

AllerHande: A Cultural History of Dutch Food Culture, 1955-2000

BA THESIS (15 EC)

Robrecht Haex, 6205186

r.haex@students.uu.nl

Thesis BA History 15 EC (GE3V18003)

BA History, Universiteit Utrecht

Supervised by dr. Hans Schouwenburg

30-3-2020

Pages: 44

Word count: 10696



Utrecht University

Table of Contents

Summary	ii
Foreword	iii
Introduction	1
Chapter 1 – A History of <i>Albert Heijn</i> and <i>AllerHande To Go</i>	8
Chapter 2 – Rigid, Simple and Economical, 1955-1970	12
Chapter 3 – ‘<i>Prakbarbaren</i>’ and ‘<i>Sufkokers</i>’, 1970-1990	18
Chapter 4 – The End of Change, 1990-2000	23
Conclusion	28
Acknowledgment	31
Appendix	32
Bibliography	35

Summary

This research discussed the question: what is Dutch food culture and how and why does it change? By taking a historic cultural approach Dutch food culture has been researched between 1955-2000 based on an analysis of the *AllerHande* – a magazine published by the Dutch supermarket *Albert Heijn*. An analytical distinction has been made between Dutch food culture, consisting of actual food practises in the Netherlands and Dutch national cuisine, a category used to describe the discursively produced consensus on what is considered to be typical Dutch food. This distinction has been made to indicate that Dutch food culture cannot be understood without acknowledging its past nationalistic aspects. In this research the argument is made that Dutch food culture used to be exclusively Dutch cuisine, however, as a shared understanding of Dutch cuisine gradually faded, this ceased to be the case. As a result, new ways of defining Dutch food culture were adopted. Yet, some elements that characterised Dutch cuisine remain to be part of Dutch food culture, albeit no longer thought of as typically Dutch. Multiple factors that have contributed to this change are discussed in detail, among which the emancipation of Dutch housewives in the fifties and sixties as well as climate change that from the seventies onwards greatly disturbed the strong connection between Dutch cuisine in winter and the harsh Dutch winter climate.

Foreword

Food history is underappreciated. Food culture is taken for granted. These are two observations I would like to amend. Food plays such an important role in all of our lives yet remains mundane for most. Change seems to be so gradual that no one notices or cares to notice... until it is brought up. Before I found gratification in academia food was my saviour. After some turbulent years in high school it was the rigidity and discipline of a professional kitchen that set me on my right path. My passion for food and my interest in the past have been brought together in this research with great enjoyment. Therefore, apart from deriving academic satisfaction from this thesis, it is equally my goal to share with the reader my passion and enjoyment of reflecting on one of humankind's most important cultural products. Enjoy!

Robrecht Haex

March 15, 2020

P.S.

Given the set-up of my education this thesis about the Netherlands had to be written in English. Yet, direct quotes taken from the *AllerHande* have been kept untranslated. However, for the sake of my fellow students and friends I have provided English translations in the footnotes.

Introduction

“Koning, keizer, admiraal, eten deden ze allemaal.”¹

Who are you? Well, I am a glass of *prosecco* to start with. I am a plate of *Prosciutto di Parma*, *Mortadella Bologna*, and *Salamini Italiani Alla Cacciatore*, delicately sliced. I am perfectly cooked – *al dente!* – *spaghetti* with *crisp guanciale*, egg, *Pecorino Romano* and *Parmigiano Reggiano*. Furthermore, I am a piece of *ossobuco in bianco* with a fine glass of *chianti*. Perhaps the best part of me is the home-made *tiramisù* followed by an *espresso*. And lastly, not to forget, I am a glass of *limoncello*, one too many. So, who am I? Italian of course, food is who we are. Who are you?

If food is part and parcel of who we are as humans, which is obviously clear in Italy, then who are the Dutch? A question that is often posed but seldomly answered. This uncertainty inevitably invites the question: what is Dutch food culture and how and why does it change? It is exactly this question that will take centre stage in this research. The question shall be answered by analysing the *AllerHande* over the period 1955-2000. This research claims that in these 45 years Dutch food culture became increasingly less national, to the point that it ceased to be national entirely. First, I shall provide an overview on how academics have previously discussed Dutch food culture. Subsequently, I shall propose my own perspective, arguing how it can add to the current understanding of the topic. Furthermore, this research will be embedded in the theoretical framework of food studies and Dutch nationalism. Lastly, I shall end this introduction with a small synopsis of this research.

Although food history is experiencing a surge in popularity, this has not yet trickled down to the study of Dutch food culture.² Much has been published on food history, but relatively little is written about the Netherlands. The most exhaustive work on Dutch food culture arguably is *Eten en Eetlust in Nederland [1840-1990]* written by Anneke H. van Otterloo.³ Otterloo presents an extensive – almost encyclopaedic - overview on the subject, taking both a historical and sociological approach - between 1840-1990. For this reason, this book shall be taken as point of departure for this research. After shortly discussing six structural elements she considers to be important in the changing Dutch food culture, I shall discuss the ways in which her understanding can be supplemented.

¹ (“Kings, emperors and admirals, they all ate.”) “Docu: Nederland dineert,” *Rijnmond* (2016) YouTube, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D_rLbPQX4vk (accessed February 27, 2020), [1:30].

² Ken Albala, “Introduction,” in *The Food History Reader*, ed. Ken Albala (London: Routledge, 2006), xiv.

³ Anneke H. van Otterloo, *Eten en Eetlust in Nederland [1840-1990]* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 1990).

First and foremost, Otterloo considers the influence of migration to be of key importance. In line with this, most research on Dutch food culture focuses on migration.⁴ This has primarily to do with the Dutch colonial past and the contemporary interest of historians to study all its aspects. Often discussed is the *Indonesische Rijsttafel*, a collection of dishes that played an important role in Colonial Indonesia life and likewise in the Netherlands after the Second World War due to the return of approximately 200.000 repatriates.⁵ Other influences explored are that of Italian, Chinese, Surinam, Turkish and Moroccan immigrants.⁶ The second driver of change is that of increased prosperity in the Netherlands, resulting for example, in the increased consumption of meat and fish. A third factor is the development of home appliances, such as the four-burner stove – which popularised the typical Dutch AVG dish – the pressure cooker, and microwave.⁷ Fourthly, urbanisation and the rise of supermarkets which made fresh products accessible daily. Moreover, industrialisation and innovation, which revolutionised food processing and farming as well as enabled fresh food to travel around the globe as a result of improved forms of transportation. Lastly, Otterloo discerns cultural trends, such as vegetarianism or health diets, as a cause for change.⁸

All these points add significant detail to the understanding of Dutch food culture. However, what they lack is a focus on its nationalistic aspects. Arguably, because at first sight Dutch food culture seems to lack these tendencies - especially compared to Italian or French cuisine.⁹ Dutch national

⁴ See for example: Susie Protschky, "The Colonial Table: Food, Culture and Dutch Identity in Colonial Indonesia," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 54 (2008), 346-357; Han Entzinger, "Immigration and Diversity," in *Discovering the Dutch: On Culture and Society of the Netherlands*, eds. Emmeline Besamusca and Jaap Verheul (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2014); Matthijs Kuipers, "'Makanlah Nasi! (Eat Rice!)': Colonial Cuisine and Popular Imperialism in The Netherlands During the Twentieth Century," *Global Food History* 3 (2017): 4-23.

⁵ Otterloo, *Eten en Eetlust*, 212.

⁶ Anneke H. van Otterloo, "Eating out 'ethnic' in Amsterdam from the 1920s to the present," in *Ethnic Amsterdam: Immigrants and Urban change in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Liza Nell and Jan Rath (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 41-60; Otterloo, *Eten en Eetlust*, 210-230.

⁷ AVG is the abbreviation for *aardapelen*, *vlees*, and *groente*, meaning potatoes, meat and vegetables, which are cooked and served separate from each other.

⁸ A short overview of these six points can be found in: Marlou Schrover, Inge Mestdag, Anneke van Otterloo and Chaja Zeegers, "Waarom knoflook niet meer vies is," in *Veranderingen van het Alledaagse 1950-2000*, eds. Isabel Hover, Hester Dibbits, and Marlou Schrover (Den Haag: Sdu uitgevers, 2005), 100-101.

⁹ Which is reflected in existing literature. See for example: Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, *Accounting for Taste: The Triumph of French Cuisine* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Roberta Sassatelli, ed., *Italians and Food* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019); Jeffrey M. Pilcher, *Que vivan los Tamales!: Food and the Making of*

cuisine did not only exist, as I will show in this research, but understanding its origin and its development is vital for understanding the status of Dutch food culture as it is today. To discern national aspects of Dutch food culture, I will undertake a source-oriented cultural analysis of the *AllerHande*. Focusing primarily on the *AllerHande* allows me to detect moments of cultural change with respect to Dutch cuisine, together with the justification of that change. Accordingly, structural factors as discussed by Otterloo are referred to in order to substantiate the cultural understanding of this change. This approach at the same time allows for the assessment of these factors, questioning whether they are sufficient to explain all aspects of change of Dutch food culture. As will be discussed in the coming chapters, this is not always the case. Furthermore, to structure the research I have made the analytical distinction between Dutch food culture and Dutch national cuisine, a distinction that requires some further clarification.

Dutch food culture is omnipresent. In other words, it is a category for all food produced, cooked, and eaten within the geographical borders of the Netherlands. It is a constant, ever changing category for everything food related in the Netherlands, including (and for a long time exclusively) Dutch national cuisine.¹⁰ However, whereas Dutch food culture encompasses actual food practises, Dutch national cuisine is discursively produced.¹¹ It is not always present, but a discourse formed and sustained in the imagination of the people that is historically changeable. It is based on a shared idea - a consensus - of what can be considered typically Dutch. This idea of typicality can encompass many things: recipes such as *erwtensoeep*, ingredients such as potatoes, cooking practises such as the AVG and habits such as having dinner at six o'clock. In this context it is very important to understand that food and surrounding practises can only be typical, not authentic.¹² Authenticity encapsulates a certain ahistoricism, whereas typicality is based on the general acceptance of a certain group of people, over a certain amount of time.¹³ As a result, it matters which timescale one uses. In the short

Mexican Identity (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998); Eric C. Rath, *Japan's Cuisines: food, place, and identity* (London: Reaktion Books, 2016); Yael Raviv, *Falafel Nation: Cuisine and the Making of National Identity in Israel* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015).

¹⁰ This definition of Dutch food culture is closely aligned with Norah Mackendrick's conceptualisation of foodscape, that includes the acquisition, preparation and discussion of food, the meaning-making process through food, as well as "institutional arrangements, cultural spaces, and discourses that mediate [the] relationship with [...] food." See: Norah MacKendrick, "Jargon: Foodscape," *Contexts* 13 (2014): 16.

¹¹ Anna De Fina and Barbara Johnstone, "Discourse Analysis and Narrative," in *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (second edition), eds. Deborah Tannen, Heidi E. Hamilton, Deborah Schiffrin (Hoboken: Wiley Blackwell, 2015 [2005]), 158.

¹² See: Meredith E. Abaraca, "Authentic or not, it's original," *Food & Foodways* 12 (2004): 1-25.

¹³ Abaraca, "Authentic or not," 4.

term, the argument can easily be made that potatoes are typically Dutch. However, in the long term this ceases to be true, given that potatoes - a product of the Columbian exchange – only became widespread in the Netherlands from the eighteenth century onwards.¹⁴ What is considered to be the typical Dutch cuisine therefore is historically changeable, to the extent that it is questionable whether it has actually survived the massive structural changes of the second half of the twentieth century. Leaving us with the question: what has remained?

Given that Dutch cuisine is historically changeable (and drastically so over longer periods of time), I have chosen to analyse a 45-year period, between 1955 and 2000. Analysing a relatively short period makes it more convenient to find patterns in the changing discourse. Given the limitations of this research, a longer time period would inevitably make the argument less specific, and the conclusion less clarifying. Especially because the Second World War can be seen as a massive break in virtually all aspects of Dutch cultural life. The period after the war, in many ways, dominantly framed Dutch culture as we know it today. The division of the 45 years, in the periods 1955-1970, 1970-1990, and 1990-2000, is based on key defining characteristics that occurred in these respective periods. Each period shall be discussed in separate chapters. Having said this, I acknowledge the fact that different approaches result in different conclusions, and that my conclusion is but one of many perspectives on the changing Dutch food culture.

A practical reason that makes this period particularly interesting is the availability of the *AllerHande*. Published from December 1954 until this very day (with some interruptions), the *AllerHande* – a magazine published by the supermarket *Albert Heijn* - has accompanied the Dutch in their kitchens tirelessly. Conveniently, all published *AllerHandes* – between 1954-2000, 428 in total - have been made available at the digital archive of *Stichting Albert Heijn Erfgoed*.¹⁵ However, given the vast amount of material, decisions had to be made concerning the focus of the analysis. In this sense, the availability of source material is both a blessing, and a curse: innumerable perspectives can be taken, and a lot of interesting content has to be disregarded. First of all, in the broadest sense, everything that was not food related was not taken into account. Secondly, all extra edition and regionally specific *AllerHandes* were left out: a wealth of material comes with the luxury to ignore the extra editions and given that this research is about *Dutch* food culture regional specific content would only distract. Moreover, to further limit and specify the analysis, some food related content will also

¹⁴ John Reader, *Potato: A History of the Propitious Esculent* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 95.

¹⁵ "Periodieken: *AllerHande* (1954-2019)," *Stichting Albert Heijn Erfgoed*, <https://albertheijnerfgoed.courant.nu/periodicals/A> (last consulted March 28, 2020); The *AllerHande* can, on appointment, be studied physically at *Stichting Albert Heijn Erfgoed*, Hoofdtocht 3 1507 CJ Zaandam.

be neglected. I shall shortly discuss what has been left out and why, in order to indicate where the focus of this research will lie.

Most importantly, festive food such as food practises surrounding Christmas and Easter are disregarded, mainly because food cooked at these occasions differs vastly from what is prepared on a day-to-day basis. This fundamental difference in food practises is distinguished by Claude Lévi-Strauss as the *endo-cuisine*, cooked for a small group in domestic surroundings, and the *exo-cuisine* meant for guests during celebrations.¹⁶ This difference is vast, to the extent that both would deserve a separate analysis. Incorporating the two would only make the conclusion cloudy. However, this clear distinction is not a historical constant, as we shall see in the discussion of the third period. Nonetheless, this research focuses on the *endo-cuisine*: the mundane rather than the exceptional.¹⁷ Secondly, a practical decision has been made to analyse only four editions of every year. To encompass the variety that comes with different seasons, one *AllerHande* per season of each year will be analysed.¹⁸ Lastly, all aspects of Dutch food culture that are not to be found in the *AllerHande* are not taken into account in the analysis. This most prominently includes Dutch restaurant history and practises. Again, because the focus of this research is on everyday food practises.

This focus essentially strips down the *AllerHande* to its cookbook like characteristics which has some further implications. When using a cookbook as a historical primary source the following aspects specifically have to be taken into account to: gender, class and age of both the author and recipient, the setting – that is structural factors such as the degree of urbanisation and/or industrialisation - and the content.¹⁹ Moreover, a cookbook is prescriptive, in the sense that it prescribes a certain course of action, which is or is not acted upon.²⁰ Therefore one should always reflect on the extent to which that what is being presented in fact represents the reality of food practises. As I will show in this research, the extent to which the *AllerHande* is prescriptive differs from period to period. This partly

¹⁶ Claude Lévi-Strauss, "The Culinary Triangle," in *Food and Culture: A Reader*, eds. Carole Counihan, Penny Van Esterik, and Carole M. Counihan (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), 41-47. (Originally published in 1966 in the *The Partisan Review* 33)

¹⁷ Practically speaking this means that the *AllerHandes* published in April and December were outright disregarded, given that their content was mostly dominated by the themes of Easter and Christmas respectively.

¹⁸ These are the editions published in January (winter), May (spring), July (summer) and October (autumn). When not available, the edition closest has been used. A full overview of all editions that have been used in the analysis can be found in the appendix.

¹⁹ Alabala, "Introduction," xviii-xix.

²⁰ Cecilia Y. Leong-Salobir, "Spreading the word: using cookbooks and colonial memoirs to examine the foodways of British Colonials in Asia, 1850-1900," in *The Routledge History of Food*, ed. C. Helstosky (Abingdon: Taylor and Francis, 2015), 133.

has to do with different formats that were used throughout its history, but more importantly with the status of Dutch food culture. All of these details shall be discussed in due order.

The focus of this research and all considerations discussed above are in turn based on the theoretical framework derived from existing works on food history. Most prominently the importance of food and food practises on the formation of national identities, or *edible identities* as referred to by Ronda L. Brulotte and Michael A. Di Giovine.²¹ Very similar to Benedict Andersons ideas on the constructed nature of the nation laid out in *Imagined Communities* we should understand the relation with food and identity as essentially constructed, susceptible to change and to a large extent arbitrary.²² However, plurality within a national cuisine should not be underestimated as it can differ from region to region, village to village, and family to family.²³ Moreover, plurality as said before, can stem from class, gender and age differences.²⁴ All these different and interacting elements makes the analytical use of the Dutch national cuisine seem impossible. Yet, despite this extraordinary diversity, a shared imagined essence remains that is worth investigating.

To add to the theoretical understanding specific to Dutch national cuisine I have likewise consulted a theory on Dutch nationalism. The concept of ‘anti-nationalist nationalism’ proposed by Josip Kešić and Jan Willem Duyvendak has been used.²⁵ This theory is not explicitly about food, but remains relevant because it moves away from “overt, xenophobic and chauvinist manifestations” forms of nationalism, and rather focuses on more covert, implicit and cultural forms of nationalism.²⁶ Especially insightful is their discussion of three elements that define Dutch nationalist tendencies: *constructivism*, *lightness*, and *essentialism*.²⁷ The concept of *constructivism* covers the observation that Dutch nationalism “combines affinity with a sense of ‘embarrassment’,” complimented by a

²¹ Ronda L. Brulotte and Michael A. Di Giovine, eds. *Edible Identities: Food as Cultural Heritage* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016).

²² Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 2016 [1983]).

²³ Michael A. Di Giovine and Ronda L. Brulotte, “Introduction: Food and Foodways as Cultural Heritage,” in *Edible Identities: Food as Cultural Heritage*, eds. Ronda L. Brulotte and Michael A. Di Giovine (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 5.

²⁴ Schrover et al., “Waarom knoflook,” 98-99.

²⁵ Josip Kešić and Jan Willem Duyvendak, “Anti-nationalist nationalism: the paradox of Dutch national identity,” *Nations and Nationalism* 22 (2016): 581-597; The concept *anti-nationalist nationalism* in fact has a longer history, first coined by the renowned Dutch historian Johan Huizinga. See: Kešić and Duyvendak, “Anti-nationalist nationalism,” 583.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 582; See also: Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage Publications, 1995).

²⁷ Kešić and Duyvendak, “Anti-nationalist nationalism,” 581.

‘weak’ identity that is unchangingly changeable and essentially non-essentialist.²⁸ The concept of *lightness* covers the elements of self-abasement, trivialisation of one’s own nation and culture, and the idea of *zelfrelativering*.²⁹ Lastly, *essentialism* encompasses the idea that even though Dutch identity is changeable there are certain elements that constitute an “a-historical Dutch essence.”³⁰ Based on these three factors I will specifically pay attention to moments of change and continuity in the discourse surrounding Dutch national cuisine. Moreover, it has made me especially aware of the mundane form of nationalism that is specific to the Netherlands.

In the following chapter I shall briefly discuss the history of *Albert Heijn* and the context in which the *AllerHande* was first published. In chapter 2, the first period – 1955-1970 – will be discussed and I will show how a shared understanding of Dutch cuisine existed, but at the same time gradually started to change. In chapter 3 – 1970-1990 – I shall discuss the massive impact of the transformation of the Dutch agricultural sector and the global food distribution as well as the impact of climate change on Dutch food culture. In chapter 4 – 1990-2000 – I shall discuss how a consensus on Dutch cuisine disappeared entirely, how the process of climate change continued to influence Dutch food culture, and how people at the end of the twentieth century were unsure what Dutch food culture actually consisted of. In the conclusion I will reflect on these three periods and discuss which elements of Dutch cuisine have completely disappeared, and which elements – albeit implicitly – remain to be defining characteristic of Dutch food culture leading up to the twenty-first century.

²⁸ Ibid., 584.

²⁹ Ibid., 588-589.

³⁰ Ibid., 590; Interestingly, *essentialism* is closely aligned with what in food jargon is called *terroir*: the idea that regional products have an inherent and authentic quality because of “specific enviromen[tal and] socio-cultural particularities” present in that region. See: Giovine and Brulotte, “Introduction,” 6.

Chapter 1

A History of *Albert Heijn* and *AllerHande To Go*

“Als je voor rekenen een negen hebt, kun je voor mijn part voor geschiedenis een nul halen.”
– Albert Heijn³¹

The above says it all. Albert Heijn, the founder of the supermarket *Albert Heijn* (henceforth *AH*), had his eyes on the future, not the past. The close resemblance with the alleged remark of Henry Ford ‘history is bunk’ simultaneously indicates the affiliation with the American mentality, which is both reflected in the developments of *AH* as a company and its means of connecting with the people: the *AllerHande*.³² For the purpose of providing some historical context for this research a brief overview of key developments of *AH* are given, based on the corporate history *Arm en rijk kunnen bij mij hun inkopen doen* written by J.L de Jager. Within this history, I shall contextualise the origin of *AllerHande* and discuss its development and material aspects over the period 1955-2000.

The origins of *AH* can be traced to the 1st of May 1887, when Albert Heijn took over the general store of his father, Jan Simon Heijn situated in the municipality of Oostzaan.³³ From the very beginning Albert Heijn took the initiative to innovate. At first this led him to specialise: reducing his ware from 500 to 100 products with an increased focus on groceries.³⁴ These groceries – mostly dry commodities - were stored in big containers and personally weighed and sold to the customers by Heijn.³⁵ To attract a bigger clientele he also sold his goods on delivery, taking the products to the customer by dog cart.³⁶ Where traditional suppliers of goods – usually craftsman dealing from their workshop – could not keep up with the increasing demand for goods (being the result of increased prosperity and rapid population growth) - Heijns’ store proliferated. In 1895, he opened up a second shop in Purmerend, and a year later in Alkmaar.³⁷ His vision and enterprise started to take hold.

³¹ (“If you get a nine for mathematics, I don’t care that you get a zero for history.”) J.L. de Jager, *Arm en rijk kunnen bij mij hun inkopen doen: De geschiedenis van Albert Heijn en Koninklijke Ahold* (Baarn: Tirion, 1995), iii.

³² In fact he said: “History is more or less bunk.” (*Chicago Tribune*, May 25, 1916). A persistent ‘folklore’ misquotation that always has held more sway than the original. See: Roger Butterfield, “Henry Ford, the Wayside Inn, and the Problem of “History Is Bunk”,” *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 77 (1965): 53-66.

³³ Jager, *Arm en rijk*, 18-22.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 23.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 24.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 36.

Opening four stores per year on average from 1901 onwards, in cities such as Utrecht, Amsterdam, and Den Haag, Heijn and his company were quickly on its way to become a national phenomenon.³⁸ In 1920 Albert Heijn relegated the leadership of the company to his two sons and son in law - Gerrit and Jan Heijn, and Johan Hille - at which point *AH* already had 75 establishments. Despite this growth and change of leadership, the concept of the store itself remained more or less unaltered, until the liberation by the Americans at the end of the Second World War. As a result of the exposure to American culture – both because of the presence of American soldiers and Gerrit Heijn traveling to the United States on multiple occasions - the idea of the self-help supermarket took hold.³⁹ But this was not without struggle. The *AH* personnel were afraid of losing their personal contact with the customer: the one element *AH* always prided themselves on. Despite this scepticism, the first *AH* self-help supermarket opened in Schiedam on the first of March 1952 with success.⁴⁰ Nonetheless, the problem of keeping in touch with the customer remained and it was in this context that the *AllerHande* was called into being.

However, the *AllerHande* was not a novel idea, in the sense that it was not the first attempt by a Dutch company to promote its brand with printed material. Dutch food brands such as *Calvé* and *Blue Band* already had a history of publishing elaborate brochures promoting their products and connecting with consumers since the mid-1920s onwards.⁴¹ Moreover, the *Spar* supermarket had also issued a small magazine - albeit more of a list of prices as opposed to an appealing read.⁴² Building upon this legacy, the final ingredient for *AllerHande* to come into existence was one of Gerrit Heijn's trips to the United States and his familiarisation with the term 'public relations'. After this trip the name *AllerHande* was chosen, in accordance with the advertising agency *Bureau Prad* lead by advertising guru Maurits Aronson – the name contains both the capitals of the abbreviation of *AH* as well as roughly translates to 'of all sorts'.⁴³

³⁸ Ibid., 42.

³⁹ Ibid., 123-124.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 128.

⁴¹ Otterloo, *Eten en Eetlust*, 165.

⁴² Jager, *Arm en rijk*, 140.

⁴³ Ibid., 140; See also: Wilbert Schreurs, *Een zondagskind in de reclame: De geschiedenis van Prad* (Houten: Gaade Uitgevers, 1995).

The first *AllerHande* was published in December 1954 with its primary goal to relay “wat Albert Heijn doet, hoe ie het doet en waarom Albert Heijn het zo doet.”⁴⁴ At first, the *AllerHande* was published in newspaper format which matched its news-oriented content. They were usually four to eight pages long and were printed in black-and-white, with an initial printing run of 700.000.⁴⁵ The main focus of the *AllerHande* at this point was to ease the public into the unfamiliar supermarket era, creating a platform in which a dialogue between *AH* and its customers could take place, discussing the developments of the store, while also presenting food related items. These items were almost exclusively written or edited by Ciska Verheul - self-proclaimed ‘exemplary’ housewife – and specifically directed towards the ‘diligent’ Dutch housewives. Apart from recipes by Verheul, many readers sent in their own recipes that were collected and published in the recurrent item: “Uit het Bakhuis.”⁴⁶ In this sense, the *AllerHande* was quite literally a reflection of food practises in the Netherlands. In 1969 the printing run reached two million copies, but in May 1973 the last newspaper edition was published because, as stated in the last edition, changing life patterns of the Dutch asked for more modern means of communication.⁴⁷ This adds to the justification of the periodisation of this research. It was no coincidence that the newspaper *AllerHande* at this moment started to feel outdated.

In October 1973 its replacement was launched: a magazine under the name *Idé*.⁴⁸ This new magazine differed in a couple of ways. First of all, it was printed in colour, increasing the visual aspect of the content and especially highlighting the increased amount of advertisements. Secondly, as opposed to the smaller amount of information featured in the newspaper, the focus in *Idé* was on longer, in-depth items. Although the intended audience were still explicitly housewives, Ciska Verheul disappeared, alongside contributions by the reader. *Idé* was not a long running success, however. In October 1974, the last edition was published, the reason being that the price for paper was too high

⁴⁴ (“What Albert Heijn does, how he does it, and why Albert Heijn does it.”) “Honderdste Allerhande,” *AllerHande*, May 1964, 1; Jager, *Arm en rijk*, 140; On page 140 Jager incorrectly states that the first *AllerHande* was published in January 1955. Based on primary source research I can contradict this with certainty.

⁴⁵ With some exceptions that were up to sixteen pages long. The first time the iconic *AH* blue occurred in the *AllerHande* was in the edition of May 1970. At first the *AllerHandes* were delivered to houses neighbouring *AH* establishments, later they were delivered by mail. From 1983 onwards they were to be found in racks at the entrance of *AH* supermarkets, as customary nowadays. See: Schrover et al., “Waarom knoflook,” 107.

⁴⁶ See: “Het bakhuis als vanouds,” *AllerHande*, April 1961, 5; “De stroom vloeit voort...,” *AllerHande*, October 1955, 3.

⁴⁷ “AH-magazine,” *AllerHande*, May 1973, 2.

⁴⁸ The *Idé*'s that have been published between 1973-1974 are not accessible digitally but can be found at: “*Idé*: 1973-1974,” *Stichting Albert Heijn Erfgoed*, Hoofdtocht 3 1507 CJ Zaandam [st 24/05 ds 347].

to keep it lucrative.⁴⁹ Given that *Idé* was the successor of the newspaper *AllerHande* and can be seen as the prelude to the magazine *AllerHande*, it has also been incorporated in this research.

In 1980 the magazine reappeared under the name *AllerHande*.⁵⁰ Although, published somewhat irregularly in the beginning, it was steadily issued from October 1983 onwards. The new *AllerHande* came with an increased focus on food, mainly in the form of recipes and advertisements, and started to look like the magazine published up until now. With this new format it becomes increasingly difficult to discern for whom the *AllerHande* was written, as from the eighties onwards the *AllerHande* no longer refers to a specific audience. Yet, taking into account that the printing run was two million – making it the most printed magazine in the Netherlands - of which each month only one percent remained after distribution, it had the potential to virtually reach anyone.⁵¹ This claim is additionally supported by an internal survey performed by *AH* in 1980 indicating that, based on age and income, its clientele truly was a cross-section of Dutch society.⁵²

After the 1950s, during the developmental stages of the *AllerHande*, *AH* continued to rapidly grow. In 1973 Gerrit Heijn coined the *Ahold NV*, a holding structure under which *AH* and all its accumulated daughter companies – such as *Etos*, *Simon*, *Lita*, *AH-reizen* and later *Gall & Gall* – were brought together.⁵³ At the same time *Ahold NV* became both a financial and organizational structure with which to look for international opportunities. This international interest, to a certain extent, is also reflected in the increasing foreign influences present in the *AllerHande*. In 1987 *AH* celebrated its 100 year existence, and as result receives a royal predicate.⁵⁴ By 1993 *AH* had over 2000 stores of which 600 abroad.⁵⁵ Nearing the twenty-first century two new concepts that today define *AH* were introduced: the *Bonuskaart* in 1998 and the *AH To Go* in 1999.⁵⁶ Especially the latter development indicates how much *AH* as a company and Dutch food culture respectively have changed over a relatively short period of time. Developments that I shall now further explore.

⁴⁹ *Idé*, October 1974, 4.

⁵⁰ This means that there is a gap in source material between 1975 and 1979. Although inconvenient this is not insurmountable.

⁵¹ Schrover et al., “Waarom knoflook,” 107; Jager, *Arm en rijk*, 282.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 267.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 237.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 307.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁵⁶ “Albert Heijn door de jaren heen,” *Albert Heijn*, <https://www.ah.nl/over-ah/geschiedenis/geschiedenis-detail>. (accessed March 19, 2020).

Chapter 2

Rigid, Simple and Economical, 1955-1970

“‘[H]oe herken je een Nederlandse familie?’ Aan het feit, dat ze op een caf terras  en glas ranja bestellen met zeven rietjes.”⁵⁷

With the contextual information on *AH* and *AllerHande* we are now well equipped to delve into the first period: 1955-1970. In the mid-fifties the remnant of defining elements of Dutch national cuisine can be found in the *AllerHande*. However, some of these typical Dutch characteristics were at the same time cause for Dutch cuisine to change in the face of cultural globalisation. In other words, characters of Dutch cuisine became self-destructive. This process was accelerated by the emancipation of Dutch housewives. Besides these changes, one element of the Dutch cuisine remained absolutely and explicitly Dutch: the Dutch winter dishes that made the harsh Dutch winters bearable.

To come to a comprehensive representation of the Dutch national cuisine is daunting. Yet some defining principles are particularly well summarised in a strongly voiced opinion piece written by Dutch writer and journalist Jan Blokker (1927-2010) in 1958 titled: “Voor ons biefstuk met aardappelen.”⁵⁸ Blokker’s anecdote of a Dutchman looking for French fries in Rome speaks volumes:

“[...] gekenmerkt als een beginselvast eter, iemand die op eenvoudige wijze zijn honger wilde stillen, een econoom bovendien. Die man moet een Hollander zijn geweest.”⁵⁹

Three characteristic traits of the Dutchman portrayed in this anecdote in turn defines Dutch cuisine. Dutch cuisine is presumed to be rigid, simple, and economical. Although Blokker’s opinion is but the opinion of one man, his three defining features are worthwhile discussing further because they all find support in further analysis of the *AllerHande*.

⁵⁷ (“How do you recognise a Dutch family? By the fact that, on a caf  terrace, they order one glass of soda with seven straws.”) “Buurman Belg weet wat lekker is...,” *AllerHande*, May 1972, 9.

⁵⁸ (“Potatoes with steak for us.”) Jan Blokker, “Voor ons biefstuk met aardappelen,” *AllerHande*, July 1958, 3; For information on Jan Blokker (1927-2010) see: “Jan Blokker (1927-2010),” *Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, <https://www.kb.nl/themas/nederlandse-literatuur-en-taal/schrijversalfabet/jan-blokker-1927-2010>. (accessed March 19, 2020); In later years Blokker himself became interested in the nature of the Dutch identity. See: Jan Blokker, Jan Blokker Jr. and Bas Blokker, *Nederland in twaalf moorden: niets zo veranderlijk als onze identiteit* (Amsterdam: Atlas Contact, 2013).

⁵⁹ (“characterised by eating what he knows, as someone whom modestly wants to satisfy his hunger, and is economical above all. This man must be Dutch.”) Blokker, “Voor ons biefstuk,” 3.

Simplicity is prominently featured in many of the *AllerHandes*. This feature becomes most evident in the framing of ingredients, such as potatoes, legumes and cheese, as being simple and typically Dutch.⁶⁰ The representation of legumes – such as split-peas, brown beans, and marrowfat peas - is especially striking because they are explicitly framed in the national history of the Netherlands prior to the consummation of potatoes.⁶¹ Legumes were framed as the modest product that was the fuel of heroic Dutch forefathers.⁶² In framing legumes in such a way, they are not only presented as a mundane and simple product but also as typically Dutch, framed in Dutch history, and spoken of with national pride. In this light, it is surprising to observe that the very same product is not exclusively used in Dutch dishes, such as the “onvolprezen erwtensoep”, but also used in foreign – Spanish and Italian – dishes.⁶³ To understand how this is possible, it is vital to recognise in what circumstance the idea of simplicity as a national phenomenon was formed and subsequently how change to that discourse was justified.

Before the 1950s the dietary options in the Netherlands were meagre. Not only was the variety of ingredients scarce, but likewise the knowledge of foreign cuisines.⁶⁴ In such circumstances, the process of understanding simplicity as a national trait is not a choice but an inevitability, as well as a potent way of dealing with one’s own experience.⁶⁵ However, from the fifties and sixties onwards, the Dutch became increasingly aware of the existence of other options, a process in which foreign cookbooks and culinary journalism – among which the *AllerHande* - played an important role.⁶⁶ As a result, that what was previously and positively perceived to be simple, in light of more options started to be deemed boring. The following example illustrates this change, in turn justifying the exploration of foreign cuisines. In an *AllerHande* published in 1955 the reader is provided with couple of typically Dutch recipes, after which they are directly referred to and asked: “[o]ok nog te saai, zegt U? Dan gaan

⁶⁰ On Dutch cheese see: “Nederlandse kaas: vrouwenwerk,” *AllerHande*, July 1960, 2; “AH koestert zijn kaas,” *AllerHande*, May 1968, 7; On the Dutch potato see: “Hoe staat het met de aardappelen?,” *AllerHande*, January 1961, 3; “Hoe AH aan perfecte aardappelen komt,” *AllerHande*, October 1968, 5.

⁶¹ “Peulvruchten.... Daar zit voeding in!,” *AllerHande*, January 1957, 1; “Peulvruchten: het geheim van heldendaden,” *AllerHande*, January 1955, 6.

⁶² “Peulvruchten....,” *AllerHande*, January 1957, 1.

⁶³ *Ibid.*; “Peulvruchten,” 6.

⁶⁴ Otterloo, *Eten en eetlust*, 218.

⁶⁵ Especially as the formation of national cuisines does not arise from objective culinary merit but social and political conditioning. See: Pilcher, *Food in World*, 69; Likewise, it might prove useful to understand this in light of the protestant legacy in the Netherlands and its influence on Dutch culture.

⁶⁶ Otterloo, *Eten en eetlust*, 218.

wij samen op ontdekkingsreis door Europa.”⁶⁷ What by some was considered to be pleasantly simple, others started to understand as boring.

Like the feature of simplicity, the economical character of the Dutch cuisine – that is, the optimisation of value, effort, and money - started to undermine its own foundation. The main feature of Dutch cuisine that underwent this process is the potato, used in many Dutch dishes such as stamppot. According to the *AllerHande* potatoes became simply too bothersome to process, especially peeling was considered both time-consuming and boring.⁶⁸ In this respect spaghetti and rice were much more convenient. These products could be used in a very similar way – sometimes even in identical dishes - but without the cumbersome process of peeling.⁶⁹ In this case Otterloo’s structural factors become useful in explaining why specifically these ingredients were used as alternatives. Especially the introduction and promotion of rice as an alternative is understandable given that not long ago 200.000 repatriates from colonial Indonesia returned, and introduced the *Indonesische Rijsttafel*.

Interestingly enough, three of the four recipes that accompanied the introduction of the pressure-cooker in 1967 included potatoes. This home appliance allowed for a more efficient preparation, a development that to a certain extent allowed for potatoes to return to the dining table.⁷⁰ Moreover, apart from the potato losing its dominant position in the Dutch diet, entire new cuisines were introduced such as the Indonesian one, in the name of efficiency. Again, apart from the influences of migration, Indonesian dishes were more easily made, and promoted as such with headings like: “half-uur-klaar-gerecht Nasi.”⁷¹ Moreover, due to the same process, canned food also found its way into Dutch shopping bags.⁷² Primarily legumes, which in their dried variant have to be soaked for a day and cooked for a long time were increasingly to be found in a can: cheap and easy.⁷³ The potency of the economical feature to change food habits should not be underestimated, especially when considering it in the context of the emancipation of women in the Netherlands. A perspective that, to my knowledge, has not yet been investigated.

⁶⁷ (“still too boring for you? Then we will go on an exploration of Europe together.”) *“Peulvruchten,”* 6.

⁶⁸ “Een feestelijke vacantedag thuis Met maaltijden zonder moeite bereid,” *AllerHande*, August 1955, 8.

⁶⁹ Ciska Verheul, “Het kan ook ZONDER AARDAPPELEN!,” *AllerHande*, January 1958, 1; Ciska Verheul, “In plaats van aardappelen,” *AllerHande*, May 1958, 3; Otterloo, *Eten en eetlust*, 155-181.

⁷⁰ “Snel koken = goed koken,” *AllerHande*, January 1967, 3.

⁷¹ (“done-in-half-an-hour-dish *Nasi*, or *Bami-Goreng*”) “HALF-UUR-KLAAR-Gerecht: NASI- of BAMI-GORENG,” *AllerHande*, January 1966, 5; See also: “NASI-GORENG,” *AllerHande*, July 1957, 2.

⁷² Otterloo, *Eten en eetlust*, 82-86.

⁷³ “Snel koken,” *AllerHande*, January 1967, 3.

Cooking, at this point, was predominantly done by housewives.⁷⁴ When understanding the study of emancipation as “criticising [...] cultural [...] structures of dominance and revealing the relationships between freedom and its restrictions,” the relationship between food culture and the emancipation of woman is undeniable.⁷⁵ The changing position of woman in society inevitably had an effect on the food culture that was predominantly prepared by women.⁷⁶ As women became less economically dependent, increasingly participating on the labour market from the fifties onwards, they found themselves spending less time in the kitchen.⁷⁷ As food still needed to be cooked, and men did not eagerly step in, cooking needed to be done more efficiently. Conversely, I would also argue that the economical aspect of the Dutch national cuisine, that was already present before the emancipation of women, promoted change towards efficiency, in turn working as a catalyst for the emancipation of women.

Apart from the influence of the emancipation of women on the diminishing Dutch cuisine, another aspect is that of the environment, namely: weather conditions, changing seasons and climate change. Not only because the environment influences agriculture, but also because of the effects environment can have on culture in general and food culture in particular.⁷⁸ The study of the

⁷⁴ For a detailed discussion see: Otterloo, *Eten en eetlust*, 144-154.; For a cultural history on Dutch housewives see: Els Kloek, *Vrouw des huizes: Een cultuurgeschiedenis van de Hollandse huisvrouw* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2009).

⁷⁵ Nella van den Brandt, “Secularity, gender, and emancipation: thinking through feminist activism and feminist approaches to the secular” *Religion* 49 (2019): 691; For a detailed discussion on the relation between food culture and feminism see: Natalie Jovanovski, *Digesting Femininities: The Feminist Politics of Contemporary Food Culture* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

⁷⁶ Jamie Oliver even argued that the English national cuisine has almost completely disappeared as a result of the emancipation of women. See: Signe Rousseau, *Food Media: Celebrity Chefs and the Politics of Everyday Interference* (London: Berg Publishers, 2012), 48.

⁷⁷ Angélique Janssens, *Labouring Lives: Women, work and the demographic transition in the Netherlands, 1880–1960* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2014), 80.

⁷⁸ A growing body of literature discusses the interaction between the environment, particularly climate change, and culture. See: Geoffrey Parker, *Global Crisis: War, Climate Change and Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013); Claus Leggewie and Franz Mauelshagen, eds., *Climate Change and Cultural Transition in Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2018); Tom Bristow and Thomas H. Ford, *A Cultural History of Climate Change* (London: Routledge, 2016.); Wolfgang Behringer, *Kulturgeschichte des Klimas Von der Eiszeit bis zur globalen Erwärmung* (Munich: Dtv Verlagsgesellschaft, 2015); Philipp Blom, *Nature's Mutiny: How the Little Ice Age of the Long Seventeenth Century Transformed the West and Shaped the Present* (New York: Pan Macmillan, 2019).

connection between food and the environment allows us to discern causes for the rigid aspect of Dutch cuisine that becomes apparent in winter, as well as cause for change, that again stems from the economical aspect of Dutch cuisine.

In the fifties and sixties many of the agricultural products that were sold in *Albert Heijn* and portrayed in the *AllerHande* were local ingredients dictated by the flow of the seasons. The implication of this is twofold: Dutch cuisine was limited and bound by the possibility of what could be grown locally which was moreover limited by what could be grown in season. This resulted in the increased national aspect of these ingredients by reason of close proximity. Potatoes that were used in Dutch dishes, were of known to be of Dutch origin.

The implications of this on Dutch cuisine is also reflected in the *AllerHande*. The seasons and especially the harvest were a theme often discussed in recurrent items such as the “*AllerHande Oogstberichten*.”⁷⁹ The most important topic was the quality of the harvest, because it not only influenced the quality of the product, but more importantly its price. Although seemingly uninteresting, it is this simple principle that allowed for significant change to Dutch national cuisine. An illustrative example is that of the poor potato harvest of 1962, which resulted in high consumer prices. As a consequence, *AllerHande* proposed cheaper alternatives such as rice and spaghetti.⁸⁰ Bad harvests thus gradually resulted in the diversification of ingredients, replacing ingredients that were considered to be typically Dutch. These ingredients being used as alternatives was to be expected as other structural factors, discussed previously, made them likely candidates. Thus, for example rice was not entirely unfamiliar in the Netherlands at this point, but cheaper and more convenient to use.

One aspect of Dutch cuisine in which Blokker’s characteristic of rigidity absolutely holds true is that of the Dutch winter dishes - such as *stamppot* and *erwtensoeep*. Interestingly, the rigid and national aspect of these dishes are intrinsically tied to the harsh Dutch winters as exemplified in the *AllerHande*. In the coldest months of the year “vieren alle stamppotjes hoogtij en dan verwarmt menigeen zich aan onze fameuze stevige soepen,”⁸¹ or “Zuurkool! Het woord roept winterse beelden op wanneer de verkilde mens bij het thuiskomen met welbehagen de geur opsnuift van deze pittige koolsoort,”⁸² and moreover the idea of “hartverwarmende hutspot.”⁸³ In 1968 the Dutch *stampotten*

⁷⁹ See for example: “*AllerHande oogstberichten*,” *AllerHande*, October 1956, 4.

⁸⁰ “Nu de aardappelen nog duur zijn,” *AllerHande*, July 1962, 1.

⁸¹ (“all *stamppotjes* are consumed feverishly and everyone warms themselves with our famous soups.”) “Voor januari eenvoudige stevige kost,” *AllerHande*, January 1963, 3.

⁸² (“Sauerkraut! It makes us think of winter, when numb of the cold, we come back home happily smelling the scent of this spicy type of cabbage.”) “Zesmaal anders zesmaal zuurkool,” *AllerHande*, October 1963, 1.

⁸³ (“Hearth-warming *hutspot*”) “hartverwarmende hutspot,” *AllerHande*, October 1966, 5.

are discussed in the following way: “[o]nze keuken moge dan al niet uitmunten door lichtheid, fantasie en élégance, onze nationale gerechten doen ons in het koude jaargetijde bijzonder veel deugd!!”⁸⁴

These examples indicate that the idea of a shared Dutch national cuisine gets stronger in winter. There seem to be certain elements in these dishes that are especially appealing in the specific circumstances of Dutch winters. In fact, to such a degree that according to Otterloo, even Italian immigrants that otherwise were not so keen on adopting Dutch food habits, eagerly ate the winter dishes when the climate called for it.⁸⁵ On the other hand, where winter revived Dutch cuisine, summer did the opposite. In the warm weather, Dutch cuisine was more susceptible to change. In summer, according to a column on Indonesian food “gedragen Nederlanders [zich] ineens anders dan anders,” underscoring that “de rijsttafel bij de warmte past als boerenkool met worst bij een koude hollandse winterdag.”⁸⁶ Promotion of the foreign food happened most successfully in summer, because most national dishes were eaten in winter and summer temporarily made people curious to look beyond.

Conclusively, I have discussed three elements of the Dutch national cuisine. The economical and simple characteristics in this period became self-destructive as other ingredients such as rice and spaghetti are introduced. As a result, typical Dutch ingredients and dishes were not always the most simple and economic option anymore. The process of emancipation of women in the Netherlands added to this process, but in turn was also aided by it. The environment and the harvest played an important role because it added to the nationalistic aspect of ingredients, however when crops failed, cheaper foreign alternatives were introduced. Finally, Dutch winter dishes and Dutch winter weather were inextricably bound. However, as the next period comes with monumental change to the Dutch food supply and winters get less cold as a result of global warming, the aspects of the Dutch cuisine that were not yet changing in the fifties and sixties are bound to in the seventies and eighties.

⁸⁴ (“even though our kitchen may not be characterised as light, imaginative or elegant, our national dishes still warm our hearths in the colder months of the year”) “laat ons blij zijn met onze nationale stampotten!,” *AllerHande*, January 1968, 5.

⁸⁵ Otterloo, *Eten en eetlust*, 220.

⁸⁶ (“Dutch people start to behave differently [...]” “[...] the *rijsttafel* fits summer, as kale with sausage fits a cold winters day.”) “Rijsttafel,” *AllerHande*, July 1961, 4.

Chapter 3

'Prakbarbaren' and 'Sufkokers', 1970-1990⁸⁷

“Dis-moi ce que tu manges, je te dirai ce que tu es.”

- Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin⁸⁸

Josip Pla – a renowned Catalan author – once famously wrote: “cooking is the landscape in a pan.”⁸⁹ As I have discussed earlier, this was also the case in the Netherlands. Dutch cuisine was founded and partly maintained by “the logic of proximity.”⁹⁰ However, from the seventies onwards this ceased to be the case, in the Netherlands and all over Europe.⁹¹ As a result of monumental change in the transport and food industry, the agricultural sector on top of increased urbanisation, Dutch food culture was flooded with new opportunities.⁹² This change is prominently noticeable in the *AllerHande* in the period 1970-1990. I shall discuss the implications this had on the Dutch cuisine, and how this in turn was justified. I will explain how the vacuum, that as a result of the eroding Dutch cuisine ensued, was replaced by a novelty: French inspired *male* leisure cooking. Furthermore, climate change – from the seventies onwards – slowly undermined the Dutch cuisine where it was strongest: the Dutch winter dishes.

Two structural factors were crucial for change of the Dutch cuisine: firstly innovation of the national food production, and secondly the influence of improved transportation resulting in the influx of foreign products. From the seventies onwards the horticulture in the Netherlands was decisively transforming.⁹³ Due to the introduction of large scale greenhouses, products such as tomatoes, lettuce and cucumbers could be grown all year round.⁹⁴ Moreover, new types of crops could be grown

⁸⁷ “HUGH JANS,” *De Volkskrant*, July 6, 1999. <https://www.volkskrant.nl/de-gids/hugh-jans~b56f2c8b/> (accessed March 19, 2020).

⁸⁸ Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, *Physiologie du Gout, ou Meditations de Gastronomie Transcendante* (Paris: A. Sautelet, 1841 [1826]), xiii.

⁸⁹ S. Santamaria, “Prologue”, in *El que hem menjat*, Josip Pla (Barcelona: Destino, 2005), as cited in: Josep-Maria Garcia-Fuentes, Manel Guàrdia Bassols and José Luis Oyón Bañales, “Reinventing Edible Identities: Catalan Cuisine and Barcelona’s Market Halls” in *Edible Identities: Food as Cultural Heritage Edible identities*, eds. Ronda L. Brulotte and Michael A. Di Giovine (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 160.

⁹⁰ Garcia-Fuentes et al., “Reinventing Edible,” 160.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² *Ibid.*; See also: Otterloo, *Eten en Eetlust*, 52-87, 157-181.

⁹³ Jan Bieleman, *Five centuries of farming: A short history of Dutch agriculture 1500-2000* (Wageningen: Wageningen Academic Publisher, 2010), 296.

⁹⁴ Bieleman, *Five centuries*, 296.

commercially, such as radish, bell peppers, aubergine, iceberg lettuce and fresh herbs.⁹⁵ Apart from these crops, many products that were previously grown in the Netherlands such as apples, pears and potatoes were increasingly imported from Italy, Spain and France and later from countries like Chili due to new forms of transportation.⁹⁶ Also new products started to be imported such as melons and an increasing amount of exotic fruit.⁹⁷

These structural factors changed the situation in the Netherlands significantly and quite abruptly. As a result, people were in a process of dealing with this new cultural environment. Especially the disappearance of seasonal products, as phrased in one *AllerHande*: “[d]at is wel opvallend, dat de seizoenen zo wegvallen.”⁹⁸ People were struggling to make sense of the practical and deeply cultural changes that occurred in this period. On the other hand, seasons were not found to be entirely unimportant as its connection to prices, like in the previous period, was often discussed: “rode kool [wordt] in het najaar wel goedkoper en [...] de spruiten en de boerenkool [zijn] het lekkerst als de vries erover is geweest.”⁹⁹ Many of the *AllerHandes* reflect this new development as increasingly more fruit and vegetable calendars were provided. One *AllerHande* featured an extensive calendar - the “groenten, en fruitkalender” - in which the monthly availability of many products were expressed in percentages of the yearly yield (e.g. 30% of the yearly yield of spinach is shown to be harvested and sold in May).¹⁰⁰ Based on this percentage the reader could infer the changing approximate cost of different products throughout the year. On the other hand, the reader was no longer informed where these products were coming from. As a result, the self-evident national aspect of locally grown crops slowly faded away. The Dutch cuisine became less tied to local yield – when and what could be practically grown the Netherlands – but increasingly more dictated by the prices and quality of products that either came from other countries or were produced in greenhouses in the Netherlands year-round. Many ingredient consequently lost its national characteristics.

The product where this becomes most apparent are legumes – previously discussed as typically Dutch. An *AllerHande* from 1984 starts an item on legumes the following: “typisch Hollands zijn

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Bieleman, *Five centuries*, 296; Schrover et al., “Waarom knoflook,” 100.

⁹⁷ Melons were introduced in the *Allerhande* in 1986: “Meloen eten? In de zomer zeker weten!,” *AllerHande*, June 1986, 20-21.

⁹⁸ (“It is quite significant, that the seasons have disappeared like this”) “Herfst: paddestoelen, wild en nieuwe wijnen,” *AllerHande*, September 1980, 34.

⁹⁹ (“Red cabbage becomes cheaper in fall, brussels sprouts and kale taste best after they have been exposed to the frost.”) “Herfst,” 34.

¹⁰⁰ (“vegetable and fruit calendar”) “groenten- en fruitkalender,” *AllerHande*, September 1980, 28-29.

peulvruchten zeker niet,” after which recipes such as Mexican taco’s and French cassoulet are presented.¹⁰¹ The knowledge of other cuisines that slowly increased from the fifties onwards combined with the plurality of products that came to be accessible in the seventies and eighties made the discursively produced idea of legumes as typically Dutch untenable. The fact that the process of forgetting happened relatively fast attests to the fact that the culinary memory of the Dutch is somewhat limited. In 1986 it was suggested that “[g]edroogde peulvruchten [...] een welkome en voedzame aanvulling op de verse groenten [is].”¹⁰² People by this point got so used to the idea that fresh vegetables were always available that they needed to be reminded that the once considered typical Dutch legumes even existed. The same became true for some priorly framed typical Dutch dishes such as the *zuurkoolstampot*: “een grote schaal dampende zuurkoolstampot met spekjes en rookworst. Zoals het hoort. Nou ja, in de Franse Elzas hebben ze daar hun eigen gedachten over”.¹⁰³ At the same time, in some cases a hybrid mix of typical Dutch features and foreign dishes were combined, as in the following example: “chili-con-carne: zuid-amerikaanse eenpansmaaltijd voor een hollandse gehaktdag.”¹⁰⁴ This example shows that some structural aspects of Dutch cuisine remained, but adapted to new recipes.

Apart from ingredients and dishes losing their national Dutch character, equally the defining feature of simplicity – discussed previously - lost sway. In the early eighties, the *AllerHande* featured a new type of mentality, coming with its respective role-model: the France inspired *male* hobby cook. Hugh Jans (1914-1999) – at the time well-known food journalist for *Vrij Nederland* – spearheaded this new movement. The simplicity that Blokker previously defined as praiseworthy soberness was dismissed by Jans as ignorance, the Dutch in his estimation were “prakbarbaren” en “sufkokers”.¹⁰⁵ In an extensive interview with Jans in the *AllerHande* of September 1980 many aspects of Dutch cuisine discussed earlier come under direct attack and a new mentality – a French one – is introduced.¹⁰⁶ The focus of this new mentality, was on sophistication as opposed to simplicity. First of all, this comes with

¹⁰¹ (“legumes are not typically Dutch for sure”) “Een warme aanbeveling uit zonnige streken,” *AllerHande*, February 1984, 39.

¹⁰² (“Dried legumes are a welcome addition to the fresh vegetables.”) “Koken met gedroogde peulvruchten,” *AllerHande*, January 1986, 11.

¹⁰³ (“a big bowl of steaming sauerkraut-stampot with bacon and sausage. The way it was meant to be. Although, in the French Alsace they have a different outlook on the matter.”) “Zuurkoolstampot zoals het hoort,” *Allerhande*, January 1990, 21.

¹⁰⁴ (“Chili: South-American one-pot meal for the Dutch minced meat day.”) *Idé*, Jan 1974, 10.

¹⁰⁵ “HUGH JANS,” *De Volkskrant*.

¹⁰⁶ “Herfst,” 34.

the development that cooking started to be seen as a hobby as opposed to a chore. This development not only left room to move away from Dutch cuisine but moreover changed *who* was behind the stove. Whereas traditionally housewives cooked Dutch cuisine to maintain the household – albeit that Dutch cuisine was also changing when women were still predominantly preparing it – man indifferently entered the cultural domain of the kitchen as a form of leisure and radically changed the way food was approached.

A couple of structural factors allowed for this to happen. Due to increased prosperity, increasingly more people could afford to go on holiday – mostly to France – where they became familiar with other approaches to cooking and food.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, as mentioned previously, woman increasingly abandoned the kitchen and at the same time the Dutch in general got increasingly more leisure time.¹⁰⁸ The cultural implication of this change was striking. Whereas Dutch cuisine could always be defined as simple, as to preparation and use of ingredients, recipes became increasingly elaborate and ingredients increasingly more expensive. In Jans interview, a menu is put together that included chanterelles, duck and venison, ingredients that were unimaginable in the *AllerHande* a decade or two ago.¹⁰⁹ Whereas before, a meal should not take much longer than half an hour to prepare, Jans tells the reader to marinate the mushrooms for over two hours. Furthermore, Jans does not shy away from showing his disdain for the Dutch and their cuisine: “[h]et is zo zonde dat Hollanders altijd meteen beginnen met wassen” concerning the cleaning of mushrooms.¹¹⁰ Of course, they need to be brushed. It takes a bit more time, but all the flavour is retained that way.

Given that many aspects of Dutch food culture became increasingly less national both in mentality and ingredients, it is worth discussing what happened to the typical Dutch winter dishes. They remained, however lost their sense of urgency. This becomes most apparent in the *AllerHande* when Dutch dishes are started to be framed as being ‘grandma’s’. The winter dishes become more of a historical relic as opposed to a shared aspect of Dutch cuisine. As a result these dishes became prone to change. Grandma’s “ouderwetse winterkost” no longer seemed that appealing.¹¹¹ Older recipes were considered to be “zwaar” and “donker” whereas “licht” and “fris” was desired.¹¹² This was partly

¹⁰⁷ Schrover et al., “Waarom knoflook,” 100.

¹⁰⁸ Theo Beckers, “Leisure and Pleasure: Competing Ideologies and Strategies in the Netherlands,” in *Twentieth-Century Mass Society in Britain and the Netherlands*, eds. Bob Moore and Henk van Nierop (Oxford: Berg Publishers. 2006), 128-129.

¹⁰⁹ “Herfst,” 34.

¹¹⁰ (“It is such a pity that the Dutch always immediately start washing.”) “Herfst,” 34.

¹¹¹ (“old fashioned winter food”) *Idé*, October 1974, 12.

¹¹² (“heavy” “dark” “light” “fresh”) “Winters en toch licht,” *AllerHande*, January 1987, 3.

done by decreasing caloric content, and adding fresh ingredients. In a recipe provided in 1985 this even resulted in exotic spices such as chili powder being used in *erwtensoeep*.¹¹³

The difference between the strong national rhetoric surrounding winter dishes in the fifties and sixties and the gradual diminishing of its importance in the two decades after is truly astounding. To explain this change, we have to look beyond the arguments discussed above and go back to the crux of the national origin of these dishes. As discussed, the connection between Dutch winters and Dutch winter dishes was strong. The harsh Dutch winters were made bearable by simple yet nutritious dishes such as *stamppot*, *zuurkool*, and *erwtensoeep* as numerous examples indicate. The Dutch winters, from the seventies onwards, however became increasingly less cold according to data collected by the *Royal Netherlands Meteorological Institute*.¹¹⁴ One could argue that the nutritional value – the one element that made the winter dishes so appealing and an important part of Dutch cuisine – was increasingly less appreciated. The rhetoric that accompanied different versions of winter dishes certainly seem to substantiate such a reading. Heavy recipes were adapted and made fresher and lighter. The changing climate in this period had a very subliminal but nonetheless real effect on culture. A topic that

As a result of the changing food industry and new forms of transportation typical Dutch ingredients and dishes lost their national characteristics. Moreover, the defining feature of simplicity lost sway and was partly replaced by a France inspired mentality towards food that preached sophistication. This new movement coincided with men entering the kitchen and Dutch food culture as active participants. Due to gradual climate change, Dutch winter dishes equally started to change, moving from being heavy towards being light. In the last chapter, discussing the period 1990-2000, I shall discuss the continuation of the process described above. As a result, Dutch winter dishes were in the last decade before the new millennium irreversibly made modern, while at the same time placed in their final resting place: the mausoleum of Dutch intangible cultural artefacts. Lastly, a new way to define the empty space left by Dutch cuisine was formulated.

¹¹³ “Bij een Nederlandse winter hoort erwtensoeep,” *AllerHande*, February 1985, 43.

¹¹⁴ “Wintertemperatuur op vijf KNMI-hoofdstations,” graph taken from: CBS, PBL, RIVM, WUR (2018). [Temperatuur in Nederland en mondiaal, 1906 - 2017](https://www.clo.nl/temperatuur-in-nederland-en-mondiaal-1906-2017) (indicator 0226, versie 13 , 25 april 2018). www.clo.nl. Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS), Den Haag (accessed March 29, 2020); The graph from where this information is derived can be found in the appendix.

Chapter 4

The End of Change, 1990-2000

“Vooruitgang bestaat niet, en dat is maar goed ook, want
zoals het is, is het al erg genoeg.”
– Gerard Reve¹¹⁵

As Dutch cuisine moved towards the margins of Dutch food culture in the period 1990-2000, a reinvigoration of that cuisine was instigated. As a cultural artefact that no longer casually fitted society, it was forcefully reinstated and fetishized by giving it historic importance. At the same time, Dutch cuisine was given a final blow and adapted to modern nutritional requirements. To fill the vacuum that remained after the marginalisation of Dutch cuisine, a new way of describing Dutch food culture was introduced: everything came to be culinary. At the same time, some aspects of Dutch cuisine remained to be implicitly present in Dutch food culture. Finally, the item “Een eeuw eten,” exemplifies the status of Dutch food culture at the end the twentieth century: reflection was in order, and the question arose, who are we really?¹¹⁶

Dutch food culture, in all ways, departed from a shared understanding of Dutch cuisine that was present in the fifties and sixties. This process happened gradually and sometimes hesitantly, but by now was fully embraced. Two subtitles of the *AllerHande* indicate this: “Lekker Licht, De Nieuwe Versie van de Hollandse Pot” and “De *Nieuwe* Nederlandse Keuken”.¹¹⁷ Both these editions were published in January and illustrate how the change to Dutch winter dishes was justified. New ingredients were introduced, like already happened in the eighties, but moreover the recipes were accompanied by a strong presentist rhetoric. Alterations to Dutch winter recipes were legitimised by explicitly defining them as “modern”, “eigentijds,” and “nieuw.”¹¹⁸

However, this rhetoric was matched with an equally overexaggerated sense of traditionalism. Within the same context, words evoking a sense of presentism were accompanied by phrases recounting the past. For example, phrases such as “Modern met een vleugje nostalgie” or “Ouderwets

¹¹⁵ (“There is no such thing as progress, and that’s for the better. It’s already bad enough as is.”) Gerard Reve, *Zelf schrijver worden* (Den Haag: Sdu Uitgevers, 1985).

¹¹⁶ (“A century of eating”) “Een eeuw eten,” *AllerHande*, January 1999, 18.

¹¹⁷ (“Nicely Light, The New Version of the Dutch meal”) “Lekker Licht, De Nieuwe Versie van de Hollandse Pot,” *AllerHande*, January 1991, 1; (“The New Dutch Cuisine”) “De *Nieuwe* Nederlandse Keuken,” *AllerHande*, January, 1996, 1.

¹¹⁸ (“Modern” “contemporary” “new”) “De nieuwe versie van de Hollandse pot Lekker Licht,” *AllerHande*, January 1991, 12.

lekker, nieuwerwets ligt” were often used.¹¹⁹ Furthermore, historical value was increasingly attributed to products to which it was previously never attributed, such as an “oudhollandse toetje.”¹²⁰ Although it would be an overstatement to suggest that this is an example of ‘invented traditions,’ it certainly is a simplification, exaggeration and idealisation of the past in a time of cultural transformation. How to interpret this sudden invigoration of Dutch cuisine? Was there actually a shared need to reintroduce Dutch cuisine, or was it simply a way of dealing with, a by now, completely different food culture in the Netherlands?

Although claims of traditionalism are plentiful, it lacks substantiation or meaning. The audience’s minds were turned towards the past, but their mouths firmly faced the future. The winter dish recipes were presented with a veil of historic importance, but in reality reflected modern nutritional needs and trends. This came most prominently in the form of eating healthy: light dishes with few calories. Eating healthy had in fact always been a theme in the *AllerHande*, but in this period it reached a new level of urgency. Old dishes were criticised for their high fat content, and new dishes were introduced as being light and healthy.¹²¹ The norm of what food should be changed, at the same time changing what was presented in the *AllerHande*. Although the cultural trend of eating healthy in this period seems to influence Dutch food culture persistently, it is important to discuss under which structural factors this was allowed to happen in the first place. Even though cultural trends can be an important factor, it could have never influenced Dutch food culture if the environment would not have allowed for it.

As discussed previously a cultural connection between Dutch winter dishes and the winter weather was very clear. Cold winters were made bearable by heavy sustaining Dutch winter dishes. However, another explanation equally indicates how cold environmental temperatures are related to what we eat. In a scientific overview, Peter Jones and Ian Lee, compiled and analysed a large body of literature that is concerned with this very relation.¹²² The majority of research reviewed, indicate that the ideal caloric intake is connected to the environmental temperature one is exposed to.¹²³ People in colder climates sustain themselves by consuming relatively more calories as opposed to people living

¹¹⁹ (“Modern with a hint of nostalgia”) “Modern met een vleugje nostalgie,” *AllerHande*, October 1998, 132-133; (“Oldfashioned tasty, contemporary light”) “De nieuwe versie,” 12.

¹²⁰ (“old Dutch dessert”) “oudhollandse toetjes om van te watertanden,” *AllerHande*, January 1994, 12.

¹²¹ “De nieuwe versie,” 12.

¹²² Peter J. H. Jones and Ian K. K. Lee, “Macronutrient Requirements for Work in Cold Environments,” in *Nutritional Needs in Cold and High-Altitude Environments: Applications for Military Personnel in Field Operations* Bernadette, eds. M. Marriott and Sydne J. Carlson (Washington: National Academy Press, 1996), 187-202.

¹²³ Jones and Lee, “Macronutrient Requirements,” 200.

in warmer climates.¹²⁴ This connection explains why increasingly lighter dishes were being presented in the *AllerHande*. Especially when taking a closer look at the actual temperature changes in the Netherlands.

Between 1970 and 1990 the average temperature in the Netherlands rose with 0.6°C and between 1990 and 2000 the average trend increased another 0.3°C.¹²⁵ Moreover, the days in which the temperature was below 0.0°C at any point of the day decreased from an average of 53 days in 1970, to 48 in 1990 and 45 in 2000.¹²⁶ These numbers might seem insignificant, but they should not be underestimated. In comparison, Phillip Blom's cultural history of the Little Ice Age is based on an average temperature decrease of 2°C.¹²⁷ The impact of a seemingly slight temperature drop can have significant impact on the cultural sphere, as he convincingly shows. In other words, the changing environment influenced food habits in the Netherlands, enabling cultural trends such as eating healthy to be acceptable in the first place. The cultural trend of eating healthy was therefore not the ultimate cause for change, as is discussed by Otterloo, but can be seen as a manifestation or symptom of the changing environment.

Another phenomenon that occurred during this period can be seen as the culmination of all developments that have been described up and till so far. At the end of the twentieth century, a new framework that described Dutch food culture was adopted: the culinary. The term *culinary* came to define many of the food related items in the nineties. Suddenly food was described in terms of "culinaire mogelijkheden," and the reader was taken on a "culinair avontuur," or "culinaire speurtocht."¹²⁸ Good food was not just good food but a "culinair genoegen."¹²⁹ The use of the term culinary, in fact happened so suddenly, that the idea of a "culinaire klassieker" should be considered an anachronism.¹³⁰

This change in rhetoric used to describe Dutch food culture is matched with a new way of structuring recipes. Whereas previously recipes were mostly stand-alone dishes within a given

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ "Wintertemperatuur," CBS.

¹²⁶ "Aantalvorst dagen," graph taken from: CBS, PBL, RIVM, WUR (2018). [Extreme temperatuur in Nederland, 1906-2017](#) (indicator 0589, versie 01, 25 april 2018). www.clo.nl. Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS), Den Haag (accessed March 29, 2020); The graph from where this information is derived can be found in the appendix.

¹²⁷ Blom, *Nature's Mutiny*, 10.

¹²⁸ ("culinary opportunities") "Genieten van verse vis," *AllerHande*, October 1994, 22; ("culinary adventure") "Op culinair avontuur met Pasta," *AllerHande*, May 1995, 78; ("culinary quest") "Streekgerechten uit het 'hart' van België," *AllerHande*, October 1997, 17.

¹²⁹ ("Culinary delights") "Culinaire genoegens van de Elzas," *AllerHande*, October 1998, 1.

¹³⁰ ("Culinary Classic") "Tomatensoep: een culinaire klassieker," *AllerHande*, May 2000, 30.

theme, now there was an increasing focus on covering entire cohesive menus, consisting of multiple courses and extensive recipes. Moreover, some well-known Dutch restaurant chefs such as Cas Spijkers – at the time head chef of *De Swaen* (*) – were frequently featured, showing how to prepare and serve elaborate menus.¹³¹ One of the implications this had was, what used to be a much clearer distinction between mundane cooking at home and eating in restaurants slowly faded. The level of sophistication that for a long time was inaccessible for most, now slowly trickled down in the home kitchen through the *AllerHande*. In some ways this change can be seen as a continuation of the French mentality towards food and the changing perception of cooking as a hobby as opposed to a chore. However the clear gendered aspect of the French inspired mentality was not present in the culinary one. The French mentality, in other words, was transformed into a chef's mentality. Another implication of this new way of understanding food was, that after having dropped Dutch cuisine, and moving away from the French inspired food mentality, this culinary mentality allowed for the adoption of virtually any influence without further justification. I argue that at this point, Dutch food culture truly became a sponge, that without opposition could adapt and adopt based on the premises that it was culinary.

The turn towards the culinary can be understood in light of the broader developments discussed throughout this paper. Culinarification of Dutch food culture is the result of all previously mentioned developments. As most developments described indicate the loss of a shared understanding of what Dutch cuisine entailed, a vacuum formed. The moment the vocabulary used to describe and praise Dutch cuisine no longer seemed appropriate this new way of framing Dutch food culture arose. This explains why Cas Spijkers no longer describes white asparagus as being typically Dutch, but rather praises them for their culinary taste.¹³²

Despite the fact that culinary cooking was adopted into the day-to-day cooking habits, a large portion of the recipes featured in the *AllerHande* still contained a feature that is very similar to two characters of Dutch cuisine. Many recipes still focused on being cheap and easy to prepare in recurrent items such as: "Praktisch en snel," "Snel gemaakt of slim geshopt" and "Meer maaltijd, in minder tijd".¹³³ These titles do not only attest to the creativity with which the editors approached writing, but also indicate that apart from eating increasingly culinary most people still approached cooking like done in the fifties and sixties: simple and economical. However, whereas before these characteristic

¹³¹ "Cas Spijkers' meloensoep met aardbeien," *AllerHande*, May, 1993, 28.

¹³² "Cas Spijkers'," 28.

¹³³ ("Fast and Practical") "Praktische en Snel in Mei," *AllerHande*, May 1991, 50; ("prepared fast or shop smart") "Snel gemaakt of slim geshopt," *AllerHande*, January 1999, 8.; ("More meal, in less time") "Meer maaltijd, in minder tijd," *AllerHande*, July 2000, 43.

were considered to be part of a typical Dutch cuisine, it was now an unmentioned, implicit trait that was neither considered typical nor national.

The *AllerHande* published on January 1999 themed “Honderd jaar (lekker) eten in Nederland” serves as an interesting conclusion to the discussion of this period, as well as the discussion of the primary source analysis in general.¹³⁴ At the end of the century *AllerHande* saw fit to provide a reflection on the last 100 years of Dutch food culture. In fact many topics covered in this thesis were likewise discussed in the item “Een eeuw eten.”¹³⁵ The reader was reminded how the seasons lost their importance, how there was a sudden influx of fresh products and how foreign influence were increasingly adopted in Dutch food culture.¹³⁶ An emphasis is put on the re-introduction of grandma’s dishes in the nineties but at the same time the question arose whether “de Nederlandse maaltijd [nog] mogelijk [was].”¹³⁷ In the last decade of the twentieth century people were unsure what Dutch food culture actually was, as its initial understanding as being Dutch cuisine no longer held sway. In the conclusion an answer to this question will be formulated.

¹³⁴ “Een eeuw eten,” *AllerHande*, January 1999, 20.

¹³⁵ “Een eeuw eten,” 20.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

Conclusion

“I consider the discovery of a new dish, which excites our appetite and prolongs our pleasure, much more important than the discovery of a new star.”

- Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin¹³⁸

What is Dutch food culture? To answer this question I have discussed many moments of change in the period 1955-2000 based on an analysis of the *AllerHande*. As a result of making the analytical distinction between Dutch national cuisine and Dutch food culture I have been able to add to the existing literature by showing how and why the Dutch food culture became increasingly less national. In the process we have seen how certain elements of Dutch national cuisine that ceased to be typical, implicitly remained to be present in Dutch food culture by the end of the twentieth century. In this final chapter, I shall summarise the argument made throughout this research and how it can add to previous literature on Dutch food culture. I shall discuss in what ways this research could be substantiated by further research, and I shall highlight some aspects of the *AllerHande* that, as a result of the limitations of this research could not be discussed in detail, but deserve attention nonetheless. Furthermore I will offer my vision on the future of Dutch food culture, especially focussing on the progressively impactful effects of climate change. Conclusively, I shall attempt to provide a synthesis of what I consider Dutch food culture to be. In turn, hoping to formulate a satisfying answer to the question posed at the beginning of this research: when it comes to food, who are the Dutch?

Dutch food culture in the period 1955-1970 was for a large part still understood to be Dutch cuisine and was best defined as being simple, rigid, and economical. At the same time this mentality towards food became self-destructive as people, for various reasons, became more familiar with products such as rice and spaghetti. These ingredients were found to be more convenient to process and sometimes cheaper than typical Dutch ingredients such as the potato. This process was accelerated by the emancipation of Dutch housewives, which was another incentive to reduce cooking efforts to a minimum. At the same time I argue that the emancipation of women was accelerated, or at least certainly not hindered, by the fact that Dutch cuisine contained these self-destructive elements. Although, further discussion of this symbiotic relationship was beyond the scope of this research, I certainly consider this to be a fruitful perspective on the emancipation of women deserving further research. Moreover, this connection illustrates how food history can be used as a lens with which Dutch history can be successfully studied.

¹³⁸ Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, *The Physiology of Taste: or Meditations on Transcendental Gastronomy*, trans. Mary F. K. Fisher (New York: Vintage, 2009 [1826]), 416.

At first Dutch cuisine was absolutely rigid when it came to winter dishes such as *stamppot* and *erwtensoep*. Often referred to as national dishes they were inextricably bound to the harsh Dutch winters. Until – as a result of climate change – Dutch winters became increasingly less harsh and in turn less Dutch from approximately 1970 onwards. This coincided with the disappearance of the rigidity of these dishes and the possibility to alter their respective recipes: calorie heavy elements were disregarded and replaced with lighter ingredients. The effect of climate change on these once considered typical dishes is drastic. In fact, like climate change in the Netherlands is drastic too. The upward trend of increasing winter temperatures described in chapter 4 continues to be true up until today. In 2017 the trend indicated an average temperature of 4.2°C in wintertime, an average increase of 1.5°C compared to 1970, with no indication that this upward trend will be decreasing in the future.¹³⁹ It is therefore likely that the changing climate will remain to exert influence on Dutch food culture. My expectation is that Dutch food culture will increasingly consist of lighter and fresher dishes, inspired by cuisines that originate from warmer climates. Anecdotal evidence showing that this has already happened in the two decades after 2000 is the overwhelming popularity of middle-eastern cuisine, as indicated by the adoration of Yotam Ottolenghi and his cookbooks *Plenty* and *Simple*. Moreover, the effect of the rising temperatures on Dutch food culture serves as an important indicator that climate change has and has had an effect on Dutch culture in general. This observation is not only useful in understanding contemporary cultural change, but equally shows that the interaction between climate and culture deserves to be a focal point of future historic research on the Netherlands.¹⁴⁰

Apart from climate change, the innovation in Dutch greenhouse horticulture and the global food distribution allowed for fresh fruit and vegetables to be accessible year-round. As a result typical Dutch ingredients – such as legumes – lost their national character. Around the same time a new mentality towards food was introduced, inspired by the French, that preached sophistication as opposed to simplicity. This movement was spear-headed by *men* as opposed to women, whom traditionally prepared food. This example indicates that it is important to realise who is cooking, when understanding what is being cooked. In the nineties the term *culinary* became the new dominant description of Dutch food culture and can be seen as a successor of the earlier French mentality. Ingredients were no longer defined by their national character, but their culinary worth. The term *culinary* served as a umbrella term, under which virtually all types of influences could be adopted

¹³⁹ “Wintertemperatuur,” CBS.

¹⁴⁰ A useful reference work for such an undertaking would be the up until now seven editions of *Duizend Jaar Weer, Wind en Water in De Lage Landen* written by Dutch historian Jan Buisman in which the Dutch weather is described in extreme detail from the year 764 onwards.

without further justification. In the beginning the *AllerHande* still made a careful consideration of what was acceptable to introduce to the public, but as a result of the introduction of the term 'culinary' this limitation was lifted. The possibility of constant change can be seen as the end station of the development of Dutch food culture, and thus in a way the end of change.

In the nineties a reinvigoration of Dutch cuisine was instigated, but rather than originating from a consensus on what people considered to be typical Dutch cuisine it was a forceful way of dealing with a by now completely different food culture. Yet, some defining elements of Dutch cuisine, that of simplicity and being economical remain, albeit no longer understood to be typical, to define Dutch food culture. Besides the increasing focus on elaborate menus and culinary food, still a large portion of recipes focused on quick, easy and cheap preparations.

In conclusion this research sought to understand Dutch food culture by making the analytical distinction between Dutch food culture and Dutch national cuisine. This has not yet been done but is of the utmost importance because the former can only be understood when the latter is acknowledged. By discerning what the shared consensus of Dutch cuisine was, I could track its discourse throughout time, and indicate how it slowly ceased to be. I have not only discussed why this happened, by using the six structural factors discussed by Otterloo, but moreover what came to replace it. By having taken a source-oriented approach I was able to recognise when a satisfying structural explanation was lacking, which led me to realize the interaction between food and the emancipation of women as well as the relationship between food culture and climate change. Moreover, the concepts of *lightness* and *essentialism* proposed by Kešić and Duyvendak allowed me to understand the mundane origin of Dutch cuisine and the strong connection it had to Dutch winter climate.

Having taken all this into account, how are we to answer the question posed by the Italian in the very beginning of this research? When it comes to food, who are the Dutch? This question is best answered by acknowledging who we were, which allows us to understand who we are now.

We were simple, economical and rigid: we were simple potatoes and legumes, we minded the time and money spent on our food and above all we were heavy *erwtensoeep* and *stamppot* during our cold harsh winters. And now? Now we are a unique mix of the simple and the sophisticated. Our knowledge about food has turned into a culinary understanding, but at the same – without acknowledging it – we still appreciate the quick and easy recipes. Above all, we easily adapt and absorb, as long as it fits the weather.

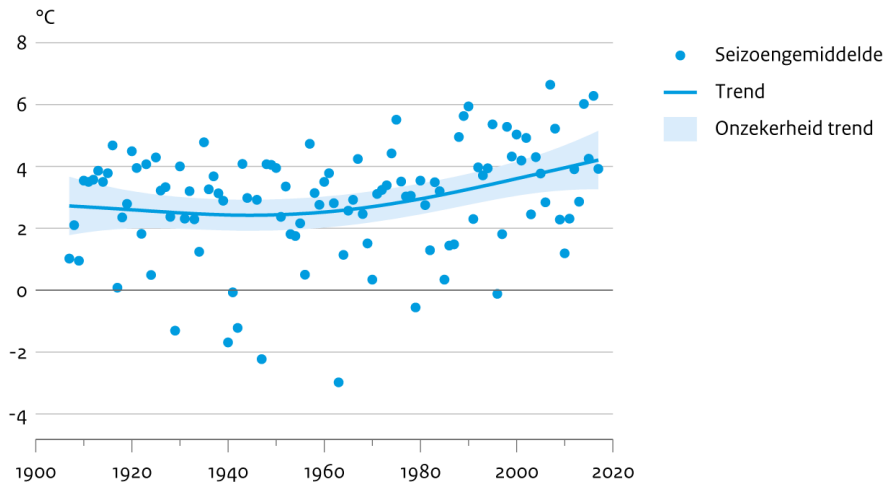
Acknowledgement

I would specifically like to thank my supervisor Hans Schouwenburg for his advice on my thesis, ranging from encouraging me to voice my opinions more strongly, to reminding me to keep minding my use of commas. I would like to thank Julia Rowland for correcting large parts of this thesis on English mistakes as well as Cecilia Francis for proofreading it. They kept me on course, by correcting 'off course' to 'of course'. Moreover, I would like to thank Martin Gerssen and the volunteers among whom Hans, Theo, Teuna and Nanda, for keeping the archive of *Stichting Albert Heijn Erfgoed* running and for the warm welcome (and coffee) I received when visiting.

Appendix

Two graphs indicating the changing climate conditions in winter in the Netherlands.

Wintertemperatuur op vijf KNMI-hoofdstations

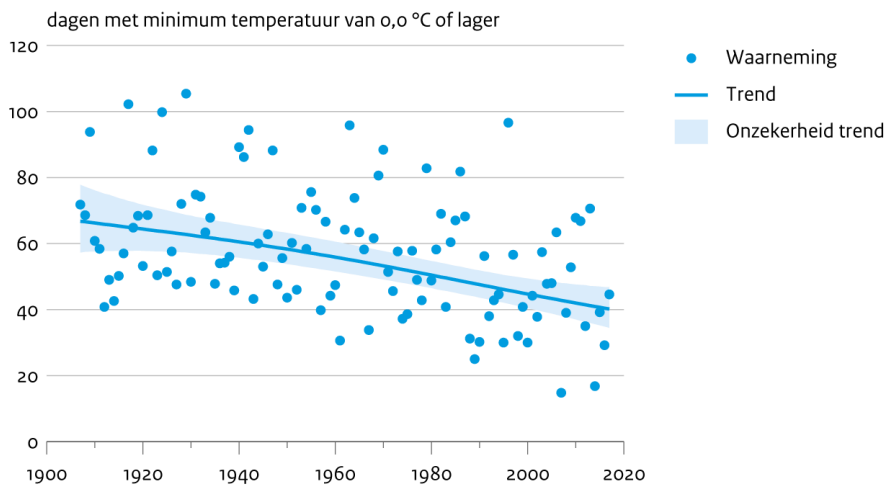


Bron: KNMI

PBL/mrt18
www.clo.nl/nlo22613

Figure 1: As published in: CBS, PBL, RIVM, WUR (2018). *Temperatuur in Nederland en mondiaal, 1906 - 2017 (indicator 0226, versie 13, 25 april 2018)*. www.clo.nl. Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS), Den Haag.

Aantal vorstdagen



Bron: KNMI; bewerking PBL

PBL/mrt18
www.clo.nl/nlo58901

Figure 2: As published in: CBS, PBL, RIVM, WUR (2018). *Extreme temperatuur in Nederland, 1906-2017 (indicator 0589, versie 01, 25 april 2018)*. www.clo.nl. Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS), Den Haag.

Overview of all primary sources analysed in this research

AllerHande, January 1955, 1-8.
AllerHande, May 1955, 1-8.
AllerHande, August 1955, 1-8.*
AllerHande, October 1955, 1-4.
AllerHande, January 1956, 1-4.
AllerHande, April 1956, 1-4.*
AllerHande, July 1956, 1-4.
AllerHande, October 1956, 1-4.
AllerHande, January 1957, 1-4.
AllerHande, April 1957, 1-4.*
AllerHande, July 1957, 1-4.
AllerHande, October 1957, 1-4.
AllerHande, January 1958, 1-4.
AllerHande, May 1958, 1-4.
AllerHande, July 1958, 1-4.
AllerHande, October 1958, 1-4.
AllerHande, January 1959, 1-4.
AllerHande, April 1959, 1-4.*
AllerHande, July 1959, 1-4.
AllerHande, October 1959, 1-4.
AllerHande, January 1960, 1-4.
AllerHande, May 1960, 1-6.
AllerHande, July 1960, 1-5.
AllerHande, October 1960, 1-6.
AllerHande, January 1961, 1-6.
AllerHande, April 1961, 1-6.*
AllerHande, July 1961, 1-6.
AllerHande, October 1961, 1-6.
AllerHande, January 1962, 1-6.
AllerHande, May 1962, 1-12.
AllerHande, July 1962, 1-6.
AllerHande, October 1962, 1-6.
AllerHande, January 1963, 1-6.
AllerHande, May 1963, 1-6.
AllerHande, July 1963, 1-6.
AllerHande, October 1963, 1-6.
AllerHande, January 1964, 1-8.
AllerHande, May 1964, 1-6.
AllerHande, July 1964, 1-6.
AllerHande, October 1964, 1-8.
AllerHande, January 1965, 1-6. **
AllerHande, May 1965, 1-10.
AllerHande, August 1965, 1-6.*
AllerHande, October 1965, 1-8.
AllerHande, January 1966, 1-8.
AllerHande, May 1966, 1-10
AllerHande, July 1966, 1-6.
AllerHande, October 1966, 1-10.
AllerHande, January 1967, 1-6.
AllerHande, May 1967, 1-12.
AllerHande, August 1967, 1-6.*
AllerHande, October 1967, 1-14.
AllerHande, January 1968, 1-8.
AllerHande, May 1968, 1-8.
AllerHande, July 1968, 1-8.
AllerHande, October 1968, 1-10.
AllerHande, January 1969, 1-6.
AllerHande, May 1969, 1-8.
AllerHande, July 1969, 1-6.
AllerHande, October 1969, 1-16.
AllerHande, January 1970 1-6.
AllerHande, May 1970, 1-8.
AllerHande, July 1970, 8.
AllerHande, October 1970, 1-14.
AllerHande, January 1971, 1-6.
AllerHande, May 1971, 1-8.
AllerHande, July 1971, 1-8.
AllerHande, October 1971, 1-16.
AllerHande, January 1972, 1-8.
AllerHande, May 1972, 1-14.
AllerHande, August 1972, 1-8.*
AllerHande, October 1972, 1-12.
AllerHande, January 1973, 1-8.
AllerHande, May 1973, 1-14.
Idé, October 1973, 1-50.
Idé, January 1974, 1-46.
Idé, May 1974, 1-46.
Idé, August/September 1974, 1-38.*
Idé, October 1974, 1-38.
AllerHande, March 1980, 1-56.*
AllerHande, September 1980, 1-56.*
AllerHande, October 1983, 1-40.
AllerHande, February 1984, 1-48.*
AllerHande, April 1984, 1-48.*
AllerHande, July 1984, 1-48.
AllerHande, October 1984, 1-48.
AllerHande, February 1985, 1-48.
AllerHande, May 1985, 1-48.
AllerHande, June 1985, 1-52.*
AllerHande, November 1985, 1-52.*
AllerHande, January 1986, 1-48.
AllerHande, May 1986, 1-52.
AllerHande, June 1986, 1-52.*
AllerHande, October 1986, 1-52.

AllerHande, January 1987, 1-56.
AllerHande, May 1987, 1-28.
AllerHande, August 1987, 1-56.*
AllerHande, October 1987, 1-80.
AllerHande, January 1988, 1-58.
AllerHande, May 1988, 1-72.
AllerHande, August 1988, 1-72.*
AllerHande, October 1988, 1-84.
AllerHande, January 1989, 1-64.
AllerHande, May 1989, 1-80.
AllerHande, July 1989, 1-72.
AllerHande, October 1989, 1-80.
AllerHande, January 1990,
AllerHande, May 1990, 1-88.
AllerHande, July 1990, 1-88.
AllerHande, October 1990, 1-108.
AllerHande, January 1991, 1-76.
AllerHande, May 1991, 1-108.
AllerHande, July 1991, 1-108.
AllerHande, October 1991, 1-108.
AllerHande, January 1992, 1-74.
AllerHande, May 1992, 1-108.
AllerHande, July 1992, 1-70.
AllerHande, October 1992, 1-146.
AllerHande, January 1993, 1-74.
AllerHande, May 1993, 1-116.
AllerHande, July 1993, 1-76.
AllerHande, October 1993, 1-168.

AllerHande, January 1994, 1-70.
AllerHande, May 1994, 1-118.
AllerHande, July 1994, 1-70.
AllerHande, October 1994, 1-114.
AllerHande, January 1995, 1-60.
AllerHande, May 1995, 1-110.
AllerHande, July 1995, 1-60.
AllerHande, October 1995, 1-96.
AllerHande, January 1996, 1-62.
AllerHande, May 1996, 1-114.
AllerHande, June 1996, 1-76.*
AllerHande, October 1996, 1-116.
AllerHande, January 1997, 1-76.
AllerHande, May 1997, 1-116.
AllerHande, July 1997, 1-108.
AllerHande, October 1997, 1-104.
AllerHande, January 1998, 1-72.
AllerHande, May 1998, 1-124.
AllerHande, July 1998, 1-132.
AllerHande, October 1998, 1-148.
AllerHande, January 1999, 1-76.
AllerHande, May 1999, 1-128.
AllerHande, July 1999, 1-100.
AllerHande, October 1999, 1-144.
AllerHande, January 2000, 1-88.
AllerHande, May 2000, 1-140.
AllerHande, July 2000, 1-116.
AllerHande, October 2000, 1-148.

* Editions that have been used but were not published in January, May, July or October.

** Pages 3-6 were unavailable digitally.

Bibliography

Primary sources (in chronological order)

- "Peulvruchten: het geheim van heldendaden." *AllerHande*. January 1955, 6.
- "Een feestelijke vacantedag thuis Met maaltijden zonder moeite bereid." *AllerHande*. August 1955, 8.
- "De stroom vloeit voort..." *AllerHande*. October 1955, 3.
- "AllerHande oogstberichten." *AllerHande*. October 1956, 4.
- "Peulvruchten.... Daar zit voeding in!" *AllerHande*. January 1957, 1.
- "NASI-GORENG." *AllerHande*. July 1957, 2.
- Verheul, Ciska. "Het kan ook ZONDER AARDAPPELEN!" *AllerHande*. January 1958, 1.
- Verheul, Ciska. "In plaats van aardappelen." *AllerHande*. May 1958, 3.
- Blokker, Jan. "Voor ons biefstuk met aardappelen." *AllerHande*. July 1958, 3.
- "Nederlandse kaas: vrouwenwerk." *AllerHande*. July 1960, 2.
- "Hoe staat het met de aardappelen?" *AllerHande*. January 1961, 3.
- "Het bakhuis als vanouds." *AllerHande*. April 1961, 5.
- "Rijsttafel." *AllerHande*. July 1961, 4.
- "Nu de aardappelen nog duur zijn." *AllerHande*. July 1962, 1.
- "Voor januari eenvoudige stevige kost." *AllerHande*. January 1963, 3.
- "Zesmaal anders zesmaal zuurkool." *AllerHande*. October 1963, 1.
- "Honderdste Allerhande." *AllerHande*. May 1964, 1.
- "done-in-half-an-hour-dish Nasi, or Bami-Goreng" "HALF-UUR-KLAAR-Gerecht: NASI- of BAMIGORENG." *AllerHande*. January 1966, 5.
- "hartverwarmende hutspot." *AllerHande*. October 1966, 5.
- "Snel koken = goed koken." *AllerHande*. January 1967, 3.
- "laat ons blij zijn met onze nationale stampotten!" *AllerHande*. January 1968, 5.
- "AH koestert zijn kaas." *AllerHande*. May 1968, 7.
- "Hoe AH aan perfecte aardappelen komt." *AllerHande*. October 1968, 5.
- "Buurman Belg weet wat lekker is..." *AllerHande*. May 1972, 9.
- "AH-magazine." *AllerHande*. May 1973, 2.
- Idé*. January 1974, 10.
- Idé*. October 1974, 4.
- Idé*. October 1974, 12.
- "groenten- en fruitkalender." *AllerHande*. September 1980, 28-29.

- “Herfst: paddenstoelen, wild en nieuwe wijnen.” *AllerHande*. September 1980, 34.
- “Een warme aanbeveling uit zonnige streken.” *AllerHande*. February 1984, 39.
- “Bij een Nederlandse winter hoort erwtensoep.” *AllerHande*. February 1985, 43.
- “Koken met gedroogde peulvruchten.” *AllerHande*. January 1986, 11.
- “Meloen eten? In de zomer zeker weten!” *AllerHande*. June 1986, 20-21.
- “Winters en toch licht.” *AllerHande*. January 1987, 3.
- “Zuurkoolstampot zoals het hoort.” *Allerhande*. January 1990, 21.
- “Lekker Licht, De Nieuwe Versie van de Hollandse Pot.” *AllerHande*. January 1991, 1
- “De nieuwe versie van de Hollandse pot Lekker Licht.” *AllerHande*. January 1991, 12.
- “Praktische en Snel in Mei.” *AllerHande*. May 1991, 50.
- “Genieten van verse vis,” *AllerHande*. October 1994, 22
- “Op culinair avontuur met Pasta.” *AllerHande*. May 1995, 78.
- “De Nieuwe Nederlandse Keuken.” *AllerHande*. January 1996, 1.
- “Streekgerechten uit het ‘hart’ van België,” *AllerHande*. October 1997, 17.
- “Culinaire genoegens van de Elzas.” *AllerHande*. October 1998, 1.
- “Snel gemaakt of slim geshopt.” *AllerHande*. January 1999, 8.
- “Een eeuw eten.” *AllerHande*. January 1999, 20.
- “Meer maaltijd, in minder tijd.” *AllerHande*. July 2000, 43.

AllerHande 1955-2000

“Periodieken: *AllerHande* (1954-2019).” *Stichting Albert Heijn Erfgoed*.
<https://albertheijnerfgoed.courant.nu/periodicals/A>. Last consulted March 28, 2020.

Or physically at *Stichting Albert Heijn Erfgoed*, Hoofdtocht 3 1507 CJ Zaandam.

Idé 1973-1974

“*Idé* (1973-1974).” *Stichting Albert Heijn Erfgoed*. Hoofdtocht 3 1507 CJ Zaandam [st 24/05 ds 347].

Secondary Literature

“Aantalvorst dagen.” Graph taken from: CBS, PBL, RIVM, WUR (2018). [Extreme temperatuur in Nederland, 1906-2017](#) (indicator 0589, versie 01 , 25 april 2018). www.clo.nl. Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS), Den Haag. Accessed March 29, 2020.

Abaraca, Meredith E.. “Authentic or not, it’s original.” *Food & Foodways* 12 (2004), 1-25.

Albala, Ken. “Introduction.” In *The Food History Reader*, edited by Ken Albala, i-xiv. London: Routledge, 2006.

“Albert Heijn door de jaren heen.” *Albert Heijn*. <https://www.ah.nl/over-ah/geschiedenis/geschiedenis-detail>. Accessed March 19, 2020.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso, 2016 [1983].

Ashley, Bob, Joanne Hollows, Steve Jones and Ben Taylor. *Food and Cultural Studies*. London: Routledge, 2004.

Beckers, Theo. “Leisure and Pleasure: Competing Ideologies and Strategies in the Netherlands.” In *Twentieth-Century Mass Society in Britain and the Netherlands*, edited by Bob Moore and Henk van Nierop, 115-131. Oxford: Berg Publishers. 2006.

Behringer, Wolfgang. *Kulturgeschichte des Klimas Von der Eiszeit bis zur globalen Erwärmung*. Munich: Dtv Verlagsgesellschaft, 2015.

Bieleman, Jan. *Five centuries of farming: A short history of Dutch agriculture 1500-2000*. Wageningen: Wageningen Academic Publisher, 2010.

Billig, Michael. *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage Publications, 1995.

Blokker, Jan, Jan Blokker Jr. and Bas Blokker. *Nederland in twaalf moorden: niets zo veranderlijk als onze identiteit*. Amsterdam: Atlas Contact, 2013.

Blom, Philipp. *Nature's Mutiny: How the Little Ice Age of the Long Seventeenth Century Transformed the West and Shaped the Present*, translated by Philipp Blom. New York: Pan Macmillan, 2019.

Brandt, Nella van den. “Secularity, gender, and emancipation: thinking through feminist activism and feminist approaches to the secular” *Religion* 49 (2019), 691-716.

Brillat-Savarin, Anthelme. *Physiologie du Gout, ou Meditations de Gastronomie Transcendante*. Paris: A. Sauteleat, 1826.

Brillat-Savarin, Jean Anthelme, *The Physiology of Taste: or Meditations on Transcendental Gastronomy*. Translated by Mary F. K. Fisher. New York: Vintage, 2009 [1826].

Bristow, Tom and Thomas H. Ford. *A Cultural History of Climate Change*. London: Routledge, 2016.

Brulotte, Ronda L. and Michael A. Di Giovine, eds. *Edible Identities: Food as Cultural Heritage*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2016.

Butterfield, Roger. “Henry Ford, the Wayside Inn, and the Problem of “History Is Bunk”.” *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 77 (1965), 53-66.

Entzinger, Han. "Immigration and Diversity." In *Discovering the Dutch: On Culture and Society of the Netherlands*, edited by Emmeline Besamusca and Jaap Verheul, 275-286. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2014.

Ferguson, Priscilla Parkhurst. *Accounting for Taste: The Triumph of French Cuisine*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

Fina, Anna De, and Barbara Johnstone. "Discourse Analysis and Narrative." In *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (second edition), edited by Deborah Tannen, Heidi E. Hamilton, Deborah Schiffrin, 152-167. Hoboken: Wiley Blackwell, 2015 [2005].

Garcia-Fuentes, Josep-Maria, Manel Guàrdia Bassols and José Luis Oyón Bañales. "Reinventing Edible Identities: Catalan Cuisine and Barcelona's Market Halls." In *Edible Identities: Food as Cultural Heritage*, edited by Ronda L. Brulotte and Michael A. Di Giovine, 159-174. Abingdon: Routledge, 2016.

Giovine, Michael A. Di and Ronda L. Brulotte, eds. "Introduction: Food and Foodways as Cultural Heritage" In *Edible Identities: Food as Cultural Heritage*, edited by Ronda L. Brulotte and Michael A. Di Giovine, 1-27. Abingdon: Routledge, 2016.

HUGH JANS." *De Volkskrant*. July 6, 1999. <https://www.volkskrant.nl/de-gids/hugh-jans~b56f2c8b/> Accessed March 19, 2020.

Jager, J.L. de. *Arm en rijk kunnen bij mij hun inkopen doen: De geschiedenis van Albert Heijn en Koninklijke Ahold*. Baarn: Tirion, 1995.

"Jan Blokker (1927-2010)." Koninklijke Bibliotheek. <https://www.kb.nl/themas/nederlandse-literatuur-en-taal/schrijversalfabet/jan-blokker-1927-2010>. Accessed March 19, 2020.

Janssens, Angélique. *Labouring Lives: Women, work and the demographic transition in the Netherlands, 1880–1960*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2014.

Jones, Peter J. H. and Ian K. K. Lee. "Macronutrient Requirements for Work in Cold Environments." In *Nutritional Needs in Cold and High-Altitude Environments: Applications for Military Personnel in Field Operations*, edited by M. Marriott and Sydne J. Carlson, 187-202. Washington: National Academy Press, 1996.

Jovanovski, Natalie. *Digesting Femininities: The Feminist Politics of Contemporary Food Culture*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

Kešić, Josip and Jan Willem Duyvendak. "Anti-nationalist nationalism: the paradox of Dutch national identity." *Nations and Nationalism* 22 (2016), 581-597.

Kloek, Els. *Vrouw des huizes: Een cultuurgeschiedenis van de Hollandse huisvrouw*. Amsterdam: Balans, 2009.

Kuipers, Matthijs. "'Makanlah Nasi! (Eat Rice!)': Colonial Cuisine and Popular Imperialism in The Netherlands During the Twentieth Century." *Global Food History* 3 (2017), 4-23.

Leggewie, Claus and Franz Mauelshagen, eds. *Climate Change and Cultural Transition in Europe*. Leiden: Brill, 2018.

R. Haex

Leong-Salobir, Cecilia Y.. "Spreading the word: using cookbooks and colonial memoirs to examine the foodways of British Colonials in Asia, 1850-1900." In *The Routledge History of Food*, edited by C. Helstosky, 131-155. Abingdon: Taylor and Francis, 2015.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. "The Culinary Triangle." In *Food and Culture: A Reader*, edited by Carole Counihan, Penny Van Esterik and Carole M. Counihan, 40-47. Abingdon: Routledge, 2013.

MacKendrick, Norah. "Jargon: Foodscape." *Contexts* 13 (2014), 16-18.

Nederland dineert. *Rijnmond*, 2016. YouTube, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D_rLbPQX4vk. Accessed February 27, 2020.

Otterloo, Anneke H. van. "Eating out 'ethnic' in Amsterdam from the 1920s to the present." In *Ethnic Amsterdam: Immigrants and Urban change in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Liza Nell and Jan Rath, 41-60. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009.

Otterloo, Anneke H. van. *Eten en Eetlust in Nederland [1840-1990]*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 1990.

Parker, Geoffrey. *Global Crisis: War, Climate Change and Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013.

Pilcher, Jeffrey M.. *Food in World History*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2005.

Pilcher, Jeffrey M.. *Que vivan los Tamales!: Food and the Making of Mexican Identity*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998.

Protschky, Susie. "The Colonial Table: Food, Culture and Dutch Identity in Colonial Indonesia." *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 54 (2008), 346-357.

Rath, Eric C.. *Japan's Cuisines: food, place, and identity*. London: Reaktion Books, 2016.

Raviv, Yael. *Falafel Nation: Cuisine and the Making of National Identity in Israel*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015.

Reader, John. *Potato: A History of the Propitious Esculent*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.

Reve, Gerard. *Zelf schrijver worden*. Den Haag: Sdu Uitgevers, 1985.

Rousseau, Signe. *Food Media: Celebrity Chefs and the Politics of Everyday Interference*. London: Berg Publishers, 2012.

Sassatelli, Roberta, ed. *Italians and Food*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.

Schreurs, Wilbert. *Een zondagskind in de reclame: De geschiedenis van Prad*. Houten: Gaade Uitgevers, 1995.

Schrover, Marlou, Inge Mestdag, Anneke van Otterloo and Chaja Zeegers. "Waarom knoflook niet meer vies is." In *Veranderingen van het Alledaagse 1950-2000*, edited by Isabel Hover, Hester Dibbits and Marlou Schrover, 77-112. Den Haag: Sdu uitgevers, 2005.

R. Haex

“Wintertemperatuur op vijf KNMI-hoofdstations.” Graph taken from: CBS, PBL, RIVM, WUR (2018). [Temperatuur in Nederland en mondiaal, 1906 - 2017](#) (indicator 0226, versie 13 , 25 april 2018). www.clo.nl. Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS), Den Haag. Accessed March 29, 2020.