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Uden, Holland: A Study of Community and Social Process

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UDEN, HOLLAND: A STUDY OF COMMUNITY
AND SOCIAL PROCESS

A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of Sociology
and the
Faculty of the Graduate College
University of Nebraska

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts
University of Nebraska at Omaha

by
Charles F. van Rossum

December 1980

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THESIS ACCEPTANCE

Accepted for the faculty of the Graduate College,
University of Nebraska, in partial fulfillment of the require-
ments for the degree Master of Arts, University of Nebraska
at Omaha.

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An endeavor, such as this thesis, can never be considered as a singular effort. Without the cooperation of others the completion of this work would not have been possible. Their words of encouragement and confidence in my abilities served as motivators. To these friends I owe a great deal of thanks.

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Charles F. van Rossum

To Carol and Natalie, with love,
and to the people of Uden.

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CHAPTER I

COMMUNITY AND ITS STUDY

Throughout the history of mankind, individuals and all kinds of groups have existed together in localities. We refer to such combinations of individuals and groups as communities. As social units, communities are the focus for study by social scientists of various disciplines. The study of human interaction in the natural laboratory of a community is accomplished by use of the community study method.

In this thesis, a case study of the town of Uden, Holland, is presented as an example of how members interacted with one another to foster the continuity of their community. Before presenting the analysis, however, it is necessary first to discuss the nature of communities, the methods for community study, and the ways that this study of Uden demonstrates both of these.

The Nature of Community

Community studies have added a significant amount of knowledge about the social organization and the process called community. In this respect, community can be seen as the basic unit in which human beings live and interact.

with each other. Community studies have given social scientists significant insights into social change, social interaction, social organization and social identification.

The following definition is offered:

A community is the smallest social unit which contains persons of both sexes and all ages and which maintains and perpetuates itself by solving the problems of subsistence, interpersonal relations and social identification in a particular locality. (Wheeler, 1979)

All the elements that can be said to define a community are suggested in this definition. What distinguishes one community from another is the manner in which members maintain and perpetuate their particular communities.

A necessary element for a community to exist is people, a population. Without a population, none of the processes that define a community can occur. Merely having a population does not necessarily guarantee that the community will exist. A community must consist of members of both sexes and include persons of all age groups. This provides biological continuity among generations and older residents pass on traditions of the community to the younger ones. In addition to population, a community exists in a particular location.

A particular territory offers members opportunities to identify themselves with that particular location. In this respect, a person is able to identify himself as a Nebraskan or an American. However, there is no specific size to a community. A community can include a large territory

with a small population or vice versa. However, location cannot serve as the sole element in defining community.

Although we often regard the community as a fixed locality, many communities are nomadic. These communities do not exist permanently in one particular place. Instead they may move according to annual cycles (rounds) in hunting, fishing or farming. In cases of nomadic tribes, territoriality (a broader concept) is the basis for community rather than locality. Land provides the individual, particularly peasants, with identification and economic resources. In the peasant mind, the land will continue to exist, even if the community disappears. The survival of the community is assured by how the people define and solve the problems of subsistence, social relations, and social identification in the locality.

Among the basic problems a community must solve are those of food, clothing, and shelter. As an economic unit, a community must provide for the survival of its members by producing goods, services, and dwellings. In the case of a farming community, planting or harvesting are of great importance to the survival of the community. Members learn through experience the proper amount of seed, fertilizer, and herbicides to use in order to insure a successful harvest. In the same manner, the community also teaches its members new ways of finding food should the harvest be poor. Although most communities rely on diversity of economic

means for their subsistence, there are still some that rely principally on hunting, fishing and gathering. Regardless of the complexity of economic systems, only a few communities in the world are totally self-sufficient. Most communities are parts of larger communities and are interdependent in a larger whole.

In economic terms, it can be further stated that a community acts as a distribution point for goods and services. Many communities obtain a greater share of their goods from other communities than they produce. It is more important for students of community to consider how the goods are redistributed in the community than where they originate. Much of the way in which communities distribute economic products depends on social relations among the members of the community.

A community as a social organization consists of an infinite number of political, social, religious, and familial ties. These ties serve to enable individuals to associate with each other on a patterned, social basis. When social relations are satisfactory, members develop a feeling of belonging to each other and to the community. When this feeling develops, the locality of a community assumes a symbolic quality for its members. Examples of this are the cable cars of San Francisco, the fog that engulfs London or the aroma of the stockyards of Omaha.

Social relations among members of a community also

aid in the maintenance and perpetuation of the community. As social relationships occur among members, opportunities for finding mutual levels of agreement are greatly enhanced. Through social interaction, individuals are likely to discover that there are common solutions for their individual needs. More than likely this produces feelings of security in the life-style offered by the community. Further, social interaction serves to continue the traditions, ceremonies and rituals that have evolved. In essence, social relations among members enhance identification with one another and their community.

The idea that satisfactory social relations result in feelings of belonging among members of communities has already been mentioned. With the development of these feelings, the members identify themselves as members of that particular community. Social identification brings about feelings of pride in the community that become even more enhanced as the community, in turn, bestows honor upon the individual. Social relationships foster feelings of identity with particular communities or institutions. In turn, community identity and pride fosters continuing social relationships.

Social interaction, social identification, and social recognition are as basic to community life as is subsistence. The pride and the honor one receives from being a member of a community are as necessary as food, clothing and shelter. By preserving the community's honor through his own pride,

the individual also preserves his pride through the community's honor. Pride and honor are important aspects in the social psychology of individuals, and the creation of community cohesion. In order to fill needs for social interaction and social identification, communities organize themselves.

Social organization in communities is important to establish order. By being orderly, the community helps to bring order to the individual's own life. Social organization provides for the establishment of routines which in turn provide members with guidance in directing their lives and their behavior. Inasmuch as social organization establishes routines, life in a community becomes comfortable for its members. However, life can be so stable as a result of routine, that the community becomes dull or boring to its members. In order to avoid alienation of its members a community constantly transforms itself to solve the problems of subsistence, social identification, and interpersonal relations.

Successful communities continue to exist because they have been able to adjust to changing situations by constantly transforming themselves. Communities that have ceased to exist have made adjustments to changing situations. As members of the community change over time, so do the social relations that exist in the community. In order to maintain their identification with their community and for the com-

munity to continue to exist, the members continually redefine and search for different solutions to the problems that confront them in their group life.

In this discussion of the nature of community, the reader can see that a community is not a static entity. Rather, a community is an active agent and product of social change. Because a community consists of a collection of individuals living together in a particular locality, generating definitions and solutions to problems stemming from interactions of individuals becomes crucial to the survival of the community. In the following section, the community study method will be presented as a means of investigating communities.

The Study of Community

The community can be regarded as a natural laboratory for all the social sciences. The community is seen as the setting in which actors carry out their daily lives. As such, social scientists looking at a community regard it as a location where all kinds of problems can be explored and investigated in a natural setting. Various aspects of relationships and processes that occur in a community can be studied in context; the community is studied holistically, as a whole. Even though the social scientist may look at only a small portion of the community, he takes into account the relationship of this part to the whole. The community

study method is a special scientific method in the qualitative mode.

An important assumption to be made in using the community study method is that everything that is observed is to be treated as if it belongs there naturally. Unlike the laboratory experiment or the statistical manipulation, community study does not purposely manipulate the naturalness of the community. Although the argument can be made that, by his presence in the community, the social researcher affects his observations, community study method does not manipulate the situation under study. The researcher constantly evaluates his data in the context of the whole community and its patterns.

In community study, the researcher often uses an imaginative process. This is not to say that he has been given license for invention. Rather, imagination allows him to determine relations that may not be readily apparent at a casual glance. In this respect, correctness of imagination is verified through additional observations and placing them in a patterned context.

Community study, although dependent on visual observations, has an inherent flexibility. The combination of method and theory allow for the researcher in the development of a model of his community based on the data that he has gathered. Armed with this model of how the various patterns fit together, he is able to make comparisons between

his community and others. Despite the flexibility of the community study method, the reality of the situation often necessitates the researcher to make certain adjustments to reach his goal of a holistic model. The researcher may not be able to fit all his data together for various reasons. Often, the observable relationships in the community run contrary to any tentative model that he has developed. In this respect, the flexibility of community study allows him to refine the model to achieve a better fit of the parts. Hypothetically, all the different aspects that make up a community have some fit. A researcher needs also to accept the fact he cannot observe every event, pattern and interaction that occurs in a community. A single observer cannot be omnipresent. By developing a model of the whole, however, the researcher can comprehend that whole despite having only a portion of the community.

A final observation about community study is that each individual community studied can be compared to other communities. In this respect, the cumulative knowledge obtained from comparison of several communities helps build, verify and modify conceptual models that social researchers have developed in the study of communities. This awareness of the universals of community was important to sensitizing me to the possibilities of study of the community of Uden, Holland. The following section is a discussion of the application of theory of the community and the method of community study

Uden, Holland: Community and Its Study

Throughout much of Western Europe, the effects of modernization, urbanization, and industrialization have been problematic to rural villages. The conflicting values of the new ways of life and those representative of the times past have borne hard on traditionally oriented villagers. Despite many ambiguities and disruptions of social life brought about by modernization, rural communities have adapted themselves to changing conditions and have survived. This study of Uden, Holland, is an attempt to describe a rural community that has adapted to changing circumstances and has continued to exist as a community.

This study of Uden as a community case is in the same mold as the many community investigations that have been conducted on European villages that have undergone various kinds of transition. (Spindler, 1973; Wylie, 1977; Anderson, 1964). Of special interest have been the several studies that have been particularly concerned with the processes occurring in Dutch communities. (Keur, 1955; Boekestijn, 1961; Constandse, 1960)

Unlike other villages, however, the changes brought about in Uden are largely the result of a governmentally planned, national policy of population balancing of the Dutch.

A policy of population balancing was adopted as early as 1950 in answer to the extremely high population density in Holland. In 1978, the population density reached 413 inhabitants per square kilometer. Over half of Holland's 14 million

inhabitants reside in the commercial and industrial areas of Western Holland. The Dutch government has systematically encouraged industrial expansion into the other geographical areas of Holland where industrial development has traditionally lagged. (Ministry of Housing, 1980). Thus, the spatial and demographic growth of Uden, a village in the southern province of Noord-Brabant, was largely due to a national program. Although careful planning of economic and residential growth by various bodies has occurred, changes in societal structures have not been planned as easily. Change, however, can be anticipated. According to Spindler's conception of social structure, the interactions between individuals are predictable. (1973, p. 16) Individuals are organized in their relationships with others. The character of these relationships has some predictability. In this study, the interactions between "oldcomers," those who consider themselves original Udenaaren, and "newcomers" will be described. In a similar fashion, the relationships between Udenaaren and the surrounding region and Dutch government will also be studied.

A second feature of this study concentrates on the reaffirmation of identity among members of the community. In his use of the concept of reaffirmation, Spindler wrote: "Reaffirmation of identity occurs whenever there is a public demonstration of relatedness to traditions or legends of the past, or to community symbols." (1973, p. 53) In describ-

ing Burgbach, Spindler used the Kirbefest as an example of reaffirmation. Using a similar festive occasion, I use Carnaval, the days prior to Ash Wednesday, as an example of how the people of Uden reaffirm their local identities.

The festivities of Carnaval, a season when no one is a stranger, will also be studied from a social-psychological perspective. Carnaval will be described as a period when traditional Dutch values are temporarily abandoned for a more relaxed attitude. This type of carefree attitude will serve as a diversion in the traditional, hard working ethos of the people of Uden.

An additional theoretical concern is the focus on voluntary associations as they relate to the leisure activities (sport, recreation, tavern life) of the people of Uden. Indicative of the importance of community is the financial aid from various governmental bodies given to support athletic and recreational organizations in the town. Similarly, almost every Udenaar belongs to a kroeg (tavern) where he spends several evenings a week with his comrades. Wylie, in his study of Peyranne, described the social and community importance of the village cafe. (1977, p. 243) As in Peyranne, a kroeg in Uden serves a cohesive function. Not only does the individual go to his kroeg to drink and socialize, but he also goes there to learn the latest information and misinformation about activities in the community.

In the development of the study of Uden, I plan to employ the community study method and theory. As pointed out

in several lectures by Wheeler, (1979) the community-study method offers a variety of approaches to the researcher. A possible disadvantage of using this approach is that it runs contrary to much contemporary sociological practice and myth for empirical research. However, due to its flexibility, its emphasis on holism and its stress on imaginative insight, the community-study method is proper for this investigation of this subject.

The collection of my data for this study of Uden was accomplished during the period August, 1974, to February, 1978, while I was serving as a language interpreter for the United States Armed Forces at Volkel Air Base, adjacent to Uden. In my capacity as interpreter, I had the task of coordinating military activities with various local business and governmental officials. My duties ranged from obtaining housing to mediating disputes between American military personnel and local businesses. Since I possess native fluency in the Dutch language, I had little difficulty immersing myself in the daily rounds of life of Uden. I was able to develop close personal and working relationships with individuals from all walks of life. I was also a member of several athletic and recreational organizations in the Uden area. During two Carnaval seasons in Uden, I worked as a "black market" bartender and closely observed revellers in "my" kroeg. In the framework of participant observation, I took on both observer-as-participant and the observer-as-observer roles.

One possible disadvantage, which may affect the findings of this study, is that at the time of my residence in Uden, I lacked expertise in participant observation. At the time of my residence, I had no prospect of ever using my experience and observations for research purposes. Therefore, I did not collect systematic or theoretically oriented field notes. To compensate for this deficiency, I am using as a basis for this report, the daily diary that my wife fastidiously kept during those four years, letters that we wrote to our families, and unsystematic notes that I scribbled down. Despite these formal problems of technique, my mental recollection for detail has not been marred by the passing of time. In a similar situation, E. R. Leach (1954) was able to observe the natives of Highland Burma while serving as an interpreter to the British forces during World War II. Mr. Leach lost his field notes in a military action. (Leach, 1954, p. 312) He, also, had to write his final report from recollection.

Although some detail might get lost, this study will come very close to an exact picture of social life and its organization in Uden, Holland, from 1974-1978.



Figure 1. Map of Holland

CHAPTER II

UDEN: SETTING AND ORGANIZATION

Time and Place

The village-city of Uden is located in the province of Noord-Brabant (North-Brabant) in southern Holland. Noord-Brabant is bounded on the East by the province of Limburg, on the South by the nation of Belgium, on the West by the province of Zeeland, and on the North by the river Maas. Noord-Brabant, the largest province in Holland, has an area of 1,918 square miles. It is slightly smaller in size than the state of Delaware (2,090 square miles).

The Maas and Waal Rivers, both tributaries of the Rhine, divide Holland into two distinct regions. The region to the North of the rivers is highly industrialized and densely populated. This is especially true of the area known as "Randstad" Holland, the location of the metropolitan places of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht. More than half of Holland's 14 million residents live and work in this region. With the exception of the farming areas in the Northwest (the provinces of Groningen, Friesland and Drenthe) and areas in Noord-Holland, much of the region North of the rivers is characterized by industrialized communities. The area South of the rivers is distinct from its northern neighbors.



Illustration #1: St. Peter's Church - its steeples dominate the Uden skyline

With the exception of the industrial cities of Eindhoven and Tilburg, southern Holland is basically agrarian. Small towns and villages dot the countryside. Although industrialization has entered into this area ever since the end of World War II, the character of the towns and cities tends to remain traditional. In contrast to the larger cities of the North, the southern towns foster "the quiet life" and its attendant sense of security.

The quiet life is much in evidence in Uden. Located in the central portion of the Noord-Brabant, it is a town out of the mainstream of travel. A two-lane highway, running east and west from Uden, ultimately takes a traveller to the cities of Den Bosch (28 miles to the Northwest) and Nijmegen (approximately 31 miles to the Northeast). Uden is surrounded by wooded areas Northwest through the east of the town and small farms south and west. In 1978, Uden's population reached 31,000 residents, making it comparable to small-sized cities in the United States. However, in area, Uden barely covers 260 square kilometers, giving it a population density of approximately 230 people per square kilometer.

Despite its substantial population, Uden gives the appearance of a quiet, rural town. The steeple of St. Peter's Church can be seen towering over the town from miles away, creating a scene reminiscent of small mid-western American towns. As a traveller enters the town from the north or west,

Uden appears to be old. The oldest building, dating back to the 1400's, is located at the northwestern edge of the community. The building, a cloister for nuns from the order of the Swedish saint, Brighetta, also houses a religious museum. The business area and the residential housing surrounding the market place predominately dates from the late 1800's and early 1900's. Although many of the shops, including the shopping mall, are recent renovations, Uden's downtown area gives off an aura of being old.

If one chooses to enter Uden from the south, the visitor gains a completely different picture of the town. After World War II, Uden's housing growth extended toward the west and south of the downtown business area. In the southern portion of town lies the industrial area, mostly built during the 1960's. The industrial area is zoned along the southwestern edge of the community and contains no residential dwellings. Between the industrial area and the business area lies a residential area in which approximately 2,500 housing units were built during the period of 1974-1978. Most of these houses were built by large businesses as tax shelters and offered to the public as rental units. Houses built by private owners tend to be bungalow style and provide the neighborhood with a look of affluence. This area is where most of the newcomers, as well as the more affluent citizens, live.

Another complex that houses a large number of resi-

dents is the area known as "the flats." A flat is a six-story apartment complex that consists of six three-bedroom apartments on each level. Designed to alleviate the problem of land and housing shortages, these flats house a large number of people in a small space. Often jokingly referred to as rabbit cages, the flats in Uden (12 buildings) contain 432 dwelling units. The majority of the residents of the flats are low income people: elderly, young marrieds and immigrant laborers. For this reason, living in the flats is somewhat undesirable for respected social position in Uden.

Living in the flats is seen as an undesirable situation by most residents of Uden. The reasons most often given for not wanting to live in a flat are the loss of privacy and the feeling of being "cooped-up" in a small space. People feel that having neighbors on all sides as well as above and below is too restrictive. Flats are also places to be feared because children are not able to find areas to play and therefore run in the open-air walkways and halls. However, the flats are centrally located near the downtown shopping district and are inexpensive to rent. Flat rentals in 1977 were 160 guilders (\$80) per month as compared to 320 guilders (\$160) for townhouses in the newer areas of the town.

Aside from being a residential town, Uden offers its residents various commercial and recreational services.



Illustration #2: The Flats - modern apartment complex.

Uden has a reasonably large shopping center (Passage) where one can purchase nearly any needed item in the various shops and boutiques. When shopping, one can stop in any of four coffee shops or snack bars to enjoy a quiet break. During spring and summer, chairs are placed outside and people can enjoy the sun as well as cake and coffee in the open air. If one wants something stronger than coffee, several drinking establishments are open throughout the day for customers to catch a quick pilsje (small glass of beer).

In addition to the shops and drinking establishments, the downtown area contains a newly built sports complex that houses an Olympic-size swimming pool and several athletic courts. Near the sport complex is the library and the civic auditorium (de Schouw) where various plays, movies or parties are held. Despite its size, Uden does not have any movie theaters, although the civic auditorium occasionally shows movies on weekends. If people wish to see a film, most will travel to one of the larger cities in the area, Eindhoven or Den Bosch.

Also missing in Uden is a hospital. During 1974-1978 there were nine general medical practitioners with practices in Uden. These family doctors were able to fill the need in primary care for the town's residents. If one needed hospitalization, he was sent to the nearest hospital located in the neighboring town of Veghel. Although this arrangement worked well for years, there would be occasional talk of

building a hospital in Uden. The plans for a hospital, however, as well as plans for a hotel, have never gone beyond the talking stage.

Uden, despite its large population and industrial expansion, lacks the facilities of a hotel. Several attempts were made during 1974-1978 in Uden to start a hotel, but these attempts were not successful. Most visitors to Uden were placed in hotels in other communities. Some visitors, especially Americans, preferred to stay in an American-style motel 20 kilometers (12 miles) from town.

The lack of a hotel to house its visitors and a hospital to care for Uden's sick are two of the many factors that bind Uden to the outside world. In the following section, the relationship to the surrounding region and to the nation will be discussed.

Region and Nation

Uden's impact on Noord-Brabant lies not in its political or economic position, but rather in its geographic location relative to some of the larger cities. Many of the major cities such as Den Bosch, Eindhoven and Nijmegen are within a fifty kilometer (30 miles) radius of Uden. In spite of the fact that only two-lane roads lead into Uden, its central location makes it feasible for people to commute to the larger cities. As a result, Uden has emerged as a bedroom community and has acquired a suburban outlook,

particularly among the newer residents.

A large number of newer residents have moved to Uden either to get away from larger cities or to be closer to their work in those cities. It is common in Holland not to live in the community where one works. Because of acute housing shortages, most municipal housing offices maintain waiting lists with names of people who wish to reside in their respective communities.

In order to have places to live, people either stay in their existing residences or seek a locality close to their place of work. Residents who are thus motivated tend to be less dependent on Uden as the sole source of their physical and emotional needs. Instead of doing their shopping in Uden they go to Den Bosch or any other of the larger cities.

Not only is commerce an aspect of how Uden relates to outside communities, but the governmental structure at the provincial and national levels makes it impossible for Uden to be isolated from the rest of the country. The central government of Holland can be compared with that of France. Located in The Hague, the various governmental departments dispense their resources and policies through the various bureaucratic levels to the municipal level. Many of the policies that affect residents of Uden have their origins in The Hague, wind their way to the provincial capital in Den Bosch and, ultimately arrive in the mayor's office in Uden. Often local permits, after approval by city officials must also be



Illustration #3: Watering newtrees: A new neighborhood made livable.

approved by provincial officials. In this respect, the national government makes it virtually impossible in Holland for any community to be autonomous. This matter is illustrated by the fact that the most important administrative official in the town, the mayor, is appointed by the central government. The same also applies to the administrator of unemployment benefits.

In 1977, the unemployment rate for the city of Uden reached sixteen percent. Although the businesses in Uden were fully operative, nearly 500 of Uden's residents were out of work. Because Uden had become a residential community for the larger cities in the area, most of the unemployed had been workers in these cities. The irony was that, despite having full employment in the city, sixteen percent of the residents were unemployed. The status of "unemployed" is different in Dutch society than in American society and needs to be discussed at this time.

Unemployment is somewhat easier to accept for a Dutch worker than it is for an American in the same circumstances. Although being jobless is of some concern, the Dutch unemployed worker does not have the financial worries that American unemployed have. Unemployment compensation in Holland covers eighty percent of one's income for a period of two years. With an almost negligible loss in income, the Dutch unemployed person is ordinarily able to continue the standard of living that he has had when fully employed. In

addition to unemployment compensation, individuals are also eligible to apply for governmental rent subsidies. Besides having almost all of his regular income, the unemployed worker can also live rent free. With these provisions and others, many unemployed are usually in no hurry to seek other employment. This apparent lack of concern for finding a job often angered the more conservative oldcomers.

As more people became unemployed, both oldcomers and newcomers became more critical about them. In a community where, traditionally, the only unemployed persons are the handicapped or the aged, the number of able-bodied men who stayed home without work is seen as something shameful. Criticisms are not directed at the individual unemployed person but rather at the national government for providing such generous benefit programs. Despite the grumblings about the easy lives of the welfare recipients, the normal patterns of social relationships continue in Uden as always.

One of the socially established ways that a community can use in its relations with the surrounding communities is through the competitive, but friendly, rivalries. Uden and its closest neighbor, Veghel, have over the years competed with one another on many occasions. This rivalry has resulted in the building of sport complexes, swimming pools, bowling alleys and better facilities in each of the communities. As each town tried to out-do the other in the quality of such public facilities, the rivalry between the two of them pro-

duced strong community identification among their respective residents. At times, a result of this intercommunity rivalry was that the residents of Uden sought relations with other communities in the province. Such was the case when several Uden people became patients of the hospital in Oss instead of the one in Veghel because Veghel's soccer team had prevented the Uden team from winning a soccer championship. Although this is an extreme case, it underscores how rivalries between towns can solidify ties with one's community.

In order to understand how the people of Uden gain a sense of belonging to the community, the characteristics of the residents will later be presented. In this context, we will next separately study old residents (oldcomers) and the new residents (newcomers) in order to determine how these groups exist together in a single community.

Oldcomers and Newcomers

Oldtime (oldcomers) residents of Uden are physically indistinguishable from other persons in the community. The distinguishing feature that separates old residents from the newcomers is linguistics, their use of the local dialect. This dialect is peculiar to the Uden area and resembles a mixture of Dutch and provincial dialect called Brabants. Throughout Noord-Brabants, each community has, in effect, three languages: Dutch, Brabants, and the local variation of the two. In the case of Uden, the "real" native-born Udenaar speaks "Ujes."

The ability to converse in the local dialect not only serves as a differentiating feature between old and new residents, it also serves as a symbol of personal status in the community. It was not that people who speak Ujes are treated with some deference, but that those who speak the dialect are proud that they are able to do so. This pride is especially felt among adolescents.

During a portion of my years of residence in Uden, I helped coach a group of 14-year-old boys in basketball. The team was composed mainly of boys who had been born and raised in Uden. For all practical purposes, they were all Udenaaren; nevertheless, the boys made distinctions among themselves as to how "real" their origins were. Those whose parents and grandparents had also been born and raised in Uden felt more echt (real) than those whose parents had more recently settled in the town. Aside from the frequent teasing about origins, difficulties also arose during games when my instructions were misunderstood because of my inability to speak the dialect.

Most of the oldcomers lived in the center of the city. This area, mainly built around the Markt (market) is also the oldest part of the town. Many of the streets are cobblestone or red brick and some of the oldest homes have outside bathroom facilities yet. Most of the people own their homes which they have inherited from their parents. Although these homes tend to be old, the residents keep them in immac-



Illustration #4: A street scene in old Uden

late order and prefer to show them off to visitors and neighbors as much as the residents of the newer homes do. Several of the older residents live on small farms. Since the city has penetrated into farming areas, the farmers are resident of the built-up area and participate in activities that the community has to offer as do others.

Many of the oldcomers carry on a more traditional life style than do newcomers. They are somewhat more traditional in their values than newcomers. Oldcomers tend to be more satisfied with their life styles than do newcomers. Many of the oldcomers are members of the Roman Catholic Church and adhere strongly to the doctrines of that church. Oldcomers also have Uden's larger families. They hold strong opinions on social issues about which the Roman Catholic Church has taken strong stands, e.g., abortion, sanctity of marriage and family. At the same time, most of the oldcomers are also followers of the Labor Party (P.v.d.A.) which advocates socialistic welfare programs. This seeming contradiction in their beliefs rests in the fact that the oldcomers are more nationalistic than newcomers. They tend to be supportive of the Dutch Central government regardless of the political party in power. In addition to these differences in values, oldcomers are more closely economically bound to Uden than are newcomers.

Almost all businesses in Uden are owned by the oldcomers. Since a large portion of these businesses are small,

family-owned stores, the oldcomers have economic dominance in the town. The membership of the Middenstanders Vereniging (an association of tradespeople) consists mostly of oldcomers. New stores that open in Uden are more often branches of current family businesses. One interior decorator, for example, ultimately wants to provide separate shops for each of his eleven children, so each of his business locations features different aspects of the furniture industry and trade. Similarly, when a new shopping center was completed in new residential area, many of the established stores opened branches in the new shopping center. Oldcomers not involved in their own businesses tend largely to work within the community. Unlike many of the newer residents who would work outside Uden, the oldcomers prefer to be employed in Uden.

Oldcomers, in addition to their dominance in the town's commerce, also hold most of the important positions in social organizations and most of the administrative positions in the city government. Although in recent municipal elections, the elected council members were a balanced mix of oldcomers and newcomers, the council appointed mostly oldcomers to the various administrative committees. To the present time the apparent political and economic power of the oldcomers has yet to be challenged by the newcomers. Some of the reasons why there have not been challenges to the position of the oldcomers can be attributed to the wide

disparity among various sorts of newcomers and to the fact that oldcomers have been successful in incorporating the newcomers in the community.

The growth of Uden since World War II has been largely due to a national policy of geographic redistribution of the population. With overcrowding a major concern in the western half of the nation, the government has provided incentives to industries to move their facilities into less populated areas of Holland. By the creation of employment opportunities in the less populated regions, the government hoped to "balance" the population by providing places for relocation. Like many communities in the South, Uden became a kern gemeente, a community designed for expansion.

As a kern gemeente, Uden was enabled to offer enticements to various industries to build factories in the community. With the lure of available housing, shopping areas, abundance of schools and quiet surroundings several industries, such as Phillips Electronics, moved into the community. The growth and retention of the population came about not only because new industries settled in the area, but also because most of these industries brought along with them large numbers of employees from their previous locations.

Many of the jobs created by industrial expansion and relocation have been filled by employees brought into the community. Before moving into the area, companies have negotiated with city officials for housing for the number of em-

ployees that the company plans to bring. In times of housing shortages, it is often a source of frustration for housing-seekers to see empty dwellings and be told that these are reserved for employees of a particular company. The city housing department agrees to set aside a certain number of dwellings for incoming employees or the company leases dwellings from private real estate firms. When companies enter into a leasing agreement with a realtor, they promise to pay rent any time a dwelling is vacant. This guarantees housing for company employees when they arrive in Uden.

In addition to the influx of new residents from new industries, Uden's population includes a large number of Dutch Air Force personnel from the nearby airbase at Volkel. Unlike military people in the United States armed forces, the Dutch military does not often move its personnel. It is not uncommon for military families to have lived in Uden for ten years or more before moving to another base. The airbase then is a continuous source of new residents. Another source of new residents are those who settle in Uden from other countries.

During the years of 1974-1978, resident aliens in Uden numbered approximately 84 families. The majority of the aliens were families of American military members who were assigned to the airbase. Although they were in Holland as a result of a military transfer, the family members were required to be registered with the local police department.

Among the remainder of the registered aliens were families from Turkey, Hong Kong, Morocco, and England.

In addition to these foreigners, the alien files also included the names of several "Dutch" children who had been fathered by American servicemen while they were on duty at the airbase. Most of these children hold a dual nationality, although most would never see the United States. One mother hoped that someday her daughter would visit the United States, and choose for herself where she would live. She assumed that her child's dual citizenship would make it easier for her to enter the United States. Another alien was a Roman Catholic priest who had gone to the United States as a young man and had been a parish priest in Louisiana for over 30 years. Since he had no relatives in the United States, he had returned to Uden to live out the remainder of his life. He was receiving a Social Security pension from the United States government. One of the local parishes made room for him as their deacon, and he was contracted to service the needs of the American Catholic families assigned to the airbase. In this way, he was able to maintain some of his American ties.

In general, the residents of Uden readily accept foreigners into their midst as long as the foreigners are productive members of the community. The Dutch also expect foreigners to conform to local customs and in this area there have been several instances where a lack of awareness of local custom has caused difficulties.

One example is the simple matter of closing the curtains in the evening. Americans, being more concerned with their privacy, have a habit of closing their living room curtains in the evening. The closing of curtains symbolizes a shutting out of the outside world. It means that the family can relax its formal, "outside" roles and adopt informal behavior. In the context of role playing, the concept of front stage and back stage regions developed by Goffman applies. In their thus established back stage region, the family can adopt an informal behavior role and a physical appearance of relaxation. Americans prefer to keep their family lives private; they reason that whatever happens at home is of no one else's business. Americans often adopt the attitude that once they are home, the outside world has no right to intrude into their lives. By drawing the blinds or curtains, Americans are, in effect, reiterating the notion that one's home is one's castle.

The Dutch, especially in small communities such as Uden, are very proud of their homes. They spend lots of time and money in beautifying them. For many, their living rooms are showcases for others to admire. The Dutch families in Uden hardly ever close their curtains. To do so signifies a shutting out of one's neighbors and of the community, and a lack of self-respect. In less cosmopolitan communities the only time it is customary and permitted to close one's curtains during the day or evening is when a member of the

family dies and the family is in mourning. The Dutch, therefore, view the closing of curtains by the Americans as being unsociable and a refusal to adapt to local custom. However, instead of bringing up the issue to their American neighbors, the Dutch merely shrug their shoulders, and say, "That's how they do it in America."

Another problem is created by those Americans who insist "that things should be done the way they are back home." These people complain about the differences in customs between the two cultures. Frequently the complaints are about the utility bills, dealings with landlords, and relations with the neighbors. In their complaints, the culprit always seems to be the Dutch who are inflexible to the needs of the Americans.

Many things can be said about the problems that arise when two different cultures meet and their carriers try to live together, but among the residents of Uden there has been a sympathetic, understanding group of persons. Few communities in Europe, particularly in West Germany, have maintained as friendly relationships with the American military forces as has the community of Uden. From the burgermeester to the next-door neighbor, the community as a whole supports efforts to foster good relations between the two cultures. There were many times when these relationships were strained, but a strong program of cooperation and mutual understanding between local functionaries and American officials make it

possible to prevent the misunderstandings from getting out of hand.

Cultural differences between the Dutch and Americans never reached levels of open hostility during the period of my residence. However, many times the differences in cultures between the Dutch and the Turkish families in Uden were very open and public. As in many areas in Holland, Uden has received its share of foreign laborers from the Mediterranean areas. Though proportionately Uden has but a minute number of Turkish and Moroccan families, those who reside in Uden are often treated with neglect. The differences in language, dress, and culture all serve to stamp the Turkish families as outsiders. The Dutch often chide the Turks for keeping to themselves and not wanting to adopt Dutch customs. At the same time, the Dutch make every effort to keep from associating with Turkish residents. Often a residence next to a Turkish family remains empty until the Turkish family moves out. Turkish and Moroccan residents are the only ones regarded and kept as outsiders, while all the other newcomers are accepted as members of the community.

The upgrading of Uden into a city during the 1960's and 1970's brought many new residents into the community. Every effort was made by the older residents to make the newcomers welcome and a part of the community. Foreigners, with the exception of small numbers, are made to feel at home as long as they are productive members of the community, and conform to local customs and norms. Sometimes the residents

of Uden have had to cope with changing community organizations. The urbanization process not only brought in new residents to Uden, but also made several of the community services inadequate for a growing community. Not only did oldcomers have to adjust to newcomers, they also were forced to adjust to new organizations. One such organization was the gemeente politie (police department).

The Police in Transition

The event that officially marked Uden's new status as "city" rather than "town" was the formalization of the city police force. Prior to that time, Uden was policed by a detachment of the national police force (Rijkspolitie). Similar in design to state or highway patrols in the United States, the Rijkspolitie has jurisdiction over all national roads and communities having fewer than 30,000 residents. Since the end of World War II, the Rijkspolitie had maintained a garrison in Uden. Their presence was a familiar sight to all Udenaaren.

With the reaching of its 30,000th resident, Uden could no longer receive its police protection from the Rijkspolitie. The result was that the city had to organize its own police department and support this force from its own budget. There was no problem in hiring the police officers; many members of the Rijkspolitie resigned their positions to apply for positions with the police department of Uden. Since most of

these officers had lived in Uden for many years, it was felt that it would be less expensive to hire them before bringing in others from other parts of Holland. Despite a new police department, the majority of the personnel was old. Problems arose when the City's Alderman decided that the new police department needed a new building and that more police officers should be hired.

Finding a new building to house the police department seemed to be but a little problem. Coincidentally, one of the utility companies had just completed building a new office complex, and their old building became available. Because the building was judged to be easily accessible to the downtown business area, the city negotiated with the utility company to purchase the building. Later, as the police were ready to occupy the building, it was discovered that the building was inadequate to serve as a police station, jail, and dormitory for single officers. All these facilities were available in the former Rijkspolitie building. After much discussion, city officials decided to lease the old police station and to leave the new building empty until a use for it could be found. Much more difficult were the problems involved in assimilating the new police officers to the force and the community.

Several new police officers were hired from areas outside the province. Their adjustment problems were similar to that of other newcomers in that many were unfamiliar with

the the customs and traditions of Udenaaren. Initially, the oldcomers had difficulty accepting these differences between themselves and the new police officers. It was said that the new police officers were over zealous, insensitive, and far stricter than the Rijkspolitie had been. There were many oldtimers who felt that these officers were simply harrassing the residents as a show of strength.

Improvements in their relations with the residents came about when the new police department adopted a "hands-off" policy during the next following carnival celebration. The organizers had feared that Carnaval would be troublesome with a strict enforcement policy, but the news that the police would be lenient during Carnaval stilled all fears. By displaying their support for the carnival celebrations, the new police force became socially accepted and recognized as a full member of the community. Although the level of law enforcement remained unchanged, the residents became less critical of the newer officers.

Daily Life In Uden

For most Udenaaren, daily activities begin at six in the morning. Because many residents commute to work in nearby cities, most of the residential areas are beginning to show signs of activity at this early hour. As the husbands prepare themselves for work, the women are in their kitchens preparing breakfasts for the family. All meals are eaten at a leisurely pace, and families allow

adequate time for the breakfast ritual before going off to work or school. Not only is breakfast important for one's physical well-being, but breakfast also serves to strengthen the family as a social unit. This strengthening of family is very much depicted throughout the daily life in Uden.

Old traditions, in practice today, insure that the daily round varies little from day-to-day. From start to finish, the days in Uden show a distinct pattern of routine that shows little variation. Seldom are the daily patterns broken. Routinization gives one the impression that everything occurring in Uden is regulated by a clock. On most days, life in town would go on as it had in the past and most likely as it will in the future. Despite the changes in the physical structure of the town, Uden persists in remaining a simple rural community.

In studying the daily rounds of life in Uden, one immediately becomes aware of the dichotomy that exists between the old traditions and the changes that have come about from urbanization. Although many of these traditions seem out of place in modern society, the persistence the Udenaaren shows in holding to them indicates satisfaction with the way of life. This is also true of newcomers who initially find tradition restraining but soon adapt their life styles to fit that of the community. This chapter will look at some of the activities that occur in Uden in an ordinary week. Included for study in this chapter are the weekly mar-

ket, the daily closing of stores during the lunch hour, coffee breaks and the door-to-door delivery of goods and services offered by local merchants.

For as long as many residents can remember, the week has always begun with the Monday market. No one remembers exactly when the first market was held, but some residents speculate that the custom of market days started with local farmers coming to town to sell their goods. Today, the market has grown into a huge commercial enterprise. No longer are the farmers selling their goods at market; rather the selling is done by wholesale merchants. Most of these merchants have banded together and travel to the various markets on a weekly basis as a group. Since Uden has the first market day of the week, most of the merchandise seems to be in larger quantities. If anyone happens to go to the Thursday market in the neighboring town of Veghel, one would be able to see some of the same merchants selling similar items but in fewer quantities. Weekly markets are held throughout Holland, but in smaller towns such as Uden, the market serves not only a commercial purpose but a social purpose but a social purpose as well.

Although the market is a tradition in the life of the town, its mere presence serves as a distraction from the daily routine of the housewives in Uden. On market days, the morning cleaning activities are either rushed or set aside until after shopping.



Illustration #5: The Monday Markt, a weekly routine for the housewife.

The market day seems to bring out three different types of shoppers: the market social, the market buyer, and the market enjoyer. Each of these three different types uses market day as a means to fulfill certain social and psychological needs; all are women.

The market socials are those who would go to market in groups. They browse through the many rows of vendors, seldom buying any items. After a while they take time for coffee and chat in a cafe before going home. For these women, the opportunity that market day offers in the way of social interaction far outweighs the economic value.

The second group of shoppers, the market buyers, is more concerned with the economic aspects of market day as an opportunity to be able to purchase merchandise at bargain prices. Although the quality of the merchandise is admittedly inferior to store merchandise, the lure of bargain prices attracts these women to market. The market buyers shop with a specific purpose in mind. They tend to be extremely selective of the merchandise, to ask more questions of vendors about the products and, more often than not, haggle about the price of the item. As soon as these women complete their shopping, they go home to resume their normal routines.

A third group of women who attend weekly market are the market enjoyers. These women, which include first-time market shoppers, tend leisurely to shop at the market. Similar

to the market socials, these women browse through the various vendors' booths, but they conclude by making several purchases. Unlike the market buyers, these women do not shop for any particular items. Their purchases tend to be on the basis of whim rather than need. Market enjoyers tend to spend a lot of time at the market taking in every booth at leisure. They apparently regard the market as an enjoyable variation on the routines of their day.

In the preceeding paragraphs, market has been described as a social event that appears in the life of Uden on a regular basis. The regularity of market days allows the various institutions in the community to make adjustments in their normal routines. Some of the adjustments that other social institutions have had to make would be very difficult to make had Uden been a larger city. An example of this is that on market day, the entire Markt (Market Square) is used for the various vendors' booths. On normal days, the Markt is used as a bus depot and a parking lot for downtown shoppers. Market day changes this arrangement and people have to find other locations to park their cars or to catch their buses. As Uden grew in population, bus service to and from Uden was greatly expanded. It became more and more necessary to use the Markt as a bus depot. The Mondays that the market occupied the Markt the bus service was severely diminished. In a large, contemporary city, the flexibility of changing specific functions would be more dif-

ficult.to accomplish. Despite some grumblings by some of the newer residents, the market continues to be held in the same location as it always had been. Another example of how social institutions had to make adjustments is in the noon-time closing of stores and the daily coffee breaks. Each of these two events will be considered separately, but they both involve examples of how contemporary lifestyles are forced to adapt to traditional ways.

Many of the newcomers who moved to Uden from industrial or urban communities found the practice of closing stores during the lunch hour a distracting tradition. In the days when Uden was primarily an agrarian community, the practice was for shopkeepers to close their stores during lunch. Since the routines revolved around the activities of a farm-community, the number of people in town during the noon hour was very small. The noon meal was once the "big meal" of the day and everyone was home to eat. With the changing nature of the community and the change from an agrarian to an urban community, the noon meal became less important in the family routine. As to this day, however, the stores in Uden continue the traditional practice of closing their doors during the lunch hour.

When stores close their doors to customers at noon, the word "close" can be taken literally. On one occasion, as my wife was standing in line to make a purchase, the store clerk shut down the cash register and refused to take in any

more sales. At the same time, the store manager was ushering out the customers who were still in the store. This incident serves as an example of how the adherence to a tradition is of more importance than a motive for profit. By adhering to the custom, the local merchants are in effect turning away potential business. When one store owner was questioned as to why he kept up this tradition, his reply seemed to support the biological need for food rather than a social or economic tradition. Another daily activity that seems dichotomous in a contemporary urban society is the character and form of coffee breaks.

In American society, the coffee break is often seen as a luxurious benefit that individuals receive as a reward. Individuals do not "take" coffee breaks (a common euphemism to describe the act), they "steal" coffee breaks. Many commercial organizations in America feel that coffee breaks are a privilege to be earned; an extrinsic reward rather than an intrinsic need. In Holland, the coffee break is a normal activity of the day. Workers, housewives, managers and even doctors all expect that twice daily they will relax with a cup of coffee. Although the traditional coffee break is built into the daily activities, this practice often brings about some conflict with the demands of modern society.

Around ten o'clock each morning, the aroma of coffee permeates the homes, stores, and offices in Uden. The ritual of the morning coffee break provides a pleasant interruption

of the morning activities. In the homes in Uden, the housewives stop their work for a cup of coffee. More often than not, neighbors and friends arrange their schedules so that the coffee break can be shared together. At offices and factories, workers and managers alike suspend their work to retire to a lounge for coffee. During this time, the conversation is of a social nature, so that any guest present is free to contribute. One of the purposes of the coffee break is to foster interaction among people and the coffee break is to be regarded as socially productive.

Despite the social productivity, coffee breaks are economically unproductive events in an urban society. In stores, customers are left waiting for clerks, patients are left sitting in waiting rooms in doctors' offices, and clients must wait until after the coffee break to conduct their business. Although most of the Dutch newcomers to Uden were used to this custom, the American residents of the town seem to be uncomprehending and nonreceptive. The issue of cultural differences plays a large role in their non-acceptance of the coffee break, but the concept of the coffee break points out the problem that traditions have in changing societies. No matter how strong the arguments against the coffee break, the Udenaaren feel that the time provided for the coffee break is well worth the economic cost. Economic cost plays a large factor in the decline of another local tradition: the door-to-door delivery of

goods and services to neighborhoods and customers.

Unique to smaller rural towns, the door-to-door delivery of goods and services offers the housewives an opportunity to break their housework routine. At scheduled times of the day, the housewife is interrupted by the breadman, the grocer, the eggman and the vegetableman. In addition to these merchants, the florist, the window washer, and the cobbler often make the rounds of the neighborhood. Not only do these merchants offer their various goods or services, but the merchants also offer opportunity for social interaction.

As the town grew in population, the commercial industries moved closer to the neighborhoods. In the newly built neighborhood in which I lived, the opening of a small, neighborhood grocery store signalled the curtailment of door-to-door services. As more women realized the convenience of the grocery store, fewer were buying through the door-to-door merchants. New residents who at first thought it unique to have home deliveries, soon switched to purchases in stores as more stores opened. Soon the number of door-to-door merchants slowed to a trickle.

Although more expensive than shopping in a store, many of the women who shop from door-to-door merchants feel that the merchants treat them better than when they shop at the store. They also feel that the merchants seem to know exactly what amounts the family needs to buy

and that shopping in this manner is more convenient. Very few women mention that they are spending more money by shopping in this manner. The offer of convenience and the opportunity for social interaction seemed to dominate their continued use of these services.

In this chapter the market, the noon closings of stores, the coffee break and the door-to-door merchants were studied as examples of how traditional the lifestyle around Uden has persisted although somewhat unsteadily despite urban growth. I implied that the daily activities of the Udenaaren seems to be regulated by a clock; a measure of sameness prevails as the days go by. These events are affective interruptions of the daily routines. However, in as much as these events are interruptions of daily routine, the fact that they are anticipated and planned for makes them a part of the routine that makes up the daily activities. In this manner, the daily activities are nearly the same in Uden today as they were yesterday and will be tomorrow.

CHAPTER III

THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF UDENAAREN

The Easy Life and Easy Living

Just as the town of Uden seems to be caught in a transition between traditional and modern, so is the typical Udenaar. Although distinctions have already been made between the oldcomers and newcomers, there are values that all hold in common by virtue of being Dutch. Where Udenaaren differ is not in what they value in life but rather in how they intend to achieve their wants. In this chapter, the social psychology of the Udenaaren is discussed to give the reader a picture of how the people of Uden feel about themselves and the world that surrounds them.

For the large majority of Udenaaren, the place where they live represents *Gemakkelijk Leven*, the "easy life." Most people have a certain sense of comfort and security because they live in Uden. Except for some who live in the flats (Chapter II), Uden offers its residents the space that is lacking in the densely populated sections of Holland. People also feel secure in their homes and neighborhoods, particularly when walking home after the bars close. This sense of comfort and security is reflected in the way the people feel about themselves.

By feeling and being comfortable and secure in their daily lives, the people of Uden radiate a strong sense of enjoyment of life. Many people say that living in the country brings them closer to nature. In this respect, virtually all Udenaaren feel it is important to maintain good health by being active outdoors. Udenaaren of all ages are seen riding bicycles to and from their daily activities, participating in sports and walking in the many neighborhood parks. As much as their enjoyment of the easy life determines their activities, this same pleasure also manifests itself in their lifestyles.

It is fair to say that the awareness of how others perceive an individual is an important factor in the acquisition of worldly goods. In this respect, the people of Uden were very much like people in other parts of Holland. The importance of keeping up a "nice" home puts many people in competition with their neighbors. At various times of the year, a new item is purchased without a conspicuous, objective need for the item. Most often the primary motivation for purchasing is that a friend or a neighbor has purchased a similar item. Unlike most Americans who tend to make purchases as they become "needed," the Dutch tend to buy major items according to whim. This is not to imply that the Dutch are careless with their money. Rather, the Dutch are extremely frugal, but they do believe in spending their money for things that they find emotionally satisfying.

Many of the residents of Uden with whom I spoke believed that their feelings of comfort have been brought about as a result of the social welfare programs of the Labor Party. During the last twenty years, the people have attained a standard of living wherein virtually no one in Holland can be found to be lacking in the objective necessities of life. Through various forms of subsidies and tax exemptions, the standard of living gives people great comfort and security. Virtually all necessities are provided by social subsidies. Among these are health care, retirement, unemployment, childcare and vacation. Although these benefits have added to the general feeling of well being, there is a fear among many of the conservative Dutchmen that these programs have changed the social psychology of the people. They believe that the more comfortable life style has contributed to a decline in traditional values, in particular in the work ethic.

Many of the older residents in Uden feel that in general, life has become too easy in Holland. Accustomed to the hardships of the great European Wars, and between years, most of the older residents have "struggled" and been extraordinarily industrious to make a living. Still active in the labor force, they are generally more vocal against the many persons who "take advantage of" welfare programs. They cite the increasing number of Udenaaren collecting unemployment compensation as one of the major



Illustration #6: Uden, the easy life.

abuses of the welfare system. Some of the older residents feel that the liberal unemployment regulations encourage workers not to work and to collect unemployment benefits. Despite the realities of an economic slowdown in the region, many still regard easily obtained unemployment benefits as being not quite moral.

In contrast to older residents, younger residents of Uden feel that, although their lives may be easier than those of their parents had been, they face a different society with different problems than their parents. Most feel that the government has a responsibility to insure that people have a good life, a good income, a good job and a good home. While they welcome government intrusion that accompanies these benefits, younger residents resent the impersonality that accompanies the administration of the social welfare programs. They believe that in order to have a standard of living to which they are entitled and to insure continuity of their comforts, the government subsidies should be continued. A happy life is defined by them as a combination of comfort from job, home and income and the government support to assure these and other "needs" or "rights" such as good health care.

Enjoyment of life is an important goal for all Udenaaren. Their life style includes a lot of leisure time and leisure-time activities which they believe are their "right." Uden's unhurried life provides the residents

with ample opportunity for leisure. Believing strongly in their right to leisure, many enjoy themselves in various forms of activities. It is important for one's health to take advantage of one's free time. Although work is highly valued, people believe that there is no excuse for too much work. In essence, they believe that everything has its proper time and that leisure has as much importance as work. Their strong emphasis on leisure is reflected in their attitudes towards life.

Udenaaren, as well as most Dutch, firmly believe in their right to take vacations. Most find it hard to believe that there are many Americans who do not take vacations. For the Udenaaren, the opportunity to get away from one's work is very important to one's physical well-being. This is so important to the Dutch that virtually all employers have been forced to include paid vacations among employee benefits. A major consequence of guaranteed vacations and travel and affluence generally is that the Dutch have become cosmopolitan.

Many of the young Udenaaren have travelled through several European countries before their eighteenth birthdays. Because of the easy access to other European countries, the lust for travel affects the young early in their lives. In contrast, many of the older residents tend to vacation in the various resorts or camp grounds inside Holland. If they do not plan extended vacations at great

distances, visits to friends and relatives are in order. Regardless of age or financial position, one hardly ever stays home for a vacation.

Although most Udenaaren are proud of their national identities, their travels have made them aware of the role their country plays in the European community as well as the world. Many people make the observation that Holland is too small a country to be of any influence in the world. They feel that if a major war were to break out in Europe it would be useless to put up a defense of their nation. Although this may be seen as a lack of confidence, the realities of Holland's situation in the world have made the people very pragmatic in this respect.

The majority of young Udenaarens have developed pacifistic attitudes regarding world affairs. Their views, however, are expressed only among friends. Their adherence to the easy life in Uden prevents them from demonstrating their views as do the youths in the bigger cities of Holland.

The essence of the easy life is very much in evidence in Uden. In succeeding chapters, the people's involvement in sports, bar activities, and celebrations will be discussed in detail. These are examples of the good life in Uden. Another measure of the attitudes of a comfortable life in Uden is related to the people's attitudes towards family life.

The Family

As in many contemporary Western societies, the nuclear family in Holland is the basic family unit. Although close relationships exist with members of the extended family, there are few instances of elderly parents living with their children. However, members of extended families get together frequently to celebrate birthdays or holidays. To an Udenaar, family and home are two of the most important aspects of an individual's life.

The typical Uden family is a closely knit unit. Parents and children often share the same interests and activities. In this regard, many clubs in Uden consist of several families. As in many small rural communities, certain family names predominate. Uden has several family names that are well established and prominent. These families are active in several of the business and other social aspects of the community. More often than not, it is the participation of the family as a unit that is important in the growth of Uden.

There appears to be a wide difference in attitudes towards the family unit between the oldcomers and newcomers. Since the majority of the newcomers tend to be younger, the differences in viewpoints can be seen as an generation problem. Oldcomers tend to maintain the traditional values towards family life. They raise their children in the traditional ways that children were formerly reared in Hol-

land, loving but stern. Many believe that Dutch children have become unruly and impertinent. Children, in their view, are spoiled by their parents as a consequence of modern childrearing practices. To their way of seeing things, lack of respect for adults and authority has been a primary factor in the rise of delinquency in the major cities.

On the other hand, the newcomers have the view that children should be allowed the freedom of self expression. They believe that the traditional ways of childrearing often have negative effects on the child, especially the frequent use of corporal punishment as a means for reenforcement. Younger parents are as concerned with their children's emotional growth as with their physical development. In this respect, they allow the children to participate in family discussions. Traditional parents often adhere to the maxim that children should be seen rather than heard. Changing values and practices have made changes in childrearing practices. One particular factor that has not changed much in Uden's family structure is the role of the wife.

Most girls continue to live with their parents until they marry. When they do marry, women tend to prefer the traditional roles of housewife and mother. Although many women are employed, the majority choose not to work until their children are in school. They believe that it is important for the child's well being to have the mother at

home. Women point out that although they agree with the changing role of contemporary women, the satisfaction of employment does not compensate the joy they receive from being a full time mother. Many, however, agree that they might consider employment when their children are grown.

As one can see, the idea of a comfortable life is prevalent in much of the psychology of the people in Uden. Their views on life, work, the world, and family all reflect the belief that the single most important factor in one's life is to be happy. No matter how much satisfaction individuals derive from living in Uden, their individual happiness is seriously affected if they are not trusted by one another. The one most important measure of trust in Uden is the acknowledgement by others that an individual is good for his word.

Trust

In some parts of Holland, especially in the southern areas, a man is still kept to his word: a promise is a promise. The prevailing attitude is that if a man says that he will do something, he will. Although it may take some time before the promise is fulfilled, it will eventually be done. When a promise is made, people normally allow a period of several days to pass before expecting the promise to be fulfilled. This same attitude prevails in business dealings. If a repairman is needed, it may be a day or two be-

fore he appears to do the work. A precise time is never given by the service deliverer when the work will be done. It is implied that the work will be done at some time: today, the next day, or one after that. Similarly, giving one's word is the basis for most business agreements among the merchants in Uden.

In small towns where everyone knows one another, most agreements are by a shake of the hand. The handshake is considered more important than the signing of a contract. It is regarded as a physical affirmation of the worth of an individual's word. Many merchants still do not require their customers to sign contracts when they charge their purchases. There are some merchants that ask customers to sign promissory notes, but the merchants consider these to be meaningless. The trust in the reliability of an individual's word is applied evenly to both oldcomers and newcomers. At times, this trust relationship causes problems with American newcomers not familiar with this practice. Although this lack of awareness often sours relationships between local citizens and foreigners, the trusting manner of relationships continues.

Despite the demands imposed by the community's change from rural to urban, the social psychology of Udenaaren has basically remained traditional in orientation. Although the changing population may have brought about different value perspectives to oldcomers and newcomers, Uden presents



Illustration #7: At lunchtime the stores close, an aspect of the easy life.

een gemakkelijk leven (an easy life). This easy life is reflected in attitudes towards work and non-work, leisure, family, and trust in others.

CHAPTER IV

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS IN UDEN

Introduction

Social relationships play a large part in the perpetuation of a community. Without the formal and informal contacts that occur in the daily activities of the residents there can be no transfer from one generation to the next of the customs and traditions of the community. The contacts between shopkeepers and customers and among neighbors and friends are essential for the continuity of a community.

As in most Dutch communities, there exists in Uden a certain measure of expectation that residents will be sociable with one another. Some of the formalized traditions are reflected in the invitations extended to neighbors to have morning coffee or an evening drink, a cup of coffee to customers in stores and drinks for strangers and friends. Sociability is an expected norm in smaller communities; the avoidance of social contacts results in being labeled an asociaal (antisocial) person. The impersonality of life is thought to exist only in the large metropolitan areas of Amsterdam or Rotterdam. In order to be a resident of a small community one is expected to become a full member of the com-

munity, the implication being that small communities invite participation and conformity of their members.

To foster as much participation in the community activities by its residents as possible, the community offers several mechanisms. Among these mechanisms are various cultural, social and athletic organizations and specified locations where people can develop contacts. In Uden, as well as in most of the Dutch communities, there is a strong emphasis on social organizations, clubs, community groups, athletic teams and bars, all of which provide the means wherein the residents can demonstrate their community affiliation. Many of the organizations promote togetherness by the adoption of slogans and names of symbolic unity and commonality. A popular slogan among clubs in Uden is eendracht maakt macht (union makes strength). It is through formal and informal organizations that individuals feel a sense of belonging to the community. In this chapter the nature of athletic organizations and life in bars will be discussed as a means of promoting community solidarity.

Sports and Recreation

Physical activity in Uden has psychological differences associated with the activity that are missing in American sports. Although Americans are avid followers of team sports, i.e. baseball, basketball, football, etc., it is the efforts of individuals in the teams that receive the most

attention. The expectations of a championship season hinges on the performance of one or two players; the star or personality system prevails. Although recognition for individual accomplishment is given in the Dutch culture, it is the efforts of the entire team that are of primary concern. The collective actions of the team brings either pride or shame to the club and the community.

Another difference in the organization of sports between Dutch and American cultures is that athletic associations in Holland receive municipal support through subsidy programs. In the United States, one needs only to find enough interested players in order to start a team. Many softball and basketball teams participating in recreational leagues are barely distinguishable as separate entities. In Holland, sports associations must fill out several applications, be accepted by the regional and national sport federations, and receive permission from the municipal athletic committee to use public facilities to engage in the sport. A prime consideration in giving a sports club permission to play is the influence the club will have on the community.

The notion of recreational sports is extremely popular in Holland, as well as in all of Europe. The concept of health and physical activity is part of the socialization process of all Dutch children. In Uden, as in most communities, the majority of adults and children participate

in some form of recreational sports. In the 1975 municipal directory, no fewer than 75 separate sports organizations are listed with a combined total of 9,530 members. The types of organizations range from soccer clubs, billiard clubs, volleyball clubs, hunting clubs through carrier-pigeon clubs. Some clubs had large memberships (760 members in the tennis club, 650 for one of the soccer clubs) while some has as few as ten members (bowling club, equestrian club and midget golf club). There exists enough diversity of sports in the community to meet nearly everyone's recreational interests.

It may be giving the reader an incorrect picture of athletic clubs if the characteristics of athletic clubs are not clarified. Depending on the number of members, each club has separate divisions for seniors and youth. Each division then has separate teams for males and females. Within a particular division, the members are placed on teams depending on level of abilities. Those placed on the first or second team are designated as competition players, while the other teams are listed as recreational players. Differences in designation affects the amount of practice given to individuals and the success of the club.

All the attention and training is given towards the success of the first and second teams. These teams receive extra practice sessions and more individualized training. The other teams receive the necessary training in order to

play in recreational leagues. With extra emphasis given to the primary teams, it is hoped that by winning a championship in their present division, the club will be able to move up to higher divisions. After a club has been successful in regional divisions, the club moves on to a national level of competition. If this occurs not only does a club receive national exposure, but also it brings national recognition to the community. The success of every club member rests on the success of the first team.

Membership in a sports organization carries with it not only the personal satisfaction of being active in sports, but it also imposes certain social obligations on the member. In order to participate in a sport, one has to join a particular association that is organized for a particular area of sport. There is no overlap in the functions of sport organizations. For instance, the soccer club will not organize teams to play basketball. If one wants to play both soccer and basketball, the individual has to join two separate organizations. Unlike many teams in the United States, team members will not play baseball during the summer and basketball in the winter.

To become a club member, one registers with the membership chairperson. Often the prospective member has to fill out an application form that contains questions not related to the particular sport. For instance, the application for membership to the tennis club asks the applicant

to provide a statement of his annual income and whether his house is owned or rented. Most often, the organization sets a limit on the number of members that it can accept. In this manner, all new applicants are placed on a waiting list. This way a club could be selective in accepting new members.

The annual dues that a member pays to participate in the club allows him to enjoy all the benefits the club has to offer. If the club is a rather large organization with a rich treasury, the benefits can be extensive and enjoyable. The larger organizations usually maintain their own clubhouses. For members, having a clubhouse means there is another available location to meet with friends and to drink. For members of the smaller clubs, especially those without a clubhouse, membership entitles only a person to participate in the athletic activities and to attend the annual membership meeting.

For every organization, the annual membership meeting is the big event of the year. During this meeting, all the year's business: committee selections, election of officers, proposing changes and voicing of complaints are brought before the general membership. In addition to being a business meeting, the general membership night is also a big social event. The meeting offers an opportunity for members to socialize, mingle, and make new acquaintances as

well as renew old ones. In order to foster an atmosphere conducive to socializing, most clubs hold their meetings in large rooms which several of the local bars provide. Except during the actual meeting, the members are free to eat or drink while they talk. Often the business meeting is suspended after a very short time so that the members can resume their socializing. The social aspect of athletic clubs is very important for maintaining the cohesiveness of the club or team.

The social aspect of sports associations is an added benefit for the economy of Uden, especially for the bar owners. It is an unwritten tradition that after a game or practice session, the team moves to a bar for a pilsje. When a member excuses himself from going with the others, they tease him for not coming along. However mild this form of teasing may be, the social stigma of being unsociable nevertheless is very obvious. Thus it is seldom that team members stay away from post-game socializing.

An expectation of the post-game drinking is for each member to participate in buying rondje, a round of drinks, for the others. It is expected that each member will voluntarily buy a rondje sometime during the evening. Although no mention will ever be made as to whose turn it is to buy, somehow individual turns are kept. If it appears that a member is holding back from buying his share of drinks, the group will resort to some form of teasing as

a means of control. By the end of an evening, depending on the size of the group, an individual can have consumed a large number of drinks.

Buying rounds of drinks for everyone in the group can be a large expense if it was done on a regular basis. No one is happier to see this tradition of buying rounds continued than the owners of bars.

When I first moved to Uden, I observed how crowded the bars seemed to be on Sunday and Thursday evenings. It seemed that it was virtually impossible to find a place to park a car in town on those two evenings. It soon became apparent that the Sunday evening bar crowd was a result of all the adult sports activities that went on during the day. After the game, everyone, both spectators and players, seemed to head towards favorite bars. The Thursday evening crowd was a result of a combination of athletic clubs having practice sessions and the bingo evenings that were being held in some of the bars. The social aspect of athletics produces income for bar owners, and in return, the bar owners are some of the more avid supporters of the various athletic clubs. The relationship between bar owners and how they support athletic clubs will be discussed in another section.

In an earlier paragraph, mention was made of how a team's success brings on feelings of pride among the residents of the community. Since every sports club represents



Illustration #8: The Bus stop.

the community in its specialty, community support is given in proportion to the number of participants in that sport. Community support can be seen in the amount of financial and the community gives to the various club as well as number of spectators who attend the contests. Financial support is given to clubs through membership dues, municipal support, and fund raisers. Spectator support is considered by observing the number of spectators a particular athletic event draws.

There are several means, aside from the dues that the members pay, for receiving financial support. One source is that which the city government, through the athletic council, gives to individual clubs. This comes in two ways: direct subsidies to the clubs and the way in which the contract for the rental of public facilities is written. These two methods will be discussed in in the following paragraphs.

Direct subsidies are paid to each club in direct proportion to the number of members that belong to the club. The money is made available through the Ministry of Communications, Recreation, and Social Services (CRM) to individual communities for the enhancement of recreation and sports. Local municipalities use the money for improving facilities or to subsidize local organizations. All clubs receive the same amount per member (approximately three guilders, or \$1.50 in 1976). For the smaller clubs, this

subsidy barely influences the budget. In order to equalize the financial benefits, the sport council has devised a way that every club can benefit through the rental of public facilities.

In Uden, all the athletic facilities are owned by the city. In order to use a soccer field, basketball court or baseball diamond, a rental contract must be signed with the city. Even impromptu games among friends need city permission. Sometimes this practice is a little difficult to comprehend by Americans who can not understand why they are not allowed to play baseball on an empty baseball diamond. Since the public facilities are to be rented by every club that uses the facility, the manner in which the contracts are written often depends on the nature of the sport and on the organization.

The city has its official prices for the renting of athletic facilities and any inquirer will be given the official prices. However, a not-too-well kept secret among the various club officials is that there have been many instances in which clubs have received preferential treatment regarding their contracts. When the soccer club, Udi 19, won its division championship, among the many rewards that the town provided the club was a set of improved contract terms for the next year. Another instance of preferential treatment was the contract with the tennis club. The tennis club was allowed to rent all the public

tennis courts in town. This gave the club a monopoly on the tennis facilities, and the city even subleased some of the courts to the public through the tennis club. In these ways it becomes important for the smaller clubs to do well in competition in order to gain financial and other rewards the next year.

Another source for financial support that many clubs use in Uden is private donations. Very similar to some of the fund raisers in the United States, the clubs engage in door-to-door selling, holding raffles and sponsor special sport events. One club combined the sale of bouquets of flowers with a basketball spectacular that pitted two semi-professional teams against each other. Both projects were highly successful: Dutch people buy flowers at least twice a week to beautify their homes and the people in Uden support events that bring in outside teams, especially if play is at an advanced level. Similarly, when Uden hosted the preliminary rounds of the European Volleyball Tournament, the auditorium was filled to capacity each evening. It was not that people in Uden are sport fanatics, but that many came to support the community's interest. Many persons feel that events that bring outsiders into the community are good because they show how Uden, as a community, supports its local teams regardless of the sport. The public support given to athletic teams is one indication of the way the athletic clubs serve as cohesive factors in the community.

It would be misleading if the impression is left with the reader that attendance at every sporting event is large. This is far from the case at the weekly competitions. On any given weekend, there are at least six different clubs performing their sport on Uden's facilities. Only the competition that features the first team of a particular club will attract a sizeable crowd; hardly any spectators will come and watch the others play. Another factor that guarantees a good crowd is the type of sport played. The soccer club will have more followers watching their games than the field hockey club. The irony of this lies in the fact that the field hockey club has sent three representatives to the women's national hockey team which has won a silver medal in the World Championships.

The traditional support for soccer and the local soccer club was dramatized when the local club won its first divisional championship in thirteen years. The victory was even more joyous for the Udenaaren because it came at the expense of the neighboring team in Veghel. For the twenty-four hours following the victory, the town celebrated in every bar in town. It was said that that evening was one of the very few occasions upon which bar owners did not close at the regular closing time. Members of the victorious team were hailed as conquering heroes and anyone displaying club paraphernalia could count on free drinks all evening long. The next afternoon some of the revelers were yet seen going

from bar to bar in celebration of the victory.

In this section, the relationship between sports and community solidarity was discussed in connection with membership in athletic organizations. Through membership in a club, the individual voluntarily joins with others for the mutual benefit of the club as well as the community. Through cooperation with the city government, the various clubs are able to present their members the opportunity to form social relationships. In turn, these social relationships not only serve to solidify the community, but they also produce new opportunities for interactions, such as the post-game meetings in bars. The following section will look at the social interactions of people in pubs or as the Dutch call them, kroegen.

Social Relations in the Kroeg

There are certain locations where the opportunities to develop social relationships are more readily available in every community than in others. Most often these are the places where most of the town's activities occur. In this respect, one can say that in Uden, the bars are the most visible places to develop social relationships. As night falls over Uden, the majority of people make their way to local taverns to have a drink and to meet with friends. In this section the tavern (Kroeg) is studied as an institution that brings the people of a community together in a social bond.



Illustration #9: Friends relaxing at a bar.

Bars or taverns in Uden are similar to neighborhood pubs in England. Designed as public establishments the primary purpose of which is to dispense alcoholic beverages, the kroeg also becomes the focal point where people gather to discuss the events occurring in the community. Although taverns are more frequented during the evening, they are usually open the entire day. In Uden, bars serve the entire family, although minors are not allowed strong alcoholic beverages. In order better to understand the social idea of a kroeg, a description of the physical layout of a kroeg in Uden is now presented.

Most taverns are owned by a proprietor who has affiliated himself with one of the major breweries in Holland. This affiliation is important to the proprietor because the brewery not only guarantees a steady supply of beer to his tavern, but also because the brewery acts as a sponsor for the business. In return for having the brand name of the beer emblazoned on a sign outside the bar, some breweries have helped to pay for the initial costs of starting the business or have helped literally to build portions of the bar. The proprietor guarantees the brewery that he will order only beer through the distributors of the particular brewery. In Uden, this practice is the most-often-used arrangement for tavern owners to get started in business. For the proprietor the kroeg is not just a business but a way of life.

Owners of taverns devote their entire day in their facilities. Many do not have any choice in the matter; their

residences are either located alongside the tavern or in the back of the tavern. The entire family is involved in the operation; it is not uncommon to see the wife and older children serving drinks to customers. In one tavern, the customers are often interrupted by the owner's young son riding his tricycle among the tables. No one seems to mind children in taverns, because the Udenaaren does not believe in sheltering children from the realities of life. Family involvement in the operation of the business is often crucial to the success of business because few tavern owners can afford to hire regular employees. Instead they rely heavily on family members or they resort to hiring people zwart, in the underground economy, a practice to be discussed in the chapter on Carnaval.

Every tavern provides activities to attract and entertain the customers. The most popular places in the tavern are around the billiard table and the game of billiards (biljart) is the most popular tavern sport in bars and taverns in Holland. Very similar to the popularity of pool in American bars, the billiard table is in use virtually the entire day. The skill involved in the game can require many years of practice, and skilled billiard players are held in high esteem among the regulars in taverns.

Aside from billiards, most taverns also use their facilities for card evenings and bingo evenings. On separate evenings of the week, either the card players or the

bingo players take over the facilities of the tavern for their games. In actuality, the tavern is given over to the associations organizing these activities. The tavern owner in return is guaranteed that the people will buy their drinks at his bar. This reciprocal arrangement is ideal for both parties in that the organizations have a place to meet and the tavern owner has their business. On these game evenings, casual customers are strictly relegated to the bar area and often do not participate in the scheduled activities. Tavern owners prefer to have these evenings so thus his establishment is guaranteed patrons rather than having to rely for his business on casual customers. As a result, the tavern owner spends a lot of his time trying to attract groups to use his facilities.

In the preceeding section on the sport clubs in Uden, some mention was made of the relationships between athletic clubs and the various bars in town. A large part of the close ties between these clubs and the taverns is due to the efforts by the tavern owners to attract the members of these clubs into their places. Tavern owners, as a rule, are the most avid supporters of the various athletic organizations in Uden. An example of this was the celebration that the local taverns gave to the members of the UDI soccer club after their team won the divisional championship. Many tavern owners gave club members several rounds of drinks on the house to help the celebration along.

Other ways in which tavern owners support athletic teams are through direct sponsorship, help in fundraising activities and allowing clubs to advertise home games by hanging posters in the taverns. Not only is this support seen as good for business, but the tavern owner also provides the opportunity for the townspeople to support a particular athletic club by identifying themselves with a particular tavern. The nature of the identification with a particular tavern is an important factor in the study of tavern life.

Regular customers come to regard the tavern as "mijn vaste kroeg" (my regular tavern). The visits to the tavern are part of the ritual that most Udenaaren practice at least once a week. Since many of the taverns are located near the older neighborhoods of Uden, they are easily accessible to most of the oldcomers. For the newcomers, the tavern visit involves either a short car or bicycle ride to town. Although some establishments have opened up snack bars that serve alcoholic beverages in some of the newer neighborhoods, the majority of the newcomers prefer to drive to the downtown taverns. They feel that the downtown bars were more sociable and better places to enjoy interacting with friends.

Most regular customers of bars come to be among friends. Whether they come alone or in groups, everyone is soon drawn into some conversation or other activity. If it is known that someone is a good billiard player, the

invitation to play is soon extended. Even strangers are drawn into conversation by one of the regulars. The principle underlying the operation of the more-frequented taverns is that the customer is made to feel welcome and that he enjoys himself while there.

Being made welcome in a tavern is an important aspect of the hospitality of the tavern owner. The practice of buying rondjes, as described in a previous section, is frequently used to meet strangers, celebrate special occasions, or as an act of sociability. By buying drinks for people, the social "ice" is broken and social interaction facilitated.

In addition to facilitating social interaction, the taverns also serve as communication centers for the community. Throughout the day, customers come and go from the bars. Unlike as in some communities, the sale of beer and alcohol is not restricted to certain hours in Uden. When the Udenaaren stops in a kroeg, the tendency for him is to order a pils or jenever (Dutch gin) and discuss various events that have occurred in the community. Some of the talk can be considered gossip, but the importance is that gossip is a means of communication as well as social control. During many visits to taverns, I have listened to stories about the people in the town. More often than not, these stories are accurate in content. In time, I discovered that information told in gossip in Uden tends

to be accurate because, as I later learned, Udenaaren only gossip about others as a means of passive social punishment.

Although life at the taverns is an integral part of the daily routines of Udenaaren, there are various times when the bars take on separate identities of their own. These are times when special activities or parties are held at the bar. Examples are weddings, anniversaries, and tournaments. There is one special and outstanding time during the year when the lives of Udenaaren are centered on the bars; that time is Carnaval. The following chapter describes the role that Carnaval plays in the preservation of the community.

CHAPTER V

CARNAVAL

Every community provides its members with avenues through which they are allowed to show publicly that they are part of the community. Conventionally, this is accomplished by joining associations that represent the values of the community. Another way of showing identification with a community is by participation in the traditional festivals and celebrations that are peculiar to the community. By holding annual activities and celebrating special events in the community, members are provided with a means to reaffirm their ties to the community. In Uden, the one festival that serves the purpose of reaffirmation of ties to the community is the Carnaval.

Although Carnaval, the festival before the start of the Lenten season, is celebrated in many parts of the world, each community has unique ways of celebrating it. Carnaval, in Holland, continues to be celebrated in the traditionally Roman Catholic regions of Holland, particularly in Noord-Brabant and Limburg. The celebration is almost limited to those areas below the rivers thereby giving Carnaval a regional flavor in the nation. For years, many people from the northern provinces have moved to the South in order to



Illustration #10: Carnaval fun: "You'll have a small beer,
we'll take a big one."

participate in the celebration. However on the whole, Carnaval is scoffed at by many people from the North. In recent years, however, there have been carnival clubs formed in Amsterdam, Utrecht, and The Hague. But as one true Brabanders said, "They may know how to celebrate, but it is not Carnaval."

Each community finds some unique way of celebrating carnival that makes it distinct from surrounding communities. One way that this is accomplished is through the identification of the carnival club. In Uden, all the carnival festivities are planned by the carnival club, Knoerissen. Because many of the towns in the region have ties with agriculture, most of the carnival clubs adopt names connected with agriculture. The club in Uden has chosen the male pig (knoer) as its symbol and during carnival season, Uden becomes known as the Land van Knoerissen (Land of the Pigs), reigned by Prins Porcellus. In this chapter, the activities and festivities associated with Carnaval will be discussed as a principal way that the people of Uden reaffirm their ties to the community and to one another.

Carnaval officially commences on the Sunday before Ash Wednesday. However, much of the pre-carnival activities start as early as November of the previous year. On the eleventh day of the eleventh month, the Prins and his council of advisors (eleven men) ceremoniously signify to

the members of the Carnival Club that Carnaval is nearing. This is done by holding a carnival-like party to foreshadow that which is to come during carnival. Most people do not attend the Elf-Elf Ball, because they regard it as an excuse to drink excessively. Another reason for not going is that it is but a one-evening event and the party is not enough to get into the full spirit of the coming festival. Most will wait until carnival season.

Membership in the Knoerissen can be compared to the Omaha civic organization, AKSARBEN. The purpose of both organizations is to offer their members social interaction and to provide entertainment as a means of ensuring the interactive processes. A particular goal of both is civic responsibility. During carnival, the Knoerissen provide the means in which the elderly, the sick, and the handicapped are also reaffirmed in their membership in the community. If the club is aware of an Uden resident convalescing in a hospital, a special attempt is made by the Prins Carnaval to visit the patient. Similarly, the Prins Carnaval will invite all the town's handicapped and elderly citizens to a special party. The role of the Prins is very important in the presentation of the public image of the carnival season.

Being selected Prins Carnaval is an honor that very few Carnival Club members want. Being the prins involves not only being in the public limelight throughout

the carnival season, but also means many personal sacrifices. The choice of Prins usually involves much discussion among members of the Council of Eleven and the carnival club's officers. The ordinary member is not consulted because the suspenseful wait for the announcement of the Prins is all part of the excitement of Carnaval. Usually the criteria for prins are that an individual is outgoing and cheerful, is liked by many of the members of the club, and is an individual who can financially afford to be the Prins.

The financial cost of being a Prins can be staggering. It means that the individual is responsible for giving several parties. Throughout the carnival season he will buy many rounds of drinks for his subjects and guests. He also gives medallions to loyal subjects in commemoration of his reign. These medallions often bear the picture of the Prins or his symbol and are paid for by him. Estimates as to the cost of being Prins go as high as 3,000 guilders (\$1,500.00) in some of the larger towns. Rumor has it that one Prins Carnaval who was not that wealthy, took out a sizeable bank loan to afford the expense of being a Prins Carnaval. Most carnival clubs help defray some of the cost for the Prins; still with the honor of being selected Prins comes the burden of paying.

The crowning of the new Prins Carnaval starts the carnival season for the members of the carnival club. Des-

pite the fact that carnival is still three weeks in the future, the crowning of the Prins, the Grand Gala, the children's party, and the reception all take place during the three weekends before carnival. During this period, each succeeding event becomes more spirited as carnival nears. Each of the pre-carnival festivities is sold out in advance, and tickets to these events are prized possessions.

All the pre-carnival festivities prepare the carnivallers for the upcoming season. People start wearing their carnival clothes. In the Uden area a boeren kiel (farmer's shirt) is worn over old clothes. These clothes are worn by the people to the festivities while dancing and drinking the evening away. The first weekend of pre-carnival festivities are usually quiet affairs, except for the announcement of the new Prins. However as the time gets closer to carnival, the festivities involve more audience participation so that when the last pre-carnival event, the Grand Gala, begins, the atmosphere is very carnivalesque.

The Grand Gala is the last of all festivities that occur in Uden before the actual start of carnival. Based on the British style of public concerts, the Grand Gala offers a program of music that is classical, contemporary, and carnival. A symphony orchestra plays a program of music that has the effect of bringing the people to their

feet to sing the praises of the nation, carnival and, importantly, the town. Towards the end of every musical number, the conductor will bring the music to a feverish climax and end it with a flourish that brings the people to their feet shouting the carnival cry, "Ujes Alaaf! Uden Alaaf!" (Hail to the people of Uden! Hail to Uden!) After the Grand Gala ends, a carnival band takes over and the people dance until two in the morning. By this time, people are ready for carnival to begin.

Traditionally, it is thought that the start of carnival itself is the Sunday before Ash Wednesday. However, due to the combination of pre-carnival activities, people being psychologically readied for carnival and the profit motive of local barkeepers, carnival begins long before and officially on the Saturday before Ash Wednesday. In order not to interfere with people's celebration of carnival, many larger clubs rent halls in various bars for their private carnival parties. Since one of the rules of carnival states that everyone is welcome to celebrate, these parties are turned into public events and anyone can go. If one knows where the parties are being held, he can walk into as many as six parties on the Saturday preceding Ash Wednesday.

On Sunday, the long-awaited carnival week commences. Each community has some special event to kick off the festivities. Uden starts its week off with a parade. A carnival parade (optocht) is held in all communities but by

having its parade on Sunday, Uden is one of the first in the region to have one. By being one of the few towns having a Sunday parade, Uden attracts a large number of visitors from the other towns in the region and additionally has the benefits of entrants in the parade from other towns. Similarly, when most of the surrounding towns are having their parades on Monday, many of Uden's participants are free to enter them. This practice is highly encouraged because it means exposure for Uden in the other towns.

Participation in the parade is open to the entire community. Each entry attempts to humorously follow the central theme. Since the parade is open to everyone, its length often takes three hours to wind its way through the downtown streets. In 1978, 85 groups, mostly neighborhoods, used the parade as an avenue to demonstrate their cohesiveness.

Many neighborhood groups spend months of time and energy and money for their parade entries. Most of the entries are in the form of a float but other neighborhood groups simply walk the parade in costume. Because poking fun at traditions is one of the practices of carnival, many of the parade floats depict aspects of life in Uden in satire. Much of the satire is directed at the government and at the Burgermeester (Mayor). One year the government had just instituted a stricter drunk-driver law. Needless to say, that year the majority of carnival floats depicted

the many variations of how people felt toward the law, especially since beer is the "king" during carnival. Similarly, the mayor was chided for having purchased a farm in a neighboring community. Much of the satire is "all in fun," even though it may be offensive. Like everything during carnival, people expect to act differently than they would normally; they define it as "pret" (fun) and in jest. After the many groups have completed their parade through the city and the Prins has handed out the prizes for the best floats and groups, people scatter to different places to start the carnival celebration.

The conclusion of the parade signals the start of the carnival festivities. Although many people have already started their drinking well before the beginning of the parade, the earnest drinking and related fun and play start after the parade. By this time, most of the bars, cafe's and other drinking establishments are overcrowded with people; latecomers are left to look for other places to celebrate. Being turned away does not pose any problem because carnival celebrants do not remain in one bar for long.during the daytime, so in a short time there is usually room for new revellers.

Celebration of carnival is a ritual that takes some time to get accustomed to for first-time celebrants. The only rules that exist during the three days of celebration are: there are no rules and one must publicly show that one

is "having fun." Having fun has several ways of manifesting itself: by displaying a drink in one's hand, by constantly dancing, and through the clothes one wears.

Although some people walk around for three days in various costumes, the majority of the people prefer to wear a blue boeren kiel (farmer's shirt-jacket), a red scarf or bandana and a farmer's cap. Aside from the cap, the women dress the same as the men. However in recent years, the women's kiels have tended to be more decorative in design. It is highly recommended that old clothes be worn underneath the kiel. With all the people drinking and dancing at the same time, it often happens that beer is splashed all over one's clothes. Many people save old clothing for wearing during Carnaval. At the conclusion of carnival, the clothes are so filled with beer and cigarette smoke that the only thing remaining to be done is to throw them away. The same is true for the shoes that are worn. The older the shoes, the better. If dressing to go carnivalling seems to take little effort, the drinking and dancing will appear even easier to the reader.

Carnaval in itself contains every element of "pret" (fun). Whether one goes alone or in a group, it takes very little time to be totally immersed in the festivities. Walking down the street, one can hear the carnival greeting that people shout to each other, "Uden Alaaf!" (Hail Uden!) Not only is this the greeting to people during this season,

but it can also be heard at the end of each individual carnival dance number as people shout their glee at having a good time in Uden's carnival celebration.

In each bar, people can be seen having the same type of fun as in the other bars in town. There is little variation in the type of music or the beer being served. The only difference may be in the actual persons in a particular place, but more often than not, most people criss-cross paths at least several times each day. One year the carnival committee hired a "beer train" to stop at every bar in town to pick-up and deliver customers. This cut down on drunk drivers and also made certain that people could visit as many bars as possible. The train was fully loaded as it made its rounds during the three days of carnival.

The daytime hours during carnival are usually the times when people frequent as many bars as possible. Since all the local businesses are closed during carnival, the carnival business in bars is substantial throughout the first two days and nights. The only exceptions to the closing of businesses are the supermarkets and banks. These businesses stay open a few hours during the morning so that people can replenish both their groceries and spending money. As the afternoon wears on, many people take a "break" from the festivities to eat or to catch a quick nap before going back out for the evening festivities.

Unlike the daytime carnivalling, the evening is characterized by less movement between bars. People tend to go to the bars where they feel the most comfortable or they attend the evening ball that the carnival club holds nightly in the municipal auditorium. There is very little difference in the level of festivities from the daytime activities. However, there are times when the evenings seem even more crowded and busy than the daylight hours. Especially busy are the people who work in the bars during the carnival season. At this time, I will describe how the typical bar owner prepares for the carnival festivities.

The carnival season is a large financial boon to local bar owners. At no other time of the year is the possibility of making a profit as great as during carnival. The proper planning of the festivities that are held in a bar takes much time, effort, and expense. One local bar owner completely redecorated the interior of his establishment in order to attract more people. The reasoning of this individual was: more space, more people, more beer, more music, and more profits. Making a profit is on every bar owner's mind, and every bar seems to have some device to keep customers as long as possible.

Every bar has some form of musical entertainment to keep the people dancing. It is felt that as long as the people dance and hop around the dance floor, the sale of

beer and drinks will be good. Loud carnival music, crowded conditions, and little rest between musical numbers are sure combinations to keep bartenders busy. The bar owners also make it easy for carnivallers to get their drinks. To avoid fumbling with money at the bar, the people are forced to buy drink tickets or chits in advance. To simplify matters even more, each drink (alcoholic or non-alcoholic) is the same price so that on some there is substantial profit. Ironically, very few bar owners admit that they use carnival to earn huge profits. Although they may admit that there may have been some owners who have purchased cheap beer and marked up the prices to patrons, most believe carnival to be an expensive venture for themselves.

Many bar owners do have large expenses in labor and supply costs during carnival season. In order to serve all the customers, extra bartenders and waitresses are hired and extra glasses, beer kegs, and food are ordered. The hiring of personnel is usually through the recruitment of family members and friends. These are hired and are paid through what the Dutch call zwarte markt (Black Market). In this manner, no income paid is reported to the revenue department and no taxes are paid on the income. The bar owners benefit because the extra salary expense is added to the supplies expense account and, therefore, not subject to any taxes.

A major expense a bar owner faces during carnival is the loss and breakage of drinking glasses. One bar owner estimated that he lost approximately 1,500 glasses during carnival. With the dancing and crowded conditions, it is not unusual to hear the sound of breaking glass at frequent intervals. In some of the busier bars, those who clean up after the night is over can easily tell how busy the night was by the broken glass scattered over the dance floor. Although quite a few bar owners have switched to plastic glasses, many bar owners feel that to switch would take some of the fun away from Carnaval. "Beer just would not taste the same," they rationalize. "When beer tastes bad, the customers will go somewhere else."

Having the people go somewhere else is about the greatest fear of the carnival committee. With carnival being celebrated over the entire region, people often go to other cities to celebrate. This is especially the case with many newcomers to Uden. Since the bigger cities of Den Bosch, Eindhoven, Tilburg and Maastricht are within easy driving distances, many go to friends and families in those cities. To prevent people from leaving Uden, the carnival committee plans activities to keep people interested in Uden's carnival. These events included the Car-naval Markt, Disco Carnaval for the teens, and the invitation of television and radio celebrities to the town. Many of these celebrities perform in the auditorium during the

evening balls. The bar owners cooperate with the carnival committee by ensuring that their establishments have ample beer and music. Together, the carnival committee and the bar owners keep the carnival going until Shrove Tuesday.

The final day of carnival is a day of mixed emotions for most carnival celebrants. By this time, many have spent at least two days celebrating and drinking. Many barely sleep throughout this period and by the time Tuesday comes, many desperately need sleep. Yet, at the same time, the realization that carnival will end at midnight keeps many people from stopping. After two days of taking short naps, one more day does not seem to matter much. At midnight, all the festivities end, so people celebrate the last hours of carnival even harder.

A half hour before midnight, the festivities at the auditorium stop as the Carnival Club prepares for Prins Porcellus' exit. At the stroke of midnight, the Carnival Club members accompany the Prins to the market square where he hands over the keys to the city to the burgermeester (mayor). To complete the ritual, a pig made of paper maché is burned to signify the end of the Prins' reign. As soon as the ceremony ends, the celebrants disperse and go home for a much needed sleep.

Meanwhile, at midnight, all the celebrations end in the bars, much to the dismay of the revellers, although not

unexpected; the music stops and no more beer is served. The end of carnival is an emotional letdown after three continuous days of celebration. The finality is hard to accept, especially since many revellers feel they have many dances left in their feet. For these die-hards, one bar arranges with city officials to stay open after curfew. Although this bar delays carnival's end for a few more hours, the festive atmosphere seems to have ended at the stroke of midnight.

To ask people, especially newcomers, to describe Carnaval, many mention the drinking, dancing, and other "abnormal" situations that people get into during carnival. Many newcomers complain about the excessive drinking, having beer spilled on them, or the loose moral behavior of some of the celebrants. It appears that a lack of understanding of the carnival spirit inhibits some of the newer residents from seeing carnival in its totality. Many attribute the large amount of beer that is consumed as the main factor for changes in behavior during carnival. They are, however, soon drawn into the spirit of the occasion.

The celebration of Carnaval can be seen as a period when the normal activities of the town are suspended. During this time, the people are given implicit permission to deviate from their normal patterns of behavior. Carnaval allows the usually conservative residents an excuse to let down their guards and blow off steam. Comparisons are made

with Roman orgies when vast amounts of beer are consumed, numerous dances danced, and many women/men kissed. In a sense, Carnaval reinforces the premium which the Dutch place on hospitality. Since everyone during Carnaval is a brother, even for a brief period, the people of Uden are truly united, a solidified community.

Every effort is made during Carnaval to keep an atmosphere of unity among the residents. Any hostilities that exist between individuals are temporarily suspended during Carnaval and much effort at compromise is expended. The pret (fun) is not allowed to be interrupted by hard feelings. Situations that have the potential of disturbing the pret are to be avoided at all cost. When disturbances occur, the participants are immediately separated and hostile feelings cooled by buying a round of beer. Another important aspect of Carnaval is that everyone must participate.

Carnaval knows no strangers. Regardless of origins, everyone in Uden is considered an Udenaar while they are celebrating in the community. An individual who is observed without a glass of beer in his hand soon finds a willing provider. There have been some occasions when an individual has spent an entire evening without ever buying a drink. However, such occasions are rare, because during Carnaval it is customary for people to buy several rondjes. Since everyone participates in the carnival activities,

every effort is made by oldcomers to include newcomers in the planning of the celebration. However, there have been occasions when hostilities have developed between the two groups, disturbing the normal cohesiveness of Carnaval.

One such incident occurred during the organizing of carnival activities for the 1975 season. During the planning, a dispute among the members of the planning committee became public. The argument involved the route that the parade would take on Carnaval Sunday. Some members on the committee who were newcomers, felt that the parade route should incorporate some of the newer residential districts. However, the majority insisted that the traditional downtown route should be continued. Soon the argument escalated into other issues. The central argument rested on how the carnival club was dominated by oldcomers. As a result, several members split from the club and formed their own carnival club. Since this incident, Uden has had two carnival organizations, although only one club has the official designation as Uden's Carnaval club. As a compromise the parade route currently takes in a small portion of the newer areas, but only on alternate years. The portion will probably increase and the times will become more frequent in the future. The new carnival club has been a regular participant in the parade.

Carnaval, as a festival, has several purposes in

the life of Udenaaren. Not only is Carnaval a festival when people can enjoy interacting with others in a manner far removed from their normal patterns of behavior, but it also serves as an identification with the customary ways Uden celebrates Carnaval. Through the traditions that surround Carnaval: Prins Carnaval, beer, dancing, and pret, the residents of Uden reaffirm their associations not only with themselves, but also with Uden.

CHAPTER VI

UDEN, A COMMUNITY IN PROCESS

Because a community is a dynamic social organization, its various components are constantly changing. The perpetuation of a community depends largely on how its members adjust to change. In order to make the necessary adjustments, members of the community collectively must constantly re-define and solve the problems of subsistence, interpersonal interaction, and social identification. These three elements have served as the basic principals for describing the community of Uden, Holland. The growth of the population brought changes in the physical and the social character of Uden. This particular study has evaluated the processes that allow Uden to maintain its essential character.

One major element in Uden's continuity is the participation of the residents in the activities of the community. Through membership in various sports and recreational organizations, interaction in bars, and participation in Carnaval, newcomers and oldcomers identify each other as members of the same community. Participation gives each member a sense of pride for the contribution that he feels he is making to his community. Every victory

that is won by the soccer club is regarded as a victory for the community. In turn, the community rewards the club for its victories by bestowing on them honors and support for its endeavors. For winning the divisional championship, the community honored the soccer club by having a collective celebration in all bars in Uden. Not only did the community reward the players, but they rewarded themselves. Participation by itself, however, does not insure that the residents feel a sense of belonging to the community. Participation in soccer victories and other events serves as a mode by which members of the community identify themselves.

Identification with a social organization comes through participation in that organization and acknowledgment of membership in it. In Uden, residents who identify themselves as Udenaaren do not merely reside in the community; they participate in it. These residents are the joiners of the clubs, the individuals who sit at the bars or stand around the billiard tables. They are also the ones who pull others into dance circles during carnival festivities. For these members, the prospect for individual notability is tied with the honor that the community gains from their participation. Their belief in "Uden boven alles" (Uden before everything else) symbolizes their recognition of their community identification. In this respect, they recognize that being an Udenaar makes them qualitatively better than residents of other communities. When this re-

cognition of belonging occurs on a collective basis, the community can be said to be a cohesive unit.

Because community is a continuous process, participation and social identity is continuously reinforced. Reinforcement is accomplished in Uden in several ways: through the evening activities in bars, through the actions on the athletic field, and through the celebration of festivals. Each of these provides the residents with opportunities of interacting with others. Social interaction in these associations and the feelings of trust and the good or successful life that trust engenders are the essence of community in Uden. Even unemployed workers, with time on their hands and financial support from the government, participate more fully in the community activities. Although having to accept the role of unemployed, their identification with the community is not lessened. Social interactions with oldcomers provides newcomers with the opportunity to learn the customs and traditions of their community. These opportunities are channels for the perpetuation of the community. In certain respects, community is the opportunity provided to reaffirm identity with the traditions and customs of the community in a public way. In Uden, this is accomplished through the festival of Carnaval.

Carnaval provides an avenue for the residents publicly to show their identification with the community of Uden.

By choosing to celebrate Carnaval in their own town, rather than in other towns, both oldcomers and newcomers are supporting the traditional ways and customs of celebrating Carnaval in Uden. From the opening parade to the closing ritual in the Markt, Carnaval allows the individual to escape from his normal patterns of behavior and adopt altogether different, but accepted, patterns. Because of these allowed deviations, the individual finds even closer bonds with others. Through participation in Carnaval both residents and strangers join as a collective body to reaffirm their mutual and reciprocal identities.

The community processes occur without seriously disrupting the lives of members and are orderly. A way to maintain this order is for community members to have things in common. One aspect of this commonality is a common social psychology. People live with each other, and there is an agreement in values and outlook on life. In this respect, the residents of Uden have successfully maintained their feelings of comfort and trust. Although some newcomers have taken advantage of this trust, merchants continue to abide by the custom of trusting buyers. Today, as in the past, a man's word is a part of his bond with others in Uden.

The idea that communities are constantly changing underlies this study of Uden. By continuously redefining the elements that define the community, the residents find

ways to maintain their community as a cohesive unit. In Uden, the changes that have occurred have been precipitated by a tremendous growth of the population. Different forces may create change in other communities.

The approach used in studying Uden, can be applied to any other community. Since all communities are made up of individuals interacting with one another, the basic elements of the community are present in every community. In every community, members are constantly faced with changing physical and social environments. To anticipate the direction they will choose in future changes is to look at the ways they currently solve their problems of social interaction, social identification, and subsistence. In most communities, the manner in which problems are solved are usually routine and can therefore be anticipated. An understanding of the process of solving problems in Uden, Holland is applicable to those of any community.



Illustration #11
City Officials
await the start
of Liberation
Day Parade.

COMMUNITY
AND
SOCIAL PROCESS



Illustration #12
The Young People's
Riding Club.



Illustration #13
Carnaval

APPENDIX

STATUS AND ROLE IN THE STUDY OF UDEN:

A NOTE

When students of community set out to apply the knowledge that they have acquired in the classroom, one of their immediate problems is finding a community to study. Armed with grand research designs and great aspirations they might spend many agonizing hours deciding on a suitable community for study. Often, this dilemma is resolved by selecting the community in which the student lives or a nearby community with similar characteristics. By making such a choice, several problems inherent with conducting community research are avoided. Among these are money, relocation to the community of study, familiarity with the community, and establishing an acceptable role. Sometimes a student has the good fortune to find a community without having to be concerned with these problems. Such was the case with my study of Uden, Holland.

The original purpose for going to Uden was not to conduct field research. At the time, I was assigned by the United States Air Force to Volkel Air Base as a language interpreter for the members of an American squadron. I was selected for that position because I was once a Dutch

citizen and speak the language fluently. Since Uden was the closest town to the airbase, it was logical for my family and me to take up residence there. This choice was a fortunate one because Uden offered many opportunities for making observations of the various ways people relate to each other.

My position in the Air Force permitted me to make my entry into the community in an official capacity with a recognized and accepted role. Since I was one of few American military persons who was able to make official contacts with local government officials, I had very little problem in establishing an official role. For three and a half years, I was referred to as de Amerikaanse tolk (the American interpreter) by the people of Uden. Since, in their view, I was the only American able to converse with local residents in their native language, most contacts between the local officials, merchants, and businesses and the American military were handled through my office. In effect, during my years in Uden, I acted as a community relations official.

In my official position, I was able to meet a wide range of people in the community. From frequent chats with realtors and businessmen to infrequent conversations with the mayor, I was able to observe relations among the people of Uden. More often than not, my official position allowed me the freedom to slip into an unofficial role at any time.

Using the pretext of going out to develop community relations, I was able to mix with the people in common locations as such cafes, restaurants, or bars. Often, I would use these occasions to pay social calls to various agencies such as the police department, the housing office or to realtors. It was on these occasions that I learned the most about the people and the city.

During these visits, we would frequently talk about events that had occurred or other aspects of social life in town. From the realtor (van Laanen), I learned a lot about how houses are sold and rented in Uden. I also was able to get a thorough understanding of some of the dealings that occur in the zoning for the new housing areas that were being built. The Uden police often allowed me to share some of their official reports on accidents and incidents, especially when these reports involved Americans. In addition to sharing reports with me, my police contacts were usually excellent sources for verifying local rumors that were going around town. These unofficial visits proved to be fruitful. By having these periodic chats, I soon came to be trusted by them and in turn they would willingly help me learn about the community and the region.

There usually exists an assumption that among foreigners all persons are alike. The differences in culture due to regional variations are not often considered. The fact that I consider myself Dutch does not necessarily make

me similar to the people in the area of Uden. Although we shared a common national bond and spoke the same language, there were quite a few social adjustments for me to make.

After coming to Holland from Indonesia as a child of seven, my family settled in the area around the city of Utrecht. Having been raised in the norther part of Holland, left me unprepared for the lifestyle and psychology of the people in Noord-Brabant. Many of the local customs and traditions were strange to the people from "above the rivers." Some of these differences are discussed in the study presented here. It took a period of time to adjust myself into the lifestyle of Uden; many of the perspectives that I have of Uden are those of a newcomer and outsider.

As a newcomer to Uden, I became active in the life of the community. Already having been drawn into the community due to my official role, involvement in the various other activities came naturally. Because the baseball club consisted of many Americans, I was selected to serve on the board of directors in order to facilitate communication between the Dutch and American members. My varied interest in sports allowed me to become involved with the soccer, basketball and tennis clubs in Uden. Because these clubs are three of Uden's largest athletic organizations, the contacts and relationships that I made were a cross section of residents of the town. Of course, none of my observations on the associations and social life of Uden would have been possible without my knowledge of Uden's bar life.

Since much of Uden's life consisted of meeting with friends at bars, I spent many evenings in various bars around town. My visits to the bars were fruitful in observing the constantly changing patterns of social interaction. The relationships I developed with one particular bar owner allowed me to work in his bar during Carnaval. From my vantage point behind the bar, I was able to observe the people in roles determined by the norm but not normal.

In graduate school, I became interested in the study of community during a course with Professor Wayne Wheeler. My close association with him as his graduate assistant further developed my interest in this particular area of sociology. At Dr. Wheeler's urging and his confidence in my abilities, I decided to write of my observations of community and social process in Uden. Fortune brought me to Uden. Fortune also brought me a supportive mentor.

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