greater social responsibility or a higher sociability, the educated people are less frequently found among those staying at home.

It also struck us that, according to our findings, education makes for greater satisfaction with the general state of health. Though we were at first very sceptical about this assumption, we re-affirmed it in the course of the causal analysis. Repeatedly, people with more school education proved to be more satisfied with health within the single categories of "occupational group," sex, perception of chances, and job-satisfaction (!) that were considered as possible intervening variables. Whether the association has to be ascribed to a higher social (and, therefore, also personal) security which education brings, to a higher degree of rational control over disease and confidence in facing an emergency, or to some other unknown factor or mechanism, remains to be investigated.

A few simple statistical associations that were not included in the basic matrix of relationship are worth mentioning. Higher educational level goes with a higher appreciation of "culture and refinement" in others (lower levels refer more often to "work-achievement"). The way of spending the leisure is connected with educational level; those who enjoyed higher school education refer less frequently to "walking and cycling" as their main leisure activity. Significantly more often they buy the books they read, and read more often magazines than the groups of lower educational level. This brings us, however, to a factor that deserves more detailed treatment.

READING HABITS

<i>Reading more books</i>	—members of the A.R. Party		
	—higher social participation		
	—higher educational level—more tolerant		
	—lower church attendance—more tolerant		
	—higher political interest		
	—higher social status	—upward mobility	—spend fewer evenings at home —
	—members of Geref. Church—higher status	—born outside Sassenheim—	upward mobility—more tolerant

Another cultural variable that deserves our attention are the reading habits of the inhabitants. It was defined in quantitative terms as the

number of books that one admitted having read during the past month.¹ The variable divided the whole sample into nine sub-groups, namely those who respectively read none, one, two, three, four, five, six, seven or more books. It was designed to measure one of the more important (because of the possible cultural involvements) leisure activities. In its present form, it did not imply any qualitative specification, because the readers of critical essays, scientific papers, and adventure or love stories fell into the same categories.²

Eleven correlates with this variable were found during the first phase of the analysis: the affiliation with a church, political party-affiliation, social participation, social status, social mobility, educational level, tolerance, church-attendance, birth-place, attitude to political matters, and the number of evenings that one spends at home.

Of this considerably high number of associations that were ascertained during the first phase, only four were re-affirmed in the course of the process of cross-tabulation of data. Either because of the scarcity of data or of a mere coincidence of two characteristics, several associations did not stand the test of cross-tabulation.

One of these has already been mentioned above: the association of religious denomination with the frequency of reading habits. The latter could not be isolated in the single sub-categories of social status. It could be explained by the fact that Roman Catholics belong more to the lower strata of the population and read less on account of that (see above p. 374). We were unable to prove the association between "social status" and "reading habits" in the groups of church-members. There seems to be a distinct group of Roman Catholics of lower social status not reading books in Sassenheim and another group of Calvinists of somewhat higher status that are accustomed to read books. The presence of these two separate groups accounts for the interconnectedness of the three variables under study.

A very significant relationship between "tolerance" and "reading habits" was also found in the first phase of analysis. Later on, the assumed genuine nature of this association proved to be disturbed by the influence of at least three factors: educational level, birth-place, and frequency of church-attendance. As the relation "education — tolerance" was itself reduced to the relation "education — birth-place" and "education — church-affiliation" we might assume that both "birth-place" and "church attendance" are the main intervening variables accounting for the spurious nature of the association

¹ This method of measuring the frequency of leisure habits was recently employed in a national survey in the Netherlands, to which we referred above (*Radio en vrije-tijdsbesteding*, Utrecht 1954). Its statistical and mathematical justification has been presented in "Schatting van frequenties uit globale enquête gegevens" in *Statistische en econometrische onderzoekingen*, Nieuwe reeks, Jrg. 9, No. 1, Central Bureau of Statistics, 1954.

² A distinction was, however, made between the readers of books, newspapers, and magazines. The latter proved to be concentrated among the book-readers to the degree that both "book-readers" and "magazine-readers" in our sample may be considered as being drawn from the same population. The association is, however, only of low intensity ($P > .001$ $T = .18$).

between "reading habits" and "tolerance." People are less "tolerant" because they are born at Sassenheim and adhere to the churches in an intense, devout way. The fact that they read less books seems to be of secondary importance in this respect. Another spurious correlation was shown to be that of social mobility with reading habits. This association as in some respect similar to that between social status and reading habits that has been treated above. Social status and birth-place appeared to be intervening factors here. While status need not be considered (because of its lack of independence of social mobility), we might point out the undifferentiated nature of the association of reading habits with social status and birth-place. Birth-place and status appear as mutually intervening factors in association with reading habits. This suggests again the existence of the same single group of local inhabitants of lower status that does not read at all or very little in contrast with the immigrants of higher status who are accustomed to read.

Somehow, the regular reading habits still appear to be a characteristic quality of the higher status groups, of those who have risen on the scale of occupational prestige with regard to the position of their parents. Only in this light, we are able to explain the fact, that a considerably high association between "reading habits" and "number of evenings at home" ($T = .45!$) could not be ascertained within the groups of persons with the same index of vertical mobility. People who decreased in status are prevalently those who spend their evenings at home, do not read, daydream, play cards with their family-members or go to bed early in the evenings.

Again, we were unable to isolate the association with political party membership from that with church-affiliation. Church-affiliation and social participation also proved to invalidate the association with social status, as mentioned above. People of lower status seem to read less on account of their isolation — their low participation index.

Of the genuine associations that could be isolated in the cross-tabulated categories, one has already been discussed above, namely the association of lower school education with the lower frequency of book-reading.

Among others, the association of reading habits with "attitude to political matters" should be mentioned in the first place (because of its more intense nature). The persons who read books regularly are more frequently represented among groups that think and discuss political questions with their neighbours. We found it difficult to decide the causal nature of this statistical association. As things are, we dare not simply to juxtapose "reading habits" and "attitude to politics" as one causing the other, as either of them can be thought of as a possible cause. May be some general psychical factor (the disposition to interpret the world in symbolic terms) underlies them both.

It is even more difficult to decide whether the reading of books causes poor church-attendance (and probably less intensive attachment to the churches in general) or whether poor church attendance makes people seek a substitute for regular church

service and religious cult in the reading of books. As in the foregoing case neither "church-affiliation," "birth-place," "tolerance," nor any other factor of our research scheme could be found to account for this association. We may, therefore, assume it that has to be explained either by some unknown factor which was not admitted into the research-design or by one of the two associated variables. The assumption may be made that both are associated with the general degree of "enlightenment," the "more enlightened" persons being both better readers and worse church-goers. The question then arises as to what "enlightenment" actually means if the level of formal education, the religious denomination, and the reading-habits are exempt from its avowed connotations. As the presence of a similar general factor, that is defined independently of the other variables, is still questionable, we may look for another hypothesis. It is possible that the habits of book-reading change the general outlook and "Weltanschauung," and result in a diminished reverence for the teaching of the church and in the weakening of church-discipline. Such an assumption finds some grounds in the fact that books not approved of by the churches were circulating among the population at the time of our enquiry, and that a "neutral" library was established in the place, later on. On the other hand, we found that older people, unable to visit the church on account of their ailments, do not belong to the good book-readers. Thus we are more inclined to think that book-reading results in a weakening of church-discipline as manifested in less frequent attendance at the service.

The foregoing conclusion finds little support in another association with book-reading, namely social participation. Contrary to expectation, people who spend many evenings in the various associations and clubs (and consequently spend fewer evenings at home) read more books than those who participate little in clubs and associations. Going to meetings or clubs and remaining at home reading are not two alternative ways of spending the leisure. It seems that participation makes for the development of reading habits. The existence of libraries owned by associations (e.g., that of the Calvinist group) or by a fellow-member of the church suggests that reading is stimulated by talks and contacts in various clubs and meetings. As we shall have to discuss the nature of this association later, when describing the process of participation, we might postpone this question by pointing out that social participation and culture involvement are not two separate ways of facing the problems of life in Sassenheim but that one results from another.¹

¹ Put in slightly different terms, our findings suggest a causal relation between two basic processes: association and acculturation. A question may be raised, in how far also cultural norms or values are thus assimilated by the participating individual, for whom the associations and clubs stand for "reference groups" helping to incorporate the system of values and norms in the individuals' "self-concept." See our note on p. 472.

PARTY AFFILIATION

<i>Members of the C.P.Party</i>	—Catholics—more optimistic
	—less tolerant
	—fear less unemployment
	—more progressive
<i>Members of the A.R.Party</i>	—read more books
	—think more to have made good careers
<i>Membership as such</i>	—men
	—higher status
	—higher income—more satisfied with housing conditions
	—other than industrial occupations
	—more political interest
	—better church-attendance —(higher social participation)

Finally, the associations with political party affiliation should be mentioned in this context. As mentioned above, this variable should be interpreted as standing for two characteristics of political participation: its occurrence and its direction. It turned out to be practically impossible to treat the latter independently of church-affiliation, as the members of a given church were usually organized in one political party. For this reason, we had to use a different interpretation and think of "political affiliation" more in terms of "being a party-member or not." In spite of this impossibility of excluding church-affiliation as an intervening variable, the "affiliation with a given political party" made for associations not found when examining the corresponding "church-affiliation." We shall, therefore, not omit it here, and take both meanings of "political affiliation" into consideration, when interpreting the data.

The members of the Catholic People's Party belong, like the members of the Roman Catholic Church, to the less "tolerant," more "optimistic" groups of the population. As for "optimism" we notice a higher correlation with "political affiliation" than with "church-affiliation" (respectively $T = .24$ and $T = .38$). The assumption that the membership of this party makes for an optimistic outlook is reinforced by another finding, namely, less fear of unemployment in this group. This association could be isolated in the single categories of social status, occupational group, sex, progressiveness, and attitude to politics. In the light of our data, we have to accept its genuine nature. Whether it is due to the fact that the members of the Catholic People's Party are better informed of the present governmental measures that are taken to guarantee full employment and social security or to some other factor, that remained unknown to us in the course of the research, probably only additional examination can reveal. It cannot be explained away by the fact that the organized persons belong to occupations of higher status and higher income (both latter factors being correlated with political affiliation as we shall be able to show).

Another association, not revealed by the study of "church-affiliation," was ascertained between "political affiliation" and "progressiveness." The members of the Catholic People's Party less frequently project the past and the present into the future organization of society than the members of the Anti-Revolutionary and the Christian Historic parties (the members of the socialistic Labour Party, though few in our sample, also showed a distinct tendency towards progressive attitudes.) In the interpretation of this correlation, two circumstances have to be born in mind: (a) the spirit of Protestant orthodoxy and of fear of "modernism" dominating the two largest non-Catholic parties in Sassenheim; and, (b) the rising status of the Catholic faction that has become the largest party in the present government coalition and in the Community Council. The members of the Catholic party have not only witnessed a rapid growth of the political influence of their own religious group but also the realization of a greater part of the programmes for social security in agriculture, a field that was for a number of years lagging behind other fields of economic production. As there are significantly more partisans of the Catholic People's Party among the agricultural population (see Table 40, p. 310), this explanation is plausible.

Membership of the Anti-Revolutionary Party (which is shared mainly by the people of the Calvinist /Gereformeerde/ Church) makes for more frequent reading habits. As this group belongs to the most diligent Bible-readers in Sassenheim, our hypothesis that Bible-reading results in more frequent reading in general (see p. 374) finds additional evidence.

The members of the Anti-Revolutionary Party are more often inclined to perceive progress in their lives than the members of other political factions. Because this association could not be reduced to the associations with social status, income, sex, progressiveness, or any other factor that had been considered as a possible intervening variable, we had to accept its genuine nature. Progress in life, the increase in status, belongs probably to the personality structure and the aspirations of the Calvinists who are organized in this party.¹

Let us now consider the factors that make people join political parties or that result from their membership. There are at least seven according to the first phase of our analysis: sex, occupational group, income, social status, attitude to politics, church-attendance, and satisfaction with housing conditions.

The latter turned out to be an accidental characteristic of income. People with higher income were, upon the whole, more satisfied with their housing conditions than those of lower income-level. As there

¹ As mentioned above (p. 379) there is also more "pessimism" in this group. About the possible relation between the "evaluation of career" and "optimism" see Chapter XVI.

were more people of higher income-level among the members of the political parties, it is not surprising that we found a statistical association between "political affiliation" and "satisfaction with housing conditions."

All the other associations proved to be of a genuine nature. We found, for instance, that women were less organized than men, even in the sub-categories of the social participation index and income. If a group of inhabitants is chosen at random, the majority of whom are women, we can predict with a high degree of probability that there are fewer party-members in the group than in a similar group consisting of men. In Part I, we mentioned some data that explain the less active rôle of women in the present social structure. We mentioned the influence of the religious rites, that are still patriarchal in their essential aspects, and the historical influence of the Roman civil code ascribing to the male heads of the family the responsibility for the whole family group and pushing the men into the leading rôles. The association between sex and political participation seems to be one of the basic features of the social and cultural structure that has been formed in the long process of historical growth.

Another pair of associations reveals that party-members are recruited from the group of local leaders: persons of higher income and higher social status are more likely to become members of a party. Party-membership evidently makes part of the local social hierarchy; in terms of prestige, the party-members have probably a higher position than the mere partisans of the party. Another explanation might be that each faction tries to win the local social "stars" for active membership in order to increase its weight. Whatever the explanation, the fact is that both social status and level of income account for membership in political parties.

Additional evidence might be the fact that the members of the "lowest" occupational group, the industrial workers, do not participate in the parties. This association cannot be entirely ascribed to the differences of income; we could isolate it within income groups. In addition to the industrial workers, the owners and the managers in industry participate less than the people of, for instance, the agricultural occupations. In order to understand the difference, one should consider the fact that the representatives of the occupational organizations (trade unions and Employers' Associations) play an important rôle in the political factions, and that owing to its recent date and specialization, the local industrial population have not yet formed their own unions.

While the above mentioned variables are considered as the causes of the distribution and the frequency of political membership, the next two factors cannot be considered as causes in the proper sense of this word. We found (what may be considered as a truism) that

party-members think and speak more frequently about political matters than people who are not organized. It is quite obvious that the interest in and the positive attitude to political matters are the decisive factors that make people join the associations or the political institutions. On the other hand, persons who have acquired membership through other channels than spontaneous interest, come to think and speak about political matters more than those who are not members. The attitude being thus both cause and effect of membership, we cannot decide its causal nature in an unequivocal way.

A similar association is that of "political affiliation" and "church-attendance:" persons who do not participate in political parties participate less frequently in church-activities. This relation, though peculiar in the eyes of a stranger unacquainted with the local social structure, is not surprising. We learnt of the impact of the churches upon the nature of the political parties. It is evident, for instance, that members of the Catholic People's Party, who strive for the realization of a social order that might be in accordance with the Roman Catholic faith, also have to be faithful church-members. Though many Roman Catholics and Calvinists join the political parties on account of the political implication of their faith, it is also possible that several persons join the parties through other channels (e.g., the trade unions) and, consequently, are admonished to attend church more regularly. The lack of differentiation between the sphere of religion and that of politics was thus repeatedly affirmed by our research.

Summary. When trying to sum up the discussion of the cultural variables, we notice that "church-affiliation" accounts for the largest number of causal relationships which we were able to ascertain during our research. We found no less than eleven genuine associations. In practically all of them, religion was identified as a causative factor making for the difference in distribution of other variables rather than being caused by the latter itself. It accounted for several aspects of the local social structure (for example: social participation, tolerance, family-size) and several aspects of the social personality (for example: optimism, perception of chances in the future, fear of war, and attitude to politics).

The variable proved to be intercorrelated to a high degree with "political affiliation," consequently, its independent nature seems highly debatable. Though only three associations of political affiliation were identified that were not previously found in relation to "church-affiliation" (all of them referring to attitudes), the causal importance of this variable has been affirmed due to its one sub-category: the group of people not organized in any political party. This has been reintroduced as an independent variable in the

research. Political membership turned out to be rather the effect than the cause of the variation in the distribution of other characteristics. It seemed to be affected by various aspects of the social structure, such as e.g., sex-differential, social status, and level of income, and by another "cultural variable:" occupational group. The attitude to political matters seemed to stand in a reciprocal relation to it.

Second in importance (in terms of causal relationships in our design) turned out occupational group which was considered as the source of the main variation caused by "economy." Eight out of ten genuine variables seemed to be the effects of occupational structure. Most of them referred to the attitudes or other personality-aspects of the population, such as: optimism, satisfaction with job, attitude to the penal system, and attitude to politics. A few of them were rather of a structural nature (family-size, level of income); one was a cultural variable, namely political party membership. In addition to the eight variables that were considered to be caused by occupations, there were two factors associated with occupation that were treated as causes as well as effects. The experience of unemployment, as well as the fear of unemployment in the future, were more often mentioned by the agricultural labourers than by any other occupational group. On the one hand, the occurrence of people that had been unemployed seemed to depend on the percentage of unskilled workers in the community, on the other hand, unemployment itself was assumed to have influenced the occupational careers of several inhabitants (one of the interviewees reported of having started a business of his own, early in 1932, and of going bankrupt with the oncoming depression of those years; see p. 478). Other factors, like social status and social mobility, were considered as being bound up with occupational group by definition; their association with the latter was considered as obvious.

Contrary to the expectation aroused by the results of the first statistical analysis, education was found to cause less variation in the other variables. Two structural characteristics, sex and family-size, were found responsible for the distribution of the population over the main categories of educational level. Among the direct effects of higher education, two personality characteristics and two structural variables were found; namely, job-satisfaction and perception of chances, social status and level of income.

Finally, we took the frequency of reading habits as another cultural variable, revealing the social effects of different leisure activities. We were only able to isolate three factors that could be ascribed to genuine causal relationship with "reading habits." Two of them were of a structural nature, and one referred to the attitude to political matters. All three were considered to be of a rather reciprocal nature, influencing and being influenced, in turn, by the other.

Regarding the mutual relationship between the five cultural variables, we may stress once more that two pairs (church-affiliation with political affiliation and education with reading habits) were found mutually associated, while there was an indirect association of education with occupational group (through social status), and that of reading habits with both church-affiliation (through social status) and political affiliation (through church-affiliation).

If a somewhat daring generalization is made and the respective variables are taken for whole cultural regions,¹ then we may conclude that our causal analysis suggests the lack of differentiation between politics and religion, further, between religion and politics, on the one hand, and recreation on the other hand; finally, the interrelation between education and economy.

C) PATTERN OF CULTURE AS REVEALED BY OTHER METHODS

Institutional Analysis. These foregoing findings are not invalidated if, instead of the statistical analysis of the individual responses, the observational analysis of the social structure is resorted to. In Part I, the interdependence of religious and political institutions was described; the trade unions were shown to play an important rôle in the political factions, while being split along the main denominational lines. Several leaders of the church-communities are also leaders of the political factions. Political sessions are often held on the premises of the church. A number of political issues (e.g., educational policy) are indirectly decided by the churches (e.g., schools). Several other examples of the lack of differentiation between the political and the religious factions (if we neglect the liberal and the socialistic factions that form a small minority in the community) were found in the course of the structural analysis.

The same analysis revealed, however, one important aspect of "politics" that was neglected in the statistical, causal analysis, namely, the influence of the administration. Though the political factions were described to be under the influence of the churches,

¹ Obviously, we have no safeguards for the adequacy of the sampling of variables from the universe of attributes (for this concept see LOUIS GUTTMAN, The basis for scalogram analysis, Chapter 3 in *Measurement and Prediction*, Volume iv in *Studies in Social Psychology in World War II*, Princeton University Press 1950, p. 80 ff.) No attempt was made to reduce the qualitative variety of the cultural regions (the term "region" is used, obviously, in its topological but not geographical meaning), such as politics, religion, arts, science, etc., to a common (quantitative) denominator that would make random sampling possible. In the first phase of the study, the attention was focussed on the "relevant" nature of the variables while the systematic aspect was neglected. This explains, why even the entire complexes of culture (arts, morals, language, etc.) were omitted in the present statistical analysis.

the organs of the local, provincial, and national government were shown to be a mighty, independent power, moulding to a great extent the structure of the entire community, as well as the life of each individual inhabitant. Though in terms of the statistical analysis, religion appeared as a dominant factor, the analysis of institutions revealed that the churches have lost several of their former basic functions (e.g., the care of the poor, sick, and invalids, the registration of births and deaths, etc.) that have been taken over by the government organs. The government authorities do not only take over the functions of the old institutions, but they also bring under control those social regions (e.g., radio licences, building industry, and other economic spheres) which have been free, until now. In this way, they create new governmental functions.

The foregoing observation makes it desirable to distinguish political factions and party-life from administration and bureaucracy. We may then better define the structural relation between "religion" and "politics." Though in the field of administration, the centralizing tendencies result in a formal ascendancy of the government machine over the traditional activity-regions of the churches, the party-life is in the factual grasp of the church-division in the community. From the dynamic standpoint, the conclusion can be drawn that, owing to the additional, newly created functions of the government, and owing to the changes in the population structure due to immigration, the trend is rather to a growing independence of "politics" than towards the ascendancy of the church over it.

For the causal ascendancy of the complex factor "church affiliation-political affiliation" over "recreation" we like to draw the attention of the reader to the countless examples of recreational associations or clubs in Sassenheim that are only open to persons of one particular religious denomination. The K.S.A. (Catholic Social Action) is a typical example how politics and religion dominate recreational life. As these results were attained along two quite independent methodological ways (we measured "recreation" as manifested in book reading while analysing sport and youth associations through the institutional approach), we may accept their validity. The institutional approach further revealed a considerable scarcity of associations and clubs organized on a "neutral" (i.e., independent of religious denomination) basis and of recreational institutions on a commercial basis (the absence of motion pictures, the poor existence of a few inns).

As to economy, its importance was sufficiently stressed in the institutional as well as the statistical analyses. Its association with education was referred to when we spoke of the tendency of some teachers to adapt the school programme to the needs of the local economy (e.g., the teaching of modern languages, and the excursions into factories) though the shortcomings of such efforts have already been

discussed (p. 210). Further evidence of the link between economy and education was seen in the growing demand for a technical school (or an apprentice school), in this region.

Thus religion and economy (with their associated regions of politics and education) prove to be the most important factors in the present pattern of culture. Even this finding was already indicated by the institutional analysis; we mentioned the clashes between economic and religious institutions; the members of the Calvinist churches were described as refusing some economic institutions such as mortgage and insurance, though usually hesitating between following the church doctrine or their economic interests.

Individual Value Pattern. We regret that little attempt was made in the course of our survey to compare the results of the institutional analysis and of the statistical evaluation of the interview-data with findings based on thorough psychological tests. In that case, we would be able to refer to "religion," "politics," "ethics," etc., in terms of individual values, preference, and dominant centre of interest. Only a few questions of the interview may be said to cast light on the cultural involvements of the population. The question regarding the standard of judgment (p. 274) revealed that practically an equal number of persons appreciates "general cultural level" as "work achievement." If we interpret the former as standing for religious creed, world outlook, and ethical attitudes, and the latter for "economic achievement," we find a similar balance of two groups of factors that has already been suggested by the other two methods.

It should be mentioned in this connection that much more people think or speak of religious than of political matters (respectively 74 and 45 per cent of the adult population). There are twice as many people having no interest in politics than those having no explicit interest in religious problems. Thus we find again an additional validation of the premiss that religion influences the individual conduct to a higher degree than politics (if the latter is considered separately from administration or bureaucracy).

In the foregoing paragraph, we have already partly touched on the problem of the distribution of some personality traits over the population; it will be treated separately in Chapter XVI. For the present it is sufficient to point out that the scarce data on individual involvements in the cultural system do not contradict the results that were obtained through the other two methods. Religion and economy seem to play a dominant rôle in the present pattern of culture in terms of causal associations of behaviour items, in terms of existence and differentiation of social institutions and associations, as well as in terms of personal values and preferences.

CHAPTER XV

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND PROCESSES

A) DELINEATION OF PROBLEMS

In the foregoing chapter, we dealt with the community under study in terms of cultural values. We tried to interpret the existing institutions and the collective behaviour of the population by referring them to various cultural systems, such as religion, politics, education, economy, etc. Stress was laid on the interpretation of the cultural variables. In this chapter, the fabric of the society itself will be examined. In agreement with Fairchild's attempt to standardize sociological terminology,¹ we will understand by social structure the established pattern of internal organization. By the latter, however, we do not mean the organization of culture complexes and traits, since such an organization characterizes the configuration (or "pattern") of culture. This configuration was treated separately in Chapter XIV.

Because of the higher degree of differentiation of the concept of social structure, we shall use less strictly the causal analysis as described in Part II, and shall resort more often to the data of Part I by summarizing the trends and the structural aspects that were discussed there.

We shall be concerned, among others, with the following questions:

(1) What social structures can be found in the community? Which are dominant in the population: the primary groups, other face-to-face groups, associations and clubs, formal organizations, or secondary groups? What are the general characteristics of each of these in Sassenheim (size, frequency and nature of contacts, stability, pattern of relationship, pattern of functioning)?

(2) Into what social strata is the present population group divided? On what structural elements is the status differential based? What are the general characteristics of the class system: is it open or closed, rigid or pliable, approved of or disapproved by the inhabitants? Do people identify themselves with a certain social class and is such an identification in agreement with the status that is ascribed to them by society? What is the relation of the "objective" to the "subjective" status and which social and cultural factors influence them?

(3) What particular social processes can be identified in the community? What is the extent of social mobility and migration? What are the main causes and social consequences of both? What is the nature of acculturation and socialization? What factors make for social

¹ FAIRCHILD, H. P., (Ed.) *Dictionary of Sociology*, New York City, 1944, p. 293.

participation or isolation? What are the communication channels in the community?, etc.

(4) What are the main characteristics of functional organization? Which are the dominant causal factors of the total social structure?

B) SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Face-to-Face Groups. When we begin with the prevalent social forms, we have to stress again the important rôle of the family as the basic face-to-face group. This importance is not only indicated by the length of contacts, but also by the general direction and purpose of the activities of the members. Most men earn money with the explicit objective of sustaining their families, i.e., their wife and children. The very low incidence of divorce confirms that most families mean a life-long relationship. This does not only concern the relation of husbands and wives, but also that of children and parents (mind the high cohesiveness of families manifested in work-relationship and in regular birthday parties). As to their structure, we noticed a rather equalitarian relationship between husband and wife, with a somewhat greater distance between the parents and the children, based on the authority of the first.

FAMILY SIZE

<i>Large families</i>	—R. Catholics—migrate less	—low income	—high church attendance
	—agricultural occupation	—high church attendance	
	—little interest in politics		
	—low social status	—low income—migrate less	—high church attendance
		—low mobility—migrate less	—high church attendance
		—low migration	—high church attendance
	—born in Sassenheim	—low migration—high church attendance	
—low educational level			

Because of the high birth-rate and the high level of hygiene, the families are of considerable size, though the size varies with several factors. According to the results of our analysis, family-size is determined, among others, by occupational group, church-affiliation, social status, and birth-place of the inhabitants.¹ As already mentioned in the foregoing chapter, the Roman Catholic and Gereformerd (Calvinist) denominations and the agricultural occupations account for the largest families. In addition, people who were born in Sassenheim descend, as a rule, from larger families than those coming from more distant places or cities. The explanation for the latter association may probably be sought in the stronger social control in this small community, where the influence of the churches (and consequently the “ethos of the churches”) is strong, as people know

¹ See again the table on page 347 ff.

each other. In the big cities or in free-thinking groups in the northern parts of the country, people are likely to resort more often to conscious birth-control than here. As for social status, it can hardly be thought of as independently from "occupational group." According to our analysis, social status affects family size more through its component of "educational level" than through "level of income." Higher educational level accounts more often for smaller families than higher income does (probably owing to the high percentage of bulb-growers who often belong to low educational groups in spite of their considerable fortunes).

Both income and education have to be considered as effects as well as causes, because family-size was measured in terms of the number of siblings of the interviewees. It seems to be quite usual that children from large families have less chance to get more education or higher status occupations. With this in mind, we are not surprised to find more people whose status decreased (as compared with the status of their parents) coming from large families than from small families. We also found that persons coming from large families move less; but we cannot draw the conclusion that large families cause residence-stability with complete certainty, because we could not isolate this association within the categories of social status, income, church-affiliation, mobility, and birth-place.

The highly significant association that was found between the number of siblings and migration (persons that often change their addresses have fewer siblings than those that do not, $P = .001$) reinforces the foregoing hypothesis. However, no attempt was made to isolate the latter factor; consequently the hypothesis was not validated by our data.¹

Among the other factors that seemed causally associated with the size of the family, "church-attendance" should be mentioned. Persons descending from smaller families go less often to church than those coming from larger families. Though we were able to isolate this relationship within the sub-categories of "church-affiliation" (the

¹ It should be noted that an association was found between "migration" and "number of children." Migrants appear to have less children than the people with a lower migration index. This association was, however, not submitted to a test by matrix-analysis and by cross-tabulation of the data. (See p. 327).

These findings are in disagreement with the study of fertility differentials in other countries. Sewell, for instance, reports in his Oklahoma study a positive relation between migration and fertility. It is also striking that religious denomination did not account for significant differences in fertility-rates (one should bear in mind that only Protestant groups were studied in Oklahoma; this is, however, only a partial explanation, as there also are significant differences in fertility rates between various Protestant churches in Sassenheim). As to education, socio-economic status, and wealth, the findings of Sewell agree with those of this study. (W. H. SEWELL, Differential fertility in completed Oklahoma farm families, in *American Sociological Review*, 4, 1944, pp. 427-434).

results suggesting that higher church-discipline, as manifested in regular church attendance, goes together with less birth-control regardless of the denomination), occupational group and migration appeared as intervening variables. People from large families attend church services more regularly, probably on account of the fact that they descend from agricultural families that have been settled in Sassenheim for at least two generations.

Apart from the size of families, no other aspects of family-life was included in our causal analysis. However, some statistical correlations were computed. As Table 41 shows, we found that a more distant place of work is the usual cause of less intensive family-contacts. The usual family-rites at meals have to be dropped if the head of the family is absent for two meals and comes home late in the evening. Another consequence of such a situation (as suggested by the correlations that were computed) is the more rigid differentiation of the rôles in the families: the wives cannot help the husbands with their work and the husbands are less cooperative when they come home.

Sex-Differential. While the family can be considered as a basic primary group, the other social characteristics that are based on biological differences or functions, sex and age, do not account for a similar distinct differentiation of society. There are no informal groups of males or females of a spontaneous and stable nature that can be compared with the family. The occasional friendships are not usually confined to persons of the same sex; the groups of girls and boys associate while undertaking bicycle trips or walks together, though these short-lived relationships are often a component of the local pairing system and end by the girl finding a boy and "going steady." There are, on the other hand, some associations, organizations, and clubs of a more formal nature that are divided along the sex-line; namely, the youth-organizations of the churches, the boys' and girls' divisions of the sport organizations, some schools, the women's section of the local branch of the Socialist Party, the charitable clubs of the Protestant churches, the predominantly "masculine" trade unions, etc. With the exception of the schools, the majority of these afford only short-lived contacts with persons of the same sex; none of them equals the family in intensity of contacts. In the schools, the sharpest differentiation along the sex-line can be found in the Roman Catholic group where the girls are being taught chiefly by women teachers, while the boys spend their school-years predominantly under the supervision of men.

In terms of causal relationship, the sex-variable is of considerable importance. From the thirty-four variables that were considered, sex was associated with twelve factors. It seemed to account for a differential in the following variables: membership in political parties, social participation, job-satisfaction, level of income, educational

SEX

Women	—less political interest
	—less organized in parties—lower income
	—less social participation—spend more evenings at home
	—lower educational status—lower incomes
	—born outside the bulb-region
	—less afraid of unemployment
	—think less to have made good careers
	—report less to miss days owing to illness
	—complain more of bad health
	—less satisfaction with work
	—(shorter working-hours)
	—(longer night-rest)
	—(appreciate “culture” more than “work-achievement”)
—(expect less improvement by government mediation)	

level, fear of unemployment, evaluation of one's life-career, birth-place, frequency of church-attendance, satisfaction with one's own health, frequency of illness, and the number of evenings that one spends at home in the week.

We found it impossible to isolate the relation with the number of evenings that one spends at home from “social participation” by cross-tabulating the data. It appeared that men spend fewer evenings at home chiefly because of their higher participation in various clubs and associations; women have to stay at home rather because of their relative exclusion from public life than on account of other possible factors (fewer visits to friends, the lack of a “baby-sitter,” etc.)¹ The association with “income” could not be isolated within the single categories of “educational status” and “membership in political parties.” It is possible that women in Sassenheim get lower incomes because of their lower education. From other sources we know, however, that in the whole country, women earn less for the same amount of work in lower status occupations. This discrimination often disappears on the professional level. Without trying to make a distinction between both factors, we may conclude that women belong to the less educated and less paid groups in the community. They are, in addition, less often organized in political parties and, as suggested above, participate less in various clubs and associations. In Part I we mentioned the evidence of a female-member of the Labour Party complaining about husbands, who did not allow their wives to participate in the evening-meetings, with the result that sessions had to be held in the afternoons.

The traditional rôle of the woman is still seen as that of the family-

¹ In other culture-patterns an opposite relationship of sex with social participation was found. Stuart Chapin, whose scale was applied in this study, states the higher participation of women of lower social status in the United States (STUART F. CHAPIN, Social participation and intelligence, in *American Sociological Review*, 1939, p. 161). His findings have been validated by other studies also for other social strata (e.g., W. G. MATHER, Income and social participation, in *Amer. Sociological Review*, 6, 1941, pp. 380—383).

guardian while the man determines the social contacts and the status of the family. We may learn of the influence of this tradition when considering a genuine association: women speak and think less about political matters than men. Their avoidance of politics is evidently not only a matter of external pressure, but also of convictions and attitudes — many of which are simply taken over from the preceding generations.¹

Women are, according to our survey, more satisfied with their work or working-conditions than men.² The explanation, in our opinion, might be that jobs are of less significance to them than to the men, because the women's main focus of interest lies in family-life. As our sample contained many housewives, we may conclude that household duties are more satisfying to them than the outdoor activities of the men. A partial validation of the hypothesis that outdoor jobs and earning-a-living are of less importance to the women may be seen in the fact that women are less afraid of future unemployment than men. It is possible that they were less affected by unemployment in the past, because it did not change the daily tasks and activities of the housewives. While finding more satisfaction in their daily work, women perceive less often progress in their life. This too can perhaps be explained by the monotonous nature of the household duties, which remain more or less the same from generation to generation. According to their answers, women lose fewer working-days on account of illness than men; probably, because the majority of them work at home and the daily routine of their household duties does not permit an interruption. Because earning-a-living makes greater claims on and creates greater risks for the male wage-earner, we should not be surprised about the fact that he fails more often to resume his daily task and stays at home due to illness. However, we should not draw the somewhat premature conclusion that women have better health and higher moral resistance; they complain, as a rule, more often about ill-health than men.

¹ The association between sex and political participation has been ascertained for various countries and at various times. As early as 1931, Allport and Vernon found for the American women less involvement in economic and political values and a decisive preference for aesthetic, social, and religious values (we depend on G. MURPHY, L. MURPHY, & T. M. NEWCOMB, *Experimental Social Psychology*, New York 1937, p. 72) This finding was re-affirmed by Spoerl, two decades later (D. T. SPOERL, The values of post-war college students, in the *Journal of Social Psychology*, 35, 1952, pp. 217—225).

Similar results were obtained for college girls and boys in Denmark; young women there are more interested in religion, young men in politics (H. LISAGER, Factors influencing the formation and change of political and religious attitudes, in the *Journal of Social Psychology*, 29, 1949, pp. 253—265).

² This has also been found by M. G. Ydo in his national survey of job-satisfaction, based on interviews with hundreds of worker in the Netherlands (M. G. Ydo, *Plezier in het werk*, Leyden 1947).

Finally, it struck us that women were significantly more represented among the immigrants to Sassenheim. It makes little sense to say that the sex-composition of the population accounts for the birth-place differential or the other way round. We may rather try to explain this structural relationship by referring it to an underlying social process. There seems to be a custom in this still agricultural community that sons remain to cultivate their fathers' fields while daughters leave the native community in order to join their husbands. For this reason, women that were born locally are more likely to leave the community than the men.

Some simple statistical associations that were computed in the course of the preliminary analysis confirm our findings. Women are, in general, less inclined to expect social improvement to be carried out by the organs of government. In their eyes, people should bestow less time on politics in Sassenheim. As already mentioned in Part I, they have shorter working-hours than men and take longer night rest (as well as rest in general). "Work-achievement" is less appreciated by women than by men.¹

AGE

- migrants
- agricultural workers—pessimism
- perceive fewer chances to better themselves—pessimism
- higher incomes
- upward mobility
- conservative attitude
- Higher age groups* —born outside Sassenheim—lower social participation
- more unemployment
- more interest in politics
- spend more evenings at home
- complain less of bureaucracy
- complain more of bad health
- (expect less another war)
- distinct perception of social change

Age group 1913—1922—more complaints of bad housing conditions

Age brings about a certain differentiation in the social structure, too. The boys and girls of approximately the same age form informal groups. These are, however, like the groups of persons of the same sex, of comparatively short duration. They are confined to school-friends or to groups of adolescents and are dissolved by marriage.

¹ It should be noted that no association was found between "women" and "conservatism" which has been suggested by some earlier studies (cf., e.g., R. S. LYND & H. M. LYND, *Middletown*, New York 1929, pp. 318 and 496), also the following remark in Murphys' and Newcomb's *Experimental Social Psychology*: "... in all twenty-seven classifications females are more favourable to the church than males Boys break away from parents' attitudes at earlier stage than girls." /p. 916/). Women in our sample do not visit the church significantly more frequently than men, do not long for the past social order, or fear another war more frequently than men.

Of a similar short duration are the more formal youth-sections of the churches or the associations. Though the upper limit is fixed at thirty years, in several groups the members usually leave them before. Economic independence or marriage are the frequent reasons for not wishing to share membership with the "green" teen-agers.

In causal respect "age" appears to account for variation in still more factors than sex. No less than seventeen factors were found associated with age according to the statistical analysis; the older people were characterized by an, on the average, higher migration index, by less participation in clubs and associations, by higher incomes, more conservative outlooks, were represented more often among agricultural than industrial workers, rose in status more often than younger people, experienced more unemployment, used to spend more evenings at home, complained, naturally, more often of bad health, thought and spoke more about political matters, complained less of bureaucracy, perceived more often that the world was changing, and expected, naturally, less often another war to break out during their life. In addition, persons between thirty and forty years of age complained significantly more often about bad housing conditions than people of other age-groups.

A closer examination shows that some of these factors associated with "age" cannot be considered as independent variables. Older people evidently had more chance of experiencing such phenomena as change of residence, unemployment, and of perceiving the social change that is taking place.

As to the remaining factors, we found some spurious correlations; the lower social participation of the older people can be accounted for by their being born outside the community. Their pessimism seems to be rooted in their existential situation, they do not see chances any more to better their position and, having thus no good perspective for themselves, are more often inclined not to see any future for mankind either. This explanation is suggested by the fact that we could not isolate the association with optimism within the single categories of perception of chances to better one's position.

In spite of these limitations due to intervening variables, advanced age still seems to account for higher income, rise in social position, and less satisfaction with one's health. It also accounts for more conservative attitudes; people probably identify and associate the pleasant memories of their healthy and vigorous periods of life with the social order and cultural circumstances of those years.¹

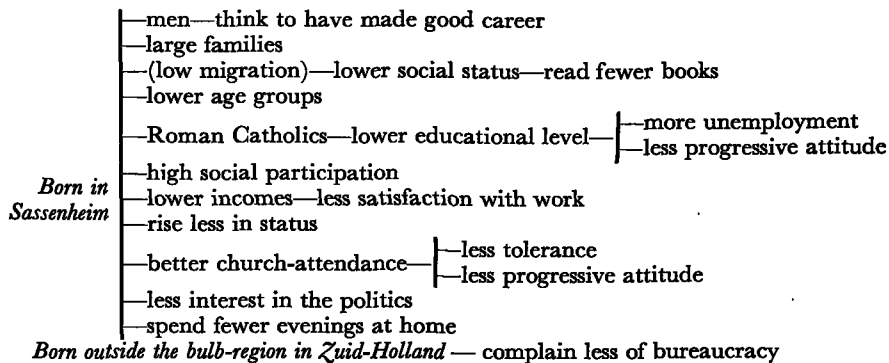
An interesting finding is the association between advanced age and

¹ There is much evidence accounting for a universal validity of this association. See e.g., W. E. OGBURN, M. F. NIMKOFF, *A Handbook of Sociology*, London 1950, p. 557; also G. MURPHY, L. MURPHY, & T. M. NEWCOMB, *Experimental Social Psychology*, New York, 1937, p. 928, and O. POLLAK, Conservatism in later maturity and old age, in *American Sociological Review*, 1943, 8, pp. 175—179.

fewer complaints about bureaucracy. It is the more significant as it was isolated within the occupational sub-categories. Because of the structural change in the community (industrialization), the older people are more often found among the agricultural workers than the young people who join the industries. The agricultural workers complain the least of bureaucracy (as they have less to do with the government agencies than, for instance, the professional groups or the businessmen). As we were, however, able to find differences in the attitude to the organs of administration linked with age also within the group of agricultural workers, we may conclude that age makes for a less "recalcitrant" attitude which is in agreement with the previous finding concerning "conservatism." When considering the nature of this association, one should also bear in mind the recent measures of social security, affording a pension and protection to the aged. The association of age with political interest has been ascertained in other culture-patterns,¹ and does not require a special explanation. The youth seems to be absorbed by the problems of their own (seeking a job, courtship, etc.) which overshadow political interest.

As for the group of people who are in their thirties and who seem to be less satisfied with housing than the others, we should bear in mind that these groups suffer the most from the strong population-pressure. Somewhere between the thirties and the forties, the family reaches its maximal size, there being often nine or more children at home. As the children are still small they have to be kept at home. It is then that people realize how small and unsuitable the houses are for their large families. After having described the factors that can be considered as effects of "age," we should mention the decreasing birth-rate and the growing immigration to Sassenheim as being the probable causes (besides the improvement of hygiene) of the ageing of the population.

BIRTH-PLACE



¹ P. F. LAZARSELD, *Communication Research*, in Dennis Wayne et al. *Current Trends in Social Psychology*, Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 1948, p. 239.

Besides family, sex, or age, physical proximity is often a cause of social relationships. Because of the heterogenous structure of the community (the lack of planning in the past and the adherence to the division into social classes), the neighbourhood, the physical proximity, does not always result in social contacts. Church, social class, and the place of birth often form an obstacle to intimate acquaintance and friendship. Nevertheless, one seeks more often friends in the community than outside. This has been suggested to us by the frequent remarks of the inhabitants born outside the community, who complained about the impossibility of entering into friendship with the local inhabitants. In terms of friendship, the in-group and the out-group relationships play a significant rôle.

The importance of this factor is also affirmed by the causal analysis. For the sake of brevity, we used "birth-place" as an index of out-group — in-group relationship. It was differentiated into the following sub-categories: (*a*) people born in Sassenheim; (*b*) people born in other places of the bulb-region, i.e. in Hillegom, Lisse, Noordwijk, Noordwijkerhout, Voorhout, Katwijk, Rijnsburg, Bennebroek, or Vogelenzang; (*c*) people born in the province of Zuid Holland (with the exception of the above mentioned communities and of the big cities); (*d*) people born in Noord Holland (with the exception of Amsterdam and the above mentioned communities); (*e*) people born in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, or the Hague; (*g*) people born in other places in the Netherlands than those mentioned above; (*h*) people born in the West-Indies; (*i*) people born in the East-Indies; (*j*) people born abroad.

The above mentioned categories turned out to account for a significant variation in no less than twenty factors in our causal scheme. We found that locally born inhabitants were more often men than women, came from larger families, had a lower average age, were more often members of the Roman Catholic or the Gereformeerde (Calvinist) Church, participated more in organizational life, were of lower status, belonged to lower income-groups, had received less education, rose less often in status, were less tolerant, experienced less job-satisfaction, spoke and thought less about political matters, read fewer books, and spent fewer evenings at home than the inhabitants belonging to the other sub-categories.

In addition, we found that persons born in big cities or more distant places in the Netherlands have a higher migration-index, attend church services less frequently, are more progressive, and are less inclined to perceive progress in their careers than locally born people. Finally, it was shown that people born in Zuid-Holland complained significantly more often of bureaucracy than those born elsewhere, while the people who were born in the bulb-region experienced more often unemployment than those born in big cities or in more distant regions of the Netherlands.

Several of these associations proved to be of a spurious, non-causal nature. The association with job-satisfaction could be explained by the lower incomes of the autochthonous group, that with reading habits by the difference in social status (immigrants read more books because they usually belong to the higher social status groups than the autochthonous people). The difference in two important attitudes "tolerance" and "progressiveness" could be explained by the difference of church-discipline (the immigrants being more "tolerant" and more "progressive" on account of their looser ties with the church) and of education (immigrants being upon the whole more educated). The difference in educational level could not be separated from the difference in religious denomination (there being more Roman Catholics and consequently less educated people in the autochthonous groups). Both higher educational level and membership of Protestant churches appeared to account for the fact that the group of immigrants had experienced less severely unemployment in the past. The impossibility of isolating the difference in social status within the single groups of social participation seems to be of a rather technical nature, being caused by the insufficiency of data.

Several of the remaining genuine associations have already been discussed above, the discussion of the relation between the distance of birth-place and the frequency of change of residence ("migration index") will deliberately be postponed until the next section. In the present context, we wish to emphasize that immigrants belong to the higher income and status groups (those who have risen in occupational status in comparison with the status of their fathers), as well as to the groups that participate less and spend most evenings at home. Though, as we shall see later, persons of higher status and of higher mobility participate more and belong to the "stars," the out-group — in-group relationship interferes with both these factors to the extent that the "low-status" local groups are characterized by a higher average index of social participation than the "high-status" out-group. If, instead of "social participation," the "number of evenings at home" is taken, the same pattern of relationships will be obtained.

Outside the scope of the causal analysis, some additional correlates of "birth-place" were ascertained. The immigrants to Sassenheim prove not only to participate less in the institutions and the associations, but also to visit less frequently the various cultural performances (concerts, theatre-performances, exhibitions). They either ignore or are not invited to cultural events in Sassenheim and do not make a journey to one of the cities for the sake of cultural recreation. With the immigrants the spirit of tolerance in religious respect is accompanied by a more negative attitude to the existing social classes. This broader outlook also finds expression in the fact that the immigrants sympathize more frequently with the "neutral" political parties (the liberal and the socialist parties, respectively the V.V.D. and the P.v.d.A.), while the autochthonous population belongs more to the partisans of the parties organized on a religious basis (the K.V.P.,

the A.P., and the C.H.U.) That the immigrants belong to higher-income groups, was further validated by the fact that they pay higher rents for their houses than the locally born people.

It is difficult to determine *the causes* of the present ethnic heterogeneity of the population in the light of our statistical analysis. The structural, institutional analysis, that has to be resorted to, only allows for tentative hypotheses. But we still may mention the positive attitude of the local government towards a possible expansion of the community (the vested interest of B. en W.),¹ the industrialization, bringing the cadres of skilled workers into the community, the custom of the growers of marrying girls from neighbouring communities, the centralization of the police and of other institutions bringing strangers into Sassenheim as probable causes of the ethnic differential. No pretention is made that these are the only or necessary factors of migration to Sassenheim.

Large and Organized Groups. Until now, we have dealt with the face-to-face groups where people meet without any legal or formal organizational basis. In Part I, we have dealt, however, with several associations of a more stable nature. In the cases mentioned above (friendship-groups or family-groups), the social structure disappears when their specific members cease to meet, when they move away, or die, while in the associations, that we have in mind, the social structures survive the presence or the existence of individual members. There are several such associations in Sassenheim, for instance, the sport associations, the music associations, the theatre groups, the neighbourhood association, etc. Most of them are clustered around the major institution — the churches. In general, we cannot complain of a lack of clubs and recreational associations. What is lacking is more the existence of organized recreational groups of a neutral nature for the immigrants to Sassenheim. In terms of "duration of contacts" these associations play a less important rôle than the more formally organized structures such as e.g., the church, economic enterprise, or the local government. For the man, the economic organization is of the utmost importance. It determines the nature of his personal contacts, his status, and his own position and that of his family.

It is typical for the community that most local enterprises (especially in the agriculture) resemble in organizational respect the structure of

¹ When examining the motives that made people change their last place of residence, we found a significant association between the high migration index and the desire to live in a house of one's own. As most of those who often changed residence come from more distant communities, we might indirectly conclude that many people from distant regions came to live here on account of the houses that could be bought.

the family: the same authority of the "head," the limitation of formal organizational ties to a minimum, their replacement by informal, personal contacts, and the intimate knowledge of each other (we mentioned in Part I that growers do not advertize, as a rule, when they need man-power but that their foremen come to ask the workers themselves.) This can be partly explained by the fact that many growers rose from the ranks of agricultural workers, that their sons, when young, would work in their fields as common workers. Only in the course of time, when wealth accumulated, the grower could afford to hire manpower from outside his own family. In the agricultural enterprise, the rôles are more equal — as described in Part I, growers are not ashamed of offering a helping hand and of doing manual work themselves in the busy time of harvest.

Another symptom of the projection of the family structure into the whole public life can be seen in the rôle and the structure of the committees. In any large organization (that of local government, church, political faction), where personal contacts are likely to be lost, one or more committees are formed that in the quality of personal contacts again approach the familiar family structure. It struck us, for instance, that even in formal sessions of the Community Council, a decision is scarcely ever made by vote. One either accepts the suggestion of the burgomaster, or tries to settle the issue by discussion which often consumes considerable time. Thus one avoids voting that might split the Council into two hostile factions and destroy the atmosphere of a congenial, cooperating group, even at the cost of postponing decision and common action. (Another cause may be the differentiation into the "denominational columns" which fosters aversion to any decision that would submit a minority to the will of a majority. One does not accept a compromise in questions of faith, and thinks that a minority has always the right to oppose people of a different creed.)

There was practically no factor included in the scheme of the causal analysis that has a direct bearing upon this formal aspect of social structure. We asked the interviewees whether or not they were organized in trade unions but the evaluation was aimed at the comparison of trade unions members with those organized in middle-class unions or in the associations of employers rather than the comparison of organized and unorganized workers. Thus we found, for instance, that the trade unionists are less satisfied with jobs than the "employers" and the members of professional groups, that they are less inclined to perceive progress in their own life-careers, are less afraid of unemployment, and take more often vacations — findings that do not deviate from expectation but still deserve mentioning because they were confirmed by our statistical analysis.

Finally, a word should be said about the even more formal or-

organizations consisting exclusively of impersonal contacts, the secondary groups (e.g., the association of radio listeners and other associations that do not organize meetings and sessions in the community). In our view, these associations play a more important rôle for the people born outside Sassenheim, especially for those from big cities. Educated by concrete life situations rather than by schools, a "born Sassenheimer" appreciates direct and concrete human contacts and mistrusts any abstract organization if this does not bring direct, visible profit to him.

Less Institutionalized Social Forms. As for the less institutionalized social phenomena, such as customs, common usages, and representations, we want to confine ourselves here to pointing out the standardization that struck us during the enquiry. This standardization is manifested not only in the material style of living as was indicated in Part I, but also in the whole daily life, in the words that one uses, and the things that one does. Though we did not attempt to measure it in a more quantitative way, and based our knowledge on rather impressionistic observation, we still think it necessary to mention it here. Possible causes may be the following: the density of population that causes more people to live together on a small area so that everybody is watched and imitated by everybody; the importance of family-life in the present social structure that makes for a sharper division of personal and the public life: "one watches from behind the curtains what is happening in the street;" the feeling of being observed makes for conformity; finally, the division of the population into religious sub-groups that directs the attention to the conduct of members of other groups and accentuates the deviations from the accepted pattern of norms. It seems to us that the integration of the important religious "columns" into a general national pattern is rather achieved in this quite informal way through the channels of common norms of conduct than through the common formal organizations and associations.

C) SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Multiple Ways of Approach. After having discussed some aspects of social differentiation in Sassenheim, another group of problems that are connected with the social structure will be mentioned — those of social stratification. By the latter we understand the division of society into groups of various degree of social prestige, i.e., into the strata that are being considered by the population as "higher" or "lower" in terms of importance, value, and esteem. Whether such esteem be based on political power, economic influence, or other characteristics was not considered as essential for a "stratum." We deliberately tried to define social stratum (and the corresponding "social status" i.e., the position of an individual in a certain stratum)

in the light of one single criterion hoping to bring it as an independent variable in relation with "education," "income," "social participation," and still other factors.

The differentiation of concepts was carried even further by distinguishing between the "objective" and "subjective" status, and the status that would be based on the identification with one of the three social classes. In addition to the mean score of occupational prestige that we ascribed to each interviewee by means of two independent judges scoring the occupation of the interviewee or of her husband according to the occupational scale (see p. 277), there were, namely, two other indices which could be taken as a basis of stratification. We cross-tabulated the answers to the questions regarding the prestige-value of the single occupational categories by the occupational groups, and compared the scores which the members of certain occupational groups ascribe to themselves with those that were ascribed to them by others. In this way, we obtained insight into the perception of one's own status ("the subjective status" to be distinguished from the "objective status" being the mean score of the whole population group ascribed to one's occupation.)

Another comparison was made by cross-tabulating the data on social class-identification by the "objective social status" (as described and defined on p. 277 ff.) and "occupational group." Thus we were able to compute the mean scores of "identification" for each "status-group" or "occupational group." For certain occupational categories we would receive three indices: the mean score of prestige ascribed to it by the total population group, the mean score of prestige that the members of an occupational group ascribed to themselves, and, finally, the corresponding mean "identification index" that was computed from data that was received by asking the sample: "*If the entire population in the Netherlands was to be divided into three groups, to which do you think you would belong; to the lower class, the middle-class, or the upper class?*" (The index was computed in a simple way by ascribing 3 points to those identifying themselves with the upper class, 2 points to middle-class identification, and 1 point to lower-class identification; it was quite analogous to the status-index described above).

Comparison of Social Status Indices. Referring to the results of these comparisons let us consider first the identifications of people belonging to various categories of "objective social status" (see Table 46, p. 412).

If we multiply by three the entries in the third column (identification with the upper class), by two those in the fourth column, add both products to the entries in the fifth column, and divide this sum by the total of each row we obtain the mean scores of identification for each status group. These scores can be compared with the mean scores of objective status as described on p. 277.

If we neglect the first category that was based on two observations only, we notice a consistent trend: persons who were ascribed a higher objective social status identify themselves with a lower class

TABLE 46

Distribution of 403 adult persons in Sassenheim by social status and identification with a social class

Rank of social status	Class identification				
	No reply, Don't know	Upper class	Middle class	Lower class	Total
Not classified	3	4	29	7	43
1	0	2	0	0	2
2	1	4	36	2	43
3	2	4	72	6	84
4	2	1	52	16	71
5	2	1	38	15	56
6	0	1	35	43	79
7	1	0	15	9	25
Total	11	17	277	98	403

(One punching card was lost in the course of the tabulation process).

Source: Random Sample of 404 Persons

TABLE 47

Comparison of the mean social status scores with the mean identification indices for seven social strata in Sassenheim

Occupational category	Mean score	Social status rank	Mean identification index	Scores-difference	Identification rank
Physician, priest, university graduates	2.93—2.66	1	3	+0.34	1
Civil Servant, teacher, exporter	2.29—2.09	2	2.02	—0.07	2
Shopkeeper, bulbgrower, artisan	2.07—2.03	3	1.98	—0.05	3
Foreman	1.95	4	1.78	—0.17	4
Office-clerk, skilled worker in industry	1.78—1.75	5	1.74	—0.01	5
Agricultural and horticultural worker	1.45—1.45	6	1.47	—0.01	7
Unskilled worker in industry	1.23	7	1.62	+0.39	6

and those of lower status with a higher class than is their due (in terms of prestige that was ascribed to their occupations by the whole population group). A partial explanation may be found in the tendency of people to identify themselves with the middle-class as was indicated by centers and by other research workers. The same tendency probably accounts for a comparatively low coefficient of contingency that we found in Table 46 ($P < .001$; $T = .31$). It is, however, striking that in spite of such a deflationary tendency, there is practically no difference in the social ranks obtained by the two methods. The only deviation is formed by the group of industrial workers who identify themselves with the higher categories of the social class division to that extent that in terms of the identification-index they should be placed above the agricultural workers. There would be not much difficulty to explain this highest deviation by the lowest "objective" position of the industrial workers, if the additional data did not offer another hypothesis. The industrial workers have, on average, a lower age than the agricultural workers, there seems to be a difference of one generation between the two groups. Though the generation of the parents look with disdain upon the new industrial occupations, the generation of the children, that have broken with the older way of life, look with confidence to the future (they perceive more chances to better their positions and evaluate their own status higher). The conflict between generations and the structural change caused by industrialization possibly reinforce the differences of class perception in Sassenheim.

In spite of the low coefficient of contingency, we found a considerably high rank correlation between the results of the two independent methods of ranking (by means of "identification" and "objective social status"). Applying Spearman's method of rank correlation we found

$$r_r = .98 \quad \sigma_{rr} = .41.$$

There are thus legitimate grounds for using both methods for studying the social stratification and the social status system in the community.

Comparison of the various indices of social status by cross-tabulating the sub-groups of "occupational group" could be done only in approximation. There were only four (or five) categories of the "occupational group" that corresponded to the categories of the social status scale as described above (p. 277), namely, teachers, artisans, agricultural workers, industrial workers, and with some limitations, also bulb-growers.¹ For all these groups, the identification index was

¹ The occupational group of bulb-growers also included, as a matter of fact, the farmers and the managers in agricultural enterprise.

computed in addition to the mean scores of subjective social status. Both indices were compared with the mean scores of "objective social status" as described in Part II. The following Table 48 presents the results of this comparison:

TABLE 48
Comparison of the subjective social status, objective social status, and social class identification in five occupational categories

Occupational group	"Objective status"		"Subjective status"		Identification index	
	mean scores	rank	mean scores	rank	mean scores	rank
Teacher	2.3	1	2.2	1	2.0	1
Bulb-grower	2.1	2	2.1	2	1.9	2
Artisan	2.1	2	2.1	2	1.8	3
Agricultural worker .	1.4	3	1.5	3	1.6	4
Industrial worker . .	1.2	4	1.3	4	1.5 ¹	5

We notice that the "mean score of subjective status" takes a somewhat intermediate position between the "identification index" and the "mean score of objective status," though it more approaches the values of the latter than those of the former. With the exception of the category of agricultural workers it never deviates more than one decimal from the objective status scores. We find, however, the same deflatory tendency as was indicated in the comparison with identification. The differences in social perceptions do not, however, account for a difference in the social rank; it is remarkable that practically the same rank-order can be obtained by these three different methods of estimating the social status.

Informal Leadership. An additional source of information on social stratification in the community was found in the responses to the following instruction of the interviewers: "*Give the name, the function or the occupation of two persons in your community whom you esteem and appreciate most!*" No less than three quarters (75 per cent) of the total sample answered by referring to a concrete person, either mentioning his or her name or his occupational characteristic ("the doctor," "the priest," etc.). In this way, we received about 600 items that

¹ The difference between this value and the corresponding value in Table 47 is caused by the fact that in the occupational group only the persons with an occupation were considered while in the corresponding social status group also their wives were included. The nature of this difference suggests that the wives of industrial workers identify themselves more often with the middle-class than their husbands do; this tendency is in agreement with the finding that the more conservative elements in society are likely to identify themselves with the middle-class (see further p. 420).

could be easily analysed, as we could identify the occupation of each individual person named by means of the Community Register.

We expected to gain a deeper insight into the composition of the local *elites*, if the latter are interpreted as the groups in high social esteem. This assumption was considered as legitimate because social participation which is usually considered as a characteristic of the local stars, was considered separately in our study and could be used for additional information. The analysis confirmed some findings of the method of judging the occupational categories by the population. On p. 277 we reported that the profession of "physician" was ranked as the highest by the community (mean score 2.93), subsequently followed by that of clergyman (mean score 2.66), teacher (m.s. 2.29) exporter (m.s. 2.23) and Civil Servant (m.s. 2.09). By classifying the persons who were singled out as the bearers of the highest esteem, we found that the persons practising the medical professions were mentioned most frequently (145 times), followed by the clergy (140 times). Though the difference between these two categories is small one should bear in mind that there were three house-doctors and nine clergymen in Sassenheim. It struck us that Protestants more often referred to the preacher as to a person whom one esteems most than Roman Catholics did to the "priest" (respectively 64 and 54 persons) though a number of people (20 according to our classification) simply mentioned "the clergyman" ("geestelijke") which made a precise evaluation by denomination difficult. Among the doctors, the Roman Catholic doctor was explicitly more often mentioned than both his Protestant colleagues together, which can partly be explained by the fact that he settled down in the community a longer time ago than his colleagues.

As for the remaining categories, the functionaries of the local government ranked next, though collecting only 56 votes, about a third of the votes that each of the foregoing professions had received. It is still remarkable that they ranked higher than teachers, who were only mentioned 50 times, and much higher than bulb-growers and florists who got 21 votes. If we compare these results with the categories of occupational status, we notice two important deviations: the category of "exporters" is hardly mentioned among the persons whom one esteemed, and the teachers ranked lower than the Civil Servants of the local government. As for the first deviation, it seems to us that the more "altruistic professions" take ascendancy over those of personal profit-making in the informal elections that we used (in addition to the "exporters," the bulb-growers were poorly represented; all four top-categories imply the rendering of service for the community!). The second deviation in ranking can possibly be explained by the fact that in this method of "informal elections" the "politicians" were also classified as organs of the local government. If we only take the paid officials and clerks, the corresponding number of "votes" is 35 and the rank-order, as obtained through scaling the occupations, will be restored.

When summing up the results of these informal elections, we were surprised that neither the leaders of the trade unions nor those of the various sport and recreational or cultural organizations and associations (not falling under one of the five categories that were mentioned above) were among the local stars. With the exception of the five groups above, we were not able to extract another category from our material that would represent at least ten expressions of esteem and appreciation.

After these preliminary considerations concerning the various sources of information about the social strata in the community and about the composition of the *élites*, let us turn again to the population group itself. In terms of the contracted occupational scale, the population could be divided into the following sub-categories:

Rank	Number	Per cent
1.	2	0.5
2.	43	10.7
3.	84	20.8
4.	71	17.6
5.	56	13.9
6.	79	19.6
7.	25	6.2
Could not be classified	43	10.7
Total	403 ¹	100.0

¹ One punching card got lost during the Hollerith tabulation.

Class-Division. We notice that the "social status variable" divides the population into segments that are equal enough to account for variation in other variables. In spite of its sufficiently discriminating power, the variable is not easy to translate in terms of sociological non-operational concepts. Each of the classifications that is based on the mean scores of prestige or of identification is quantitative and, therefore, of a continuous nature. The concept of social class, if *reified*, implies, however, a rather discontinuous, qualitative division. *The traditional division into three classes can still be found in some social institutions in Dutch society.* There is, for instance, a distinct identification of the old middle-class with the commercial occupations which is acknowledged by law.¹ Every person who wants to start a business of his own has to pass a proficiency examination to give proof that

¹ See e.g., the recent "Middenstand Nota" Act.

he commands an elementary knowledge of book-keeping and of his specific business branch. This examination is called "Middenstands-diploma" (Middle-Class Diploma). This survival of the old guild system makes itself felt particularly in the separation of the working-class (or that of the employees in general) from the middle-class. In spite of the equality in terms of income, educational level, and social participation, the independent bakers, butchers, milkmen, etc., consider themselves as belonging to a higher class than persons employed in industry or in agriculture.

While the class delineation seems to be rather sharp between the lower and the middle classes it is somewhat vaguer between the upper class and the middle-class. The confusion arises partly because of the differentiation of the old occupational structure, and partly because of the existence of the "new middle class." While we may safely assume that persons with professions based on a college education belong, as a rule, to the upper class, we are less sure about such occupations as clerk, civil servant, teacher, and some higher positions in business. These form, in some respects, a marginal group between upper and middle-class in the same way as the "foremen" form a marginal group between the middle-class and the lower class (the working-class). If we reckon the first two ranks of the social status scale to the upper class, ranks 3 and 4 to the middle class, and the remaining ranks to the lower class, we shall get the following rough class-division of the population:

upper class	12 per cent
middle class	43 per cent
lower class	45 per cent.

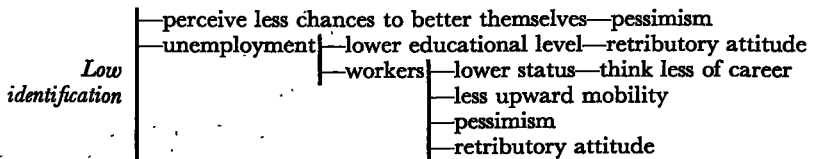
The thoughtful reader will interpret these figures with caution, as he will bear in mind their local character (occupations ranking considerably high in Sassenheim may possibly rank lower on a national scale). Moreover, it always remains an arbitrary enterprise to split a continuous scale into distinct sub-groups when there are no distinct external criteria. In terms of identification with a social class, the population can be divided as follows:

	Per cent
Those considering themselves as belonging to the upper class . . .	4.2
Those considering themselves as belonging to the middle class . . .	68.8
Those considering themselves as belonging to the lower class. . .	24.3
Don't know	1.2
No answer	1.5
Total.	100.0

If we decided to take the "class-identification" as the basis for an objective class-division, we should probably have to consider ranks 6 and 7 of the social status scale as lower class, probably only a part of rank 2 as upper class, and the rest as middle-class. Having, however, the "deflationary tendency" of class-identification in mind, we shall adhere rather to the division as given on page 417 when referring to the probable class-structure in more qualitative, concrete (perhaps even "reified") terms.

A further justification for this decision can be found in the fact that there were persons of rank 6 and 7 who identified themselves with the upper class, while there were several persons of rank 2 in our sample who told us explicitly that they considered themselves as belonging to the lower class. The moderately high correlation between "status" and "identification" ($T = .31$) suggests the presence of other factors than "objective social status" accounting for the differential in "class-identification."

CLASS IDENTIFICATION



Identification with Middle-Class—good church-attendance

If we take Table 40 (p. 311) again as a basis of our causal evaluation, we notice no less than ten variables that are associated with "class-identification." To mention first, there are some expected associations with occupational group, social status, social mobility, and educational status. In addition to these, we find that persons identifying themselves with the upper classes are more optimistic, think more often to have made careers in their life, were less unemployed, are milder to the criminal. Those who consider themselves as belonging to the middle-class are, on the average, better church-goers than the rest of the population.

By means of the cross-tabulation of variables, only three factors of a genuine causal nature could be identified: perception of chances, unemployment, and frequency of church-attendance. Unemployment proved to be one of the main causal factors making for differences in class-identification. Persons who were unemployed for a long period consistently considered themselves as belonging to the lower classes. Education and occupation only account for differences in class-identification as they are connected with unemployment; agricultural workers and persons with an elementary education do not only identify themselves with the lower class because of the low prestige of their occupation or education, but also because they were more unemployed than

people of higher educational level or those with other than agricultural occupations.

The association with the perception of chances (persons identifying themselves with a higher classes see more chances to better their position in the future) is difficult to interpret in causal terms as it is hardly possible to say which factor is the cause and which the effect. Probably both factors have to do with the social make-up of the personality-structure. There is, namely, an association between the perception of oneself and the degree of confidence in one's future. If the "looking-glass self" theory is accepted, it is difficult to determine the causal nature of one member in the pair of associated variables. If we consider the referential situation as the cause of the identification (being a kind of self-perception), we may denote the objective chances for betterment as the cause. On the other hand, we may consider "identification" as the function of "objective social status" and thus conclude that the subjective aspects of "perception of chances" are rather effect than cause. In the absence of additional evidence, we should content ourselves with pointing out the structural relationship between these factors. That we have to do with a strange combination of personality-factors here, may be seen in the moderately high correlation ($T = .30$) between class-identification and "optimism." The latter could not, however, be identified within the single categories of perception of chances, probably because the life-situation of a person influences his general outlook (see further Chapter XVI). In addition to "perception of chances," "occupational group" also enters as an intervening variable in the relation between "class-identification" and "optimism."

If we take "social status" together with "occupational group" and "social mobility index" as its undifferentiated components, we find considerably high correlations with "class-identification" (respectively $T = .31$, and $T = .31$, $T = .12$). A correlation of similar intensity exists between "identification" and "educational level," namely $T = .30$, though this association could not be isolated within the single categories of "unemployment," as we have already mentioned. As we shall see, all these factors are strongly associated with "social status" (i.e., "objective social status" in a more strict terminology). This accounts for a close correlation between the "identification" and "objective status," quite in agreement with the general mechanism of self-perception as described by several writers in the U.S.¹

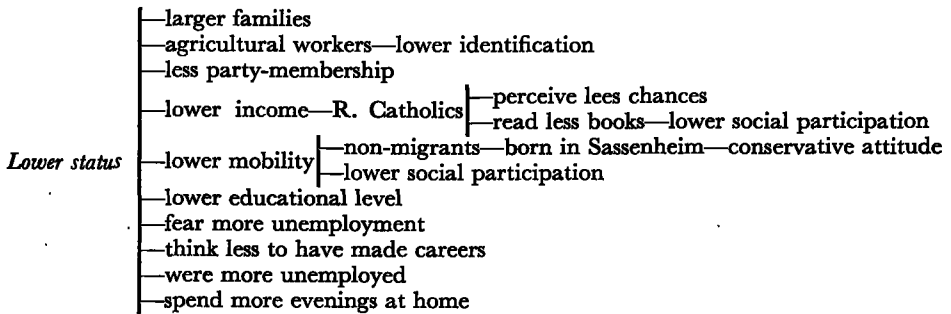
Though the association of "identification" with "attitude to the penal system" could be explained by the intervention of "education"- "occupation," the association with "frequency of church-attendance" turned out to be of a genuine nature (in terms of the design.

¹ G. H. MEAD, *Mind, Self, and Society*, Chicago 1934.

M. SHERIF, H. CANTRIL, *The Psychology of Ego-Involvements*, New York 1947.

of our research and the analytical tables.) If people, in answering the identification question, give answers which conform with the average norm (try to be conformists in social-class respect), then it should not surprise us that they also try to conform to other general norms in the community. In orthodox, church-minded Sassenheim, every person regularly missing church-services without a valid reason is considered as a "non-conformist" or a suspect. Thus the pressure towards conformity accounts probably for both factors, "church-attendance" and "class-identification." It should be noted that no significant relation was found between church-attendance and social status; it is solely due to the subjective element of social status that the association with church-attendance was established.

SOCIAL STATUS



This brings us to the question of the causal influence of social status, or, more properly, of the "objective social status." The seven categories of this variable (see p. 278) accounted for statistical variation in eighteen factors of our causal scheme. Higher social status was connected with higher migration index, higher social mobility, smaller family of descent, other than agricultural workers' occupations, identification with upper classes, higher participation in general and higher degree of membership in political parties, other denominations than Roman Catholic, higher income level, higher educational level, less fear of unemployment, more perception of progress in one's career, less unemployment, birth-place outside the region, more frequent reading habits, and more frequent outside activities. In addition, relatively more persons belonging to the middle categories of social status were found to adhere to "conservative views" than the members of the lower or the upper status groups.¹

¹ The relationship between socio-economic status and conservatism has been studied by several research-workers. R. Centers (*The Psychology of Social Classes*, New Jersey, 1949) finds a distinct association between high socio-economic status (businessmen) and conservative attitude. In his criticism of Centers' work, H. J. Eysenck emphasizes that this association should not be interpreted as a causal relationship. Social status should not be simply identified as the cause of conservatism (H. J. EYSENCK, *Social attitude and social class*, in the

Several of these associations proved again to be of a spurious nature. Higher migration could be ascribed rather to higher mobility than to a difference in status, so could the social participation differential. Religion accounted for a difference in "perception of chances" and "frequency of reading habits," but it was connected with social status indirectly, through the income-differential (Roman Catholics belonging to the lower income groups and consequently to the low status groups). The birth-place differential was found to be a basis of the association with conservative attitude. Obviously, due to the lack of independence of "social status" from "occupational group," "level of income," and "educational level," it became difficult to affirm the causal relationship of some of these factors. If one consults once more Table 40 on p. 309 ff., one finds that social status correlates with these factors in the following way:

TABLE 49

Main correlates of social status in terms of Tschupproff's coefficient of contingency and the corresponding probability level

Occupational group	P < .001	T = .33
Social class identification	P < .001	T = .31
Educational level	P < .001	T = .385
Income level	P < .001	T = .44
Social mobility	P < .001	T = .38
Social participation	P < .01	T = .15
Unemployment	P < .001	T = .34

While interpreting this group of variables, we should bear in mind that at least three or four of them are already connected by definition or method of measurement. As social status is determined by the judgment of occupational categories, it is obvious that we shall find a correlation with occupational group. No less obvious is the correlation with the social mobility index. The highest correlation, that between social status and income, need not surprise us; while in the occupational group often various occupations were contracted together into the same categories according to their similar nature (e.g., "agricultural" as contrasted with "industrial" groups), income denotes a vertical scale of a higher degree of continuity (of finer quantification) than the social status scale. It is significant that besides

British Journal of Sociology, I, 1, pp. 63—64.) Without assuming to add anything substantial to the present discussion, we merely wish to point out that businessmen (though of rather lower income-level) have mainly been represented in the middle groups of our scale of occupational prestige; these same groups were characterized by conservative attitudes.

income, educational level seems to be an independent correlate of social status. The causal analysis validates the findings based on the answers to the question regarding the source of prestige and social stratification (see p. 274); *in a similar way, as people refer to "cultural level" and "work-achievement" as the main criteria in judging status, we found that "educational level" and "income" correlate with the actual division of the population into social status groups.*

Unemployment was bound up with certain occupational groups and income-levels to the extent that we did not try to isolate it from these factors. Its correlation with "objective social status" was as high as $T = .34$. This emphasized the importance of this factor for the study of social stratification; being responsible for the difference in class-identification and "status-shock" (see p. 472), unemployment appears as an important cause of variation in both objective and subjective varieties of social status.

The interplay of subjective and objective factors is not limited to social status; in addition to the actual experience of unemployment, we also find more fear of future unemployment in the groups of lower social status.

The correlation between social status (and mobility) and evaluation of one's career is another example.

Though the correlation with social participation is considerably low if compared with similar studies in the U.S.,¹ we find a considerably high correlation with the participation in political parties. The latter factor may be considered rather as an effect than as a cause, as was already pointed out in the foregoing chapter. "Social status" also correlated with "family size." The larger families that we found in the low status groups can be, in our opinion, considered both as an effect and a cause of higher social status. It is in accordance with the general style of living of the upper class not to have a large family. On the other hand, children from smaller families have a better chance of being educated and trained for higher-status occupations. An association between social status and family-size was found in the sub-categories of income, education, religion, birth-place, and even social mobility, which means that it cannot be considered as an accidental characteristic of these variables. Its isolation from social mobility suggests that birth-rate is still more likely to be influenced by social status than the reverse. It can probably be accounted for by the richer social contacts of the higher status people, who take over the culture of the cities earlier and more easily than the other strata.

The presence of such contacts can be traced not only in the higher

¹ See e.g., LOUIS GUTTMAN, A revision of Chapin's social status scale, in *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 7, p. 363, 1947.

index of social participation, but also in the fact that the upper and the middle class people spend significantly fewer evenings at home, being thus more frequently engaged in out-door activities.

Acceptance of Class System. Finally, before closing this section on social stratification, we have to determine to what degree the present class-system is accepted and approved of by the population. This problem was raised rather late, when the interview-campaign was already in full swing. That is why the information, thus gathered, is of a not quite representative nature. No less than 148 persons (36.6 per cent) did not answer the question—simply because the question was not put to them. We asked the remaining part of the sample: “*Do you find it good and just that the population is divided into social classes?*” (“*Vindt U het goed en juist dat de bevolking in standen en klassen wordt verdeeld?*”), immediately after the series of question on the class-characteristics of the occupational categories. The 256 answers could be classified into the following categories:

Attitude to the present class system.	Number	Per cent
Social classes are good	103	40.2
Social classes are bad	129	50.4
There should be some classes but less rigid . .	19	7.4
Don't knows	5	2.0
Total	256	100.0

Though the partial nature of the sample imposes some reservations on the interpretation of the results, we notice that the majority of the inhabitants resented referring to their fellow-citizens (and being referred to by others) in terms of class-membership.¹ We were able to state some significant differences in the attitude to the class-system in various sub-groups.

¹ Evidently, this finding does not imply that people who overtly refuse social classes do not accept a class division in their daily behaviour, in their actual life. One should be aware of the limitations of attitude studies which register the verbal reactions of the subjects. Kinsey's report on sexual-behaviour clearly demonstrated the rift between accepted norms or social attitudes and the actual behaviour in some groups. As “class-division” similar to “sexual-behaviour” is of a highly normative nature, it should not surprise us if great differences will be found between the verbal attitude to social classes and the actual conduct of the interviewees (e.g. approval or disapproval of marriage, friendship, membership in clubs and associations, greetings and speech-habits, etc., with regard to various classes), in a future, more detailed study.

Birth-place turned out to be the cause of variation; people who were born in big cities or in more distant places in the Netherlands resented the present class-system more often than the autochthonous population ($P < .05$, $T = .25$). In spite of the expectation to the contrary, we found that the lower income groups more often agree with the class-division of the population than the higher income groups, receiving fl. 66.— and more per week ($P < .05$, $T = .25$). Finally, a significant correlation was found with the frequency of church-attendance; the better church-goers proved to accept more positively the present class-system than those characterized by a loose church discipline, as the following table demonstrates:

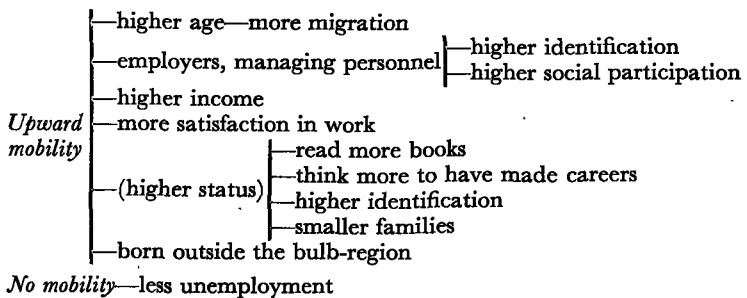
Frequency of church-attendance	Attitude to the class-system		
	Positive	Negative	Total
At least once a week	89	95	184
Less often	14	32	46
Total	103	127	230 ¹

¹ The "don't knows" and those rationalizing were not taken into consideration; ($\chi^2 = 4.089$, $P < .05$, $T = .13$).

Our conclusion is that the locally born people with low education and the faithful church-members (possibly of agricultural occupations) are the main advocates of the established social system, while the free-thinking immigrants from the cities, with higher incomes and higher education, are its main opponents.

D) DYNAMIC ASPECTS

VERTICAL SOCIAL MOBILITY



Until now, we have discussed the more static aspects of the local social structure. A few words remain to be said about the various types of social mobility and those social processes which are usually considered to belong to the field of social dynamics. In order to take

up the line of reasoning that was pursued in the preceeding paragraph, we will consider once more the change of social status as this occurs with regard to the generation of the parents and that of the children. From the table on page 158 we learn that only about a third of the population hold jobs which are on the same level of social stratification as those of their fathers. Somewhat more people prove to have risen (almost 30 per cent) than decreased in social status (25.5 per cent). Owing to the growing differentiation of the occupational structure (caused by technological development), the limitations of the scale, and the incomplete answers to the questions (persons who declared not to have known the occupation of their parents), some eleven per cent of the sample had to be excluded from the comparison.¹

As table 40 reveals, there were no less than fourteen associations that were found in the course of the preliminary statistical evaluation. Several of these were of a quite obvious nature, having been implied in the definition of the variable concerned. Persons of higher social status were significantly more often represented in the groups of persons who have risen in status, so were the managers and the proprietors in industry and agriculture.

Besides similar associations with factors that could not be considered as independent from social mobility, we still found some variables that could be considered as possible causes of the latter: to mention first, the size of the family; persons from smaller families have more often reached higher social positions than persons from large families. The obvious explanation would be that parents, who have to support large families bestow less care and money on the school-education of their children who have to earn their own living as early as possible. The fact that we were unable to isolate a significant association of "social mobility" with "educational level" imposes some reservations on such an explanation. In Sassenheim, upward social mobility takes place, as a rule, through different channels. After having gained insight in bulb-culture, the agricultural worker starts an enterprise of his own, working with the members of his family and rising or maintaining himself if fortune and the economic situation in the world are favourable, and sinking down to his original position, if a crisis sets in or if his means appear to be insufficient for competition with the established big firms. The association with "family-size" can be explained as an accidental characteristic of social status, persons of higher status having fewer children than lower status people. The correlation refers rather to the fact that there are fewer people who have decreased in status in this higher status group than to those who have actually risen in status.

Though the causal nature of family-size is not unambiguous, there

¹ For the distribution of answers see p. 158.

is no reason to doubt the influence of the age-factor on social mobility. Older persons are more likely to be among those who rose in status than younger people.¹ This seems to account for the fact that the span of social mobility between the two generations is rather short, not exceeding the span of progress that one makes in the course of one's life career. (A similar mobility is reflected in the present wage system: in several occupations, older people are paid more for the same amount of work or for the same kind of work than the younger people).² Another factor making for mobility, identified in the course of our causal analysis, is "unemployment." People who occupy the same positions on the social ladder as their fathers were significantly less unemployed than people who have either risen or decreased in status. Having once been ascertained, this association is easy to understand. Unemployment, being a period of emergency and stress for many inhabitants, provided a stimulus for seeking safer and more stable occupations. Once having abandoned the traditional occupations of their fathers, the unemployed either succeeded or failed, according to their good luck or individual assets. The middle-class people, on the other hand, have usually taken over the shops of their fathers or married the daughters of shop-owners. Thus they remained to work on their own account, being less dependent on employers and on general economic situation.

Finally, we found a variation of the social mobility index with birth-place. The persons who were born outside the bulb-region have risen more often in status than the autochthonous groups. At first, we were inclined to think that the differential of birth-place made for the association with other variables that had to be considered as causal factors in the proper sense. In spite of our attempts to reduce the variation caused by different birth-place to the differences in age, income, social status, migration, family-size, or other variables, we discovered that the differences in social mobility were caused by the differences in birth-place in the sub-categories of the cross-tabulated variables. As the association is of a genuine nature in terms of our research-project, we have to try to understand it without resorting to the intervening variables. Our institutional approach revealed that most immigrants to Sassenheim from big cities or more distant places were either retired persons or industrialists with their staffs of skilled workers. Both belong to the higher social levels, and are characterized by a higher mobility index. In addition, we should remember that teachers and civil servants are predominantly recruited from outside Sassenheim, and form a kind of out-group in the com-

¹ See, however, the note on p. 279.

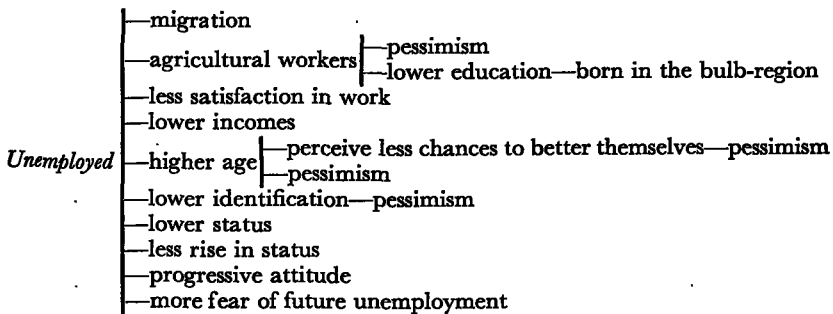
² In addition to the lengthy unproductive training for certain occupations, this fact is the main reason why it is difficult for people in their forties or fifties to find jobs, in spite of the present national boom and full employment.

munity. The study of professor van Heek sufficiently proved that teachers and civil servants in this country undergo upward social mobility; ¹ this information imposes some reservations upon a hasty conclusion that there is less social mobility in Sassenheim than in other Dutch communities. If compared with several Dutch studies on social mobility, Sassenheim with its bulb-growing enterprise and on-setting industrialization does not cut a poor figure. ²

Horizontal Occupational Mobility. Social mobility is closely related to horizontal occupational mobility the extent of which was described in Part I of this book (see p. 148). Though we did not include horizontal mobility as an independent variable in our scheme of causal analysis, we still computed some coefficients of contingency.

Middle-class people (those occupying the middle positions of our scale) turned out to change less occupations than other social strata. This can probably be accounted for by the stabilizing nature of property and shops, that are hereditary. Similarly, foremen and owners in the agricultural occupations seem to be more stable on jobs than owners and managing personnel in industries. An explanation may probably be sought in the nepotic, familial structure of the agricultural enterprise. Another association was found with migration: persons who migrate less seem to change less frequently their jobs. Because of its rather obvious nature and because we did not attempt to isolate this association in the cross-tabulated data, we avoid any far-reaching conclusion. It can, among others, be explained by means of the possible intervening variable of age. Older people are more likely to have changed their residence as well as their jobs than younger people.

UNEMPLOYMENT



¹ F. VAN HEEK, *Stijging en daling op de maatschappelijke ladder*, Leyden 1945.

² This does not only refer to Enschede, a textile-centre in the north-eastern parts of the country, which was chosen by van Heek on purpose as a place with low mobility, but also to Eindhoven, the Philips-centre, that was studied as its dynamic counterpart by Ida van Hulten in *Stijging and daling in een modern grootbedrijf*, Leyden 1953.

Though unemployment proved to be significantly connected with several variables that already have been treated, we shall examine its correlates once more, in a systematic way. The sub-categories of this variable consisted of the intervals of the unemployment period experienced in the course of one's life, expressed in months; persons who were not unemployed at all were classified under one of the sub-categories. We found fourteen factors significantly correlated with unemployment.

Some of these could be expected with a high degree of certainty. Those people who experienced more often unemployment were recruited from the lower income groups, were, upon the whole, of lower social status and of lower educational level, of higher average age, identified themselves with the lower social classes, and were mainly agricultural workers. Other associations, however, were of a less obvious nature. We found, for instance, that the group of those who were unemployed in the past, experienced less job-satisfaction, had a more pessimistic outlook, less expectation for a better future, more fear of future unemployment, and more progressive attitudes. The unemployed seemed to come more frequently from the bulb-region, though they more often changed their residence than the people who experienced less unemployment or no unemployment at all.

Not all of the above mentioned associations appeared to be of a genuine nature. As usual, we were unable to separate the possible causal influence of education from that of occupation. Within the same occupational category, unemployment did not vary with the differences in educational level. Education is obviously connected with unemployment only in so far as it provides a possibility for better or more stable jobs. Another spurious association turned out to be that between unemployment and the perception of chances for a better position. As in the case of the occupational group, it could be explained by the intervention of the age-factor. The unemployed less perceive chances owing to the fact that they are, on an average, of higher age. The birth-place differential seemed to be an accidental characteristic of the differential in educational level, though the scarcity of data imposes the usual reservations on this conclusion and allow for other hypotheses. Owing to the closed foreign market, the depression of the thirties seems to have had more severe consequences in this region than in the big cities. The association with "pessimism" turned out to depend from a number of other factors: occupational group, class-identification, perception of chances, and age. This seems to be in agreement with the general working hypothesis underlying our study, namely, that the existential situation and the social and cultural pattern influence the individual's attitudes and general outlook.¹ The perception of one's own chances repeatedly accounts for the associations with "pessimism," the latter being defined as the estimate of chances and future of mankind.

There are few comments to be made on the remaining genuine

¹ In addition, of course, to possible constitutional or immanent psychical causes.

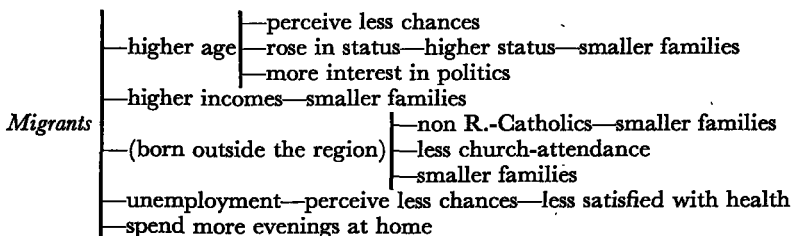
associations. We are inclined to consider social status and level of income of a more or less causal nature. Persons of a higher status and a higher income level are less likely to have experienced unemployment, because status and income are linked with the occupational structure in which the lowest paid and the lowest placed are also the most easily sacked in times of economic depression. Low class-identification, low job-satisfaction, fear of future unemployment and more progressive attitudes can be, in our view, considered as the unambiguous outcome of unemployment. Some of these associations have already been commented on, above. We mentioned the "status-shock" which unemployment exerts upon the inhabitants, and which finds its expression in their identification with a lower social class. It is, in our view, very significant that the experience of unemployment (accompanied with a natural fear of unemployment in the future) lead to a general feeling of uncertainty spoiling the satisfaction that one usually finds in the daily job. One of the main functions of work being the procuring of material security to those in jobs by liberating them from fears of dearth and from insecurity, the prospect of a possible loss of work, with the consequences known to one personally, diminishes the positive effects of their daily occupation.

Another important symptom of the rôle that unemployment plays can be seen in its association with "progressiveness." The "unemployed" wish more often to change the present social order and to supplant it with something new and better than other groups of the population. This association has been isolated in the subcategories of "social status," and of "birth-place." It was found to be independent of age and educational level, and was isolated with the exception of "fear of unemployment," the only factor that came into consideration as intervening variable after our analysis. Political radicalism appeared as the direct outcome (besides other factors) of the psychic confusion and the shock that were experienced when one was left without a job and without a secure existential basis. As unemployment is often accompanied with the increase or the loss of status and social class and results in uncertainty about one's own status, it is a significant source of phenomena that are called "pathological" by many social scientists. For this reason, they will be treated in the closing chapter.

As religious mobility in the form of conversion is practically unknown in Sassenheim and not frequent enough to be treated by statistical methods, it was not included as a variable in our analytical work. Neither was political mobility considered of sufficient importance there being considerable stability on the political scene, and the correlation with the church-affiliation being as high as $T = .87$. On the

other hand, migration can be treated as an aspect of social mobility, because a change of residence is invariably bound with a change of social contacts and cultural involvements, thus representing a shift of positions not only in a geographical but also in a sociological space.

MIGRATION



The "migration index" which was taken as a variable in the causal analysis did not refer to the qualitative aspects of migration, such as direction, distance, or length of residence. This was done partly for the sake of simplicity, partly because "distance" and "direction" could be deduced from another variable ("birth-place"). As we took the number of places of residence for each individual as an index of migration ("place of residence" was interpreted in terms of the streets as well as of communities), it is obvious that "migration" correlated with "age."

Already by definition, older people have had more chances of changing their residence than younger people. We found fourteen variables associated with the "migration index" in a statistically significant way. One of the most significant associations was with birth-place. People who were born in more distant places invariably moved more often than those born in less distant places or in Sassenheim. This was found practically for all sub-categories of migration-index and birth-place. The frequency of migration was likely to be effected by the distance of birth-place in an important way. People who were born in the more distant places changed their residence more frequently before settling down in Sassenheim.¹ Birth-place seems to account for the associations of migration with family-size, church-affiliation, church-attendance, possibly also with income, social mobility, unemployment, attitude to political matters, number

¹ This relation of frequency of migration to distance has been clearly stated in a number of migration-studies in the United States: D. S. THOMAS, *Migration Differentials*, A Memorandum of the Social Science Research Council, 1938; DOROTHY S. THOMAS, M. C. BRIGHT, Interstate migration and intervening opportunities, in *American Sociological Review*, 1941, 6, 773—783. The authors find grounds for the validation of Stauffer's theory that the number of persons going a certain distance is directly proportional to the number of intervening opportunities. For a recent discussion, see D. J. BOGUE, WARREN S. THOMPSON, Migration and Distance, *American Sociological Review*, 14, April 1949, pp. 235 ff.

of evenings spent at home. It should be born in mind that the operation of the age-factor was of a quite similar nature. As the older people moved more often, it need not surprise us that we found an association between the perception of chances and migration; the latter turns out to be one of the by-products of age. The association between "migration" and "family size" can be accounted for by "birth-place" and by "family-size" (persons from smaller families move more often). It could be accounted for by no less than five intervening variables: birth-place, income, social status, social mobility, and church-affiliation.

Thus few associations remain which can be interpreted as either the direct cause or the effect of migration. One of these shows the greater social isolation of migrants (if isolation can be deduced from their lower participation in out-door activities); the migrants spend more evenings of the week at home than the more stable groups of the population. It is remarkable that we did not find, on the other hand, an association with social participation, for migrants and non-migrants participate approximately to the same extent in associations, institutions, and organizations. The interpretation of this fact can be that they are lacking the informal contacts with family members, friends, and acquaintances that characterize the life of the stable residents. The latter spend much more time on calling on each other than the migrants who, owing to the shorter residence, have not yet developed the informal contacts of social relationships.

Another genuine association is the one with perception of social change. The migrants are more often inclined to admit that life and the social order have changed. This cannot be explained by their higher age, for even in the groups of approximately the same age we find higher "perception of change" with the migrants. It is difficult to interpret this finding. It seems as if a change of residence accentuated for perception of change in general. One does not distinguish between what has been changed on account of the different place of living and what on account of the different time. If we take the undifferentiated clusters of "migration-age" and "migration-birth-place" into consideration, we find that the migrants belong to the poor church-goers, but also to the more politically minded groups of the population. This can probably be explained by the fact that they escape the controlling agencies of public opinion in the community being in a marginal position: no longer the members of the old and not yet the members of the new community. Having led a more varied life, they are more inclined to critical comparisons and thinking and speaking of public matters than the non-migrants. One should also remember that there are few Roman Catholics among the migrants.

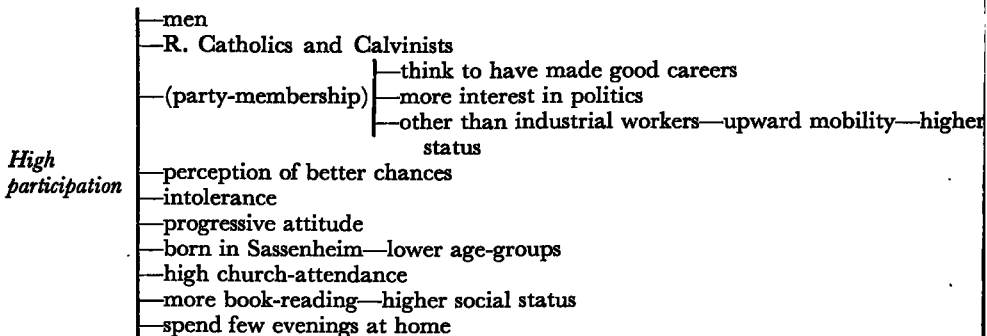
In terms of clusters, the migrants are of higher average age and, therefore, perceive fewer chances for the future and complain more

often of bad health. They also have more often risen in status and belong to higher income-groups.

In the foregoing associations, migration can be considered as a causal agent of variation. There is, however, one factor on which it depends on its turn, being rather effect than cause: unemployment. The migrants, in spite of the fact that unemployment in the bulb-region took a heavy toll, appear to have experienced more unemployment than the non-migrating groups. People who were uprooted from their usual jobs by depression probably left their native communities in a search for work.

The reader, interested in the causes of migration, might once more consult Part I, p. 171, where the motives for the last change of residence are classified. In this connection, we will only mention additional associations between the "motive for migration" and two other factors. Those who migrated most frequently, usually referred to the desire to find a better or their own house as the motive for their last migration. Possibly people move from one place to another before finally deciding to settle down in a house of their own. The other explanation is that people move from one place to another as the family grows and the need for adequate housing becomes more and more urgent. Thus, before finally finding a suitable house, they had to change their dwelling several times. We also found that those who mentioned economic motives for their last migration (finding a job in Sassenheim or in one of the neighbouring communities) are, upon the whole, more satisfied with their housing conditions than those who moved from other motives. Possibly, they are allotted better houses because they receive support from their employer, who often decides only to settle down in Sassenheim if he receives houses for his staff of skilled co-workers. As the community-authorities are aware of the advantage of industrialization for full-employment in Sassenheim, they are anxious to meet the demands of the industrialists.

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION



Until now, we have dealt with the more abrupt changes in human life, such as sudden bankruptcy or sudden rise in status, onsetting unemployment, change of job, and change of residence. These

changes do not, however, cover the whole field of social and cultural dynamics. There are less abrupt, even continuous, social processes that take place daily before our eyes. An example is the complex cluster of economic processes and activities, some aspects of which have been described in Chapter V. Though less time-consuming, but perhaps just as important, is the process of participation in the institutions, associations, and clubs. In addition to the transfer of values and culture in the families, it is mainly due to this process that people become "acculturated" (getting individually involved in cultural systems) and associated (sharing the unique "we-experience"). The attained values and loyalties often lead to the rejection of opposite values and to the isolation from opposite groups. Institutions, associations, and clubs form thus important channels for social communication. As a greater part of social and cultural dynamics is based on the process of social participation, we decided to include social participation as an independent variable in our study. In agreement with the method of Stuart Chapin, a simple scale was used that has been described sufficiently in Part II (p. 271 ff.) This scale was applied in order to register the common features of participation, which was considered as a structural category devoid of its cultural contents. A person scored five points in our scale regardless of the fact whether he was the chairman of a Roman Catholic or a Protestant youth club or the chairman of a local football club. We simply tried to measure the intensity of social contacts outside one's family group, group of friends, and daily work-group, and to bring the resulting variable into relation with other variables of our project. In terms of the scale of social participation, the population of Sassenheim could be divided as follows (on the assumption of the representative nature of our sample):

Social participation scores	Number	Per cent
— 3	111	27.5
— 6	110	27.2
— 9	99	24.5
— 12	48	11.9
— 15	25	6.2
— 18	7	1.7
— 21	1	0.25
— 23	2	0.5
24 —	1	0.25
Total	404	100.00

We read from this distribution table that there is more than a quarter of the population whose participation equals or is less than mere nominal membership (without paying fees or attending the meetings) in three associations or actual membership (including paying fees and attendance to meeting) in one association. As a contrast with these 27.5 per cent, there is about one per cent of the population whose participation equals or surpasses nominal membership in at least nineteen clubs, associations, or institutions, or is of such an extent as that of a person presiding over three committees as chairman while being an active member of the fourth. The absolute majority of the population (54.7 per cent) score less than seven points, while more than three quarters score less than ten points. These results suggest that, with the exception of a very small but very active group of people, multiple group membership is not very frequent in Sassenheim.

After having briefly described the extent of social participation, let us deal now, as we did in the case of other variables, with its correlates, and possibly with its effects and causes. Sixteen significant associations with social participation were identified by the preliminary statistical analysis. We found that men, lower-age groups, higher status persons, and those who rose in status were among the better participants. Participation was high among the members of the Roman Catholic and the Gereformeerd (Calvinist) churches, the members of the Catholic People's Party, people who belonged to the regular church-goers, people less tolerant in religious respect, those who read more books, those who think and speak more about political matters, those who perceive more chances in the future, those who were born in Sassenheim, and naturally, among those who spend fewer evenings at home. The people participating either very little or very much, appeared as more "progressive" in terms of the variables that were used (the middle group is more conservative).

A good many of these variables were found to be of a genuine, causal nature, in the course of further analysis. Several of these have already been discussed above: sex, occupational group, age, church-affiliation, social status, social mobility, birth-place. Others require a brief comment.

Independently of the actual social position of the interviewees (their status, social mobility, and occupation as well as other factors that came into consideration as possible intervening variables),¹ social

¹ Though an association of social participation with social status was found in this study (the higher status groups participating more), there was no association with income. The latter was suggested by an American study (W. G. MATHER, Income and social participation, *American Sociological Review*, 1941, 6, pp. 380—383.) This is probably caused by the high income-level of the group of bulb-growers and -exporters, who do not belong to the highest social ranks (though

participation influences the social perception of the members. The participants perceive more chances for the future, are more optimistic with regard to their own career, and also perceive more progress in their individual careers (though no progress was made in terms of objective occupational prestige). The frequency of social contacts in various groups seems to cause a feeling of security and satisfaction with oneself. Though no significant association with class identification was found (mind the scarcity of data due to the concentration of answers in the middle category), the subjective perception of one's own progress validates the concept of the "looking-glass self" as defined by Mead. By having the feeling of being appreciated or at least accepted by others, people gain confidence; the feeling of group-membership makes them face the future more optimistically.

Another cluster of variables connected with social participation shows how difficult it is to isolate the aspects of social structure from their cultural substrate. We found more Roman Catholics and more orthodox Calvinists among the participants as well as more intolerant people and regular church-goers. If we recall the results of Part I, showing the impact of the churches upon the whole of public life, we need not be surprised to find the characteristics of the more disciplined church-members with some participants. Though the Roman Catholics outnumber the members of other denominations among the participants, persons with a higher index of social participation still speak and think more about political matters than non-participants (Roman Catholics, as such, speak and think less about political matters than persons of other denominations). The foregoing is understandable, if we remember that there are many leaders of the trade unions and of the local political factions among the participants.

The association with radical attitudes can also be interpreted by participation in local institutions. Those wishing to change the present social order either participate with all their vigour in trade unions, political factions, or other groups, or they consider all these groups as forming a part of the old social system and ignore them completely (think e.g., of the few local persons voting for the Communist Party of the Netherlands, who remain anonymous as they have to face the pressure of public opinion and of other means of social control).

having the highest incomes) and whom their occupation (long stay abroad) partly excludes from participation.

This association with income has also been stated by Stuart F. Chapin, who writes that . . . "there tends to be a regular increase in score/of social participation/from the lower to the upper occupational classes." (STUART F. CHAPIN, *Social participation and intelligence*, *Amer. Sociological Review*, 1939, p. 161.)

Finally, we should again mention the relationship between "reading habits" and "participation," accounting probably for the strange fact that people who spend few evenings at home read more books than those who sit at home practically every evening. Owing to a higher degree of acculturation through the contacts in various groups, the participants read more than non-participants. The immigrants to Sassenheim are considered as an out-group and, with a few exceptions, do not feel at ease in the organizations and the associations, which explains the lower scores in this group. The coefficient of contingency is somewhat lower than that for the association of birth-place and the number of evenings spent at home (respectively $T = .21$ and $T = .27$). The direction remains, however, the same: whether owing to the different geographical and ethnic background or to the process of migration itself, the migrants are lacking both informal and organizational contacts and belong to the more isolated groups.

Participation in Church-Activities. Some other more specific forms of participation have already been mentioned. We have discussed the organization in the political parties, when dealing with politics as a cultural complex, and we have also mentioned the different degree of membership in the unions. Some simple correlations were computed; the members of the trade unions obviously perceived less progress in their individual careers, would more often take holidays, were more afraid of future unemployment, and less satisfied with their work than the members of employers' organizations or of organizations of persons in free professions. None of these statistical associations can be ascribed to the influence of union-membership, in our opinion. They seem to be the accidental by-products of the occupation differential.

CHURCH-ATTENDANCE

		—identification with middle-class
		—R.-Catholics
		—party-membership
<i>High</i>		—higher social participation—agrarian occupations—large families
<i>attendance</i>		—intolerance
		—conservative attitude
		—born in the place—lower migration—large families
		—less book reading

As the churches are the most widely spread organizations in Sassenheim, we decided to examine more thoroughly some aspects of participation in church activities. This was the reason for the introduction of "the frequency of church-attendance" as an independent variable, in addition to the "social participation index" in our analytical scheme. We asked each interviewee how often he went to church

and classified the answers into several categories: those going to church several times a week, those going at least once a week, those visiting the church fortnightly or skipping the weekly service now and then, and so on, until the category of those who never went to church. As mentioned in Part I, this variable, in spite of its subjective nature, deviated little from the actual church-attendance as stated by the church-elders. However, one should be careful in judging individual cases, because we did not measure the actual church-attendance, but the one reported by the interviewees (see note on p. 423).

Some eleven factors were found to vary with this variable according to the preliminary statistical analysis. The regular, good church-goers were found to be predominantly persons of other than industrial or commercial occupations, born at Sassenheim, organized in political parties, and participating much in organizations, clubs, and associations. They were more often represented in the groups of less tolerant people, less progressive people, those reading fewer books, those having moved less often from one place to another, those belonging to the Roman Catholic religion, and those descending from large families, than the people going less frequently to church.¹

Three of these associations were found to be of an accidental nature. The large families of the church-goers could be explained by their agricultural occupations, their low migration index, probably also by their local origin, while the association between occupation and church-attendance could not be separated from participation in general. Its interpretation should be that, owing to the dominant influence of the churches in Sassenheim, social participation and church-attendance could not be differentiated: agricultural workers go more frequently to church while participating more in associations than the industrial or the commercial workers.

The significance of the other associations could not be explained by the intervening variables operating in our research scheme. We noticed that church-attendance correlated highly with other indices

¹ In a study of "Social correlates of religious interest" (in *American Sociological Review*, 1953, pp. 533—544), Gerhard E. Lenski found a very high correlation between religious interest and church-attendance. "Religious interest" was measured in three categories of answers ("much," "some," and "little") to the question: "How much have you been interested in religion since marriage?" Some correlates are in agreement with our own results (family-size, denominational preference). Others suggest differences. Sex and income-level were found to correlate with religious interest in the U.S.A. — not in our own study. Sex is in this respect the more remarkable; we did not find any significant difference between men and women, neither with regard to church-attendance nor to "thinking and speaking about religious problems." (The association with "income" as ascertained by Lenski was rather low, $P < 0.5$, $\chi^2 = 28.1$; the fact that an association with "occupational groups" was found in Sassenheim suggests the possibility of finding a low association with income too, if taking a sample of similar size and nature as in the Minneapolis study. Lenski worked with an "analytical," not with a "representative" sample.

of participation, such as social participation, political membership (and even family-participation, if the size of the family is taken as a criterion). In addition to church-affiliation, birth-place and migration are its determining factors. As the churches differ in the attitude to the function of the service and the rite, we find a very high church attendance among the Roman Catholics (accompanied, as described earlier, with a less conscious, rational attitude to religious problems). The in- and out-group mechanism seems to affect church-participation to a great extent ($T = .25$). People born outside the community either are not easily assimilated by the local group, or do not go to church owing to their more liberal background in the community of origin. Among the factors that can probably be considered as effects of high church-attendance, the less tolerant attitude towards the members of other churches may perhaps be mentioned. Due to the involvement, not only in religion but also in the policy of the churches, the regular church-goers are more likely to refuse social contacts with persons of other denominations than those less acculturated in religious respect.

The latter association can be interpreted in both directions; one may assume that "church-attendance," in its turn, is an outcome of a more intensive religious attitude or involvement through other channels than the church service (think, for instance, of family-influence!). As religious systems change perhaps the most slowly among all culture-complexes, we are more inclined to think that people are conservative because they are religious than the other way round.

A very curious association is that with class-identification. It can, in our view, partially be explained in the light of the foregoing relation between church-attendance and conservative attitude. As there are more conservative people among the regular church-goers, we need not be surprised that they adhere to the generally accepted norms and also avoid extremes and deviations with respect to class stratification (as already briefly discussed above).

Chapter XIV showed that the less frequent reading habits of the church-goers cannot easily be explained. The church possibly fills the whole life of some inhabitants, who do not feel the need for books and other indirect cultural contacts as the non-practising inhabitants do.

Other Processes. Due to the limitation of our research project, none of the other important social processes has been measured and translated into a variable. We did not pay special attention to the ways through which communication spreads in the community. An average citizen seems to get the news about the world outside the community from his newspaper or from the radio. There are several channels through which local news is spread. The church-news is announced, as a rule,

directly from the pulpit, the news of the community authorities is either attached to a special board on the Community Hall or published in the local weekly. This weekly serves predominantly economic interests, for it is financed by the local advertisers and put into every letter-box in Sassenheim on Fridays or Saturdays. Most of the informal news is passed by way of mouth during the evening calls. Owing to the division of the population the news is less often passed from the shop-keeper to the customers and the other way round, for there is hardly any anonymous public. There is, on the other hand, the usual diffusion of news through the channels of social hierarchy. The lower status groups take over the culture as well as the style of life from the social stars. The latter, on the other hand, keep abreast of all that happens in the community, for the lower status people usually try to raise their subjective status by the communication to employers, doctors, clergymen, or other persons of standing.

As our main concern was with the general processes that could be studied in terms of individual behaviour items, little scientific knowledge was obtained regarding the origin, differentiation, and extinction of various social groups and organizations. The description of some specific cases has been presented in Part I of this book. If we have to hazard a generalization for the sake of the systematic treatment of the object under study, we might point out the fact that the new institutions and groups seem to be based on the need systems of the new population of Sassenheim (the immigrants), but are adjusted to the existing social structure and culture-pattern in the long run. The tennis-association may serve as an example. Established as a recreational club of the high status group of immigrants, it soon lost its "neutral" character and became differentiated into religious sub-groups, as is usual in the whole public life in Sassenheim. The main institutions, religion and economy, seem to be the chief forces of conflict, competition, and differentiation in Sassenheim. A more specific study of the process of formation and disintegration of various institutions is needed to verify the foregoing conjecture and similar other ones, which are equally based on incomplete facts, before these can be accepted as true and sufficiently describing the entire field of associative and dissociative processes.

Summary. If we sum up the results of our analysis and evaluate the elements of the social structure and the process in terms of causal associations, we notice that the structural variables are of equal causal importance as the cultural variables.¹ "Age," for instance, accounts

¹ This "importance" is solely based on the number of variables which were considered as assumed effects. No attempt was made to evaluate the causal effects in a qualitative way or in terms of secondary effects in this section. One should also bear in mind the subjective element in the choice of variables. Different results might be obtained if other variables were chosen.

for variation in no less than fourteen variables (the two more important "cultural variables", "occupational group" and "church-affiliation," account for variation in respectively twelve and eleven variables). To its assumed effects belong some social processes or aspects of social structure (e.g., migration, social mobility, unemployment, level of income) as well as some attitudes or personality characteristics (e.g., "perception of chances", "conservatism", "attitude to politics", "attitude to bureaucracy"). It is peculiar that no "cultural variable" which was introduced into our design appears to depend on it in a significant way.

Next in number of causal associations, "birth-place" should be mentioned. It accounts for variation in about eleven variables. These imply evidently the above mentioned "age" (the autochthonous population being of average younger age) as well as one "cultural variable" ("church-affiliation"). Besides these, a number of "structural variables" (such as "family-size", "social participation", "social mobility", "income", "church-attendance") and two attitudes (to political affairs and to bureaucracy).

As in most societies, sex is also an important factor of social variation. Among the ten genuine associations, two "cultural variables" were found ("party-affiliation" and "educational level"), some structural correlates ("social participation" and "birth-place") and attitudes ("satisfaction with work," "fear of unemployment", "attitude to politics", "satisfaction with health").

Another variable, "social status", accounts for variation in "party-affiliation," in "structural variables" ("income", "family-size", "unemployment", "no. of evenings spent at home"), and in a few attitudes ("fear of unemployment", "feeling of promotion"). It is itself influenced by "educational level", "family-size", and evidently by "occupational group".

It is striking that most of the foregoing variables are of a somewhat more "static" nature. The variables which were chosen to measure the social processes account for less causal associations. "Unemployment", for instance, has no influence upon the "cultural variables", and, except for other two social processes ("migration" and "downward mobility"), does not correlate with any aspect of social structure. It accounts for a series of attitudes: "identification with lower classes", "less job-satisfaction", "progressive attitude", and "fear of unemployment". It is itself influenced by the proportion of older people, migrants, agricultural labourers, low income levels, and low status groups in the community.

"Social participation" makes for the variation in "perception of chances". It is correlated with "reading habits" and "church attendance", and with a couple of attitudes: "tolerance" and "progressive attitude". Among its main social determinants we find

“sex”, “church-affiliation”, “party-affiliation”, and “birth-place”.

“Church-attendance” accounts distinctly for the variation in “tolerance,” and is correlated with four other variables: two referring to the pattern of culture (“church-affiliation” and “reading-habits”) two attitudes (“conservative-progressive attitude” and “class-identification”) and “social participation”. “Birth-place” is one of its main social determinants. “Migration” appears as a distinct cause of “isolation” (no. of evenings spent at home during the week) and “perception of social change”. “Age”, “birth-place”, and “unemployment” belong to its principal social causes.

“Social mobility” is a distinct factor for the satisfaction which one finds in work. It is itself influenced by a number of factors, such as “family-size”, “age”, “unemployment”, “birth-place”, and, evidently, occupation.

Finally, “family size” should be mentioned to demonstrate the limitations of the attempt to evaluate causal importance by the simple enumeration of associated variables. Only three variables appear to be effected by “family-size” in Sassenheim. If, however, the nature of these associations is considered (“educational level”, “social status”, and “mobility”), we notice that a large number of factors is affected indirectly. Among the causes of large family size, “occupational group”, “religious denomination” (thus “cultural variables”), “birth-place”, and “social status” have clearly been recognized.

CHAPTER XVI

SOCIETAL CONTROL AND CHANGE

A) IMPACT OF CULTURE AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE ON PERSONALITY

In the last two chapters, the pattern of culture and the social structure of the community were described in general terms. The purpose of the present chapter is (*a*) to describe the impact of the culture-pattern and the social structure upon personality-traits of the inhabitants; (*b*) to consider the factors that cause stability or change in the cultural, social, and personality structures that have been described; (*c*) to try to describe some more important trends of the social and the cultural change in the recent past, and, finally, (*d*) to estimate the possible trends of future change.

Though the study of social control does not, as a rule, confine itself to the study of the impact of social and cultural factors upon individual behaviour and is concerned with the total process of moulding culture and society into the specific structures they assume, there is, in our opinion, no reason to exclude the impact upon the personality from its domain. Decades ago, the social scientists, who were not biased by the compartmentalization of their disciplines, used to think that social institutions and organizations are rooted in human needs and are perpetuated by the consensus of the individuals. Assuming a correlation between the social and the cultural traits on the one side, and the personality traits on the other side, we were rather hesitant to consider the latter as the cause of the first. We thought it possible that the social structure and the cultural pattern influence the dominant personality type (i.e., the more frequent configuration of personality traits) in their turn. In order to test this assumption, we decided to include some "personality variables" in addition to the "cultural and social variables" into our research scheme.

There were, for instance, a series of questions on various aspects of satisfaction: job-satisfaction, satisfaction with housing conditions, with the general state of one's health, with the medical care one receives, and satisfaction with the governmental services. In addition, also several subjective counterparts of the objective social variables were included: fear of unemployment (corresponding to unemployment as such), evaluation of one's career (corresponding to the index of social mobility), and class-identification (as the subjective counterpart of the social status index). Finally, various attitudes were included, such as: "optimism", "tolerance", "progressiveness", attitudes to offenders against the law, to politics, to war. The majority of these variables

have already been discussed in the foregoing two chapters. The fragmentary discussions, which were scattered over a number of pages, made it desirable to summarize the results of the analyses of these personality factors. In order to avoid unnecessary repetition, we shall be chiefly concerned with the associations which have been ascertained by the causal analysis; for obvious reasons, the yet untreated inter-relationships between the attitudes will be given more space than the associations with the social and the cultural variables.

Health-Satisfaction. One of the indices of satisfaction was the respondents' attitude to their state of health. It consisted of three categories of answers to our question: "*Are you satisfied with your general state of health?*", namely, those who were well satisfied, those unsatisfied, and those who expressed neither positive satisfaction nor dissatisfaction. Among its social determinants we found sex, age, and educational level. Of these, age seems to account for the presence of an intervening factor, the deteriorating objective state of health.

This objective factor could, however, hardly be made responsible for the fact that women complain more of bad health than men, as women admitted that they had been less often ill than their husbands. Whether the higher frequency of complaints is due to the defence mechanisms of the wives, by means of which they try to escape the never ending household duties, or to the nerve consuming work itself, remains to be investigated. In any case, it cannot be ascribed to the lower educational level of women, as we were able to isolate it in the sub-categories of educational level.

Education appeared as another genuine causal determinant of satisfaction with health. In spite of the low coefficient ($T = .11$), we found a higher frequency of complaints among the persons of lower educational level in the sub-categories of sex, age, "job-satisfaction," and "perception of chances."

The latter two variables are also associated with satisfaction with health. Those complaining less of bad health are, at the same time, predominantly persons who are more satisfied with their jobs and who perceive more chances to better their individual position. These associations were found to be of a genuine nature in terms of our analytical tools. Satisfaction with one's health seems to be a condition for satisfaction with work and for a more optimistic outlook regarding the future position. It is, however, an open question whether health-satisfaction is to be regarded exclusively as an independent variable with regard to both other factors or whether, for instance, work-satisfaction does not influence it, in turn. This question also has to be left unanswered in the present general survey and has to be reserved for a future, more specific research. In spite of the rather low coefficient, the correlation between "health satisfaction" and the "occupational" variables is reinforced by the con-

current evidence of other factors: those more satisfied with their health more often think to have made good careers in their lives and perceive more chances in the future. These associations suggest the presence of a common psychological factor accounting for them all. Owing to the limitation of our design, no attempt was made to isolate the latter by means of the more precise psychological tests and factorization.

Satisfaction with Medical Care. It is remarkable that the persons who are satisfied with their work are also more satisfied with the assistance that they receive from their physician in cases of illness. This association, which was found significant at the probability level $P < .01$, can be related to the same common factor that was suggested in the previous case. Of the social determinants of this variable "occupational group" should be mentioned. The agricultural occupations make for a greater satisfaction with doctor's help, which is probably due to a more passive, less recalcitrant attitude in general. The agricultural population was found to be less complaining of bureaucracy being thus more reverent both to the doctors as well as to the functionaries of the administration. To understand this finding, one should know that the agriculturalists are better church-goers, and ask for reinforcement of the penal system, thus in general advocating authority and discipline.

Attitude to Bureaucracy. The variable of "attitude to bureaucratism," consisting of the three categories of those who found the governmental services either good and quick, or bad and slow, or who gave less extreme answers, was found to be culturally determined by age, occupation, birth-place, and satisfaction with housing conditions. The persons of free professions, businessmen, and craftsmen complain far more that the service which they receive from the administrators is bad than persons belonging to other occupational categories. The existential position of these people seems to be a direct cause of their opposition to any kind of governmental mediation or regimentation.

The younger people (under fifty years of age) complained more often of impersonal and slow service than the older people. Age seems to be associated with a different acceptance of authority in general, the older people being less revolutionary and having less radical views. The operation of the age factor was reinforced by the concurrent association with "satisfaction with housing conditions." People between thirty and forty are the least satisfied with their houses because the size of the family reaches its optimum when the age of the parents falls within this interval. As the improvement of their housing conditions depends in most cases on the officials of the local government, the dissatisfaction with housing conditions results in dissatisfaction

with the service of the community authorities. This reinforces our hypothesis that *dissatisfaction in one field of social life has a general dissatisfaction (or satisfaction) as its consequence.*

The satisfaction with housing conditions (like the above mentioned factors) varies with the level of income as was described in Chapter XV.

Job-Satisfaction. At least nine factors account for the differential of "job-satisfaction." As already mentioned in Part II, this variable stands rather for satisfaction with one's work and with one's working conditions than for satisfaction with one's job in the strict meaning of this term. Higher income, higher social status, rising in status, higher educational level, less unemployment and fear of unemployment, and the social rôles of women — these seem to be the main determinants of satisfaction that one finds in work. Of these only fear of unemployment requires a brief comment. If we rightly interpret our findings, then the fear of unemployment in some occupational categories spoils the satisfaction with work.

Fear of Unemployment. The "fear of unemployment" is determined by a number of factors: occupation of agricultural workers, lower income, lower social status, lower educational level, a longer experience of unemployment in the past, the male sex, and less frequent membership of political parties. In addition to job-satisfaction, it is interrelated with a more articulate attitude to political matters and with more progressive views. The fear of a future economic calamity awakens the population from its usual political lethargy and makes them seek a social order that would be characterized by social security (as a matter of fact, such a social order is being established in the Netherlands at present; in spite of its enactment, its original promoters remain faithful to the utopy and, still longing for something new, express the more progressive attitudes.)

Evaluation of Life Career. The attitude to one's *past* career was found to correlate with the attitude to one's *future* career; those who perceived progress in their life were more likely to perceive a chance to better their position in the future. There were obviously also other social determinants of both variables: men perceive more progress in life than women, so do persons of higher status and those belonging to the higher income groups. The members of the Anti-Revolutionary Party perceive more progress than other party-members. In addition to these social determinants, there is the relationship with frequency of illness (those perceiving progress less mention missing working-days owing to illness) and also with "health-satisfaction," that has been already discussed above. Those who perceive progress in their life-careers are more inclined to propose a change in the present: social

order than those who think of their lives in rather static terms. In our opinion, the previously mentioned mechanism of existential situation accounts for this association: those persons whose life has improved in the course of time wish for improvement for others, too, and project the dynamic aspects of their life into the future of their fellow-citizens.

Perception of Chances. The perception of chances to better one's position decreases with higher age, membership of the Calvinist Church, lower educational level, and lower social participation. It is associated with health satisfaction, class-identification (those seeing no chances to better their positions obviously identify themselves with the lower social classes), and "optimism." The fact that persons who perceived chances for themselves were more optimistic about the chances for mankind, again validates one of the main hypotheses of the present study which assumes the decisive influence of one's existential position upon one's general attitudes and outlook.

"*Optimism.*" Optimistic outlook was, like perception of chances, co-determined by occupation and religion, the industrial workers and the Roman-Catholics being the groups assuming more often a better future for mankind than other occupational and religious groups.

It was not surprising to find that "pessimists" more often expect another world-war than "optimists." It was rather striking, however, that the coefficient of contingency between both variables was as low as $T = .13$ ($P < .05$). In addition to the obvious (owing to the wording of the question) association with age, religion accounted for this variable (Calvinists more expect war). We also found that persons of higher income levels significantly less often referred to another world-war.¹ As this latter group is likely to lose more by an eventual future war, the question may be raised, as to how far the mechanism of perceptual defense is operating here.²

¹ The unexpected nature of this association will be realized if one consults the literature on the subject. P. B. Sheatsley, examining the association between the fear of depression and the expectation of war, comes to the conclusion that there is no rational basis for it. As the periods of war and of unemployment in reality exclude each other, the association can be, in his opinion, ascribed to the general feeling of insecurity of those who fear unemployment together with the war. They are, according to Sheatsley, prevaillingly persons of low educational and economic level (P. B. Sheatsley, Expectations of war and depression, in *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 13, 1949—1950, 685—686.)

² Though the discussion about the significance of this concept is still going, we hope not to violate its course too much by stating that some phenomena of misperception or of "perceptual blindness" can be explained by the defense mechanisms of the personality (which need not necessarily be those described by psycho-analysis: A. Freud, *The Ego and Mechanisms of Defence*, London 1937) See also: H. Cantril, *The Nature of Social Perception*, Trans. N.Y. Acad. Science,

Attitude to Criminals. The attitude to punishment of the persons violating the law could be accounted for by only one genuine social factor; the agricultural workers more often found the present measures too mild and pleaded for more severe punishment. In all other statistical associations (with lower class-identification, conservative attitude, and lower educational level), the occupational group appeared as an intervening variable. If the impossibility to isolate it by cross-tabulation is ascribed to the scarcity of data (the group of agricultural workers consisted of no more than 38 persons), we may certainly consider the educational level as a causal factor of the attitude to the penal system (the statistical association with educational level was found significant at the level of $P < .01$, $T = .17$).

"Tolerance." Another attitude associated with various cultural variables is "tolerance." The latter was defined as the acceptance of social contacts (family-membership, friendship, and work-relationship) with persons of a different denomination. For the sake of brevity, only the social distance between the undifferentiated complex "of persons of different religious denomination" was measured instead of trying to ascertain the distance between each denomination separately, as was rightly pointed out by one critic.¹ The degree of acceptance of these social contacts was measured in terms of verbal, not of actual, behaviour.

Only four variables accounted for genuine associations with "tolerance," thus defined. "Tolerance" was found to vary with

1948, 10, pp. 142—153. J. S. Brunner, C. C. Goodman, Value and need as organizing factors in perception, in *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 42, 1947, pp. 33—44; Leo Postman, Jerome S. Brunner, El. McGinnies, Personal values as selective factors in perception, in *J. of Abn. and Soc. Psychology*, 45, 1950, pp. 142—154. C. W. Eriksen, Perceptual Defense as a function of unacceptable needs, in *J. of Abn. and Social Psychology*, 46, 1951, pp. 557—563. R. B. Cattell & P. W. Wenig, Dynamic and cognitive factors controlling misconception, in *J. of Abn. and Social Psychology*, 47, 1952, p. 807 ff.

¹ C. J. LAMMERS, "Theoretische implicaties van een onderzoekstechniek, *Sociologische Gids*, Meppel, July 1954, I, No. 9, pp. 141—147.

It is obvious that "tolerance" as measured by our question hardly means the degree of acceptance of diversity of opinion or of faith. A person may be tolerant in the sense that he allows other people to adhere to a different, or even opposite, creed — and still try to have nothing to do with them; he may tolerate them in an occasional discussion group while excluding them from his circle of friends, relatives, or business acquaintances. This connotation of "tolerance," interpreted as "patient acceptance of opposite views," not being implied in our concept, should be distinguished from it. We decided to denote our variable as "tolerance," as we considered "acceptance of expressed views" as belonging to the same class of events as "acceptance of various other forms of social contacts with persons adhering to different *weltanschauung* or creed." Those confining tolerance to one of its more specific connotations, namely, to "acceptance of different views" might prefer another term for the variable that we used. "The social distance between religious denominational groups" seems to be the other more adequate, though more awkward, alternative.

religious denomination (which is more or less evident if the nature of the variables is fully understood). The Roman Catholics more frequently, explicitly refused contacts with persons of other denominations than the members of Protestant churches. This suggests a greater distance between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant camps than that within the Protestant camp itself. The persons without a denomination were, according to expectation, the most "tolerant" in terms of our variable (here, especially, the shortcoming of this measuring stick, as noted above, makes itself felt; "tolerance" as defined in our variable does not mean the same thing for the members of different denominations).

The same is true for the association between "tolerance" and political membership: the members of the Catholic People's Party are less "tolerant" than members of other parties, the party-members are less "tolerant" than persons not organized in political parties. The foregoing can easily be explained by the differentiation of public life into the three main denominational camps. That the intensity of this attitude depends on the degree of acculturation through social participation, can be seen in the fact that higher social participation correlates with lower "tolerance." Even more significant ($P < .001$) is the association with church-attendance; the better church-goers belong to the less "tolerant" persons in terms of our variable. As a contrast, the undifferentiated complex cluster of "education — reading habits — progressiveness" seems to account for greater "tolerance," though even this complex cluster could not quite be isolated from the intervening "church-affiliation."

The first task which we set ourselves in this chapter may be considered as achieved. We discovered that in all verbal attitudes that were investigated, the cultural and the social variables play an important rôle. As practically all of the personality-factors under study could be accounted for by the various aspects of the social structure and the culture pattern, thus being rather dependent than independent variables, our working hypothesis may be considered as validated by our findings. The verbal attitudes, and possibly also other personality-traits, are to a great extent determined by the social and cultural factors characterizing the population under study.

B) SOCIETAL CONTROL IN TERMS OF CAUSAL RELATIONSHIPS

As mentioned above, the study of social control, being defined as the study of the stability and the change (equilibrium) of concrete social and cultural structures, it has to take all the variables into account to avoid any limitation caused by either cultural, social, or personality factors. This consideration may be a justification for an attempt to describe the process of social control in terms of causal relationships.

The system of causal associations as described in the form of social matrices in Part II has all the principal characteristics of a structure. It may be assumed that, if our analysis has been carried out strictly according to the method that has been described, a sudden change in the distribution of almost any variable has a change of the whole configuration as its consequence. This change, however, is likely to be too insignificant in the second or further degrees and does not account for significant variations in all variables.

A change in the occupational structure of the community has a change in the distribution of at least nine other characteristics as its direct consequence. Even if we take a comparatively unimportant variable, such as frequency of illness and change its distribution (let us say by an improved medical service and scientific research), we shall find repercussions of this change upon the whole structure. If some forms of illness and disease disappear, people are likely to perceive more progress in their lives and consequently, they become more progressive in outlooks. The progressive views lead to contacts with the people who wish to change the present social order to avoid unemployment and to greater awareness and fear of unemployment in general. The fear of unemployment often results in a change of occupation, and thus in a change of the existing occupational structure which has important consequences for practically all of the variables concerned. This is, naturally, only a theoretical aspect of the causal system described above. In reality, if we increase the percentage of those who never have been ill from fifty to, let us say, seventy-five per cent, an increase of less than three per cent, ($T = .12$, i.e. twelve per cent from twenty-five) in those who perceive progress in their careers will result. This increase will raise the percentage of more progressive people by some 0.3 per cent, which is already too insignificant to account for an observable difference in the distribution of fear of unemployment. In spite of these practical limitations, there are theoretical grounds for believing that any change in the distribution of a social characteristic has changes in the whole system as its consequence, regardless of its degree.

While considering the system of causal relationships as equivalent of the combined structure of the cultural, social, and personality-elements, the problem of controlling and controlled agents will be translated in terms of dependent and independent variables, of causes and effects. We shall be able to predict the resistance to the impulses of change or the probable transformation of the cultural, social, and personality structures in terms of causal relationships.

The results of our analysis form a sufficient basis for such an evaluation. Though working with approximation instead of statistical analysis of all cross-tabulated data, we still hope to have adequately described the main causal links between the selected variables. In order to make a quick orientation possible, we present the results of the causal analysis once more in a matrix form. The variables will be put down in a large matrix, this time representing the causes and

effects in the system of societal relationship. If considering the probable causes of a given factor, one has to consult its corresponding column; when looking for its probable effects one should consult the row. For the sake of simplicity, only the genuine associations are listed. If a mutual relationship was assumed, the marks were entered in the cells of both the column and the row of the corresponding variable; the matrix is symmetrical only for these mutual associations.

We are now able to estimate the approximate importance of any of the thirty-four variables. We notice, for instance, that sex, occupational group, church affiliation, and birth-place account each for differences in the distribution of ten variables, while age, social status, and unemployment rank next in the number of "effects." Several of the variables which scored very high in terms of simple statistical associations (e.g., educational level)¹ rank low because they have been divided in turn into effects and causes, and because a high number of other variables intervene with their associations. They can often be considered as the symptoms of causal changes and influences but not as their agents. The conclusion of Chapter XIV regarding the importance of religion and of occupation with regard to the cultural factors is also valid for the remaining variables. Only age and sex account for an equally large number of associations. While religion and occupation can be considered as the dominant aspects of the present culture-pattern, birth-place (which accounts for the in-group — out-group relationship in the community), sex and age differentials, social status, and unemployment appear as the dominant aspects of the social structure. It is remarkable that no variable measuring the more subtle personality characteristics (such as social attitudes, perception of one's own status, etc.) ranks high in terms of causal influences.

If we add the marks in the columns of the matrix (Figure 8) in the same way as we did for the rows to obtain the scores of causal importance, we shall notice that the variables can be ordered as follows: job-satisfaction (8), party-affiliation (8), perception of chances (7), progressiveness (7), attitude to political matters (7), etc. (The figures between brackets denote the order of dependence on the other variables; there are, for instance, eight factors accounting for the distribution of job-satisfaction, eight factors accounting for the distribution of perception of chances, etc.). A majority of these dependent variables are personality characteristics. This seems to suggest a possible causal ascendancy of society and culture over personality, the former representing the main causes, the latter the main effects in the system of social causation.

We should be careful, however, not to ascribe much importance to the conclusions regarding the rôle of each of the main clusters of factors:

¹ See Table 40, p. 309.

social structure, culture pattern, and personality-structure. We should bear in mind the arbitrary elements in the analytical scheme. The suggested conclusion regarding the dependence of the personality structure upon the social structure and the culture-pattern would be justified, if we had the safeguard that the variables, which we selected, were representative for the entire fields of phenomena that were understood as "culture," "society," and "personality," and that we computed all the possible associations between them. This was evidently not the case. There was difficulty in sampling the variables as the universe was impossible to grasp. Both selection and computation were probably biased by our research interest.

C) SOME RECENT TRENDS OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CHANGE

The above mentioned limitations of the statistical and the causal analysis of behaviour items make it desirable to complement the observations on the system of social control by additional data that were collected in an attempt to describe the local institutions and groups. In order to learn the single mechanisms of social control at work, in their dynamic aspects, let us try to present a picture of the community some twenty-five years ago (roughly the period of one generation), trace the changes that took place and note the adaptation of the whole social and cultural structures to these changed conditions. For the sake of brevity, we have to do this in a concise, schematic way.

(1) *Isolation.* In material respects much has been changed since the twenties. The streets were narrower owing to the gardens in front of the houses, and there were no pavements for the pedestrians. In 1920, there were only two motorcar owners in the village, though in 1927, their number had risen to over eighty. It was only then, when the traffic began to assume a greater volume, that the Mainstreet in the northern part of the village was widened, and that the garden in front of the houses disappeared for good and made way for the strips of pavements to protect the pedestrians. The Mainstreet began to be a dangerous place because of the rails of the steam-tram that used to be the regular means of communication between Sassenheim and Leyden and the neighbouring communities north from the village, up to 1933. Sassenheim was considerably isolated, for there was not even a project for the mainroad to Amsterdam, neither for the provincial road to Noordwijk. It was only shortly before the outbreak of the war that a yacht-harbour was built. The isolation was further accentuated by the fact that Sassenheim had no automatic telephone exchange, connecting it with the rest of the country, although there was a telephone connection with the neighbouring community. In order to realize, how limited the means of communication in the early twenties were, one should know that the community authorities had to issue a special permit for the Public Health Inspector to have

his car parked in the streets without a guard when visiting his patients, and that by means of a bye-law the tram was prohibited to exceed a speed of 20 miles per hour.

(2) *Hygiene and Technology.* In addition to the greater isolation owing to the scarcity of means of communication, there also was less cooperation with other communities. It was only late in the twenties that the water-supply was built jointly with other communities, though the inter-communal electricity works were established somewhat earlier, in 1923. The streets remained, nevertheless, illuminated by gas until late in the twenties. The material discomfort was accompanied by a lack of hygiene. Instead of organizing a regular collection of refuse, the local government officials preferred to engage a special person to catch and destroy rats. This situation lasted until late in the thirties. According to the minutes of the Community Council, 400 rats were caught and destroyed in 1933, for which the amount of fl. 90.— was paid. There was no sewerage in the twenties and the Council refused a proposal for the engagement of a common school-doctor by several communities as being "unnecessary and useless."

(3) *Death- and Birth-Rates.* Under these conditions, the death-rate was higher, amounting to 10.21 per mille a year, in the period of 1920—1924 (as compared with 8.38 in the period after the last war). The birth-rate, however, was also somewhat higher, namely 33.3 and 31.4 per mille a year in the corresponding periods. This explains why the natural increase remained practically the same in the life-span of a generation, amounting to a surplus of 23 per mille a year.

(4) *Community Planning.* The local government authorities felt a responsibility for the growing population early in the twenties. They bought lands from the successors of the old feudal owners and began to plan for the future growth of the community. There seems to have always been a housing shortage in Sassenheim, for we learn from the complaints of the local administrators that it was impossible to build houses for workers from the meagre government loans. This was the reason why they were willing to cede lands to private entrepreneurs and realty-dealers. One of these dealers settled in the ancient manor house Ter Leede, that was then surrounded by the remnants of the wood. (It was this dealer who decided to build inexpensive villas after the war, when the trees of the wood were cut down by the inhabitants in the "Hunger Winter" of 1944—1945). In addition to these lands, the community bought the ancient toll at Teylingen and tried to get another feudal right into its possession, the so called "kooi-recht" prohibiting the building of houses nearer than 400 yards from the lake of Kaag, in order not to disturb the ducks. This right was bought by the neighbouring community of Warmond which exploited it against the interests of Sassenheim; the growth of the village in the south-east direction (along the Menneweg)

was blocked, and the plans to built a yacht-harbour had to be abandoned for more than fifteen years. (The harbour was built by an energetic person, outside the orbit of the Kooi-recht, in the end).

In all their planning, the officials of the local government did not meet much resistance from the Gedeputeerde Staten that used to approve of the financial transactions of the community to a greater extent than at present. The local government enjoyed much more autonomy, being less dependent of the organs of the central government. It maintained its own police that was replaced by the national police guards during the war. It was dominated by the spirit of liberalism in several respects. In the twenties, the Community Council consisted predominantly of employers and rich bulb-growers in the locality. It protected their interests; a special post-stamp of Sassenheim was issued to advertise bulbs abroad, the buildings of the Community were placed at the disposal of the organizers of courses on more efficient soil exploitation for bulb-culture, etc.

There was a continuous unemployment in the twenties. The unemployed were hired by the Community for fl. 4.— a day and engaged in the realization of the Community plans: the removal of the old rails and the tolls in the Teylingerlaan, the destruction of the old manor-house "Rusthoff" and the establishment of a public park in its place, etc.¹ In agreement with the spirit of liberalism, the Community maintained a secular school, though there were only some 25 pupils in it. It allowed mail-deliveries on Sundays. Though the Community took over some functions of the churches, it meddled less with the affairs that were left over to private initiative in other domains (economy, recreation, education, housing, etc.)

(5) *Interest in Political Affairs.* The population probably used to be less interested in political affairs than to-day. Of the 404 persons whom we asked whether they talked about politics in the house of their parents, about a generation ago, only one fifth (19.8 per cent) admitted that they did. As almost twice this number admitted to talk about politics themselves (37.6 per cent, see p. 77), we may ascribe it some significance. Several interviewees explicitly acknowledge that they were less concerned with politics in the past than to-day. The fact that the councillors were exclusively recruited from the ranks of employers is additional evidence that the large masses participated less in the political process a generation ago.²

¹ The reader accustomed to thinking in symbolic terms may be struck by the paradox that the unemployed were used by the liberal government to remove the remnants of the old feudal order, though it was probably owing to their increase in the time of depression that the liberal system of the laissez-faire type was replaced by the system of economic and government planning.

² As one of the important sources of our information about the recent past was

(6) *Attitudes to Religion.* Religious life was somewhat less differentiated than at present. It was not until 1925, that the Christelijk Gereformeerde (Christian Calvinist) group received permission from the Crown to establish a religious community of their own in Sassenheim. The liberals were engaged in a dispute with the more orthodox division of the Dutch Reformed Church from which they finally ceded. Some other liberal divisions of Protestantism were still absent in Sassenheim, the percentage of persons without a denomination was lower than today.

Church-discipline was probably stronger too; eighty-eight per cent of our sample referred to regular church-attendance a generation ago, which is about ten per cent more than in the present population. More people in our sample acknowledged to have been told about religious matters by their parents than those who admitted to discuss these matters themselves at present (respectively 77 and 54 per cent).

Bible-ownership was reported in a slightly smaller number of families in the preceding generation than today, the difference amounting, however, to a mere five per cent of the total sample. One should remember that Bible-ownership was quite exceptional in the Roman Catholic population in those years. It seems that religion, to an even greater extent than to day, played an important rôle in the life of the inhabitants.

(7) *Social Security, Standard of Living.* In economic respect Sassenheim enjoyed one of its booms. The average income per inhabitant approached fl. 1,000.— a year, which is one hundred florins more than at present in spite of the much higher purchasing power of the currency in those years (most kinds of goods being now three times as expensive as then). The economic scene was completely dominated by the bulb-growing enterprise, there being no industry in Sassenheim until 1925, when the founder of the first factory (canned meat firm) applied for a permit to settle down in Sassenheim. The great boom made a sudden social mobility possible; some people became rich in a few years by speculations in the bulb-business. The price of land suitable for bulbs rose to fl. 50,000 per hectare.

In spite of the high mobility and the high standard of living, the agricultural workers had to work long hours to make a living (from 5 a.m. to 7 p.m. in summer), risking long periods of unemployment during which they used to receive fl. 4.— for a day of hard work. They were not organized yet, receiving but little assistance in case

the evidence of the interviewees, we should be careful not to confine the quantitative findings to Sassenheim. Only some 38 per cent of our interviewees were born in Sassenheim, some 51 per cent came from the bulb-region including Sassenheim. Almost a half of the interviewees spent their youth outside this region; their answers regarding their youth refer to the places of origin.

of illness, old age, or infirmity. The social differences were sharper than at present. The majority of the well-to-do people kept maid-servants, and would not mix, as a rule, with the working-class. Regular annual holidays were not yet established, as may be seen in the fact that 71 per cent of our sample referred to their fathers as not having holidays (as compared with 43.1 per cent of the interviewees themselves).

(8) *Education*. To a certain extent, schools used to be controlled by the community more directly than today. It was, however, early in the twenties that the first (Roman Catholic) kindergarten was opened. This kindergarten asked the Community for financial support which was obviously granted as the kindergarten was attended almost exclusively by working-class children, the well-to-do families having (contrary to today) enough personnel to afford their children private education at home. The present trend towards rather bookish training was signalled as early as 1925. At that time the local school-heads addressed the community with the request to cut down the number of manual work lessons from four to two a week against the objections of the Inspector who asked the heads to engage a full-time teacher for these lessons.

The older inhabitants of Sassenheim find the present educational system amazing: they wonder at the variety of subjects that their children and grand-children are being taught and at the frankness with which problems are treated (e.g., religion!) that were previously considered as delicate.

(9) *Homes and Family Life*. Practically all inhabitants used to work in Sassenheim; we may conclude this from the fact that only ten per cent of our sample referred to the absence of one of their parents at the time of the meals (as compared with some 43 per cent of the present population).

Owing to the agricultural economy, womens' work was not unknown; 56 per cent of the sample mentioned that their mothers were gainfully employed before marriage. The family itself functioned to a greater extent than today as a unit of production: more clothes were made at homes and less ready-made food was bought. The homes were, on average, worse furnished. As for the rôles of the family-members we could not state much change: like at the present, it was the mother who used to keep the family budget; more than 55 per cent of the sample reported that their parents used to help each other with the household chores (the fathers were mentioned almost twice as often as the mothers). The attitude to the children was probably more authoritarian than today. Many more of the present generation remember their parents as persons who punished than as persons who showed interest in their school-progress (respectively 82 and 51 per cent), and only a very insignificant part (8.5 per cent) remember

being helped by their parents with school-work. The majority of the interviewees referred to their father as the one who punished in the family.

As for the general way of living, it struck us that people used to go, on the average, to bed earlier and to get up earlier in the morning. In our opinion, this can be ascribed to the emancipation of the working people who, in addition to present legal protection and social security, acquire the way of life of the middle-class and of the higher classes whom they imitate. The small difference between the present working-class houses and the old middle-class houses repeatedly surprised us during the interview-campaign. This condition is, according to the concurring statements of the interviewees, rather new, for the lines between both classes used to be much sharper in terms of daily family life.

(10) *Recreation.* Regarding recreation, there were even fewer possibilities than today. The swimming pool did not yet exist, the sport-fields were bought by the community in the late twenties. The park, in the centre of the village, was not yet built. Even after its opening, it remained under the control of the community authorities, and people could only visit it on Sundays by entering a side-entrance. No wonder that we find notes on gambling games (cards, games with coins, etc.) in the community files, and that the doctors refer to the drinking habits, which plagued the population in those years. The inns were frequented more often than today; the men would gather at the oldest bridge of Sassenheim, watching and passing remarks on passers-by, chewing tobacco, not doing anything.

Summary of Trends. These are some aspects of the society as it existed about twenty-five or thirty years ago. The time that has elapsed since can be called the period of transition from a more rural to a more urban structure of living, from a typical laissez-faire structure of the twenties to the present mixed system of economy in which planning and government interference begin to play a more significant rôle. In the whole process, the high rate of natural population-increase often seems to be one of the important driving forces to which economic adaptation is sought. When the possibilities of the local economy seem to be exhausted (as in the cases of unemployment, the exhaustion of soil, and the insufficiency of agricultural production) the local administration intervenes and tries to find a remedy (unemployment assistance, courses for agricultural experts, advertisements abroad, support to industrialization, etc.) When the economic crisis and the war made for a shift from the laissez-faire policy to the policy of full employment and social security, the composition of the Council changed. The employees and trade unionists replaced the employers. The church played the rôle of a censor and a guardian, in

this process, averting the outcomes of the crisis or the solution of the population problems that are considered as dangerous for the spiritual welfare of the inhabitants: birth-control or migration into "the dangerous cities." It is remarkable that the schools did not much help the population as a whole to adapt themselves to the changed life-situations. There are no schools in which the population surplus can acquire the skills that would secure a fair living when the soil cannot be expected to yield more bulbs than it does.

D) POSSIBLE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

We have now arrived at a crucial question of our work: to what extent can the past changes be projected into the future, and what probable predictions can be made.

Projection of Trends. There are some factors that can be stated with sufficient certainty. One of them is the considerably small area of the community and the limited amount of fertile soil, imposing natural limits upon the agricultural production. Even if new and more intensive techniques of agriculture are introduced, the limitations of soil and climate will remain constant. Though less constant over the longer period, the reproduction rate is likely to cause a serious population pressure in the coming decades. If no cataclysm shakes the life of the community, the groups of the Roman Catholic and the Gereformeerd religions are likely to supply the community with a considerable number of youths asking for jobs and for houses to start a family-life of their own. Owing to their fewer agricultural occupations and to their affinity with the Dutch Reformed church, the members of the Gereformeerde Church may perhaps accept the small-family system earlier than the Roman Catholics. Owing to possible immigration to Sassenheim, the natural increase is likely to decrease in the long run but even then it will present a challenge.

The most probable and rational response to this challenge (if emigration as a form of escape is left out of consideration) will be industrialization. Due to the cumulative nature of technological change, industry seems to offer possibilities of producing useful and marketable goods even from limited resources by the application of invention and skills. This presupposes, however, more factories being placed in the village, with their teams of skilled workers and managers, and an even larger interconnection with the surrounding world by means of the technically improved communication media.

Once the industrialization is in full swing, it will probably attract the younger age-groups. The contrast "industry — agriculture" will thus coincide with the contrast "generation of parents — generation of sons." The latent generation conflict is likely to be sharpened.

Having no support from their parents, who are ignoring the industrial way of life, the young industrial workers will probably be more inclined to seek the advice of their skilled fellow-workers who have been imported from elsewhere and will welcome these contacts that will enable them to break through their isolation in Sassenheim. As the impact of religion and of community-mores on this import-group is very weak, the question may be raised as to what will be the influence of these contacts upon the church-affiliation, the church-attendance, and the attitude to birth-control of the group of young industrial workers. The growing number of industrial workers are likely to organize themselves. The nature of their organization will be indicative of the particular phase of the process. If the familial bonds still weigh more than the differences leading to conflict, and if the churches accept the challenge wisely, the young generation will be likely to organize in the usual tripartite way, joining the unions and parties of the corresponding denominations. There is, however, the possibility that the difference of age (generation) will combine with the difference of place of origin ("the import group"), of occupation (industry), and the resulting progressive young industrial group will represent a factor in the community with which one will have to reckon.

As the local scene becomes more complex, the influence of the administration as a coordinating force is likely to increase. In its turn, the local government will probably depend even more on the organs of the provincial and the central governments — owing to the growing interconnectedness of the community with the surrounding world.

Due to the growth of the community, its present rural character is likely to disappear, and a more anonymous society is likely to replace the present large, but still existent face-to-face group. This will, in itself, lead to a weakening of the local mores, that only a strong compartmentalization into church-groups (being the successors of the old proximity-community) is able to counteract. Owing to the number of immigrants such a division into church-groups is not likely to succeed. The more liberally minded, unattached group will seek distractions which the existing recreational system is not capable to offer. "Neutral" and commercial recreational centers will probably arise, accompanied by a loosening of church ties.

The question may be raised, whether the educational system will meet the demands of the future. Owing to better contacts with other communities, to a changed occupational structure, and possibly to smaller families, people will perceive the chance of bettering the positions of their children by more adequate education. In the industrial and the commercial world, education more often leads to better jobs than in a community depending on agriculture.

That the mores are likely to change, if the indicated trends actually take place, is evident. The weaker church-discipline will result in a

different attitude to the leisure that Sunday affords; after being closed in the factories for five or six days of the week, people will long for manual work (e.g., in the small gardens attached to their houses) or for outdoor sport activities to a greater extent than the agricultural population, which likes to sit down with the Bible or another book. The impact of these changes upon sexual morals and the attitude to family-life have already been mentioned; when houses are small and household service expensive, due to the greater work possibilities for women in industry, many a young mother is likely to hesitate to rear ten or twelve children as is expected of her, especially when the church-discipline weakens and the community-controls slacken in the society becoming anonymous.

Prediction in Terms of Causal Relationships. These trends that have been distilled from the past changes in Sassenheim, as described by our institutional analysis, may be checked with the results of our causal analysis. The latter enables us to consider social and cultural changes in terms of the formula: if X, then probably Y will follow.

For example: *If* industrialization will set in and there will be a higher percentage of industrial workers among the population *then* the average size of the family is going to decrease, fewer people will be organized in political parties during the first phase of the industrialization; the present fear of unemployment is likely to diminish and people are likely to gain a more optimistic outlook. On the other hand, one can expect more criticism of the functionaries of the local government (think of the housing problems!) and of the medical service (the assistance to the insurees), while there is likely to be a more tolerant attitude to the offenders against the law (less projection, less avenge).

Similarly, *if* the family-size decreases, the educational level of the population is likely to rise with an increasing upward mobility and an increase of average status as its consequence.

There is a long series of probable consequences of the increase of the "out-group" in Sassenheim. *If*, for instance, owing to the import of skilled workers and industrialists, the percentage of the autochthonous population will diminish, then we have to reckon with the decrease in family-size in Sassenheim, and with an older population. People will likely participate less in the existing associations, institutions, and clubs; society will become more anonymous and split into individual, isolated households. Church-attendance will decrease and political consciousness will increase (more people will critically follow the affairs). There will probably be fewer Roman Catholics, more Protestants and persons without a denomination; on account of that, there will be, on the average, more people with a higher educational level. The average income is likely to increase, as is

the percentage of those who have risen in status with regard to the position of their fathers.

Higher average education is also likely to result in the perception of better chances to improve one's position, more satisfaction with work, higher income and higher social status, as well as in more satisfaction with one's health.

One may pick out any other variable that is likely to change and look for its probable consequences in Figure 8 (p. 451). Or, being involved in the fate of this community, one might consider the effects that one wishes either to avert or to bring about and look for their causal factors with which one can manipulate. To make this task possible even where the variables are associated with each other only indirectly, through the medium of another variable (though being of genuine nature), one might compute the second power of the final matrix of causal relationship (Figure 8) according to the same formula and method as described in Part II (p. 334). A similar matrix is presented below (see next page).

Its interpretation is the following. If there is no entry in the cell corresponding to two variables, no indirect relation of the type $A - X - B$ (A, B , representing the variables in rows and column of the matrix, X being the unknown variable leading from A to B) was stated, and we can neither stimulate nor resist the change in the distribution of one characteristic by the manipulation of the distribution of the other one. Where there is an entry in a cell at the intersection of two variables, it denotes the number of relations as described above, the number of X -values connecting A with B . Some examples: we find no entry at the intersection of the fourth row and the twenty-fourth column in the basic matrix of genuine causal relationships. This means that the intensity of church-attendance is not likely to be directly affected by a changed economic structure. In the squared matrix, we find the figure 1 in the same cell. This means that there is one chain of the type $A - X - B$ that can be anticipated in the light of our causal scheme. In other words, occupational group (which we substitute for A) causes a variation in X , which in turn affects the distribution of good and poor church-goers in the population. By searching the basic matrix for a factor that is associated with occupational group as well as church-attendance we soon find "party-affiliation" to be substituted for X .

Similarly, the number one that we find at the intersection of row 17 and column 18 suggests one indirect association between educational level and "optimism," though no direct association could be identified on the basic matrix. The squared matrix showed us that we could raise the degree of "optimism" of the population by raising its educational level; the more frequent perception of chances to better oneself, to which education directly leads, will result in more optimism about the future of mankind.

However, one should be careful not to ascribe more importance than is justified to these indirect (or secondary) causes and effects. The reader who is not familiar with statistical reasoning should resort to these indirect associations only when the coefficients of contingency or correlations between the associated variables are high and when there is a possibility of changing the distribution of the characteristic with which he manipulates to a great extent. To follow our example: assuming the correctness of our reasoning and computation, assuming further that the main relevant factors have been taken into consideration, the "social engineer" may expect that the percentage of good church-goers will decrease by about six per cent if he succeeds in doubling the percentage of industrial workers by bringing industries into the community (a 100 per cent increase in industrial workers will account for a 25 per cent decrease in participants in the parties; this will account for a decrease of about six per cent in church-attendance. (All these figures are only approximations and based on an unreal fixation of the elements of the social structure that has been described).

Perception of and Attitudes to Change. Before closing this chapter, let us examine to what extent the social and the cultural changes are being perceived and consciously accepted by the population. It is equally interesting to know what the inhabitants wish to have changed and what steps they may take for the realization of their wishes.

The following questions were put to the inhabitants: "*Do you think that life today considerably differs from life some twenty-five years ago (when you went to school)? In what respect?*" "*Do you think that life will change in the future? In what respect?*"

About ninety-seven per cent of the 404 persons in our sample adequately answered the first question. Only 8.2 per cent of the population declared not to have perceived any change, thus finding the society of a more or less static nature. Of the remaining ninety per cent of the population, a large group (126 persons, i.e., 31.2 per cent of the total sample) considered social relations and general circumstances as the aspects that changed most. Another complex of phenomena often related to social change concerned changed customs and life-habits (these were mentioned by 66 persons, i.e., 16.3 of the sample). Women usually referred to the education of children as undergoing the most important change, usually mentioning their freedom and lack of obedience (14.6 p. c. of the sample). The other perceptions could be classified as follows: 5.7 per cent of answers concerned the pace of living ("the busy time"), 3 per cent found technology changed; an equal percentage referred to human relations; 1.7 per cent found the religion of today different from that of yesterday, while 9.4 per cent gave answers that could not be classified under any category.

The projection of change into the future, the expectation of change (the answers to question 147 in Appendix B), led to the

regrouping in the ranks of the above mentioned categories. Only the change in social relations maintained its rank, being expected by the largest part of the inhabitants; the agricultural workers in the village were evidently surprised by the social reforms that were carried out after the war to the extent that they began to consider them as a permanent feature of modern life. Technological change, that ranked 5 with respect to the past, was second in rank of the things expected to change, followed by education, life-habits, religion, human relations, and the pace of living (in the order of frequency of answers). The percentage of those, who did not expect that life would change at all, was somewhat higher with regard to the future than to the past, but still very low (14.1 per cent).

Owing to the small number of those who perceived change, only two causal associations with this factor ("perception of change") were found. The independence of one of them, age, can be doubted, there being much reason to expect a greater change-perception with older people on a-priori grounds. The other factor, however, deserves attention. The migrants appear to perceive more often social change. It is possible, as mentioned above, that change owing to migration is confused with change due to the passing of time.

Before closing the interviews two additional questions were asked: "*Do you think that the government can improve the conditions of living in your community or country? What can be done, by whom, and how? Do you think that living-conditions can be improved in any another way? What can be done, by whom, and how?*"

The answers were very vague and could hardly be classified into distinct categories. The following is a list of suggestions that were made by at least three interviewees, regarding the reforms that were expected from the government:

The change proposed	Number of persons
Lower taxes	30
Less bureaucracy and government intervention . .	16
Improvement of housing conditions	14
The government should economize more	11
Lower prices	7
Cinema-theatre in Sassenheim	6
Support to the middle-class	5
More free enterprise	4
Better old age pension	4
More social care	4
A steam-bath in Sassenheim	4
Children's play-grounds in Sassenheim	3
Higher family-allowances (kinderbijslag)	3

We noticed that the inhabitants mainly projected their own vested interests in their suggestions for change; the suggestions represent a strange mixture of laissez-faire attitudes and expectations aroused by the idea of the welfare-state. The majority (21.5 p.c. of the sample) expected the central government to effect the improvements, fewer people (4.9 p.c.) the local government, and very few (1.5 p.c.) the provincial government. One third (29.4 per cent) explicitly mentioned not to expect any improvement from the government authorities, 12.3 per cent expected improvements without, however, specifying by whom these should be carried out, while 28 per cent gave the evasive "don't know" answer (2.5 per cent expected improvements from the community *and* from the central authorities).

The second complex question (whether living-conditions could be improved in any other way) was answered by even more persons negatively, namely by 32.2 per cent of the total sample, while the percentage of the "don't knows" rose to 33.7 per cent (in addition to the "don't knows," 4.4 per cent of the answers were classified as inadequate and had to be dropped). Only about 30 per cent gave answers to the sub-categories of the complex question. These referred usually to "the people in general" who "should love each other more" or "should try to improve the world by improving themselves."

In spite of the few actual suggestions for change, the questions divided the population into two distinct groups; those expecting improvement either through the government or other channels and those being sceptical about it. Some simple statistical associations were identified. *We found a positive attitude to the government measures more often with men than women, with persons participating more in associations and clubs, with more optimistic (!) persons, and with more progressive people (in terms of the question regarding the attitude to the social order.)* Both variables, that regarding the change by the organs of the government and that through other channels, were highly intercorrelated, $T = .49$ $P < .001$. The people expecting a change through other than government channels were also found more progressive, though the correlation between "progressiveness" and "expectation of change" was much lower ($T = .19$, $P < .01$). It is significant that no association was found between the latter variable and "optimism;" on the contrary, there were more "pessimists" among those expecting an improvement by changing people themselves. We probably have to deal here with the more subjective and the more objective perspectives; the first stressing the individual and his assets, the other emphasizing the government or society as a whole. The same difference in attitudes was found among the dominant religious groups, the Roman Catholics being more collectively minded than the Protestants, who lay more stress on individual conscience and salvation. It is significant that in both cases the subjective aspect is more tied to a gloomy, pessimistic outlook.

Finally, the question measuring the "progressive-conservative" attitude also informs us of the attitude of the population to social change. As described on page 77, the majority of the population expected society to be organized in a new and different way from the present or from the past.¹ In the light of the causal analysis we were able to denote the factors that make for progressive attitude.

Table 40 shows that lower average age, membership in the Catholic People's Party or the Labour Party, poor church-attendance, feeling of progress in one's life, and intensive or weak social participation cause people to reject the present or the old social order in favour of a new and better one. In addition, two other important factors should be mentioned; the experience of unemployment in the past and the fear for future unemployment.² These two factors were found to account for the dissatisfaction with the past social structure and social system, but they were also connected with the subjective social status. This brings us to the subject matter that will be treated in the closing chapter.

¹ As the foregoing analysis has shown, their conception of what this new society should be like was usually very vague and inarticulate; the programme for social reform was neither known to them nor defended by them.

² The studies which have been undertaken in other culture-areas (in North Dakota and in Minnesota) suggest the existence of the same relationship between economic "disadvantage" and "radicalism" (see G. MURPHY, M. MURPHY, & T. M. NEWCOMB, *Experimental Social Psychology*, New York 1937, p. 891).

CHAPTER XVII

SOCIAL PATHOLOGY

A) MULTIPLE WAYS OF APPROACH

Until now, we have dealt with the community under study in purely descriptive or analytical terms, and have abstained from ethical or philosophical evaluation. We have described and analyzed the characteristics of the population without evaluating these characteristics ethically (in terms of *good or bad*), because we were aware that such judgments often only reveal the predilections or *weltanschauung* of the writer. From the standpoint of pure science, it would suffice to limit oneself to describing and analysing, and to entrust the book to the public and the social engineers (politicians, clergymen, trade-union leaders, educators, publicists, etc.) for use in their, often contradictory, goals. As, however, one of the recent findings of social science shows that the very existence of societies is threatened if the development of science is dissociated from moral evaluation and social control, writers on science (especially on social sciences) have the moral obligation to consider the effects of the application of their findings.¹ For this reason, we added this chapter to our treatise.

Since the pioneer work of Emile Durkheim in this field, the discussion about valuation and science (and about the science of valuation) has been continued into our times.

In contradistinction to Durkheim,² we are inclined to think that science as such can never pass a value-judgment by using a purely logical inference from facts. In our view, applied science or art is inevitably composed of a system of logical propositions about a certain empirical field *and* of an underlying value-judgment. This conception of applied science does by no means limit its domain, neither does it diminish its rôle in the broad field of human action. By accepting the great value of human life, the modern biologist is capable of classifying a vast number of phenomena as good or bad and as harmful or harmless as any student of medicine is able to witness. The causal links of pure science become guiding marks for action or moral

¹ See e.g., H. HART, Social science and atomic crisis, in the *Journal of Social Issues*, Suppl. Series No. 2, April 1949. Robert C. Angel, Sociology and the world crisis, in *American Sociological Review*, 16, Dec. 1951, pp. 749—756. KENNETH D. BENNE & G. E. SWANSON, Values and the social scientists, in *The Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. VI, No. 4, 1950.

² E. DURKHEIM, *Sociologie et philosophie*, Paris 1924, also the No. 4, Vol. VI of the *Journal of Social Issues* to which we referred above.

imperatives once the basic value-judgment (the positive evaluation of life and health) was made (e.g., "you should not take drugs!", "you should not take too many drinks!", "you should take rest if suffering from a heart-ailment!" etc.)

As compared with biology, in social science there is less unanimity about the basic judgment that should direct the application of its findings. This lack is probably due to the fact that it studies the field of human valuation itself, and constantly deals with highly controversial issues. Another reason may be the fact that it has not as yet succeeded in reducing all social phenomena to two groups of those leading to life or death — values on which people of different factions are likely to agree. It would perhaps be possible to accept this basic value-judgment of medical science in spite of the present shortcomings and look for the social determinants of health and illness, i.e., try to find the forces in human cultures and societies supporting or endangering life. A difficulty then arises, with which also medicine has to deal: should life and health be defined in their collective or individual aspects? This problem is, in our opinion, not rightly posed. Without joining the discussion about the concept of health,¹ we wish to draw the attention of the unsophisticated reader to the general truth revealed by this very discussion. The meaning of "health" is by no means as simple and unequivocal as a few decades ago. In the much publicized definition of the World Health Organization, it is described not only as the absence of physical or mental illness, but also as the positive individual and social well-being.¹ The basic hypothesis underlying such a broad concept states that it is in the "healthy society" where the healthy individuals are found. In other words, one assumes that "social disorganization" or "social problems"³ lead to disorganized individuals of weakened viability.

As, however, such a proposition is of a highly hypothetical nature, it seems to us too risky to use it as a basis for the whole study of social pathology.⁴ We propose, therefore, to use the following procedure

¹ For instance, AUBREY SMITH, Health as social concept, *British Journal of Sociology*, IV, (2 June 1953).

² "Health is a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity." Extract from the draft Constitution of the W.H.O. of the United Nations, *International Congress on Mental Health*, Vol. I, p. 21.

³ M. A. ELLIOTT & F. E. MERRILL, *Social Disorganization*, New York 1950 (also books on the same subject by HERBERT A. BLOCH, R. E. L. FARIS, QUEEN AND BODENHAFFER), MARTIN H. NEUMEYER, *Social Problems and the Changing Society*, Van Nostrand 1953 (also a series of articles on the subject in the *American J. of Sociology*, and the earlier books by C. A. ELLWOOD).

⁴ In his inaugural address at the University of Amsterdam in 1950, professor Dr. S.J. Hofstra lays the stress on the difficulty to ascribe the notion of "normalcy" one single sociological connotation. He distinguished no less than four different meanings of the "normal" (which is the positive counterpart of the "pathological"),

in this chapter: (a) to accept the value-judgment of medical science and treat as pathological those social and cultural phenomena that cause ill health of the inhabitants or hinder in one way or another the development of their physical or mental resources; (b) owing to the present limited stage of social science, to include the study of disorganizing forces and of other social factors, even where no link with individual state of health can be found; as the word "disorganization" often has only vague connotations and denotes the transitional phenomena of social change, we shall limit our enquiry to those phenomena of organization and of the lack of cultural involvements where the links with individual well-being can be assumed if not proved; finally, (c) public opinion will be resorted to in some cases in which the links of disorganization with health can neither be proved nor disproved and some phenomena that are considered as pathological or unwanted by the inhabitants will be included.

The reader is asked not to misinterpret this; no attempt is made to suspend scientific or moral judgments by means of a public opinion survey. Only where science has not yet found its formula and conscience is not the right arbiter to decide, the opinion of the public is referred to.

B) SOCIAL CAUSES OF MORTALITY

In Part I some factors which probably account for the variation in life-expectancy of the various groups and classes have been mentioned. We described the housing-shortage in Sassenheim, which appeared to be severest (in absolute terms) for the largest families. Working-class children have less air in their bedrooms (they actually sleep in groups in the garrets of the houses) than the minimum that is required for a healthy physical and mental development. We also mentioned harmful dietary habits which cause people to consume more fat than is good for their liver and children to eat much less proteins than is necessary for the formation of strong, healthy bones. Unhygienic

as used by various sociologists (S. HOFSTRA, *Het normaliteitsbegrip in de sociologie*, Leiden, 1950).

This broad approach to the study of social pathology is, however, not shared by all writers in this field. Edwin H. Sutherlands, for instance, pleads in his article for a unified theory of social pathology, which would form a substitute for the hedonistic, utilitarian theory of the eighteenth century (Edwin H. Sutherland, *Social pathology*, *American Journal of Sociology*, L, 1944—1945, pp. 429—439.) He contents himself, however, with the mere statement of postulates.

Being aware of the conceptual foibles of the present approach to social pathology, we decided to treat the rather heterogeneous groups of phenomena in this section. It is possible that one or more of them will be discarded from similar studies in the future.

conditions are other factors which influence life expectancy. Many people cannot wash themselves properly each day, because the water-supply (for households and the community as a whole) is insufficient, and the majority of the inhabitants do not take a bath during the time that the swimming-pool is closed (the greater part of the year), because Sassenheim does not have a steam-bath. In both instances (housing-shortage and unhygienic conditions) the agricultural workers suffer the most because of the filthy nature of their work.

Most of these shortcomings are connected with the occupation differential. People with higher income afford larger houses, and are likely to buy more meat. Their occupational risks are probably lower than those of the common workers in the fields or in the factory who are exposed to the dust of the bulbs, to sudden changes of temperature, or to poisoning by chemical vapours. The economic factor also plays a rôle in some cases of more expensive medical treatment. As mentioned in Part I, some middle-class families, that could not afford private insurance, postpone operations that were advised by the doctor, only because they cannot afford to pay for them. As such, these shortcomings are not of an inevitable nature. They can be removed either by private initiative, by spontaneous social action of cooperating individuals, or by the interference of government and communal authorities.

It is remarkable that, though the financial aspect plays such an important rôle in the struggle against social evils, the local "Cross-Associations" remain divided into denominational segments even where their united action would result in less expensive service and more efficiency.

There are thus several direct social causes of physical well-being or illness. They are of an organizational nature (think of the organization of medical assistance) or consist of attitudes of the population (remember, for instance, the attitude to the tuberculosis examination). Several of them have been removed in the course of our research (the great danger of accidents owing to the narrow street, the old unhygienic benches in schools on which the pupils had to sit in a bent position, etc.). Several others would probably be uncovered if a combined team of social scientists and physicians would make a special study of the social pathological factors in Sassenheim. As things are, one might merely state that health and longevity are probably rooted in social phenomena in the same way as they are pre-conditioned by biological factors.

C) SOCIAL CAUSES OF PHYSICAL AND PSYCHICAL WELL-BEING

In addition to the fragmentary comments on the "objective" causes of mortality that are based on the data collected through our survey,

we may refer to two variables that directly bear upon health in its subjective aspects, namely the satisfaction with one's physical well-being and the frequency of illness as expressed in the number of days on which one was unable to do the usual daily work, both based on the interviewees' witness. The distribution of these two characteristics ("satisfaction with health" and "number of days missed") over the population was sufficiently described on pp. 249 and 250 of this book. Here, we like to mention their genuine associations that were isolated by causal analysis.

We found that people who think to have succeeded in life report of missing fewer working-days than those who did not perceive any rising line in their lives. A similar association was found between "satisfaction with health" and "evaluation of career." "Satisfaction with health" correlated with "job-satisfaction" and "perception of chances," as well as with "educational level." The persons who are satisfied with their health are also to a great extent satisfied with their jobs, perceive chances to better their positions in the future, and think that they have already risen in status in the past. They are more often men than women, usually persons of higher educational level. It is remarkable that "health-satisfaction" is correlated with practically all indices of job-satisfaction. Those who are content with their career and life position are, at the same time, the people who miss fewer days due to illness.

It is difficult in the light of the data that was collected in the research on such a general issue as ours to decide the causal priority and actual nature of these associations. We do not know, for instance, whether those reporting to miss more days do so owing to a weaker feeling of responsibility towards their jobs or to objective illness (such a problem can probably only be solved by a close medical observation; but even then we will meet difficulties owing to the ambiguity of psychosomatic phenomena and the vagueness of the diagnostics). In our analysis, we were inclined to consider the associations with health-satisfaction partly as causes (sex, education, and, obviously, age), and partly as structural complexes (job-satisfaction, perception of chances, and evaluation of career). It would be, in our opinion, equally justified to argue that job-satisfaction, chances for a better future, and the feeling that one makes progress, make for satisfaction with health (and less illness, as it is justified to think that good health and satisfaction with one's physical condition are underlying causes of these variables.)

D) CAUSES OF INDIVIDUAL MALADJUSTMENT AND LOSS OF BALANCE

In our opinion, the above mentioned associations are the more significant as they link social pathology as the study of social determinants of health and physical well-being with social pathology defined as the study of personal maladjustment, the study of social factors

that affect the sensitive "mechanisms" making for the balance of human personality.

Among these mechanisms, self-perception seems to be one of the most important. As a tentative hypothesis it can be suggested that the personality structure of an individual perceiving a clear-cut task, having an unambiguous rôle to play, and being in no doubt about his status and position in society, is of a much more stable nature than the personality of an individual with less distinct self-perception. An additional assumption is that a sudden decrease of self-esteem results in several patterns of "disorganized behaviour," (such as are some categories of mental illness, of alcoholism, suicide, or mental break-down). The modern literature on social psychology gives evidence accounting for the validity of these hypotheses.¹ If this evidence is accepted as sufficient, one may consider those social factors as "pathological" that lead to sudden changes in the perception of one's rôle, status, or position — changes which result in the ambiguity about the latter. The validation of this theory can be sought along the line of the *causes* of the changes in the self-concept (by seeking the links between the phenomena of social structure, such as unemployment, sudden downward or upward mobility, and isolation) or along the line of their *effects* (by looking for the cases of personality-disorganization, illness, or death resulting from the similar status-shocks or status ambiguities).

Our data supports the evidence that the perceptions of one's self (status, rôle, or assets) depend to some degree on the various aspects of the social structure. There are some variables in our causal tables that can be considered as indicative of self-perception, namely "class-identification," which refers to the position that one ascribes to oneself in the social hierarchy, "evaluation of career," which refers to the increase or decrease of status that one perceives, and "perception of chances," which is a complex variable partly referring to the objective possibilities, partly to the assets that one perceives in one's self. As one is able to ascertain when inspecting our analytical tables, these variables are not only mutually interconnected in a significant way, but also are associated with such factors as unemployment, fear of unemployment, frequency of illness, satisfaction with health, church attendance, and, of course, with the complex cluster of "occupation-social status-social mobility-education."

The persons who identify themselves with the lower class are, to a significant extent, the persons who have experienced the longest periods of un-

¹ E.g., R. F. BALES, Social therapy for a social disorder — compulsive drinking, in *Journal of Social Issues*, I, 1945, 14—22. B. ZAWADSKI, P. LAZARSFELD, The psychological consequences of unemployment, in *Journal of Social Psychology*, 1935, 6, 224—251, M. SHERIF, H. CANTRIL, *The Psychology of Ego-Involvements*, New York, 1947.

employment. Those identifying themselves with the lower class see less frequently the chance for a better position; they are less involved in the church, if we may conclude so from their poorer attendance at church service. Lacking thus more often a large reference group (the church-group) to which they might relate their own status, they now often doubt whether they have any status at all as they are in doubt whether they will acquire it in the future. This is only partly caused by the fact that the society (the population group taken as a whole) in reality ascribed a lower status to them. Of much more influence seems to have been the fact that they lost their work for a longer time during the years of unemployment in addition to the loss of status. This seems to have caused the gloomy outlook of this group perceiving few chances for themselves and for mankind as a whole.

In a similar way, *the evaluation of one's career* is connected with both objective status and mobility as well as with political affiliation and the level of income (its determining factors), while "perception of chances," "progressiveness," "health-satisfaction," and "frequency of illness" are its consequences. Those who do not perceive promotion do not see chances for the future, feel more often "ill," and are less satisfied with their health.

It is remarkable that they do not long for a new and different social order. "Progressiveness" is linked with self-perception in an unexpected way: those who are sceptical about their status or increase of status have no distinct wish to see social order changed. This is not so paradoxical as it seems to be at first glance; those planning to change society have to be self-confident; they need an anchorage inside their own personality structure that enables them to oppose the pressure of society.¹ Those whose status is shaken or ambiguous, and whose personality is moulded by the pressure of public opinion rather than able to oppose the latter and to reform society in its turn, are likely to lack similar self-confidence and involvement.

The perception of chances seems to be caused by both social participation and church-affiliation; the lonely, and those of other denominations than Roman Catholic, perceive less chances for improvement. In the foregoing chapter, an explanation was suggested that will obtain its proper place in the self-perception theory as described here. Persons participating in associations have more groups of reference to find their self-image re-affirmed. Their "social self" is differentiated due to the multiple group participation with the result that eventual misfortune or blows that one receives in one group (e.g., work-group) or association are balanced by the fixed status task and prestige that

¹ In his study of the relationship between "radicalism" and the "degree of social insight," H. H. Eysenck found that there is little ground for a hypothesis linking radicalism with emotional instability. Factorial and other analyses account for the rejection of such a hypothesis. (H. H. Eysenck, Primary social attitudes and the "social insight test," in *British Journal of Psychology*, 42, 1951, 44-122).

one enjoys in another group. Hence a better outlook of the participants and of the Roman Catholics, who developed a more differentiated organizational structure, which is imposed on the individual to a far greater extent than with the Protestants.¹ If we accept this theory in the light of the present evidence, a number of social phenomena have to be qualified as pathological, i.e., causing an unstable personality structure. Among these phenomena the following can be mentioned: (A) unemployment (and the fear of unemployment); (B) the rigidity of the social class-system making upward social mobility very difficult or impossible for the majority of the population; (C) a social class system that is very rigid, i.e., where every individual is placed in one of the class-categories and where a high general value is ascribed to the higher class-positions by the society; (D) a social class-system that is characterized by very high and very low status-positions; (E) social isolation (defined as the lack of participation in institutions, clubs, and associations); (F) partly implied in the foregoing, low church attendance as characterized by fewer social contacts with the fellow church-goers as well as by diminished cultural involvement — less involvement in religion (eventually resulting in a “metaphysical revolt.”²)

In terms of these factors which are responsible for a possible loss of individual balance and of self-confidence, Sassenheim does not appear the same healthy community as it does to the occasional observer. Its class-system is still considerably rigid; there are few cases of social mobility as a result of acquired higher educational status and the possibilities to rise in status though speculations in the bulb-business are rather limited, at present. Class-membership is a significant barrier to social contacts, the autochthonous population being rather anxious to develop informal social contacts with people of different social classes. Similarly, the out-group—in-group relationship represents a considerable cause of social isolation. In the transitional phase from a village-society to a more urban way of life, the old village-core tries to preserve its distinct character and bans contacts with the new-comers, who are distinctly ostracized.

¹ See also the note on p. 376 referring to the emancipation process of the Roman Catholics in the Netherlands which is probably one of the historical causes of their distinct optimistic time-perspective.

² This concept has been defined and analysed by the French non-sociological writer A. Camus (*L'Homme revolté*, Paris 1951.)

Sociological consequences of “metaphysical revolt” or “metaphysical uncertainty” have been described in an early work of Thomas Masaryk (*Der Selbstmord als sociale Massenerscheinung der modernen Civilisation*, 1881). Masaryk's findings can be interpreted in terms of our conceptual frame-work. The loss of religious faith often brings about uncertainty about one's position in the world. Self-concept seems to be determined by the relations of a person to his god as well as to his friends or other referential cadres.

Unemployment is still lively remembered by the population. Though, owing to the present policy of full-employment and social security, this factor is likely to be less harmful in the future, there are several persons who experienced a heavy shock in the period of depression in the early thirties. It struck us that in a few cases of "political delinquency," mental derangement, and sudden decrease of status which we came across, unemployment played an important rôle.

E) SOME CASES

In order to illustrate the concrete combinations of some causal factors, a few life-histories are presented here, as these could be reconstructed by means of our interview data. Due to the limitations of our research-scheme, no additional information about the cases was sought from the authorities concerned or through interviews with the neighbours or the family-members.

One should not interpret each of these cases as outspokenly pathological. They form a part of our sample which was drawn from the *normal* population of Sassenheim.¹

First we will mention the case of *A* who, though born in Sassenheim, came somehow into opposition against the system of social control in the community.

A was born in Sassenheim some fifty years ago as the son of a common horticultural worker. This occupation seems to have been traditional in his family for both grandparents used to work as horticultural labourers, and all ten children in his parental home remained in the bulb-business while marrying horticultural workers or working in the fields. The eldest brother of the interviewee was the only one of the family who acquired a somewhat higher position, that of a foreman. During the depression, he lost his job and six weeks later his wife in an accident. *A* reports this spontaneously to explain why this brother of his had to be interned in a mental health hospital. Two of his brothers are still living in Sassenheim and the other ones live in neighbouring communities of the bulb-region. *A* was the youngest of the children and, as such, remained with his parents until their death. As these reached the advanced age of seventy years, *A* was probably too old to marry after their death and remained at home with an elder sister who cares for his household, at present. He has never left his place of birth for a long period, and moved only three times in his life. Recently from the street where most peasants and cattle-breeders used to live, to one of the side-streets of Mainstreet, where he got a house with much sun, a stable for a horse and a cart, and a small piece of land to plant a few bulbs.

¹ All these reserves bring a limitation to these observations on social pathology; the associations that were found as well as the cases described are mainly discussed to stimulate a more specialized and applied study or cause deeper thinking on the subject.

His occupational career was somewhat varied. He started earning money when only twelve years old. Though the hours were longer than today, he used to earn only fl. 0.25 a day, while his sister received only fl. 0.50 for a week's work. He worked in the bulb-fields until he was eighteen years old. He then took a job in shipping, loading, and unloading sand into boats. At this time, the depression started and he became unemployed from 1930 until 1934. During this period, he sometimes had work, but this never lasted longer than a few weeks or months each year. He received fl. 7.— a week as unemployment compensation and had to pay fl. 3.50 for house-rent. From the remaining fl. 3.50, he and his sister had to live. During the war he worked as a road-worker. After the war, he settled down, finally. He got a semi-communal job from an acquaintance who kept it until his illness had made him incapable for it. Travelling from house to house all year round under all circumstances seems to be the reason why *A* is not satisfied with his health; he complains of bronchitis and loss of appetite. There are even other reasons why *A* is dissatisfied with his present job. His net-wage amounts to about fl. 30.— a week. (This amount remains to him after he has paid fl. 3.50 per week to the insurance-company.) There is practically no possibility for additional earnings, in his opinion. What worries him most is the fact that there used to be only one person in his job for the whole community in the past while there are eight persons who received permits of the community for doing the same job, at present. This means a considerable cut in his income. With much emotion, *A* complains of the fact that the community authorities issued a licence even to a shop-keeper who was not in actual need of such a job.

Full of resentment, *A* refers to this action of the community authorities: "I think it a Russian system! They make a communist of me!" This resentment seems to be anchored in *A*'s revolt against the religion of his forefathers. Though he acknowledges to be a Roman Catholic as his parents and his grandparents, he declares not to believe in God any more: "I am light in my head about these things. I will not let myself be cheated by those fine Christian people!", was the spontaneous comment that he gave to our question. He, moreover, told us that he used to go to church some two years ago, but that he now prefers to go to an inn to have a drink. This is, in his opinion, the reason why the community authorities have used economic pressure against him. His revolt is also that of an outcast against the master: "If I go to church, nobody takes any notice of me; they pass by without exchanging a word with me." The same bitter exasperation came to expression when the question gauging the attitude to bureaucracy was asked: "If I need something, they tell me: 'I have no time for you,' though they talk half an hour to a rich bulb-grower about the weather!"

He becomes even more emotional when political matters are touched upon. *A* denies membership in any political party and gives a decisively negative answer to our question regarding political sympathies. He considers the local elections as a nice petty-game of those "fine Christian gentlemen" with whom he does not want to have anything to do. "They robbed me of my bread; and that they call good Christian behaviour! Then they better not ask me to vote for them!" His resentment is not only directed

against the local government but also against the national government. "The gentlemen in the Hague are not better either; it is a pity of all casualties and victims of the war; we have got the same damned rotten things as before the war. If the Russians come I'll march with them." It is obvious that he consciously employs the latter threat as a psychological weapon; he repeatedly uses it in many emotional outbursts: "It cannot be worse when the Russians come!"

He is quite isolated because he is not a member of a sport association does not go to church, avoids membership in a political party, and has even quitted his union. "They did not reply to my letter for more than 4 months. There are grand lords there, too. I need not pay for them!"

He is extremely sensitive about any question regarding status or class division. He calls himself repeatedly "a common guy, but honest!" With the exception of the physician, whose profession he considers as being of a higher rank, he places all other occupational categories into the middle-class, the class with which he identifies himself.

We learnt further that *A* reads no books, no magazines, subscribes to a "neutral" newspaper from Leyden and reads it mainly for the accidents and the crime trials. He does not visit any friends and does not go to the movies or soccer. He spends his leisure listening to the wireless-set and going once a week to the inn for a drink and a chat with a few acquaintances.

He complains of bad health, but does not miss many working-days owing to illness as he is afraid of losing profit, for there is nobody to do his work.

He not only fears unemployment (which is already setting in in some industrial branches, according to his opinion), but is also very sceptical about the future in general. He is convinced that the present social security measures will not be maintained owing to the high taxes and that the old evils will return. He is sure about another war during his life, "between the Germans and the Russians." On the other hand, he does not think that life in the Netherlands is threatened by foreign countries. He does not expect any improvement from the local or the central governments but is inclined to think that people can better their conditions by breaking through the isolation and by being taught to come into contact with each other. Solitude seems to bother and worry him very much.

While *A* was born in Sassenheim, where he spent his whole life, *B* may serve as an example of one of the immigrants into Sassenheim, who tried to climb the ladder of the social hierarchy and failed.

He is about sixty years old, was born in one of the southern provinces, and moved about ten times before coming to Sassenheim. Even here he has changed his residence at least five times. At present, he lives in one of the working-class houses that were built at the beginning of the century. The house has a wooden ceiling, separating the living room from the garret, which serves as a bedroom for the whole family. It is low and humid, with bad sewage system.

His father was a common labourer descending from agricultural workers. He belonged, as his parents did, to the Dutch Reformed Church and had six children, five sons and one daughter. One of them died very young, at the age of eight months. According to custom, the baby was

left in an unheated room in the pram; owing to the cold winter weather the child caught "the inflammation of the head," according to the interviewee; „got nose-bleeding, and died soon afterwards."

All children had a strong ambition to improve their positions; one of them is a bulb-inspector, another became a manager of a large bulb-growing firm, the daughter married a manager, and one son joined the police. This policeman, however, joined the N.S.B. i.e., became one of the collaborators of the Nazi-occupants, and is imprisoned in Breda, at present. There was nothing spectacular about the family of his parents. The mother looked after the household, but the children did not see the father for practically the whole week in the summer-months, as there was so much work to do in the newly colonized Haarlemmermeer region, where the family lived. When at home, the father divided his interest equally among all the children, and helped the mother with household work. He discussed the expenditures with the mother, read from the Bible regularly when at home, and went to church each Sunday. He used to rise as early as 4 a.m. and went to bed early, too (at half past eight as a rule). Apart from the Bible, there were no books at home, and they did not subscribe to a daily. Because of the lack of money, the children had to leave home at an early age to earn money. *B*, being the second born, took a job after having attained his twelfth year, as was usual in those days. After working years in the fields, he married and got five children; two sons and three daughters. In the period of boom in the bulb-region, he took his big chance in life and, having previously acquired rudimentary knowledge of mechanics through practice, started a shop of his own repairing bicycles in Sassenheim. Whether owing to the onsetting depression, to the lack of business experience and technical skills, or to the shift from bicycles to motor cars in Sassenheim, as he himself tries to explain — he failed, went bankrupt, and had to sustain his wife and his five children during the depression. His failure, signifying a loss of position among his fellow-workers, his inability to find an anchorage in the middle-class, and the financial difficulties meant a shock to him. In 1931, he had to be taken to a mental hospital where he remained for more than fourteen years.

He was released after the war, and accepted his lot working for twelve hours a day in the bulb-fields in spite of his advanced age. He works with pleasure, earning some fl. 48.— a week. This work enables him to forget the past, and brings his emotional life into balance. Something of the old restlessness, however, remains as he works for several firms, changing jobs often several times a year. It is no surprise that this poor man did not perceive any progress in his career and that he also gave a decisive "no" to the question regarding his future chances. The questions on status and social class-system almost caused an emotional break-down; instead of ranking the occupational categories, the interviewee commented repeatedly on each occupational category as follows: "Also a valuable occupation," or "also necessary, a very useful job." He considers blind chance to be the main factor in occupational success and identifies himself with the lower class.

B is a good church-member, though he does not ponder about religious problems. He is very tolerant and works for a Roman Catholic grower.

He is nominally a member of the Christian Union but does not attend the meetings, or the meetings of any other association or club. He spends all evenings of the week at home, going to bed early (10 p.m.) and rising early (5.45 a.m.). He spends his leisure by sitting in an arm-chair with socks on, without shoes or slippers, musing, and not doing anything. In spite of his misfortune, he is inclined to think that life is going to improve; it is in any case going to change as it has changed in the past. He does not know whether another war will come during his life. In spite of his positive attitude to change, he has no suggestions as to what might be changed or how.

He is satisfied with his present health. Now and then he gets an attack of sudden, violent headaches. He found his own remedy: he puts his grey head in a stream of cold water until it cools off completely. Then the headache is over. The physician cured him of diabetes (his father died of this disease), but he actually did not suffer from this disease for the doctor made, according to him, a wrong diagnosis. He is satisfied with the medical assistance which one receives in Sassenheim, but he is not equally satisfied with the community authorities because the housing conditions are bad and they did not do the necessary repairs on his house.

Yet another case shows how the lack of religious faith is sometimes accompanied with political radicalism. It concerns a person who was born in the region and who, strangely enough, unites in himself radical socialistic (communist) attitudes with capitalistic economic habits.

C was born fifty years ago in one of the neighbouring communities as the fourth child of a skilled worker in the bulb-cultures. There were eight children at home, five boys and three girls. None of them acquired a position of significance, all being workers or married to workers with the exception of one who is a bulb-salesman. One girl married a driver who joined the collaborators' movement (N.S.B.) and is still held in prison. One brother had an accident and is kept in an infirmary as an invalid.

There was nothing too extraordinary about his family of origin except that the father, who usually worked outdoors, was rather authoritarian. He never played with the children, nor did he have any interest in their progress. He saw them only on Sundays if he was not drunk, for he used to drink very much. It is difficult to find the causes of his drinking habits. We know that he was not satisfied with his position as a common agricultural worker and tried various other jobs, travelling in various branches of goods. In between, he was usually bankrupt and returned to agricultural work to sustain his large family. C twice witnessed the confiscation of all the property and the eviction of the family into the street.

No wonder that under these conditions, father was mainly known as a bogey punishing the children and coming home drunk. Neither he nor his wife ever went to church, being without a denomination, and they educated their children in the spirit of indifferent atheism (one did not speak of religion or of politics at home). There were no books at home, and C left school immediately after his twelfth year of age. He started working in the fields and remained faithful to this occupation until now, except

for a short interruption owing to the war. He spent his military service in Amsterdam where he met his present wife, by whom he has three sons and three daughters (one daughter died of bronchitis at the age of two). All of his children passed through the elementary school of the Dutch Reformed Church in Sassenheim and started like their father — as common labourers.

It is difficult to determine where he acquired his radical views: at home, in Amsterdam, or only during the depression in Sassenheim. The depression did not affect him too seriously. He mentions only 1938 as a time when he was unemployed, but adds directly that he worked for himself and thus escaped dearth. He mentions, on the other hand, that he is unemployed each year from November to March on account of his being a "socialist-communist" as he calls himself. He expects more general unemployment in the future.

As for his opinions and convictions, he is an atheist as his father (who probably became an atheist as a consequence of his revolt against the old feudal order — being the coachman of a landlord). He never visits a church, is not even nominally a member of a church, and avoids serious thought on religious problems. He has no Bible at home, nor other book on religion, and it does not make any difference to him whether his children marry a person belonging to a church or not.

C is not a member of a political party but declares to sympathize with the Communist Party of the Netherlands. He thinks that society should be organized in a new and different way from what it used to be. He admits that it has already changed in the course of the last generation. This change will be even more radical in the future, as "we live in a time of evolution." The direction of this change will be towards greater solidarity; group-ties will become stronger. They were more intensive during the war, according to *C*, but are weakened at present by the strong class-division. It would be ideal if there were no class-system at all. But how to realize such a social order if there is even a class-division in Russia? All that is needed is more government control, everything should be nationalized. This does not necessarily imply a soviet Communist state. The main thing is the improvement of the conditions of the working class. At present this can hardly be carried out because we are under the yoke of the United States of America.

C declares that he sympathized with the socialists at first. Before the war, he became a Communist and actively tried to spread communism among the inhabitants. Driven by fear of German persecution, he joined the party of collaborators, and worked for the Germans during the war in a shoemakers' shop, while his sons were employed in a German ammunition-plant. As a consequence, he was arrested after the war, was kept in prison for three months, and deprived of suffrage.

It was not for the first time that he was imprisoned. Shortly before the war, he was arrested because a large quantity of money was found on him and he was suspected of being a spy for the Nazi. He succeeded in proving that he got his money by means of a business transaction and was released. Since that time, he mistrusts the local officials and the local politicians.

It is strange that in spite of his "communist sympathies" and his pretended sympathies with the working-class, *C* used to act during his entire life as a business-man. While earning some forty florins a week by regular work on the field of the local growers, he always managed to earn some additional income, even in an unlawful way. He is a skilled grower himself, and succeeded in obtaining precious kinds of tulips by cross-fertilization. He explicitly stated that he would start an enterprise of his own if only there were lands available in Sassenheim. This unrealized wish to become independent is the main factor that spoils his pleasure in work, for he is a skilled and esteemed worker. Thanks to the latter quality, he is always hired by the growers in summer in spite of his predilection for speaking and holding forth to the other workers about the new social order to come. He knows how to sell his goods, too, and earns several thousands of guilders each year by marketing the bulbs which he has grown. It is also remarkable that, though asking for reinforcement of government controls (he asks for more severe measures against law offenders, too), he likes to joke about the way one "cheats Lieftinck," the socialistic minister of state finances to conceal additional income in order that it remains tax-free.

The next case illustrates the coming of the new industrial man to Sassenheim with his irreligious attitude and lack of contacts with the inhabitants in the village.

D was born some forty years ago in a small place near Groningen in one of the northern provinces of the country. His father was an agricultural labourer, still a member of the Dutch Reformed Church (as his mother was), and had to sustain six children, five boys and one daughter. He had to work hard, the mother used to help with harvesting to make both ends meet. The parents vested their interest in the children; *D*, having three elder brothers, could even go to the continuation school. The two eldest brothers were directly sent to work, the other two being allowed to become apprentices and tailors. The daughter married a butcher. Thus none of the children followed their father's occupation. Owing to his education, *D* received a job in the building department of a large factory which had moved to Sassenheim. Being aware that he only reached his position because of the work and the self-sacrifice of his family, he invited his eldest and his youngest brother to Sassenheim and helped them to find jobs. His parents remained in the same agricultural place where *D* was born and where he remained until his twenty-sixth year without changing his residence.

Being a first generation industrial worker, *D* had many difficulties and much resistance to overcome. He was very much attached to his native village, so was his first wife who, according to him, died of home-sickness. After her death, when the war set in, he became homesick himself and decided to leave his residence in the neighbourhood of Sassenheim and fled to his home-town. As such a sudden change of residence was forbidden by the German occupational authorities, he had to hide for fully four years in his native region. He was caught and sent to Germany, but succeeded in escaping and returned home again.

When the war was over, his former employer invited him to come back

promising him a new house and a good job. Being remarried and the father of a six years' old son, *D* decided to return. He got a new house consisting of five rooms with two little gardens, and a nice job with which he is quite satisfied, being conscious of the promotion that he has made in his life. The money that he earns (about fl. 50.— a week) is not only sufficient to secure a fair living for his small family but also to afford a small luxury. He bought a light-weight motor-cycle (this kind of motor bicycle became quite popular after the war in the Netherlands) on which he goes to work daily and for short trips with his son on Sundays.

In spite of his feeling of success and material comfort, he still does not feel at home in Sassenheim. With the exception of the Labour Party, that is poorly represented in this community, he is member in no organization or club. He avoids the trade unions, having been disappointed by the insufficient support that the unions gave to the workers during a violent strike in his native province of Groningen, where class-antagonisms between the rich farmers and the poor croppers were very strong. He decided to abandon the faith of his fathers; he neither visits any church-service nor belongs nominally to any church-community. He answers our question regarding the existence of God in the affirmative, and says he has thought and spoken much about religious problems. This was probably done without any spiritual guidance at all. He does not possess the Bible nor any other book on religion at home. Probably the same pattern of conduct already characterized the family of his parents. Though belonging to a church, they never attended the service, and did not read from the Bible. However, they very often talked to the children about religious matters and sent them to the Sunday-school to get a religious basis.

The loss of denomination and the ethnic difference closed the gates for social contacts in Sassenheim before *D*'s eyes. With the exception of his fellow-workers, he has practically no formal (in associations or institutions) or informal contacts in Sassenheim. His group of work-mates constitutes the whole field of social activities outside the family, and begins to assume a great importance in his life. He is a very active member of the football-association of the factory in which he works, and he also participates in the factory-choir. As there is also a lending library owned by the factory-personnel, he finds a substitute for the public libraries that were (until recently) only accessible for people belonging to the churches.

No wonder that cooperation is the main thing he is proposing for the improvement of the conditions of mankind. He complains very much of the isolation in Sassenheim and of the division of the whole population into various segments. The barriers separating these segments are extremely high in his eyes: "You do not get through them;" yet, in spite of feeling distinctly an out-sider and identifying himself with the lower-class, *D* is not pessimistic. He is aware of the social reforms that have taken place, and his socialistic views give him confidence that the world will also change in the future and is already busy to change. It will be a better world if "only people will be more willing to cooperate and a United Europe will be realized." He had no concrete suggestions for improvement to make.

While *D* represents a case of isolation owing to migration, change

of religious faith, and the way of earning a living, *E* represents a case of the second generation industrial worker, who has no links with the church, is conscious of his mission, and fights isolation by creating social contacts and associations little known in Sassenheim, until now.

He is about the same age as *D*, born in Leeuwarden. His father was a worker in a tobacco-factory, one grandfather a typographer, the other a worker in a saw-mill. *E* was the only child and was sent to the continuation school. His father usually gave him pocket money when he had a success at school thus stimulating him to learn. Education was probably the main road to his present high position of chief electrician earning almost fl 100.— a week. He is naturally very satisfied with his job, with his past career as well as with his future prospects. With much pride he mentions that he is entrusted with tasks which usually an engineer with college education is called to solve. He identifies himself with the middle-class.

This identification is somewhat incongruous with his radical, leftist views that are without doubt rooted in his youth-experiences. His father was organized in the trade unions and used to take part in the struggle of the working-class. During the violent strikes, he was several times brought home by a policeman, — experiences which seem to have made a deep impression on his son. *E* has been for years an active member of the Labour Party which he finds not radical enough "owing to the impact of the capitalists on its leadership after the war;" (evidently, *E* identifies himself with the old group of Social Democrats forming the old core of the present Labour Party). This criticism is partly caused by the fact that his resentment against the churches is so strong as to make him unable to accept any compromise of socialism with religion. The church should be separated from the state and from political matters in the same way as one should distinguish between church-membership and individual faith that can flourish outside it. His rational revolt affects his basic religious concepts; being asked whether he believed in God he retorted: "What do you understand by 'god?'" In agreement with the old Marxian view religion, in his eyes, is the opiate that the capitalists give to the people to hold the masses in a state of suppression. They achieve this by keeping the masses split into various denominations. People should awake from their lethargy and come to a rational control of their lives.

E is busy in speeding up a similar process of "enlightenment." Being shocked by the collapse of the unions in the strike in his former residence, he is not a union-member, though he still thinks to become one in the future. He is still aware of the profits he drew from the fact that he was an only son and that his father could pay and sustain him during his education. For this reason, he is a very active partizan of neo-malthusianism and of the small-family system. He is an active member of the Netherlands' Association for Sexual Reform, subscribes to its periodical, and is a member of the section of "Prudent Parenthood." He also participates in the socialistic association of radio-listeners. Similarly as *D*, his main contacts come through his occupation. He participates in the Work-shop Committee (Ondernemingsraad) in the factory, is a member of its Football Association and its library.

E's action is especially directed against the local Roman Catholic organization, the latter being the most opposed to his convictions and ethical norms. He mentions several immediate causes of his resentment: the Roman Catholics among his fellow-workers were presumably forced by the church-leadership to leave the football association of the factory on account of the dangerous contacts with the group of "Humanists," during a social evening that was organized by the Roman Catholics, persons of different denominations or without a denomination were asked to leave the room; the chaplain personally watches the park on warm summer evenings to prevent young Roman Catholic couples having intimate contacts; a socialist teacher of a Roman Catholic school was put under pressure on account of his deviating political views — these are only a few examples that *E* gave to account for the "objective reasons" of his resentment. He considered conditions here "even graver" than in the Roman Catholic southern provinces. People here are more conservative and more divided, according to his opinion. There is no freedom of thought, for otherwise it would not be possible that a Roman Catholic employer would dismiss his workers shortly before Christmas without this having repercussions on party-politics and public opinion in the village. Protestants have no contacts with Catholics and persons without a denomination are complete outcasts. *E* himself has to send his two children to school in Lisse as there is no neutral school in Sassenheim, or any recreation.

It is a difficult task to report all opinions and attitudes that *E* expressed in the course of one single interview; he is against capital punishment of the political delinquents, he is rather sceptical of the underground movement during the war, calling it "a cowboy-and-Indians game." He shares a conciliatory attitude to offenders in general. He is conscious of the improvement of the social relations and expects even more emancipation of the labourers in the future. One should try to do without the present class-division, a trend which is noticeable at present, according to his opinion. Tolerance is his main ideal; there should be no religious barriers, in the future. Being an antimilitarist ("if you become a soldier, you become a beast!") he condemns the policy of rearmament, because he is convinced that Russia welcomes this policy as the most efficient tool for making Communists of the free peoples in Europe. Yet, he admits that there will be another war during his life.

F) PATHOLOGICAL CASES RECOGNIZED AS SUCH BY THE INHABITANTS

These foregoing cases bring us to the third group of pathological phenomena, those considered as such by the population. Among these, violations of the moral and the penal code can be mentioned. Crimes by autochthonous Sassenheimers are rare, the majority of the offenders are recruited from outside the community. As for the transgression of the moral law, the most striking one is perhaps the violation of the sexual ethics to which the population adheres. In our opinion, two basic factors, religion and economy, are at cross-purposes. To profit from the labour of their children, parents advise them to postpone

marriage, but the resulting long engagement period and the taboo on matters dealing with the knowledge and the practice of birth-control lead not infrequently to early pregnancy and "forced marriage". The church and the public opinion, though officially opposed to this behaviour, accept the "*fait accompli*" in the end, if both partners decide to marry and to educate the child properly. As population policy is an important part of the general church-policy, the church is rather opposed to the system of postponed marriage, that economic factors impose upon the population, and it welcomes the marriage of any young couple.

A similar attitude of the church also accounts for a symptom of cultural lag that we notice in the community. Owing to the teaching of the main churches and the improved scientific hygiene, the birth-rate remains high, while the death-rate has been significantly cut in the course of the past hundred years. As the limited area of fertile soil cannot ensure a fair living for the growing population, one starts looking for new resources. Emigration as a solution for this precarious situation, caused by over-population, is rejected because of the dangers of secularization that the local community leaders fear. Instead of allowing their sheep to be lost in the huge, secularized, modern civilization surrounding the community, they invite the technical civilization to Sassenheim. A culture-censorship is, however, imposed. One welcomes the technological advancement in the economic process but fears its ethical pendant: the neo-malthusian practices and the impact of the new sexual ethics in general; one fears the impact of technology (motor-car, motor-bicycle, etc.) upon the leisure activities and the Sunday-rest, etc.

In this process of striving to preserve the old faith and morals in the new world that the modern civilization brings, and to censure and modify the culture-growth, the local planners are not sure of coming out as the winning party. The birth-rate declines in spite of the fact that its decline is slower here than in other regions. The industrialization and the expansion of the community bring the more liberal-minded persons into Sassenheim, persons who do not attend the church-services as frequently as the autochthonous population, and who not only practice birth-control themselves but also disseminate its knowledge among the younger industrial groups of local origin. Together with a neutral lending library they bring the cult of higher education and a more positive attitude to the "non-Christian" political parties. One might expect that this "new way of life" will spread among the local population, with weaker church-discipline and a lower birth-rate as its most probable consequences.

The series of changes will thus pass the whole circle — and the balance will be restored. Before such a social equilibrium between the reproduction rate of the population and its available material

resources will be reached, there are likely to be more cases of persons with low school education being gloomy about the prospect of future jobs and fearing another calamity of unemployment. The out-group—in-group differences are likely to be still aggravated and there is to be even more isolation for the “import-group” desperately looking for contacts and recreation in Sassenheim, which welcomes their economic skills without offering them social contacts, cultural life, and recreation, in return. The more individualistically minded groups of Protestants are likely to choose the solution through emigration in spite of the many adjustment-problems that arise for the emigrants overseas. It will depend to a great extent on the good will and the insight of the community leaders into the mechanisms at work, as to whether the cases of individual maladjustment (which accompany the present structural changes and have their origin in the factors lagging behind the driving forces of the society) will be treated in a humane, intelligent way, to prevent the pending individual and social disorganizations.

CONCLUSION

Our description and analysis may be considered as completed. We have tried to present a picture of a community in the western parts of the Netherlands by soberly interpreting the data which we collected about the various social and cultural aspects of its life. Throughout the whole study a sincere attempt was made to abstain from personal value-judgments, i.e., from the evaluation of facts in terms of the writer's predilections or philosophy. Even in the chapter on the social pathological aspects of the community, "objective" criteria were applied to a large extent.

In spite of this attempt to limit the subjective bias to a minimum, we do not pretend that all that has been said in this book is completely devoid of any subjectivity. The limitations to our "objective approach" are likely to be found in the distortion of perception, in the subjective choice of the study-object, in the somewhat subjective criteria of determining the relevancy of the variables to be included in the study — simply the unavoidable subjective (i.e., also ethnocentric and culturally bound) determinants of social science and of science in general that have been described and analyzed by the sociology of knowledge.

By imposing upon himself the discipline of methodological procedure, the writer on social science may feel urged to close his study with an ethical or philosophical judgment. He may wish to mention some possibilities of how to synthesize the results of his analytical work, in other words, how to come from the scientific to the philosophical judgment.

The few concluding remarks will be of a double nature. They will deal with (a) what, possibly, may be called some problems of the social philosophy of the community; (b) the epistemological evaluation of the method that was used in studying the community.

What may with much certainty be deduced from our results is the important rôle that religion plays in the Dutch community that we studied. This is not too surprising if we bear in mind that some writers on the sociology of religion consider religion as the integrative force of any individual and society. We also noted, however, that religion, while engulfing the life of the individual from its very prime, causes such a division in the community, that the latter can hardly be considered as a religious unit any more.¹ The strange configuration of culture, that makes of religion both the integrative force of the human personality and the cause of social differentiation, places serious

¹ This division is the more significant, since, as we discovered, church-membership makes for the division into the social classes.

problems before the participants and the non-participant observers. These problems are rooted in the fact that there are several churches, each teaching its members that its existence is approved by and leading to God, that its nature is quite unique, and that it is charged with a universal mission. This paradox, once fully recognized, leads to alternative solutions:

(a) one accepts the absolute, universally valid, and unique nature of one's own group and refuses as charlatans and anti-christs the members of the other churches though they strive for truth and for God with a similar eagerness and have, accordingly, possibly the same grounds to believe in the uniqueness and absoluteness of their own faith. This monistic solution of uncritical faith and intolerance is, as we discovered from our data, usually adhered to in Sassenheim;

(b) one accepts the authentic nature of one's own belief or church but denies its universal and absolute nature by admitting the existence of other authentic kinds of experience or of other churches of God. A few persons adhering to such a pluralistic solution were identified in the course of our research, chiefly among the more liberal Protestant groups; finally,

(c) the existence of several churches or systems of belief, all assuming their uniqueness and authenticity, results in scepticism regarding the genuine nature of any of them and of religion in general. Such a relativistic solution, though not frequent in Sassenheim, could be noticed with some cases of mixed marriage or with atheists who came to an irrational denial of the existence of God through a rational scepticism of His approving of several opposed churches and religions.

Of these alternatives, the second seems the solution for a modern rational man still longing to save the ancient source of authentic religious experience without falling into the irrational extreme of ascribing *his* faith and *his* experience the validity and the exclusive suitability for any human being. This solution still leaves the main difficulties unsolved. What will become of the integrative nature of religion, if we are going to recognize a plurality of faiths and churches? On the individual level, the difficulty is not insurmountable. One can try to make of one's faith the central force of life and let others of different personality-types adhere to different convictions, rites, and practices. If wise enough, one can try not to ban contacts with persons of other denominations and, by remaining open to the impulses from outside, accelerate the slow, ancient process of religious synergism.

On the collective level, the difficulty is hardly to surmount. Once the differentiation of churches has been accepted as a fact and as inevitable (and just), it is impossible to superimpose one of them over the others and ascribe to it the coordinating function over the total society. As the persons having tolerant, pluralistic views are likely to belong to different churches, it will be difficult to ascribe to

religion a coordinating function in society similar to the one it fulfils in personal life. The creation of a new organization (for instance, of "pluralists" or "tolerance-worshippers") would only lead to a further differentiation of the religious scene because this new organization is not likely to unite all members of the existing churches and would become only an additional sect.

All that can be hoped for by the adherents of the similar pluralistic society at present is the creation of an informal group or public. Such an informal group would be characterized by a tolerant attitude to the different religious systems, and by a high esteem for the human individual which would ascend over the values of human involvements, beliefs, and creeds. This group, if spread largely enough, would make for a congruent public opinion, common values, and integration in the communities where differentiation threatens to split up the society into quite separate segments. Owing to the present trend towards greater government centralization and growing ascendancy of politics over religion in the Western World, the question may be raised, whether such a possible change of an informal tolerant group into a more organized one is not to be expected in the political instead of the religious sphere. Such a change would undoubtedly require a greater separation between politics and religion than at present. In spite of the attempts of some parties to break through the political conformism of the church-members (e.g., "Doorbraak" of the Labour Party), such a separation does not seem to be in sight as yet, regardless the sharpening controversy on the subject in the Netherlands.

The foregoing observations bring us to another all-round problem of the structure of the society that we studied: the general system of leadership and the attitude to it. The democratic nature of Sassenheim's institutions is beyond doubts: the principle of electing the local, the provincial, and the central governments by secret ballot at periodical elections, the almost universal suffrage, the freedom of the press and of opinion, the multiple-party system, and the democratic intra-party organization of some political movements — these all are sufficiently distinct characteristics of "democracy." Our problem may be thus limited to the question: what kind of democracy?

Without trying to enter into a systematic treatment of such a problem by repeating once more some data and conclusions of the chapters of this book, we wish to refer to one point. It struck us that in the society under study democracy was not considered as something each individual should believe in, as a part of the individual weltanschauung. On the contrary, several inhabitants opposed such a conception of democracy which is rooted in the individual philosophy of life. The second largest political party in Sassenheim (the Anti-Revolutionary Party) is explicitly organized to struggle against the

principles of the French revolution by defending the old conception of sovereignty by the grace of God.

The analysis has shown that the society is rather composed of two or three "absolutistic" camps, the leaders and members of which have accepted certain minimal common rules and norms that allow them to live as independent, quite separate and isolated groups. The major denominational groups exist thus side by side, forming actually three sub-groups in the society and the culture. They limit any interaction to a minimum, democracy being accepted rather out of necessity than as a positive value. Without a common government and without common rule, the existence of the main groups in the form of separate camps would be threatened in the same way as they were endangered in the time of the religious war. This explains, for instance, why there is a coalition government, why one refuses to vote about subjects that are not too distant from the sphere of the religious doctrines or the morals of the churches.

Thus, the character of democracy in this community (and probably a generalization to a larger Dutch society can be made with caution, in this case) is quite different from that in the United States or from the French republican institutions and attitudes.

Under these conditions, democracy is going to gain in force not so much owing to the growing number of its partisans (an unlikely development under the existing taboo on "democracy" in the field of ideology) as to the increase of that sphere which is irrelevant for the churches and which is consciously left as a neutral zone by them.

Modern intricate administration, economy in its national aspects, technology, health services, etc., seem to belong to this sphere. Because the churches, as a rule, lag behind the driving forces of social change (e.g., technology, economy, population pressure), and fail to take an immediate standpoint with regard to them, this neutral sphere is likely to increase and the chances for democracy and integration in this divided community, are not too bad.

Our final remarks concern the epistemological value of the method employed throughout this study and the validity of the findings.

Our confidence in the reliability of the results, obtained through the statistical evaluation and the cross-tabulation of the heterogeneous social characteristics and behaviour items of this representative sample of the population, is reinforced by the corroborating evidence of other methods and techniques. Several chapters of Part III show how the results of the causal-statistical analysis have been confirmed by the analysis of the institutions and the groups in Sassenheim. In a few instances, directly polled personal preferences and values and life-histories could be used to shed additional light on the isolated, abstract

relationships. Upon the whole, the information gathered by means of different, independent methodological disciplines seems to agree.

Besides the verification through the agreement of different approaches there is the criterion of internal consistency and intelligibility. By applying quasi-mechanical techniques and disregarding any social or cultural meaning of the variables used, the analysis brought out results that were both consistent and meaningful. Several empirical checks were used to verify the mathematical tenets regarding the matrix-algebra, as proved by Perry and Luce, — all leading to consistent results. No absurd findings regarding the empirical data were brought up by these purely mathematical techniques.

While the identification of clusters can be considered as verified in terms of the variables included, the technique of cross-tabulation suffered from the usual limitations, owing to the scarcity of data and to the research-economy.

Even stronger reservations should be made in the final evaluation of the factors in terms of causes and effects. The critical reader probably noticed that in several instances (especially those regarding the genuine associations of two attitudes or of other personality traits), we were unable to decide which of the two variables was to be considered as the cause and which as the effect or whether a common factor had to be assumed. Sometimes, we were inclined to consider the genetic factor of an individual attitude or characteristic (the fact that preceded in the sequence of occurrence in the individual life-history) as the causal agent. (Thus, for instance, the high number of siblings as a probable cause of low education of the interviewees and not the other way round). The question may be raised in the final evaluation as to whether such a confusion of individual and collective phenomena is in agreement with the strictures of scientific methodology. It may be, for instance, argued that the science of individual personality and the science of culture and society each have to operate with distinctly different concepts and that the individual "life-space" does not necessarily coincide with the social "life-space." By distinguishing between both concepts (instead of 'life-space' of psychology one may use 'time-space' as used in science in general) we may hope to come to a more appropriate classification of effects and causes in a multi-disciplinary approach, dealing with both the attitudes and with the social institutions or other collective aspects of behaviour. It is along this line (the sharper definition of the concept of social or sociological time) that a future conceptualization in the study of social causation may proceed.

The last remark concerns the crucial question of the causal analysis: to what extent are the results of it to be generalized to a larger universe of possibilities? what can be said about their general validity? We have already mentioned in Part II that, strictly speaking,

the findings of our study can only be applied to the propositions regarding the adult population of Sassenheim of 1950—1951. This limitation, however, only applies to the predictions of the distribution of simple characteristics over the population; it does not apply to the conclusions concerning the causal relationships. The entire preceding analysis was centred on the problem of sifting the accidental variables from the genuine ones, and of denoting the associations that were due to the local structure, to the local configuration of causal factors. By looking for and finding what we thought to be the genuine associations, we hoped to discover causal patterns of a more stable and general nature. Accepting the assumption of multiple causation of social phenomena, the variables referred to as genuine should be considered as the most rudimentary social clusters that we were able to distinguish. The prediction of social phenomena should be made in terms of the combination of these conditioning factors.

In predicting societal phenomena, we made use of the generalizations that were obtained in an inductive way. A similar induction from the particular data gathered in Sassenheim is legitimate if it is based on the calculus of finite probability. The latter can be applied if a limited number of independent variety (and variables) may be assumed.¹ Though the variables that were used in this study were by no means considered as the only relevant ones, there is, in our view, no reason to believe that their number is infinite (that they represent a sample from an infinite universe of possibilities.) As shown in Chapter X, any concrete person can be identified by means of the combination of a comparatively few characteristics. This seems to suggest a relation between connotation and denotation (between “intensions” and “extensions” to use B. Russell’s terms). An object can be denoted by means of a specific combination of attributes. The seemingly infinite variety of concrete objects (in casu, persons) can be reduced to a finite number of characteristics. (If we consider the number of independent variables as forming an ordinal series, the number of their possible combinations will be described in terms of factorials.)² Such a reduction makes a modest generalization of results possible.³

¹ J. M. KEYNES, *A Treatise on Probability*, London, 1943, Chapter XXII, pp. 258 ff., especially. In his criticism of this assumption, Mr. B. Russell seems mainly to deal with the underlying postulate of natural kinds while substituting the latter with the more dynamic concept of structure. His argument does not seem to affect the validity of the postulate of limited variety; as to the value of finite probability, Russell shares Keynes’ views. (B. RUSSELL, *Human Knowledge, Its Scope and Limits*, London 1948, Part VI, Chapter III, The postulate of natural kinds or of limited variety, pp. 456 ff.) For an attempt at a further elaboration of Keynes’ concept of “generator properties” as based on the principle of limited variables see N. GÖSTA CARLSSON, *Dimensions of Behaviour*, Lund 1949, pp. 122 ff.)

² For the dichotomic, independent variables, the number of combinations is

$$C_n = \frac{(2n)!}{n!(2n-n)!}$$

On these grounds, there seems to be a possibility of making general estimates regarding the distribution of the social characteristics from the known distribution of their correlates, if these correlates are the main relevant ones. It should be stressed once more that little information is available regarding the question whether the variables that were chosen and the correlates that were found are the main possible or probable ones. Only a further research that would be more focussed on the single variables under study would bring a more definite answer to this crucial question. A further research would probably also justify or refute certain methodological assumptions (regarding the quantification of the social and cultural data, the principles of limited independent variety, of free chance, of the continuity of social forces, etc.) that were explicitly or implicitly made at the beginning of this study, and that are considered as having led to its present form of completion.

where n denotes the number of characteristics. By substituting the ordinal numbers for n , the following results will be obtained:

$$C_2 = 6$$

$$C_3 = 20$$

$$C_4 = 70$$

$$C_5 = 252$$

$$C_{10} = 184,756$$

$$C_{34} = 252 \times 10^{18}$$

The number 252×10^{18} (reaching almost the order of the square value of the number of inhabitants on this planet) denotes the number of different individuals that can be imagined to arise by the combination of 34 dichotomic properties (the same number as used in the matrix analysis in this study).

Another argument in favour of the generalization of results may be seen in the relation between the "intensive" and the "extensive" characteristics that has been suggested above. The limitation of space and time can be accepted only as a limitation due to the different configuration of variables (different social and cultural structure.) Place (for instance, "birth-place" or "place of residence") as well as time can be considered as specific combinations of other variables in the same way as a space-time point is considered as a bundle of compresent qualities in natural science (B. Russell, *ibid.*, p. 457).

The limitations of the present study should not be sought in the number of miles of geographical distance from Sassenheim or in the number of years that have passed since the year in which the interviews took place, but rather in the different combination of variables in the social structures concerned.

APPENDIX A

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION FORM

INSTITUTE FOR PREVENTIVE MEDICINE

no. 9805/112

LEIDEN
56 Wassenaarseweg

For some time we are conducting a survey to measure the degree in which the population participates in organizational and group life.

To obtain criteria for later evaluation of the various degrees of social participation, we turn to you and other people who have acquired much experience in these activities.

We would be very grateful if you would be so kind to fill in and return the accompanying form.

Please, be sure of our appreciation.

Yours truly,

Tear off along line for return-form

Group in which you participate (participated) _____

(church, trade-union, political party, youth-movement, students' association, club, etc.)

Number of years of
membership _____

Do (did) you have any office? _____

Who, in your opinion, participates more in his organization or group?

_____ One who pays his dues

_____ One who attends the meetings and participates in the activities of the group

_____ One who is only a member

_____ One who is the leader

_____ One who is an officer in one of the branches of the organization

Please, put a figure before each of the foregoing categories in the following way: A number 5 for that activity which you rate as the most important to denote group-activity, and a number 1 for the activity that you rate as the least important. In this way, you will rank the categories from 5 to 1.

Return date _____

INSTITUUT VOOR PRAEVENTIEVE GENEESKUNDE

no. 9805/112

LEIDEN,
Wassenaarseweg 56

Sedert korte tijd wordt door ons een onderzoek ingesteld naar de mate waarin onze bevolking deelneemt aan het organisatie- en groepsleven.

Om de maatstaven te verkrijgen ter latere beoordeling van verschillende graden van sociale participatie, wenden wij ons tot U en tot andere personen, die in het gemeenschaps- en groepsleven veel ervaring hebben opgedaan.

Wij zouden U zeer erkentelijk zijn voor het invullen en terugzenden van het bijgaand formulier.

Bij voorbaat dankend voor de door U te nemen moeite,

Hoogachtend,

hier afscheuren en s.v.p. terugzenden

Groep waarmee U werkt (werkte):

(kerk, vakvereniging, politieke partij, jeugdbeweging, studentenorganisatie, club, enz.)

Aantal jaren in deze groep Uw functie in de groep:

doorgebracht

Wie neemt volgens U meer deel aan het leven van zijn groep of organisatie:

- Iemand, die contributie betaalt
- Iemand, die aanwezig is tijdens de groepsactiviteit
- Iemand, die slechts lid is van de organisatie
- Iemand, die leider is van de groep
- Iemand, die werkzaam is in een van de subcommissies
van de organisatie

Zet U een cijfer vóór ieder van de bovengenoemde kenmerken op die manier, dat U met 5 aanduidt, wat U het meest doorslaggevend voor de deelname aan het groepsleven acht, en met 1 wat U het minst belangrijk vindt, zodat wij een rangorde van 5 t/m 1 verkrijgen.

Datum van het verzenden

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE

- (1) When and where were you born?
 year :
 place:
- (2) Sex? male female
- (3) Are your parents still living?
 father mother
- (4) If living, where do they live?
 In your house
 In Sassenheim
 Somewhere else where
- (5) If not living, what age did they reach and what caused their death?
 No. of years:
 Cause of death:
- (6) What was (were) your father's occupation(s)?
- (7) Is any of your grandparents still living?
 grandfather from mother's side
 grandmother from mother's side
 grandfather from father's side
 grandmother from father's side
- (8) If you can remember, name the occupations of your grandfathers,
 from mother's side: from father's side:
- (9) If you have brothers or sisters, mention for each of them:
 (1: Start with the oldest brother or sister
 2: Name the second oldest brother or sister and so on till you have listed every one)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
place of residence (also tell whether he or she is living with you)	occupation (also list occupation of her husband)	is he or she older than you	is he or she living	if not at what age did he or she die	cause of death

- (10) What is your marital status?
 engaged married divorced divorced
 and remarried widow widower
 widowed and remarried single

(11) How many children do you have or did you have?

(1: Start with the oldest child

2: Name the second oldest and so on, till you have listed every one)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
date of birth	sex	residence	education	what school	occupation (also list the occupation of her husband)

(12) Do you live in your own house?
 in a rented house? are you boarding? none of these;
 please explain

(13) In how many rooms does your family live?

(14) How many times did you move?

0 × 1 × 2 × 3 × 4 ×
 5 × 6 × 7 × 8 × 9 ×

(15) In what places did you live?
 (Start with your birth place)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(16) Name the years in which you moved from these places?

(17) What was the reason for your moving to live here?

(18) Are you satisfied with your present housing-conditions?

very much just about not at all

(19) Do you have at home?

telephone
 sewing-machine
 vacuum-cleaner
 radio
 washing-machine
 bicycle
 paintings, approximately how many.....
 books, approximately how many.....
 name some titles of these books

(20) Who prepares your meals?

you yourself
 your wife
 a member of the family
 the landlady
 some other person

(21) Which pieces of your wardrobe or clothes are usually made at home?

(22) Do you help your husband (wife) with his (her) work?

If yes, how?

(23) If you are married and have children or if you are still living with your parents, what meals do you eat together?

breakfast lunch dinner
 every day only on Sundays sometimes never

- (35) What is your present occupation and function?
- (36) What is your husband's (wife's) occupation?
- (37) How did you get your present job?
 through the labour exchange
 your father worked there
 advertisement
 relative worked there
 a friend worked there
 in another way
- (38) At what age did you start earning money?
 year
- (39) What other jobs did you have?
 Start with your last job
 job years held place of work
- (40) Have you or your husband been unemployed? yes no
 If yes, how long and when
- (41) Are you or your husband occasionally unemployed through seasonal work?
 yes no
- How long usually and at what times?
- (42) Are you afraid of future unemployment?
- (43) At what time do you usually get up? time
- (44) At what time do you usually go to bed? time
- (45) Do you take a rest in the afternoon?
 often
 sometimes
 never
- (46) How much do you earn a month (a week).
 (As previously stated, none of your answers will be submitted to any person or
 any government agency. You are, of course, free, not to answer the question).
 a week a month extra earning
- (47) Do you regularly keep account of your expenses?
 yes no sometimes
- (47a) What part of your income is, on the average, spent for
 food
 rent
 clothing
- (48) If you would get a raise, how would you spend your extra-money?
- (49) Do you find satisfaction in your occupation and work?
 yes fairly no
- (50) Do you think that you have made advancement in your life?
 Do you think that a tendency to rise can be perceived?
 yes no don't know
- (51) Do you see any chance for advancement in the future?
 yes no don't know
- (52) Did you have any vacation in the past year?
 yes no
- (53) How many days did you get? days

- (54) How did you spend these days and where did you go?
 how where did you go
- (55) Are you a member of an organization which is related to your job?
 yes no was a member
- (56) If yes, of what organization were you a member?
 trade union employers association retail union other
 Do you have a function in this organization? yes no
 If yes, what function?
- (57) Do you pay dues?
 often sometimes never
- (58) If you resigned your membership, what was the reason?
- (59) When you consider someone as belonging to a higher or a lower class than yourself, on which attributes do you base your judgement:
 descent (aristocracy or a good family)
 money (whether they have a large property)
 cultural level (what they know and how they judge things)
 occupation (what they do)?
- (60) Which of the following occupations belong to the higher (h) the lower (l) or the middle (m) class?
 doctor
 civil servant
 bulb-grower
 foreman
 exporter
 clergyman
 industrial worker (unskilled)
 industrial worker (skilled)
 vagrant
 agricultural worker (farmhand)
 florist's help
 clerk
 travelling salesman
 shopkeeper
 independent craftsman
- (61) If the entire population in the Netherlands were to be divided into three classes, to which do you think you would belong?
 lower class middle class upper class
- (61a) Do you think it right to have people divided into social classes or should there be no classes at all?
- (62) Give the name, occupation, and function of two persons in your community whom you esteem most?
- (63) Do you believe in God?
 yes no don't know

- (64) Do you believe that your existence and life on earth have a special meaning and purpose?
 yes no don't know
- (65) Do you believe that your present conduct might be of consequence for what is going to happen to you hereafter (after death)?
 yes no don't know
- (66) Did you think much about these questions? Did you talk much about them? With whom?
 clergyman relative other person
- (67) Are you a church-member? yes no
 If yes, what church do you belong to?
- (68) How often do you go to church?
 every day
 once or twice on Sundays
 at special days (Xmas, New Year's
 Eve, Easter, Whitsunday)
 sometimes
 never
- (69) Do you pay a contribution to your church?
 regularly sometimes almost never
- (70) Do you have a function in an organization which is connected with your church? (church-council, school-board, poor-relief board). Which functions?
- (71) Do you have a Bible at home? yes no
- (72) Do you read the Bible?
 Every day once a week once a month seldom never
- (73) Do you have any books of a religious nature at home? yes no
 How many approximately? Name some titles?
- (74) Do you have articles at home which remind you of your religion?
 If yes, which articles?
 crucifix
 christian calendar
 rosary
 scripture quotations
 other articles, which
- (75) Would you object against your children or brothers and sisters (a) marrying, (b) getting acquainted with, (c) or working with a person who belongs to a different religious denomination?
 marriage friendship work
- (76) Are you a member of a political party? yes no
 If yes, what party?
- (77) Do you attend meetings? yes no
 Do you pay party dues? yes no
 Do you have a function in your party? yes no
 If yes, what function?
- (78) If you are not a member of a political party, what party do you favour most?
- (79) How would you rate political party activity in your community?
 too much activity
 too little activity
 appropriate

- (96) How often did you go to the movies in the past two months?
 Tell how many times
 Where did you see the movie? Sassenheim Leiden Haarlem Den Haag
 Amsterdam some other place.
 Name the movies that you saw in the past two months.
- (97) Do you consider moving-pictures a good or a bad invention?
 Why? Explain your opinion.
- (98) Did you go to a play, an exhibition, or a concert in the past year?
 yes no If yes, what did you see and where
- (99) Do you belong to any other association not previously listed?
 yes no If yes, to what association
- (100) Do you pay dues to such an association(s)? yes no
 Name the associations or clubs.
- (101) Do you attend the meetings and the parties of these organizations?
 yes no
 Name the association or club.
- (102) Do you have a function in these (this) associations? yes no
 If yes, what kind of function and in what associations?
- (103) How many evenings did you spend at home in the past week?
- (104) How many times in the past week did you
 visit friends in Sassenheim?
 visit friends outside Sassenheim?
 go to a restaurant or a cafe in
 Sassenheim?
 go to a restaurant or a cafe outside
 Sassenheim?
- (105) How do you usually spend your leisure-time? (making things, playing,
 reading, etc.).
- (106) Are you satisfied with your health and your physical condition?
 satisfied just satisfied not satisfied not too bad
- (107) What were your greatest health-troubles in the past two years?
- (108) How many working days did you lose through illness in the past year?
- (109) Name the illness or disease which you had?
- (110) When did you for the last time (last week, half a year ago, etc.)
 visit a doctor?
 call a doctor?
 visit a dentist?
 buy medicines?
- (111) Do you have at home:
 thermometer bandages cotton iodine aspirin other medicines,
 which medicines....
- (112) Who pays your doctor's bills?
 your parents yourself compulsory insurance private insurance
 institution where you live someone else; who
- (113) Do you think that you receive good and adequate care in this community
 or the place where you work in case of an accident or illness?
 yes fair no

- (133) Did they have a Bible at home? yes no don't know
- (134) Did they talk about religion with the children?
yes no don't know
- (135) Did they talk a lot about politics at home?
yes no don't know
- (136) Did you (or the other children) have a great controversy with your parents
yes no
- If yes, about what and at what age
- (137) Did you ever see your parents reading at home?
What kind of books
how often
several times a week once a month once a year
- (138) Did they regularly get a newspaper at home when you were a child?
yes no don't know
- (139) Did they have a radio at home? yes no don't know
- (140) Did you ever go to a movie before your 16th birthday?
yes no don't know
- (141) If yes, do you remember where and what movies? where what movies
- (142) Do you know whether your father was a member of some organization?
association/organization function
-
- (143) Who took care of you when you were ill as a child?
Did they often call a doctor?
- (144) How did they pay the doctor?
your father compulsory insurance private insurance somebody else, who?
- (145) Do you think that life to-day considerably differs from life twenty-five years ago (when you went to school)? yes no don't know
- (146) If it does, in what respect?
- (147) Do you think that life will change in the future?
yes no don't know
- (148) If it will, in what respect?
- (149) Do you think the future will be
just as present better or worse for the people?
- (150) What happened to you during the last war
you were in military service and took part in action
you were taken prisoner
you were a civilian and taken into custody
you were in a concentration-camp
you hid from the Germans
you were sent to Germany or other occupied territories
you were evacuated
you suffered from the war in another way
you did not suffer from the war.
- (151) Do you think you will witness another war?
yes no don't know
- (152) Do you sometimes talk about the war? yes no
Do you sometimes dream about the war or the German occupation?
yes no don't know

- (153) Do you think that life to-day in the Netherlands is being threatened by one of the foreign countries at present?
yes no don't know
- (154) Do you think that the government can improve the conditions of living in your community or in the Netherlands?
yes no don't know
- (155) If it can, what condition
By whom
- (156) Do you think that living-conditions can be changed for the better in any other way?
yes no don't know by whom in what way
- (157) Do you consider it just and proper that people once in a while talk with the population in order to learn about their life and their opinion(s)?
yes no don't know
- (158) Would you perhaps object to answer questions later, which we possibly forgot at the present time?
yes no

ORIGINAL QUESTIONNAIRE IN DUTCH

- (1) In welk jaar en in welke plaats bent U geboren?
jaar:
plaats:
- (2) Geslacht? man vrouw
- (3) Zijn Uw ouders nog in leven? vader moeder
- (4) Zo ja, waar leven zij?
bij U thuis
in Sassenheim
elders — waar?
- (5) Zo niet, hoe oud werden zij en waaraan zijn zij overleden?
..... jaar
doodsoorzaak:
- (6) Wat was het beroep (beroepen) van Uw vader?
.....
.....
.....
- (7) Welke van Uw grootouders zijn nog in leven?
grootvader van moeder's kant
grootmoeder van moeder's kant
grootvader van vader's kant
grootmoeder van vader's kant
- (8) Als U zich kunt herinneren, geeft U de beroepen van Uw grootvaders op:
van moeder's kant: van vader's kant:
.....
.....
.....

- (9) Indien U broers of zusters heeft of had, wilt U dan voor elk van hen vermelden:
 (begint met 1: voor de oudste broer of zuster;
 2: voor de daarop volgende en zo door tot de jongste broer of zuster):

	(1) woonplaats (ook ver- melden of hij/zij bij U woont)	(2) beroep (ev. be- roep van de echt- genoot	(3) is hij/zij ouder dan U?	(4) leeft hij/zij?	(5) zo niet, leeftijd bij overlijden	(6) doods- oorzaak
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						
11						

- (10) Wat is Uw burgerlijke staat?

verloofd gehuwd gescheiden gescheiden/hertrouwd
 weduwe/weduwenaar weduwe/hertrouwd geen van alle

- (11) Heeft U of had U kinderen? Wilt U dan voor elk van hen vermelden:
 (begint U met 1 voor Uw oudste kind, dan met 2 voor het daaropvolgende
 kind enz. tot Uw jongste kind!)

	(1) geboorte- jaar	(2) zoon (z) of dochter (d)	(3) waar woont hij/zij	(4) aantal jaren op school	(5) welke school?	(6) beroep (ev. het beroep v. de echtgenoot)
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						
11						

- (12) Woont U thans:
 in Uw eigen huis? in een gehuurd huis? bij iemand in?
 op een andere manier; hoe dan?
- (13) Hoeveel vertrekken bewoont Uw gezin?
- (14) Hoeveel keer bent U in Uw leven verhuisd? 0× 1× 2× 3× 4×
 5× 6× 7× 8× 9×
- (15) Waar hebt U eerder gewoond?
 (Begin met geboorteplaats!)
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- (16) In welk jaar ging U daar vandaan?

- (17) Wat was de reden van Uw laatste verhuizing?
- (18) Bent U tevreden met Uw tegenwoordige woning?
 helemaal matig ontevreden
- (19) Is er thuis:
 telefoon
 naaimachine
 stofzuiger
 radiotoestel
 wasmachine
 rijwiel
 schilderijen; ongeveer stuks
 boeken; ongeveer stuks
 enkele titels van boeken

- (20) Wie zorgt er voor Uw maaltijden? U zelf
 Uw vrouw
 een familielid
 de hospita (kostjuffrouw)
 anderen; wie?
- (21) Welke kledingstukken worden doorgaans thuis gemaakt?

- (22) Als U getrouwd is, helpt U Uw echtgenoot (echtgenote) met zijn (haar) werk?
 ja neen
 Zo ja, waarmee?
- (23) Als U getrouwd bent en kinderen hebt of als U nog thuis inwoont, komt het
 gezin dan bij de maaltijden bijeen?
 's-morgens; 's-middags; 's-avonds; iedere dag;
 alleen op Zondag; soms; nooit.

- (48) Als Uw inkomsten zouden worden verhoogd, wat zou U met dit geld doen?
.....
- (49) Is U tevreden met Uw tegenwoordig beroep of werkomstandigheden?
ja zo, zo neen
- (50) Vindt U, dat U in Uw leven promotie gemaakt heeft, dat er een stijgende lijn in Uw leven valt waar te nemen?
ja neen weet het niet
- (51) Ziet U nog kansen tot verbetering in de toekomst?
ja neen weet het niet
- (52) Hebt U in het afgelopen jaar vakantie gehad? ja neen
- (53) Hoeveel dagen hebt U daaraan besteed? dagen
- (54) Hoe hebt U deze doorgebracht en waar?
hoe:
waar:
- (55) Is U aangesloten bij een organisatie in verband met Uw beroep?
ja neen wel geweest, maar uitgetreden
- (56) Zo ja, van welke organisatie is U dan lid?
(vakbond, vakgroep, middenstandsoorg. enz.)
Geeft U de volledige naam van deze organisatie op!
Hebt U een functie in deze organisatie? ja neen
Zo ja, welke?
- (57) Betaalt U contributies? vaak weinig nooit
(het juiste onderstrepen)
- (58) Indien U is uitgetreden uit zo'n organisatie, wat is de reden daarvan dan geweest?
(hiernaast invullen)
- (59) Als U van iemand denkt, dat hij of zij meer of minder is dan U, wat is dan doorslaggevend voor Uw oordeel?
afkomst (of zij van adel zijn of uit een goede familie stammen)
rijkdom (of zij veel eigendom hebben)
beschaving (wat zij weten en hoe zij bepaalde dingen voelen)
prestatie (wat zij doen)
- (60) Welke van de volgende beroepen behoren tot hogere (h), welke tot lagere (l) en welke tot middengroepen (m)?
(Zet een desbetreffende letter: h voor hoger; m voor midden; l voor lager, vóór de benaming van het beroep).
..... arts
..... ambtenaar
..... bloembollenkweker
..... baas of voorman
..... exporteur
..... geestelijke
..... industrie-arbeider (ongeschoold)
..... industrie-arbeider (geschoold)
..... landloper
..... landarbeider
..... bloemistknecht
..... kantoorbediende
..... onderwijzer
..... reiziger
..... winkelier
..... zelfstandig ambachtsman

(61) Als men de gehele bevolking in Nederland in drie groepen verdeelt, tot welke meent U dan te behoren?

lagere standen middengroep hogere standen

(62) Geeft U naam, beroep of functie van twee mensen in Uw gemeente, welke U het meest acht en waardeert!

(63) Geloof U in God? ja neen kan niet zeggen

(64) Vindt U, dat Uw bestaan op aarde een bijzondere zin en doel heeft?

ja neen weet het niet

(65) Geloof U dat Uw tegenwoordig leven gevolgen zal hebben voor wat er met U gebeurt na de dood?

ja neen weet het niet

(66) Hebt U over de laatstgenoemde vragen:

veel gedacht? ja neen
gesproken? ja neen

Zo ja, met wie? (geestelijke, familielid enz.)

(67) Behoort U tot een Kerkgenootschap?

ja neen

Zo ja, tot welk?

(68) Gaat U naar de Kerk:

iedere dag
des Zondags een maal; 2 maal
zoo eens per maand
bij speciale gelegenheden:
Kerstmis, Oudejaar, Pasen,
Pinksteren
zelden nooit

(69) Geeft U een bijdrage aan Uw Kerk?

geregeld
soms
haast nooit

(70) Bekleedt U in verband met Uw godsdienstige gezindheid een bepaalde functie? (in het Kerkbestuur, armbestuur, schoolbestuur enz.)

Welke functie(s)

(71) Hebt U thuis een Bijbel?

ja neen

(72) Leest U uit de Bijbel?

iedere dag eens per week eens in de maand zelden nooit

(73) Hebt U enkele boeken van godsdienstige aard thuis? ja neen

Hoever veel ongeveer? Noemt U enkele titels daarvan

- (74) Hebt U enkele voorwerpen thuis, die U aan godsdienst doen denken? Zo ja, welke?
 Kruis
 Chr. Scheurkalender
 Rozenkrans
 Bijbeltekst
 andere; welke?

- (75) Vindt U het goed als Uw kinderen, of broer of zuster met een persoon van andere godsdienstige gezindheid gaan:
 trouwen een nauwe vriendschap sluiten gaan werken
- (76) Is U lid van een politieke organisatie? ja neen
 Zo ja, van welke?
- (77) Neemt U deel aan vergaderingen? ja neen
 Betaalt U contributies? ja neen
 Bekleedt U een of meer functies in deze organisatie? ja neen
 Zo ja, welke?
- (78) Indien U geen lid is van een politieke organisatie, met welke politieke richting sympathiseert U dan het meest?
- 79) Vindt U dat er aan het partijleven in de gemeente:
 te veel wordt gedaan?
 te weinig wordt gedaan?
 er niets aan op te merken valt?
- (80) Vindt U dat onze maatschappij in de toekomst:
 nieuw en anders moet worden georganiseerd?
 liefst zoals vandaag moet blijven?
 meer op het verleden moet lijken?
- (81) Hebt U al vroeger over deze vragen:
 gedacht? ja neen
 gesproken? ja neen
 Zo ja, met wie?
 (onderstrepen of invullen)
 kennissen familieleden mensen waarmee U werkt
 anderen:
- (82) Als U iets met de overheid (gemeente-, rijksambtenaren) te maken hebt, hoe wordt U dan geholpen?
 vlug en goed redelijk langzaam en slecht
- (83) Hoe vindt U dat er tegen dieven en misdadigers wordt opgetreden?
 te streng te zacht net als het hoort geen oordeel
- (84) Welke opleiding hebt U gehad (wat voor school: b.v. R.K. school te Sassenheim, buitengewone school te, aantal klassen, examens enz.)
 (vult U in de hoogste school, die men bezocht heeft).
 School(en)
- klassen
- examens
- andere studies (cursussen enz.)
 welke?

- (95) Hoe vaak bent U de afgelopen twee maanden naar de film geweest?
 (zet cijfer achter de vraag; b.v. 2 ×) ×
 Waar? Sassenheim Leiden Haarlem Den Haag Amsterdam
 ergens anders; waar?.....
 Welke films zag U in de afgelopen twee maanden?

- (97) Vindt U de film een goede of een slechte uitvinding?

- Waarom?
- (98) Hebt U in het afgelopen jaar een toneelstuk of tentoonstelling gezien of een
 concert bezocht? ja neen
 Zo ja, welk en waar?
- (99) Is U lid van andere verenigingen, of organisaties dan vroeger vermeld?
 (buurtvereniging, sportvereniging, mondharmonicavereniging enz.)
 ja neen
 Zo ja, van welke?
- (100) Betaalt U contributies aan zulke verenigingen? ja neen
 aan
- (101) Neemt U deel aan vergaderingen of feestavonden van deze verenigingen?
 ja neen
 vereniging
- (102) Bekleedt U functies in het verenigingsleven? ja neen
 Zo ja, wat voor functie en in welke vereniging?

- (103) Hoeveel avonden hebt U in de afgelopen week thuis doorgebracht?
 avonden
- (104) Hoe vaak is U in de afgelopen week geweest:
 (zet een cijfer achter iedere vraag, b.v.: 0 ×, 1 × enz.)
 op bezoek bij vrienden in Sassenheim ×
 op bezoek bij vrienden buiten Sassenheim ×
 in een restaurant of café in Sassenheim ×
 in een restaurant of café buiten Sassenheim ×
- (105) Hoe besteedt U meestal Uw vrije tijd? (knutselen, voetballen, lezen enz.)

- (106) Bent U tevreden over Uw gezondheid en Uw lichamelijke toestand?
 tevreden matig tevreden ontevreden
- (107) Waar hebt U in dit opzicht in de laatste twee jaren het meest last van gehad?

- (108) Hoeveel werkdragen ongeveer hebt U in het afgelopen jaar verzuimd wegens ziekte? dagen
- (109) Om welke kwaal of ziekte ging het meestal?
- (110) Wanneer hebt U de laatste keer:
(vul in b.v.: vorige week, half jaar geleden en dergelijke)
de dokter bezocht
de dokter laten komen
de tandarts bezocht
geneesmiddelen gekocht
- (111) Is er bij U thuis:
een thermometer verbanden watten jodium aspirin andere genees-
middelen; welke?
- (112) Hoe wordt Uw medische hulp betaald?
door Uw ouders door U zelf verplichte verzekering vrijwillige verzekering
door inrichting, waarin U woont anders; hoe?
- (113) Vindt U dat U in geval van ziekte en/of ongeluk snel en goed in de gemeente
of de plaats waar U werkt wordt geholpen?
snel en goed redelijk, gaat nog langzaam en slecht
- (114) Als men nu teruggrijpt op de tijd toen U op school was of jonger, zag U
Uw vader thuis:
alleen 's-avonds tussen de middag allebei iedere dag alleen op Zondag
.....
- (115) Heeft hij met de kinderen soms:
gespeeld verhaaltjes verteld anders tijd doorgebracht:
.....
- (116) Werd U soms door Uw ouders gestraft? ja neen weet het niet
door wie en hoe
- (117) Wanneer U als kind in moeilijkheden was ging U dan meestal naar Uw
vader of moeder toe?
vader moeder anderen
- (118) Toen U op school was, was er veel huiswerk te doen?
ja neen weet het niet
- (119) Hebben de ouders U soms geholpen?
ja neen weet het niet
- (120) Hebben ze U voor Uw schoolrapporten soms:
beloond geloofd kon het hun niet schelen
kreeg U een standje; van moeder of vader
werd U geslagen; door wie?
- (121) Kwam het gezin meestal bij iedere maaltijd bijeen?
ja neen weet het niet
- (122) Toen U jong was, heeft vader soms in het huishouden geholpen?
ja neen weet het niet
waarmee?

- (140) Is U vóór Uw 16e jaar in de bioscoop geweest?
ja neen weet het niet meer
- (141) Zo ja, herinnert U zich waar en welke films?
waar? welke films?
- (142) Was Uw vader lid van enkele verenigingen, voor zover U weet?
vereniging functie
.....
.....
- (143) Wie zorgde voor U als kind, toen U ziek was?
Kwam er vaak een dokter bij?
- (144) Hoe werd hij betaald?
vader zelf verplichte verzekering particuliere verzekering
anderen: wie?
- (145) Vindt U, dat het leven thans belangrijk veranderd is in vergelijking met
25 jaar geleden (of Uw schoolleeftijd)?
ja neen weet het niet
- (146) Zo ja, in welk opzicht?
- (147) Denkt U, dat het leven ook in de toekomst zal veranderen?
ja neen weet het niet
- (148) In welk opzicht?
- (149) Denkt U, dat de toekomst voor de mensen:
beter zal zijn? ongeveer dezelfde zal zijn? slechter zal zijn?
- (150) Bent U tijdens de laatste oorlog:
als militair in actie geweest? gevangen gehouden?
als burger gearresteerd geweest? geïnterneerd geweest in een concen-
tratiekamp?
ondergedoken geweest? uitgezonden naar Duitsland of andere
gebieden?
geëvacueerd? op andere manier getroffen?
hoe?
- niet getroffen geweest?
- (151) Denkt U, dat er nog tijdens Uw leven een nieuwe oorlog zal komen?
ja neen durf het niet te zeggen
- (152) Praat U soms over de oorlog? ja neen
Droomt U soms over de oorlog of over de bezettingstijd?
ja neen weet het niet
- (153) Denkt U, dat het leven in Nederland thans vanuit het buitenland bedreigd
wordt? ja neen weet het niet
- (154) Vindt U, dat er iets in Uw gemeente of in Nederland van overheidswege
veranderd kan worden om het leven er beter te maken?
ja neen weet het niet
- (155) Zo ja, wat?
door wie?

APPENDIX C

Distribution of answers to interview questions in absolute numbers and per cent

No. of Question (Appendix B)	Specification	No or inadequate answer	Distribution (rows on Hollerith cards)										Total
			Sassenh.	bulb-region	S.-Holland	N.-Holland	big cities	other parts of Nether-lands	Indonesia	foreign countries			
(1)	Birth-place		157 37.4	54 13.4	82 20.3	36 8.9	28 6.9	41 10.2	5 1.2	7 1.7			404 100
(2)	Sex		men 193 47.8	women 211 52.2									404 100
(3)	Parents living		F. and M. 154 38.1	Father 47 11.6	Mother 62 15.3	none 138 34.2	unknown	F. unkn. M. living	M. unkn. F. living	F. unkn. M. dead	M. unkn. F. dead		404 100
(4)	Residence parents	143 35.4	at home 108 26.7	Sassenh. 51 12.6	bulb-region 35 8.6	S/N.Holl. 40 9.9	big cities 9 2.2	Nether-lands 15 3.8	E/W Indies 1 0.3	foreign countries 2 0.5	separately		404 100
(7)	Grandparents living			1	2	3	4				none		

	I	24	20	44	30	49	32	50	11.5	14	100
and sisters	0.3	5.9	6.9	10.9	9.4	12.1	7.9	14.9	28.7	3.0	100
(9) Number of older brothers and sisters	13 3.2	1 62 15.4	2 67 16.6	3 63 15.6	4 33 8.2	5 21 5.2	6 17 4.2	7 13 3.2	8 24 5.9	none 91 22.5	404 100
(9) Brothers and sisters living at home	15 3.7	29 7.1	21 5.2	12 3.0	9 2.2	7 1.7	10 2.5	1 0.3	6 1.5	none 294 72.8	404 100
(9) Brothers and sisters living in Sassenheim	11 2.7	1 60 14.9	2 36 8.9	3 28 6.9	4 14 3.5	5 12 3.0	6 6 1.5	7 3 0.7	8— 5 1.2	none 229 56.7	404 100
(9) Brothers and sisters living in the bulb-region	14 3.5	1 56 13.9	2 38 9.4	3 16 4.0	4 11 2.7	5 8 2.0	6 1 0.2	7 3 0.7	8— 2 0.5	none 255 63.1	404 100
(9) Brothers and sisters living in South or North Holland	15 3.7	1 88 21.7	2 35 8.7	3 18 4.5	4 15 3.7	5 13 3.2	6 10 2.5	7 7 1.7	8— 8 2.0	none 195 48.3	404 100
(9) Brothers and sisters living in big cities	16 4.0	1 50 12.4	2 18 4.5	3 10 2.5	4 3 0.7	5 1 0.2	6 —	7 —	8— 1 0.2	none 305 75.5	404 100
(9) Brothers and sisters in Indonesia	18 4.5	1 6 1.5	2 —	3 —	4 —	5 —	6 —	7 —	8—	none 380 94.0	404 100
(9) Brothers and sisters living in foreign countries	17 4.2	1 42 10.4	2 13 3.2	3 8 2.0	4 2 0.5	5 1 0.2	6 —	7 —	8—	none 321 79.5	404 100

No. of Question (Appendix B)	Specification	No or inadequate answer	Distribution										Total
(9)	Number of deceased brothers and sisters	10 2.5	1 103 25.5	2 34 8.4	3 19 4.7	4 15 3.7	5 8 2.0	6 2 0.5	7 4 1.0	8— 7 1.7	none 202 50.0	404 100	
(9)	Average age at time of death	225 55.7	— 1 year 28 6.9	1, 2, 3, 4 Y. 24 5.9	5, 6, 7, 8 Y. 11 2.7	10—14 Y. 13 3.2	15—19 Y. 14 3.5	20—29 Y. 34 8.5	30—44 Y. 31 7.7	45—49 Y. 15 3.7	60— Y. 9 2.2	404 100	
(10)	Marital status	1 0.3	engaged	married	divorced	divorced-remarried	widowed	widowed-remarried			none of these	404 100	
(11)	Number of children	3 0.7	1 44 10.9	2 43 10.6	3 46 11.4	4, 5 50 12.5	6, 7 40 9.9	8, 9 19 4.7	10, 11 11 2.7	12 5 1.2	none 143 35.4	404 100	
(11)	Age of children	127 31.4	— 5 Y.	— 10 Y.	— 15 Y.	— 18 Y.	— 20 Y.	— 25 Y.	— 30 Y.	31— Y.	no children no answer	404 100	
(11)	Number of children living at home	84 20.8	1 57 14.1	2 50 12.4	3 45 11.1	4 28 6.9	5 13 3.2	6 18 4.5	7 11 2.7	8— 11 2.7	none 87 21.5	404 100	
(11)	Number of children living in Sassenheim	100	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8—	none		

(11)	region	25.2	4.2	1.5	0.2	0.5			0.3			68.1	404 100
	Number of children living in North or South Holland	101 25.0	1 24 6.0	2 10 2.5	3 1 0.2	4 3 0.7	5	6	7 1 0.3	8—	none 264 65.3	404 100	
(11)	Number of children living in the big cities	103 25.5	1 11 2.7	2 2 0.5	3	4 1 0.2	5	6	7 1 0.3	8—	none 286 70.8	404 100	
(11)	Number of children living in the Netherlands	103 25.5	1 16 4.0	2 1 0.3	3	4 1 0.2	5	6	7 1 0.2	8—	none 282 69.8	404 100	
(11)	Number of children living in Indonesia	106 26.2	1 3 0.7	2 1 0.3	3	4	5	6	7 1 0.3	8—	none 293 72.5	404 100	
(11)	Number of children living in foreign countries	115 28.6	1 3 0.7	2 1 0.2	3 1 0.2	4	5	6	7 1 0.2	8—	none 283 70.1	404 100	
(11)	Education of the children	183 45.3	—4	—6 1 0.2	—7 43 10.6	8 20 4.9	9 8 2.0	10 6 1.5	11, 12 12 3.0	13— 12 3.0	none 119 29.5	404 100	
(12)	Types of housing	5 1.2	own house	house owned by parents	with parents	boarding house	rented house	rest-home	institution	parents in law	otherwise	404 100	
			69 17.1	24 5.8	62 15.4	26 6.4	207 51.2	3 0.8	3 0.8	2 0.5	3 0.8	404 100	
(13)	Number of rooms	4 1.0	1 18 4.5	2 27 6.7	3 61 15.1	4 69 17.1	5 91 22.5	6 73 18.1	7 32 7.9	8 24 5.9	none 5 1.2	404 100	

No. of Question (Appendix B)	Specification	No or inadequate answer	Distribution								Total	
(14)	Number of residences		1 29 7.2	2 74 18.3	3 75 18.6	4-5 97 24.0	6-7 62 15.3	8-9 30 7.4	10-11 10 2.5	12 or more 17 4.2	none 10 2.5	404 100
(15)	No. of residences in Sassenheim	3 0.7	1 155 38.4	2 115 28.5	3 69 17.1	4 33 8.2	5 6 1.5	6 9 2.2	7 4 1.0	8- 3 0.7	none 7 1.7	404 100
(16)	Average length of residence in Sassenheim	14 3.5	— ½ year 1 0.2	— 1 year 6 1.5	— 2 years 27 6.7	2, 3 years 40 9.9	4, 5, 6 y. 53 13.1	7, 8, 9 y. 54 13.4	10-14 y. 101 25.0	15- years 108 26.7	none	404 100
(17)	Reason for latest moving	30 7.4	bigger house 50 12.4	near place of work 12 3.0	better house 43 10.6	own house 31 7.7	marriage children 81 20.0	occupation 54 13.4	smaller house wanted 10 2.5	other reasons 83 20.5	no moving 10 2.5	404 100
(18)	Satisfaction with housing	1 0.3	satisfied 301 74.5	just about 60 14.8	dissatisfied 42 10.4							404 100
(19)	Possession of telephone, sewing machine,		telephone 14	sewing-machine 14	vacuum cleaner 14	tel./s.m. 14	tel./v.c. 14	s.m./v.c. 14	tel./s.m./v.c. 14		none of these	404 100

	radio, washing machine		35 8.7	machine 2 0.5	24 5.9	7 1.7	211 52.3	7 1.7	109 27.0		404 100	
(19)	Possession of books	6 1.5	—5 28 6.9	—10 26 6.4	—20 55 13.6	—30 39 9.6	—50 47 11.6	—75 40 9.9	—100 12 3.0	100— 63 15.7	none 88 21.8	404 100
(20)	Preparation of meals		oneself 160 39.6	wife 125 30.9	mother 73 18.1	landlady 9 2.2		relative 18 4.5	employer 6 1.5	institution 5 1.2	others 8 2.0	404 100
(21)	Clothing made at home	6 1.5	all 23 5.7	all except coats 75 18.6	women's clothing 63 15.6	children's clothing 36 8.9	underwear 22 5.4	some 36 8.9	about a half 20 4.9	seamstress 10 2.5	nothing 113 28.0	404 100
(22)	Helping housewife with work	140 34.7	yes 99 24.5	no 150 37.1	sometimes 10 2.5						5 1.2	404 100
(23)	When family together at meals	45 11.1	always 176 43.6	always except afternoons 55 13.6	always except mornings 40 9.9	always except evenings 3 0.7	only mornings 3 0.7	only evenings 43 10.7	only afternoons 5 1.3	sometimes 28 6.9	never 6 1.5	404 100
(25)	Who punishes the children	173 42.8	father 43 10.6	mother 58 14.4	both 72 17.8					not indicated 6 1.5	nobody 52 12.9	404 100
(26)	Pocket-money children	201 49.6	every week 54 13.4	every month 1 0.3	sometimes 10 2.5	earned money 15 3.7	once every 14 days 1 0.3			not indicated 16 4.0	never 106 26.2	404 100

No. of Question (Appendix B)	Specification	No or inadequate answer	Distribution								Total		
			— ½ hour	— 1 hour	— 2 hours	— 3 hours	3— hours	not specified					
(27)	Number of hours of home-work (for school)	224 55.4	1 0.3	14 3.5	23 5.7	13 3.2	13 3.2	13 3.2	8 2.0	none 108 26.7	404 100		
(28)	Help with home-work	274 67.8	father 12 3.0	mother 3 0.7	both 8 2.0	brothers/ sisters 2 0.5	not specified 1 0.3			nobody 104 25.7	404 100		
(29)	Who disposes with household money	24 6.0	father 5 1.2	mother 81 20.1	both 15 3.7	man 3 0.7	wife 248 61.4		both 16 4.0	relative 7 1.7	children 5 1.2	404 100	
(30)	Who sees to the education of children	168 41.6	man 1 0.3	wife 33 8.2	both 192 47.5	parents grand- parents 3 0.7				none 7 1.7		404 100	
(31)	Number of working-hours	5 1.2	—2.9 5 1.2	3.4 17 4.3	5.6 39 9.7	7 31 7.7	8, 9 103 25.5		10 93 23.0	11, 12 52 12.9	13 43 10.6	none 16 3.9	404 100
(32)	Place of work	12	at home	Sassenheim	Voorhout	Bulb- region	Leyden	big cities	S./N. Holl.	Nether- lands	foreign countries		

(34)	Kind of work	62 15.3	102 25.3	171 42.3	10 2.5	3 0.7	11 2.7	19 4.7	4 1.0	10 2.5	12 3.0	404 100
		18 4.4	59 14.6	167 41.3	109 27.0	15 3.7	municipal service	civil service	partly ci- vil service	others	none	404 100
(35)	Occupational group	no occu- pation, no answer	agri- cultural worker	farmer grower	industrial worker	manager in industry	commerce	civil service	teacher	tradesman		404 100
		227 56.2	38 9.4	30 7.4	15 3.7	19 4.7	30 7.4	14 3.5	8 2.0		23 5.7	404 100
(37)	Way of getting work	104 25.7	father's firm	place father worked	started in same place	relatives	friend	advertis- ement	labour exchange	applied himself	was asked	404 100
		2 0.5	29 7.2	35 8.7	37 9.1	19 4.7	52 12.9	32 7.9	16 4.0	66 16.3	14 3.5	404 100
(39)	Number of jobs		1 13 32.4	2 112 27.7	3 62 15.3	4 20 4.9	5 20 4.9	6, 7 9 2.2	8 1 0.3	9 2 0.5	none	404 100
		6 1.5	1 month	2 m.	3 m.	4 m.	5 m.	5, 6 m.	7, 8 m.	not specified	never	404 100
(40)	Unemployment		9 2.2	7 1.7	1 0.3	7 1.7	6 1.5	17 4.2	45 11.2	34 8.4	272 67.3	404 100
		14 3.5	— 1 month	— 2 m.	— 3 m.	— 4 m.	— 5 m.	— 6 m.	6 — m.	not specified	never	404 100
(41)	Seasonal unemploy- ment		5 1.3	7 1.7	7 1.7	7 1.7	9 2.2	3 0.8	7 1.7	19 4.7	326 80.7	404 100

No. of Question (Appendix B)	Specification	No or inadequate answer	fear	no fear	do not know	not afraid for himself, but for society	— 8 o'clock	— 9 o'clock	— 10 o'clock	— 11 o'clock	— 12 o'clock	no answer	Total
(42)	Fear of unemployment	22 5.5	51 12.6	298 73.8	5 1.2	28 6.9	157 38.9	21 5.2	56 13.9	11 2.7	3 0.7	404 100	
(43)	Getting up	2 0.5	— 4 o'clock 0	— 5 o'clock 10 2.5	— 6 o'clock 46 11.3	— 7 o'clock 161 39.9	— 8 o'clock 157 38.9	— 9 o'clock 21 5.2	— 10 o'clock 7 1.7			404 100	
(43—44)	Hours of rest	2 0.5	— 4 hours	— 5 hours	— 6 hours 8 2.0	— 7 hours 36 8.9	— 8 hours 122 30.2	— 9 hours 166 41.1	— 10 hours 56 13.9	— 11 hours 11 2.7	— 12 hours 3 0.7	404 100	
(44)	Going to bed	1 0.3	— 7 o'clock	— 8 o'clock 1 0.3	— 9 o'clock 5 1.2	— 10 o'clock 32 7.9	— 11 o'clock 201 49.8	— 12 o'clock 133 32.9	— 1 o'clock 25 6.1	— 2 o'clock 6 1.5		404 100	
(45)	Resting during day-time	3 0.7	regularly 83 20.5	never 256 63.4	sometimes 62 15.4							404 100	
(46)	Income	40 9.9	— fl. 45.— 127 31.4	fl. 46.—65 117 28.9	fl. 66.— 95 23.5	none 25 6.2						404 100	
(47)	Keeping track of ex-		yes	no	sometimes						never	404 100	

(48)	Spending extra earnings	39.1	4.2	7.4	8.2	10.5	7.4	2.2	2.2	2.5	16.3	100
		10	23	80	17	24	15	4	8	143	others	404
		2.5	5.7	19.8	4.2	5.9	3.7	1.0	2.0	35.4	80	100
(49)	Job satisfaction	19	yes	no	rather							404
		4.7	326	18	41							100
			80.7	4.5	10.1							
(50)	Evaluation of career	7	yes	no	do not know							404
		1.7	254	126	17							100
			62.9	31.2	4.2							
(51)	Chances for advancement	8	yes	no	do not know							404
		2.0	157	168	71							100
			38.8	41.6	17.6							
(52-53)	Number of vacation days	21	— 5 days	— 7 d.	— 10 d.	— 14 d.	— 18 d.	— 22 d.	— 28 d.	28 — d.	none	404
		5.2	28	32	58	40	27	8	5	11	174	100
			6.9	7.9	14.4	9.9	6.7	2.0	1.2	2.7	43.1	
(52)	Place where vacation spent	199	at home	bulb-region	seaside resort	big cities	North or South Holland	the Netherlands	Belgium	France	other foreign countries	404
		49.3	64	10	2	10	26	77	7	1	8	100
			15.9	2.5	0.5	2.5	6.3	19.0	1.7	0.3	2.0	
(54)	How vacation was spent	187	worked for wages	worked at home	studied	visited people	rested at home	little trips	went to the beach	travel	others	404
		46.2	4	11	1	53	18	39	8	65	18	100
			1.0	2.7	0.2	13.1	4.5	9.7	2.0	16.1	4.5	

(64)	Teleology	0.5	96.3	1.5	1.7								100
			yes 353 87.4	no 19 4.7	donotknow 32 7.9								404 100
(65)	Transcendental sanc- tion		yes 324 80.2	no 37 9.2	donotknow 43 10.6								404 100
(66)	Thinking and talking about religion	5 1.3	thought about 79 19.5	spoke about 18 4.4	both 200 49.5	none 100 24.8	once in a while 2 0.5						404 100
(55-57) (67-70) (76-77) (94-103)	Social participation index		—4 111 27.4	—7 110 27.2	—10 99 24.5	—13 48 11.9	—16 25 6.2	—19 7 1.7	—22 1 0.3	—25 2 0.5	25— 1 0.3		404 100
(67)	Church-affiliation	2 0.5	Roman Catholic 197 48.7	Dutch Reformed 86 21.2	Calvinist 83 20.5	Christian Reformed 2 0.5		Lutheran 5 1.3	Baptist 2 0.5	others 6 1.5	none 21 5.3		404 100
(68)	Church-attendance		daily	several times a week 29 7.2	on Sundays regularly 271 67.1	skipping service, now and then 11 2.7	once a month 18 4.5	once a year 8 2.0	rarely 15 3.7		never 41 10.0		404 100
(69-70)	Contribution to and function in church- organization		contri- bution 311 77.0	function 2 0.5	cont. + func. 35 8.6						none of these 56 13.9		404 100

No. of Question (Appendix B)	Specification	No or inadequate answer	Distribution										Total
(71-73)	Possession of the Bible and religious books		Bible 78 19.3	Bible+one or two books 69 17.1	3-5 b.+B 33 8.2	B + 5 b.— 55 13.6	—2 b. 55 13.6	—5 b. 19 4.7	5 b.— 11 2.7		none 84 20.8	404 100	
(72)	Bible-reading	3 0.7	daily	several times a week 5 1.2	on Sundays	once a month 12 3.0	sometimes	rarely			never 207 51.3	404 100	
(74)	Religious objects	6 1.5	crucifix	calender	rosary	cr.+r. 157 38.9	cr.+c. 2 0.5	cr.+r.+c. 15 3.7	Bible scripture 30 7.4	Bible+ Bible scripture 86 21.3	none 51 12.6	404 100	
(75)	Tolerance		only marriage	only friendship	only work-relationship	m.+f. 0	m.+w. 1 0.3	f.+w. 162 40.1	m.+f.+w. 64 15.8		none 40 9.9	404 100	
(76)	Political party		K.V.P.	A.R.	C.H.U.	P. v. d. A.	V.V.D.	C.P.N.	other		none	404 100	

(78)	Political party preference	8 2.0	0	meetings 6 1.5	tribution 68 16.8	6 1.5	39 9.7	3 0.7	3 0.7	other 2 0.5	271 67.1	404 100
			Catholic People's Party 71 17.6	Anti-Revolutionary Party 51 12.6	Christian Historical Union 24 5.9	Labour Party 13 3.2	Liberal Party 13 3.2	Communist Party	Reformed Calvinist Party 2 0.5		none 75 18.6	404 100
(79)	Evaluation of political party activity	14 3.5	too much 26 6.4	too little 73 18.1	just right 122 30.2	donotknow 169 41.8						404 100
(80)	Progressiveness with regard to society	18 4.5	new society 198 49.0	as it was 68 16.8	as it is to-day 65 16.1	donotknow 51 12.6	rationalizing 4 1.0					404 100
(81)	Thinking about politics	3 0.7	thought about 31 7.7	spoke about 23 5.7	both 129 31.9	neither one 218 54.0						404 100
(82)	Attitude to bureaucracy	5 1.3	prompt and good 139 34.4	tardy and poor 79 19.5	reasonable 75 18.6	donotknow 91 22.5	discriminative 15 3.7					404 100
(83)	Attitude to penal measures	3 0.7	too severe 10 2.5	too light 103 25.5	as they should be 140 34.6	no opinion 105 26.0	discriminative 40 10.0	rationalizing 3 0.7				404 100

No. of Question (Appendix B)	Specification	No or inadequate answer	Distribution										Total
			6 grades grammar school	7 grades grammar school	junior high school not graduated	junior h.s. graduated	trade school	senior high school not graduated	senior high school graduated	teachers' college	university		
(84)	Education		186 46.1	84 20.7	28 6.9	42 10.4	22 5.5	10 2.5	11 2.7	17 4.2	4 1.0	404 100	
(85)	Number of books read in a month	2 0.5	—1 62 15.4	—2 54 13.4	—3 22 5.5	—4 24 5.9	—5 27 6.7	—6 5 1.2	—7 5 1.2	7— 17 4.2	none 186 46.0	404 100	
(86)	Sources of books		own books	borrowed from friend	factory library	club library	school library	shop library	reading map	partly owned, partly borrowed		404 100	
(87)	Newspaper		Leidse Courant	Leids Dagblad	Nieuwe Leidse Crt	Haarlems Dagblad	A paper from bulb-region	Volkskrant	Handelsblad	other papers outside region		404 100	
(87—88)	Number of papers	15 3.7	88 21.8	42 10.4	84 20.8	1 0.3	5 1.2	42 10.4	8 2.0	66 16.3	53 13.1	404 100	
			1 sub- scription	1 sub- scription, 2 bought at newsstand	2 sub- scriptions	1 bought at newsstand	3—				none		

	39 9.6	105 26.0	7 1.7	46 11.4	27 6.7	32 7.9	42 10.4	18 4.5	42 10.4	404 100
(90)	Weeklies and periodicals	tradepaper 19 4.7	church-paper 39 9.7	women's weeklies 49 12.1	t.p.+c.p. 13 3.2	t.p.+i.w. 22 5.4	t.p.+w.w. 2 0.5	c.p.+w.w. 22 5.5	i.w.+c.p. 41 10.2	404 100
(90)	Weeklies and periodicals	w.w.+i.w. 47 11.6	w.w.+t.p.+c.p. 4 1.0	t.p.+w.w.+i.w. 12 3.0	t.p.+i.w.+c.p. 14 3.5	c.p.+w.w.+i.w. 2 0.5	Elsevier 15 3.7	reading map 5 1.2		404 100
(90)	Number of weeklies and periodicals	1 80 19.8	2 88 21.8	4 49 12.1	5 22 5.4	6 11 2.7	7 1 0.3	8— 10 2.5	none 45 11.1	404 100
(91)	Radio-listening	all day	evening	week-end	several hours a day	sometimes	rarely	not specified	never	
(92)	Days when listening to the radio	6 1.5	98 24.3	3 0.7	44 10.9	42 10.4	22 5.4	43 10.6	20 5.0	404 100
(92)	Days when listening to the radio	Sat. 69 17.1	Sun. 45 11.1	Tues. 8 2.0	Wednes. 4 1.0	Thurs. 15 3.7	Fri. 1 0.3		none 209 51.7	404 100
(93)	Programmes listened to	33 8.2	news 120 29.7	n.+c. 46 11.4	n.+f.b. 65 16.1	c.+f.b. 1 0.2	n.+c.+f.b. 34 8.4		none 66 16.3	404 100

No. of Question (Appendix B)	Specification	No or inadequate answer	Distribution										Total
			classical music	light music	jazz	radio-play	lecture	mass, church-music	cabaret	cabaret radio-play	others		
(94)	Programme preference	40 10.0	30 7.4	51 12.6	3 0.7	24 5.9	9 2.2	8 2.0	18 4.5	77 19.1	144 35.6	404 100	
(95)	Dislike for broadcasting companies		K.R.O.	A.V.R.O.	V.A.R.A.	V.P.R.O.	N.C.R.V.	like the K.R.O.	like the A.V.R.O.+ V.A.R.A.	like the V.P.R.O.+ N.C.R.V.	indifferent	404 100	
(96)	Place of going to movies	29 7.2	10 2.5	9 2.2	21 5.2	15 3.7	10 2.5	29 7.2	24 5.9	54 13.4	203 50.2	404 100	
(97)	Movie-evaluation	283 70.0	Leyden	Haarlem	Lisse	Hillegom	other places	Leyden+ Haarlem	Leyden+ other places	Haarlem+ other places	Bulb-reg-ion+ other places	404 100	
(98)	Number of cultural performances	6 1.5	good 201 49.7	poor 56 13.9	no opinion 141 34.9	4 1.0	18 4.5	5 1.2	10 2.5	2 0.5	none	404 100	

formances	Sassenheim	Sassenh.	cert in o- ther places	concert	concert/ exhibition	EXHIBITION	EXHIBITION	EXHIBITION	
(99)	117 29.0	6 1.5	3 51 12.5	65 16.1	15 3-7	3 0.7	20 5.0	6 1.5	60 14.8
Club-membership	1 135 33.4	2 63 15.6	3 15 3-7	4 10 2.5	5 2 0.5	6	7	8—	none 179 44.3
(100)	82 20.3	2 64 15.8	3 12 3.0	4 5 1.2	5 3 0.7	6	7	8—	none 100 24.8
Contributions	1 137 33.9	2 64 15.8	3 12 3.0	4 5 1.2	5 3 0.7	6	7	8—	none 100 24.8
(101)	87 21.5	2 42 10.4	3 6 1.5	4 1 0.3	5	6 1 0.3	7	8—	none 155 38.3
Club-visits	1 112 27.7	2 42 10.4	3 6 1.5	4 1 0.3	5	6 1 0.3	7	8—	none 155 38.3
(102)	89 22.0	2 4 1.0	3	4	5	6	7	8—	none 275 68.1
Function in club or organization	1 36 8.9	2 4 1.0	3	4	5	6	7	8—	none 275 68.1
(103)	4 1.0	2 15 3.7	3 26 6.4	4 25 6.2	5 43 10.6	6 71 17.6	7 198 49.0		none 12 3.0
Number of evenings at home	1 10 2.5	2 15 3.7	3 26 6.4	4 25 6.2	5 43 10.6	6 71 17.6	7 198 49.0		none 12 3.0
(104)	6 1.5	2 15 3.7	3 18 4.5	4 35 8.7	5 20 4.9	6 23 5.7	7 9 2.2	Sas. 1 X, out. Sas. 2 X	none 191 47.3
Visiting friends	Sassenheim 1 X	Sassenheim 2 X	Sassenheim 3 X	outside Sassenheim 1 X	outside Sassenheim 2 X	Sas. 1 X, out. Sas. 1 X	Sas. 2 X, out. Sas. 1 X	Sas. 1 X, out. Sas. 2 X	none
(104)	10 2.5	2 0.5	3 1 0.2	4 23 5.7	5 13 3.2	Sas. 1 X, out. Sas. 1 X	Sas. 2 X, out. Sas. 1 X	Sas. 1 X, out. Sas. 2 X	none 336 83.2
Visiting cafés	Sassenheim 1 X	Sassenheim 2 X	Sassenheim 3 X	outside Sas. 1 X	outside Sas. 2 X	Sas. 1 X, out. Sas. 1 X	Sas. 2 X, out. Sas. 1 X	Sas. 1 X, out. Sas. 2 X	none

No. of Question (Appendix B)	Specification	No or inadequate answer	Distribution										Total
			sport	work at home	music	reading	radio	walking, bicycling	visiting	other	none		
(105)	Spending of leisure	6 1.5	32 7.9	163 40.4	7 1.7	81 20.0	7 1.7	44 10.9	4 1.0	48 11.9	12 3.0	404 100	
(106)	Satisfaction with health		satisfied 289 71.5	not satisfied 27 6.7	rather satisfied 88 21.8							404 100	
(108)	Working-days lost due to illness	12 3.0	—7 47 11.6	—10 18 4.4	—14 7 1.7	—20 16 4.0	—30 10 2.5	—45 9 2.2	—60 2 0.5	60— 17 4.2	none 266 65.9	404 100	
(109)	Kind of illness		cold	influenza	contagious diseases	stomach + digestive tract	nervous + glandular	cardiac + circulatory	lungs + ears + nose	disease	others	404 100	
(110)	Visit to doctor	18 4.5	8 2.0	29 7.2	4 1.0	43 10.6	45 11.1	15 3.7	14 3.5	14 3.5	97 24.0	404 100	
(110)	Doctor called	118	8	11	25	45	91	97	10	70	17	404	
			this week 24 5.9	this month 58 14.4	—6 m 97 24.0	6—12 m 75 18.6	12—18 m 45 11.1	—2 y 24 5.9	—3 y 27 6.7	4 y— 32 7.9	never 4 1.0		

(111)	First-aid cabinet	17 4.2	11 2.7	20 4.9	79 19.6	47 11.6	27 6.7	32 7.9	25 6.2	119 29.5	27 6.7	404 100
		5 1.2	thermo- meter 17 4.2	iodine 24 5.9	aspirin 30 7.5	t. + i. 13 3.2	t. + a. 18 4.5	a. + i. 82 20.3	t. + i. + a. 171 42.3		none 44 10.9	404 100
(112)	Payment of doctor	4 1.0	oneself 64 15.8	parents 11 2.7	compulsory insurance 222 55.0	private insurance 99 24.5	institution 4 1.0					404 100
(113)	Satisfaction with doctor	9 2.2	prompt + good 339 83.9	slow + poor 18 4.5	fair 21 5.2	donotknow 17 4.2						404 100
(114)	Father at home	18 4.5	all day 282 69.8	evenings 49 12.1	Sundays 18 4.5	morning + afternoons 7 1.7	almost never 13 3.2	now and then 8 2.0			never 9 2.2	404 100
(115)	Role of father	15 3.7	A played with children 84 20.8	B trusted by children 4 1.0	C punished 50 12.4	AB 43 10.6	AC 120 29.7	BC 4 1.0	ABC 26 6.4		none 58 14.4	404 100
(116) (117)	Role of parents	7 1.7		A punished 102 25.3	B helped 5 1.2	C interest in children's progress 22 5.5	AB 2 0.5	AC 199 49.2	BC 4 1.0	ABC 28 6.9	none 40 9.9	404 100

No. of Question (Appendix B)	Specification	No or inadequate answer	Distribution										Total
			yes	no	sometimes	donotknow	AC	BC	ABC	father money	none		
(121)	Family together at meals	42 10.4	308 76.2	27 6.7	19 4.7	AB 6 1.5	AC 87 21.6	BC 45 11.2	ABC 49 12.0	father money 12 3.0	none	8 2.0	404 100
(122)	Help parents	7 1.7	father mother 26 6.4	mother father 10 2.5	mother money 137 33.9	AB 6 1.5	AC 87 21.6	BC 45 11.2	ABC 49 12.0	father money 12 3.0	none	25 6.2	404 100
(124)	Earnings mother	5 1.2	15 6.2	mother's occupation 162 40.1	AB 63 15.6						none	149 36.9	404 100
(127)	Clothing in the past		self-made	ordered	bought regularly	donotknow	about a half						
		14 3.5	214 53.0	52 12.9	85 21.0	5 1.2	34 8.4						404 100
(129)	Going to bed in the past	45 11.1	—7 p. m. 1 0.3	8 p. m. 1 0.3	9 p. m. 4 1.0	10 p. m. 48 11.9	11 p. m. 186 46.0	12 p. m. 74 18.4	1 a. m. 19 4.7	2 a. m. 3 0.7		23 5.6	404 100
(129)	Getting up in the past	41	—4 a. m. 6	—5 a. m. 97	—6 a. m. 81	—7 a. m. 111	—8 a. m. 02	—9 a. m. 14	10— a. m. 4			18	404

	Catholic	Returned	Calvinist	Community	5	2	6	9	404
(131)	203 50.2	102 25.2	73 18.1	1 0.3	5 1.2	2 0.5	6 1.5	9 2.2	100
Denomination mother	206 51.0	103 25.4	75 18.6		6 1.5	2 0.5	4 1.0	6 1.5	404 100
(131)	199 49.3	113 28.0	50 12.5		3 0.7	2 0.5	5 1.2	3 0.7	404 100
Denomination father's parents	199 49.3	113 28.0	50 12.5		3 0.7	2 0.5	5 1.2	3 0.7	404 100
(131)	200 49.5	112 27.6	53 13.1		7 1.7	1 0.3	4 1.0	1 0.3	404 100
Denomination mother's parents	200 49.5	112 27.6	53 13.1		7 1.7	1 0.3	4 1.0	1 0.3	404 100
(134—136)	A 197 48.7	B 9 2.2	C 17 4.2	AC 48 11.9	BC 6 1.5	ABC 18 4.5		none 60 14.9	404 100
Talking about relig- ion and politics, con- troversy with parents	A 197 48.7	B 9 2.2	C 17 4.2	AC 48 11.9	BC 6 1.5	ABC 18 4.5		none 60 14.9	404 100
(145—146)	technical 20 5.0	educational 59 14.5	pace of life 23 5.7	social conditions 126 31.2	way of life 66 16.3	relation to others 20 5.0	others 38 9.4	none 33 8.2	404 100
Perception of social change in the past	technical 20 5.0	educational 59 14.5	pace of life 23 5.7	social conditions 126 31.2	way of life 66 16.3	relation to others 20 5.0	others 38 9.4	none 33 8.2	404 100
(148)	technical 39 9.7	educational 13 3.2	pace of life 3 0.7	social conditions 67 16.6	way of life 13 3.2	relation to others 10 2.5	not specified 80 19.8	none 57 14.1	404 100
Perception future change	technical 39 9.7	educational 13 3.2	pace of life 3 0.7	social conditions 67 16.6	way of life 13 3.2	relation to others 10 2.5	not specified 80 19.8	none 57 14.1	404 100
(149)	better 77 19.0	worse 181 44.8	same 84 20.8	donotknow 46 11.4					404 100
Life in the future	better 77 19.0	worse 181 44.8	same 84 20.8	donotknow 46 11.4					404 100
(150)	A 8 2.0	B 24 5.9	C 3 0.7	AC 12 3.0	BC	ABC	concentra- tion camp	none 200 49.5	404 100
War experience	A 8 2.0	B 24 5.9	C 3 0.7	AC 12 3.0	BC	ABC	concentra- tion camp	none 200 49.5	404 100

No. of Question (Appendix B)	Specification	No or inadequate answer	Distribution										Total
			A forced labour	B hid from the Germans	C evacuated	AB	AC	BC	ABC	suffered in another way	none		
(150)	War experience	32 7.9	11 2.7	29 7.2	7 1.7	7 1.7	4 1.0	1 0.3	1 0.3	1 0.3	22 5.4	290 71.8	404 100
(151)	Expects another war	2 0.6	yes 245 60.6	no 66 16.3	donotknow 91 22.5								404 100
(151-152)	Talk about past war		talking about 141 34.9	dreaming about 11 2.7	both 20 5.0	4 1.0						228 56.4	404 100
(153)	Threat from abroad	4 1.0	yes 164 40.6	Russia 54 13.4	U.S.A. 11 2.7	no 103 25.5	donotknow 68 16.8						404 100
(154)	Change by govern- ment	4 0.0	community 20 4.9	govern- ment 87 21.5	States- General 6 1.5	donotknow	AB 10 2.5	AC	BC		not specified 49 12.1	none desired 115 28.5	404 100
(154)	Change through other channels	18	church 18	trade- unions 5	Nether- lands 2	people 65	not specified 27	Sassenheim 2	leaders of sportclubs 1		donotknow 136	none 130	404 100

APPENDIX D

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

INSTITUUT VOOR PRAEVENTIEVE GENEESKUNDE

LEIDEN,
WASSENAARSEWEG 56

No. 4016//103
IG/dB

Zoals U misschien reeds gehoord of gelezen hebt, wordt er in Uw gemeente door het Instituut voor Praeventieve Geneeskunde te Leiden een onderzoek verricht naar de levensgewoonten en maatschappelijke verhoudingen.

Het Instituut stelt zich ten doel middelen te vinden om ziekten te voorkomen. Om dat te kunnen bereiken, moet men ook de levensomstandigheden kennen, die de gezondheid en het zich wel bevinden van mensen kunnen beïnvloeden.

Daartoe zullen de sociologische medewerkers van het Instituut aan plm. 400 mensen in Sassenheim van alle standen, leeftijden, politieke en godsdienstige gezindheid enz., een aantal vragen stellen. Op deze wijze hoopt men het gewone leven, de gewoonten, de houdingen van de bevolking ten opzichte van belangrijke levensvraagstukken en ook de verenigingen en organisaties, die daarbij een rol spelen, goed te leren kennen.

Zeker zult U er geen bezwaren tegen hebben, om één van onze medewerkers voor een gesprek te ontvangen. U kunt hem vertrouwen, zoals U Uw arts vertrouwt. Ons Instituut is een wetenschappelijke, geheel onafhankelijke instelling. U behoeft dus niet te vrezen, dat Uw antwoorden ooit aan iemand, wie dan ook, ter inzage zouden kunnen komen, ook niet aan enigerlei overheidsorgaan!

De Directeur,

APPENDIX E

COMPARISON OF HISTORY-TEXTBOOKS

The following are quotations from the textbooks on history that are in use in the various types of elementary schools in Sassenheim.

- A. the Roman Catholic textbook, *Rood, Wit en Blauw*, by Dr J. A. NILLESSEN, 's-Hertogenbosch;
- B. the Calvinist (Gereformeerd) reading-book, *Toen en Nu*, by W. G. VAN DER HULST and R. HUIZENGA, Groningen, 12th ed. 1951;
- C. the textbook "*Van Hunebed tot Heder*", by S. v. d. WERFF and S. H. WOUDEMA, Groningen, 3d. edition 1954, that was in use in the School of the Dutch Reformed Church in Sassenheim

The paragraphs which were selected refer to one of the most important periods in the history of the territory, the origin of the independent state of the Netherlands.

Reformation

A

p. 53. In 1517, Luther in Germany started the revolt against the Pope. He rejected the Priesthood, the Confession, the Holy Mass, etc. His followers were the Lutherans. In our country, the Protestants were mostly the followers of Calvin who broke with the Holy Church in Geneva.

B

p. 16. On the 31st of October, in a peaceful small town of Wittenburg in Germany, a simple monk nailed a paper on a church-door. It contained a long list of 95 articles *summing up the shortcomings and lies of the Papist Church* (Roomse Kerk).

p. 17. People did not trust the priests any more. The simple and holy truth was completely buried under various human inventions of the priests.

p. 18. *Martin Luther was destined to become God's Servant.*

C

p. 106. Wealth and riches have done no good to the Church, in the long run. In the course of the 14th and 15th centuries reversed conditions arose that brought about the decadence of the Church. Many bishops and abbots began to meddle more and more in political affairs and abandoned Church-affairs. They thought themselves sovereigns in the first place. Even in the cloisters, the situation deteriorated. Many monks led a life that was not in agreement with their assumed reputation.

p. 108. Martin Luther wrote down a number of objections, he raised against the Catholic Church. He made an appeal to what was the teaching of the Bible accord-

p. 113. Philip II was by far not such a clever sovereign as his father. He was a typical Spaniard, and had nothing in common with the Dutchmen. He could not even understand their language. The purpose of his rule was as follows: the extirpation of the reformed religion in the Netherlands. Everybody had to be a Catholic!

p. 114. Everybody hated the Inquisition. William of Orange, while still being a Catholic, hated it too, together with many other Catholics...

p. 114. Cardinal Granvelle exercised much influence on Margaret of Parma. He was a loyal servant of the king, and a persecutor of Protestants. He was the chief of the Camarilla. This Camarilla was the only body that Margaret consulted. The other noblemen who were members of the Camarilla (Orange, Egmond, and Hoorne) had less influence. No wonder that they began to hate Granvelle. They succeeded in having Granvelle recalled to Spain by Philip, in the end.

p. 25. Philip did not like the Dutchmen and the Dutchmen did not like him. He was a typical Spaniard: proud, ambitious, unfriendly, and a merciless persecutor of heretics. People understood quite well why the Spanish soldiers received orders to stay here. It was to wipe out heresy from the country; to rob the Dutchmen of their freedom, in the long run.

The Inquisition

p. 28. Each day, now here then there, especially in the Southern Netherlands, innocent people were tortured and murdered. The inquisition was merciless...

Granvelle

p. 32. Granvelle, the wicked councillor of the Duchess of Parma, departed. The king recalled him. He left, but in his heart he thought: „For this Orange is to blame; I shall pay him back!“ The prince of Orange was glad that all turned out to be a success: the land was redeemed from a man who was hated by all people.

p. 54. Philip II was a religious sovereign. To him the Catholic cause was beyond anything else. In those days, the apostasy was generally considered as a crime and had to be punished. Very many sovereigns did not bother about it too much. But Philip did. He was not too popular in the Netherlands. He was a proud Spaniard, and did not feel quite at home in the Netherlands.

p. 53. This was a tribunal of the Church. Its members were wise and pious bishops and priests.

p. 55. Granvelle became archbishop of Mechelen, and received the title of a Cardinal. Only learned and decent persons could become bishops. This was a very wise deed of the Pope and of Philip. Granvelle was born in Burgundy and was, therefore, considered as a stranger. The Dutch noblemen forced him to leave the country, in the long run. He was a clever politician who was a good match for Orange.

The following are quotations from the textbooks on history that are in use in the various types of elementary schools in Sassenheim. 546

A. the Roman Catholic textbook, *Rood, Wit en Blauw*, by Dr J. A. NILLESSEN, 's-Hertogenbosch;

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C. the textbook "*Van Hunsbed tot Heden*", by S. V. D. WERFF and S. H. WOUDEMA, Groningen 6d. edition 1954; that was in use in the School of the Dutch Reformed Church in Sassenheim

P. 55. In 1573, he became a Calvinist. But Orange never cared much about religion. He was, to say the truth, a very capable politician. His goal was a free Netherlands' territory where he would himself play the leading role: he also strove for freedom of faith.

P. 63. In 1584, Balthasar Gerards struck him deadly. We must esteem Orange as the Founder of our independence but we cannot by far approve of all his deeds.

P. 32. People gradually began to understand the love and the fidelity of the Prince. He was helping them. The people trusted him, both the Papist and the heretics. The nation should not be split up on account of the religious differences! The God whom both the Papist and the Heretics worshipped was one and the same God.

P. 87. Prince William collapsed. One of his friends caught him in his arms. The sister of the Prince rushed forward to assist him. So did his wife. "... My God have mercy on my soul and on this ... poor ... people! ..."

P. 93. And Prince William? O, if he agreed to remain the servant of Philip he could have money to burn and would get a noble, high position. But then, then nobody would think of him. He became poor, was persecuted and murdered: *now* nobody forgets him any more. And the love which we cherish for our Queen *now*, is still the same love for William of Orange of *then*,

P. 118. In 1568, Orange, who had become Protestant, decided to invade our country with his soldiers from Germany. He became the leader of the revolt against Alva. His only objective was to liberate the Netherlands from the Spaniards.

P. 129. Orange fell on the staircase and died almost instantly. His last words were: "My God have mercy on my soul!" "My God have mercy on this poor people!" The consternation was immense. The leader of the revolt against Spain was dead.

William of Orange

p. 56. The tensions and agitations in the country increased. Everywhere hedge-sermons were held; the preachers often used inflammatory words to incite rebellion.

p. 35. These calm people who came to sing here in the fields and pray and listen to the old man who speaks to them from the Bible? These women and children? Oh no, this all seems to be so calm and weak. From these people there comes obviously no force, no redemption for the poor, suppressed country.

p. 38. How little (the iconoclasts) did understand the will of God.

p. 39. The iconoclasts did not come here to steal, only to destroy.

Eighty Years War

p. 56. On the 1st of April, 1572, the "Beggars of the Sea" under the command of Lumey captured Den Briel. Most cities in Holland and in Zeeland fell away from Alva, only Amsterdam still remained loyal to him. The Beggars' rule was atrocious and abominable: Nineteen St. Martyrs of Gorcum were tortured to death in Den Briel. In Enkhuizen, 5 St. Martyrs from Alkmaar, and in Roermond more than twenty priests were murdered. Besides the clergy, many laymen also laid down their lives for the sake of their faith. Sonog, who was appointed by the Prince of Orange as his lieutenant in North Brabant, was especially notorious for cruelty.

p. 58. They were commanded by Lumey. Rumours spread that Lumey had sworn not to cut his hair or beard before having avenged the abominable death of Egmond and Hoorn in an equally abominable way. He did not break this oath. All Spaniards, monks and priests, were mercilessly murdered. He was a cruel man without a heart. Besides him there was Blois of Treslong, a genuine nobleman, a loyal friend of the Prince, a noble Beggar of the Sea.

p. 60. In this way, the Beggars came into Den Briel. And then? There was plundering and looting, but no more then was necessary to save the army from starvation and from the lack of clothing. The churches and cloisters were battered but no harm was done to the priests and the monks, because all of them had fled in time.

p. 117. Suddenly a grave incident took place. In Flanders, the Calvinists revolted. They broke into the Catholic churches and smashed the stakes and paintings to pieces, destroyed the altars and windows and stole what they could. There was, naturally, much scum among these bands. This riot, known as "iconoclasm", spread to Holland and Zeeland. There was a great tumult throughout the country.

p. 119. Many of those who left the lands before Alva's arrival sought refuge on the sea. These were the "Beggars of the Sea", rude fellows, who lived on piracy and robbed the Spanish ships as well as ships in general. On the 1st of April, 1572, such a group of Sea Beggars attacked Den Briel. They conquered it and decided to stay there in order to pass the city over to the Prince. Vlissingen and Veere were incited hereby to a revolt, too.

Towards the end of 1572, all cities in Holland and Zeeland, with the exception of Amsterdam and Middelburg, revolted against Spain.

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